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Liberia's Post-War Recovery: Key Issues and Developments

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Liberia's Post-War Recovery: Key Issues and Developments

Summary

This report covers recent developments in Liberia, a small, poor West African country. Liberia held elections in October 2005, with a presidential run-off in November — a key step in a post-conflict transition and peace-building process that began following its second civil war in a decade. The latter war began in 1999, escalated in 2000, and ended in 2003. It pitted the forces of Charles Taylor, elected president in 1997 after Liberia's first civil war (1989-1997), against two armed anti-Taylor rebel groups. It also affected neighboring states, which accepted Liberian refugees and, in some cases, hosted anti-Taylor forces and became targets of armed aggression by the Taylor regime. This report will be updated as events warrant.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, an economist, won the presidential election with 59.4% of votes. She took office on January 16, 2005, becoming the first female president of an African country. Her run-off opponent was George Weah, a former star soccer player seen as a hero by many Liberian youth. Weah contested the election, but most election observers characterized the process as orderly, generally well-administered, and free and fair. The election fulfilled a key goal of an August 2003 peace accord, which ended the second civil war, leading to an on-going, U.S.-aided post-war transition process, which is bolstered by the multi-faceted U.N. Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). It carries out diverse peacekeeping, civilian policing, and socio-economic assistance functions. UNMIL was preceded by the U.S.-assisted deployment in August 2003 of an Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) military intervention force. Liberia's security situation is stable but subject to periodic volatility. Humanitarian conditions are improving. Progress in governance under the interim government was mixed; widespread corruption within it was widely reported. Liberia's economy and state structures remain devastated by war. President Sirleaf has reportedly requested that former president Charles Taylor be extradited from Nigeria, where he lives in exile, to face a Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) war crimes indictment. The United States is providing extensive post-war reconstruction aid and support for security sector restructuring, which will include the training of a newly recruited and vetted 2,000-person military.

In addition to providing substantial support for Liberia's rebuilding and peace building processes, Congress has shown continuing interest in the status of Charles Taylor. It passed laws (P.L. 108-199 and P.L. 108-106) urging that SCSL indictees, like Taylor, face trial at the court. In May 2005, Congress passed H.Con.Res. 127 (Royce) urging the same outcome. H.Amdt. 480 (Watson) to H.R. 260 (Smith) would require that the United States seek the expeditious transfer of Taylor to the SCSL for trial. P.L. 109-102 provides \$13 million for the SCSL. Congressional interest in Liberia includes immigration and debt issues: H.R. 257 (Jackson-Lee), H.R. 2092 (Jackson-Lee), H.R. 3450 (Patrick Kennedy), S. 656 (Reed); S.Amdt. 452 (Reed); H.R. 1268 (Jerry Lewis); and H.R. 1130 (Waters). H.Con.Res. 327 (Eddie Bernice Johnson) and H.Con.Res. 313 (Payne) would commend Liberia for successfully holding elections and congratulate Sirleaf for her electoral victory. S. 779 (Dorgan) would designate Liberia as a tax haven country. The House version of H.R. 4939 (Jerry Lewis) would provide \$63.8 million in FY2006 supplemental aid for Liberia.

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Liberia's Post-War Recovery: Key Issues and Developments

Recent Developments

On March 16, the House passed H.R. 4939 (Jerry Lewis), the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Hurricane Recovery, 2006, as amended. As reported by the House Appropriations Committee and reflected in H.Rept. 109-388, H.R. 4939 would provide \$50 million in Economic Support Funds and \$13.8 million in Migration and Refugee Assistance funds for Liberia. During floor consideration of H.R. 4939 on March 16, 2006, Representative Jim Kolbe stated that newly elected Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf¹ had informed Representative Nita Lowey and himself that she had requested that Nigeria extradite former Liberian president Charles Taylor, who faces war crimes charges in Sierra Leone. Sirleaf later repeated the same information to the United Nations Security Council (on the Taylor case, see below). Representative Kolbe's remarks were made one day after President Sirleaf, who is slated to meet with President Bush on March 21, 2006, had addressed a joint session of Congress.

President Sirleaf, elected with 59.4% of the vote in a November 8, 2005, run-off election, took office on January 16, 2006, becoming the first-ever African female head of state. In her inaugural address, she laid out a detailed, multi-faceted governance agenda (see below). In late January, Sirleaf announced the first of several nominees to her cabinet. Though most are seen as well-seasoned technocrats and professionals, several have proved controversial. She also announced a financial audit of the outgoing transitional government, which was repeatedly accused of corruption, and dismissed all transitional government political appointees.² In early February, she fired the entire staff of the Finance Ministry, though her administration later stated that merit system employees could retain their positions, pending the outcome of a screening of their qualifications and probity. Soon after she took office, in an action seen as a sign of faith in her presidency, the European Commission pledged \$80 million dollars to Liberia to support the rehabilitation or construction of a public water and electricity delivery systems, as well as education, development, and humanitarian needs. Recruitment and vetting of personnel to serve in a reconstituted Liberian military, a U.S.-funded effort, also began in late January.

¹ While her name is widely cited as Johnson-Sirleaf, the Liberian president does not employ a hyphenated form of her last name. See Wil Haygood, "For Liberia's 'Iron Lady,' Toughness Part of Territory," *Washington Post*, Dec. 16, 2005.

² In Dec. 2005 a U.N. sanctions monitoring panel had reported that there were large shortfalls or related discrepancies in government accounts. In early January, the interim government admitted to some discrepancies but contended that most of the unaccounted for money was being transferred between government agencies.

Background

Liberia, a small, poor West African country of about 3.4 million people, is undergoing a post-conflict transition and peace-building process after its second civil war within a decade. The latter conflict burgeoned in 2000, after several minor border incursions in 1999. It pitted the forces of Charles Taylor, elected president in 1997 after Liberia's first civil war (1989-1997), against two armed anti-Taylor rebel groups: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia. The war led to an extreme deterioration in political, economic, humanitarian, and human rights conditions. It also affected neighboring states, which accepted Liberian refugees and, in some cases, hosted anti-Taylor forces and became targets of acts of armed aggression by the Taylor regime.³

Liberia at a Glance

Geography: Small tropical coastal West African country about the size of Virginia
Population: 3.4 million (2005 est.)
Annual population growth rate: 2.64%
Exchange rate adjusted Gross National Income (GNI): \$355.18 million (2003)
GNI per capita: \$110 (2003)
External Debt: \$2.568 billion (2003)
Key Exports: Rubber, iron, cocoa, gold, coffee. There is currently a U.N. ban on timber and diamond exports
Languages: English & 29 distinct languages or dialects
Ethnic groups: 16 indigenous groups (95%) & Americo-Liberian and former slave descendants (5%)
Religions: Indigenous beliefs 40%, Christian 40%, Muslim 20%
Literacy: Male, 73.3%; Female, 41.6% (2003; est. vary)
Under-5 Mortality rate: 235 deaths/1,000 live births
HIV/AIDS adult infection rate: 8%-12%
Life Expectancy, years at birth: Male, 46.75; Female, 48.65

Sources: CIA World *Factbook* 2005; World Bank *Development Indicators*; *Ethnologue.com*; U.N. data for AIDS rates; see below.

A peace accord was signed on August 18, 2003, after months of international mediation. It was facilitated by two events: Charles Taylor's resignation of the presidency and departure from Liberia on August 11, after he was granted political asylum in Nigeria; and the early August deployment of an Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) military intervention force, the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL). ECOMIL, with extensive U.S. and United Nations (U.N.) assistance, deployed to Liberia to end heavy fighting and alleviate a worsening humanitarian crisis in the wake of a failed June 2003 cease-fire. It was tasked with monitoring and securing the cease-fire, enabling the delivery of relief aid, and preparing the way for the U.N. Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). UNMIL, authorized by the U.N. Security Council on September 19, 2003, deployed to Liberia on October 1, 2003, two weeks before the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) took office on October 14.⁴ ECOMIL was dissolved and its military forces absorbed

³ This report focuses on current issues and recent events. CRS Report RL32243, *Liberia: Transition to Peace*, and CRS Report RL30933, *Liberia: 1989-1997 Civil War, Post-War Developments, and U.S. Relations*, both by Nicolas Cook, provide in-depth background on events in Liberia during recent decades.

⁴ UNMIL has a current authorized force strength of 15,250 military troops and 1,115 police. As of February 2006, it had a total force size of 16,098. As of early Mar. 2006, U.S. uniformed personnel in UNMIL included two troops, seven military observers, and 37 civilian police. U.S. funding for UNMIL is covered in **Table 2**, below. In Sept. 2005, the
 (continued...)

into UNMIL, which carries out diverse peacekeeping, civilian policing, and socio-economic assistance functions in support of Liberia's transition process. UNMIL has also assumed responsibility from the U.N. Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) for providing a military guard force for the Special Court for Sierra Leone, discussed below; UNAMSIL's mandate ended on December 31, 2005.

Transition Process

The August 2003 Comprehensive Peace Agreement,⁵ signed by the three warring factions and 18 political parties, laid out a peace process, provided for the creation of the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL), and allocated leadership positions within it. The NTGL was mandated to re-establish functioning government authority and prepare for national elections that were held in mid-October and November 2005. A newly-elected government is slated to replace the NTGL in late January 2006. The NTGL consisted of an executive branch, presided over by a Chairman, Gyude Bryant, and an interim parliament, the National Transitional Legislative Assembly. Bryant, a businessman and church layman who leads the Liberian Action Party, oversaw the functions of the central government and various public corporations, agencies, and commissions. The transition faced many challenges, most related to the extremely destructive effects of many years of war in Liberia. Others included the dominant role within the NTGL of the three former armed factions, which were prone to internal rivalries; political discord over the allocation of state positions and resources; very limited state capacities; and reported public sector corruption.

2005 Post-War Elections

Peaceful Senate, House of Representatives, and presidential election were held on October 11, 2005, and a presidential run-off vote was held on November 8. The 22-candidate presidential poll led to a run-off race. It pitted George Manneh "Oppong" Weah, 39 years of age, a former professional top soccer player whose star status and rags-to riches history make him a hero to Liberian youth, against Ellen

⁴ (...continued)

Security Council requested that UNMIL leaders recommend a force drawdown plan for UNMIL, including specific benchmarks and a planned schedule in a Mar. 2006 report. It is expected to be released soon. UNMIL has implemented measures to prevent, monitor for, investigate, and sanction acts of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), in line with recent reforms and renewed U.N.-wide regulations regarding sexual conduct, following abuses in several U.N. peacekeeping missions around the world, including in Liberia. U.N. Resolution 1626 (2005) bars SEA, and UNMIL has created a mission conduct and discipline team and investigatory capacity to ensure adherence to these rules. Between June 2004 and Feb. 2006, two civilians and 16 military personnel had been repatriated or dismissed for SEA abuses, and three civilians had been suspended. In mid-March 2006, five crew members of a UN contractor, who had been under investigation for alleged rapes and the assault of Liberian police officers, left Liberia after being released on bond. According to UNMIL, their departure "is highly regretted and the matter is being brought to the attention of the authorities of the country concerned." See UNMIL, "Statement on the departure from Liberia of five crew members, employees of a UN contractor," Mar. 14, 2006.

⁵ Accord text available from U.S. Institute of Peace [<http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html>].

Johnson Sirleaf, 67 years of age, a Harvard-trained economist and former businesswoman who had served as Liberian finance minister and as a United Nations and World Bank official. On November 15, 2005 the National Elections Commission (NEC) declared Sirleaf the winner of the presidential race, with 59.4% of votes against Weah's 40.6%, making her the first-ever female president of an African country. Despite its declaration in favor of Sirleaf, the NEC subsequently probed and later rejected claims by Weah, discussed below, that the election was fraudulent.

In contrast to the presidential race, election results for seats in the bicameral legislature were disparate; no party received more than 24% of seats in either chamber and none dominated in both the Senate and the House. The largest party in the 64-member House of Representatives is Weah's Congress for Democratic Change (CDC), which won 15 seats. The Liberty Party (LP) won nine House seats, while Sirleaf's Unity Party (UP) and the Coalition for Transformation of Liberia (COTOL) each won eight. Seven other parties each won between one and five House seats, and seven independent candidates each won a seat. In the 30-seat Senate, COTOL won seven seats and the UP won four; all other parties won between one and three seats.⁶

Table 1. Election 2005 Legislative Results by Party: Seats and Percentage of Vote Won

Party	Senate		House	
	Seats	Vote (%)	Seats	Vote (%)
Congress for Democratic Change (CDC)	3	10	15	23.4
Coalition for Transformation of Liberia (COTOL)	7	23.3	8	12.5
Liberty Party (LP)	3	10	9	14.1
Unity Party (UP)	4	13.3	8	12.5
Independent	3	10	7	10.9
Alliance for Peace and Democracy (APD)	3	10	5	7.8
National Patriotic Party (NPP)	3	10	4	6.3
All Liberia Coalition Party (ALCOP)	1	3.3	2	3.1
Nation Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL)	2	6.7	1	1.6
New Deal Movement (NDM)	-	-	3	4.7
National Reformation Party (NRP)	1	3.3	1	1.6
United Democratic Alliance (UDA)	-	-	1	1.6

Source: National Elections Commission of Liberia, 2005 Election Results, [<http://www.necliberia.org/results>].

Notable among the newly elected legislators were several former Taylor regime officials and leaders of former armed factions or security services. These include senators Jewel Howard-Taylor, a former wife of Charles Taylor (NPP; Bong County);

⁶ Full election results are available online from the NEC: [<http://www.necliberia.org/results>].

Prince Yormie Johnson (independent, Bong County); and Saye-Taayor Adolphus Dolo (COTOL, Nimba County). Johnson is the former leader of a faction that splintered from Taylor's early in the first civil war, and is infamous for personally presiding over the bloody, videotaped murder of former head of state Samuel Doe. He returned to run in the election from exile in Nigeria, where he had professed to have become a born-again Christian evangelist. Dolo is a former pro-Taylor militia leader, known by the *nom de guerre* General Peanut Butter, who reportedly committed war-time atrocities and recruited child fighters, and who is said to have aggressively opposed UNMIL peacekeeping activities. In the House, they include Edwin Snowe (independent, Montserrado County) and Saah Richard Gbollie (NPP, Margibi County), and Kai G. "White Flower B-50" Farley, (CDC, Grand Gedeh County). Snowe, who was elected speaker of the House in mid-January 2006, is a former Taylor in-law, and the former head of the Liberian Petroleum and Refining Corporation (LPRC), from which Taylor regime officials reportedly diverted significant amounts of funds, some of which may have benefitted Taylor during his exile in Nigeria.⁷ Gbollie is a former Taylor fighter and Taylor administration police official accused of human rights abuses. Farley is an ex-MODEL commander and NTGL official accused of threatening the 2003 peace accord.

Conduct of Elections. With some minor exceptions, the election was reportedly well-administered. About 1.35 million citizens registered to vote in April and May 2005, in a process that was marred by some minor acts and threats of violence and localized disruptions but was generally peaceful. Attempts by some NTGL ministers to try to run for office in the 2005 election, in violation of the 2003 peace accord, also sparked controversy. About 1.012 million registered voters (74.9%) participated in the October elections, and over 821,000 (60.7%) voted in the run-off poll. Registration results guided decision-making about the distribution of polling places and electoral materials and the composition of constituencies. The large number of presidential candidates (over 50 initial prospective candidates, of whom 22 were ultimately registered) and registered political parties (30) reportedly proved confusing for some voters. Key election issues included national reconciliation and unity, corruption, jobs, general economic growth, and social services and physical infrastructure needs.

UNMIL elections staff and U.N. agencies supported media outreach and civic education, technical tasks, and electoral security coordination, together with the national police. UNMIL aid for the elections reportedly totaled about \$8 million, and the European Union pledged \$1 million. Most of \$10 million in U.S. elections assistance supported the programs of the nonprofit democracy strengthening organizations IFES (elections technical assistance); the National Democratic Institute or NDI (civic education); and the International Republican Institute or IRI (political party training). IRI and NDI, the latter jointly with the Carter Center, deployed teams to monitor the elections, as did the African and European Unions, the U.S. and many

⁷ Coalition for International Justice, "Following Taylor's Money: A Path of War and Destruction," May 2005.

other governments, and international organizations. Over 6,000 domestic observers, including over 3,500 from civil society groups, also monitored the vote.⁸

Weah Election Dispute. Weah, who had claimed to have been cheated in the first round, contested his loss in the second round. Citing alleged evidence that he maintained had been turned over to him by “concerned citizens,” he claimed that the election had been rigged and “not free and fair” and called for a nullification and re-run of the vote. He pursued his claim through a number of formal channels, but after the NEC dismissed his claim, after meeting with Sirleaf, and under heavy international pressure, on December 21 he agreed to drop his claim and accept the poll results. Many observers were skeptical about claims that systematic or large-scale fraud may have marred the election. U.S. officials viewed the process as having been orderly, largely well-administered, and free and fair, and such views were shared by most other governments and international entities that observed the vote. The United States nevertheless called for an investigation of Weah’s claims and for any contest of results to be carried out peacefully and through established legal channels.

In Monrovia, the capital, Weah’s claims spurred political unrest and some political street violence, largely attributed to Weah supporters, who chanted such slogans as “No Weah! No peace!” While he called on his supporters to protest peacefully, he also made volatile statements on several occasions. In mid-December 12, for instance, after returning to Liberia following meeting presidents John Kufuor of Ghana and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, who urged him to concede his defeat with grace, Weah was quoted as stating on his King FM radio station that “I am President of this country, whether you like it or not ... One cannot have an inauguration in January when the case we are pursuing is not resolved. ... We are seeking justice and there cannot be peace without justice.”

New Government: Prospects

Sirleaf may face challenges in meeting high voter expectations, for instance in relation to her election promise to provide public electricity in Monrovia within six months of being elected, despite the complexity and great cost of such an undertaking. Voters also are seen as unlikely to give the new government a honeymoon period, following what many see as disappointing performance by the transitional government. The public is likely to demand rapid improvements in social services and the construction physical infrastructure, particularly in support of education, healthcare, and transportation.

Past incumbents were the beneficiaries of a long tradition of concentrated executive branch power and strong ruling party power. Sirleaf may not be able to govern as unilaterally as they did, because the electorate gave no single party a strong governing mandate. In the 22-candidate presidential first round vote, no candidate

⁸ The author of this report observed the election as a member of the IRI delegation. In the county where he monitored the voting process, the election was well-run. Poll workers appeared well trained; voting equipment and materials were distributed on time and in sufficient quantity; and voting was peaceful and voter turnout rates high.

garnered more than Weah's 28.3% of votes, necessitating a run-off presidential poll. That keenly contested election and the splintering of the legislature among many parties suggests that no party enjoys the backing of a majority of the electorate. Sirleaf's Unity Party does not enjoy a majority in the legislature, whereas several of the parties that lost in the presidential election are comparatively well positioned to potentially wield significant political power. Many observers also believe that the legislature may take a more engaged and assertive role in policy-making than has been traditional in Liberia. The fractionalized make-up of the legislature, however, suggests that successful national policy decision-making will require coalition-building and that many independents and small parties may be able to exercise substantial bargaining power within such a process. The same features could, however, produce political gridlock or political flux characterized by fluid, *ad hoc*, and possibly issue-specific alliances, rather than clear and unified policy-making trends. Given the Liberian polity's fragmented nature; the fact that Weah's defeat has proven a bitter outcome for his largely youthful, sometimes volatile base of support; and because of deeply felt war-related social divisions and antagonisms, many analysts also see a need for Sirleaf to rapidly initiate efforts to foster national reconciliation and rebuild national unity, goals that she vowed to strongly pursue in her inaugural address.

Sirleaf Policy Agenda. In her inaugural address, Sirleaf laid out a multi-faceted policy agenda, based on what she pledged would be "a new era of democracy" characterized by political inclusion and toleration, non-violence, and safe-guarding and promotion of constitutional and civil liberties and rights. She highlighted national reconciliation as the most "urgent" and "compelling" task facing her administration, and pledged to support and strengthen the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In late February 2006, Sirleaf inaugurated the TRC, which was created by the transitional legislature in 2005. It has a mandate to investigate crimes and human rights abuses committed from 1979 until 2003.⁹

Economic Renewal. Sirleaf vowed to achieve "quick and visible progress" during the first 150 days of her tenure, in coordination with donors, under five "major pillars: Security, Economic Revitalization, Basic Services, Infrastructure, and Good Governance." She laid out plans to create a \$1 billion "multi-year economic reconstruction plan tied to a Poverty Reduction Strategy Program" to relieve Liberia "from a staggering \$3.5 billion external debt" and meet the U.N. Millennium Development Goals in Liberia, saying that details of the plan would be presented at a "partnership meeting" in May or June 2006. She said she would pursue an economic agenda emphasizing the creation of "an investment climate that gives confidence to Liberian and foreign investors," the exploitation of Liberia's rich natural resources, land tenure reform focused on increasing agricultural production, and expanded economic and social infrastructure rehabilitation. She vowed to make youth and reconstruction-focused job creation a high priority and to target aid toward

⁹ While many Liberians and international human rights advocates have praised the creation of the TRC, some have criticized Sirleaf's nomination of Kabineh Janneh, the transitional government's justice minister and a former leading member of the LURD rebel group, as a Supreme Court Justice. Critics see Janneh as responsible, in part, for violence committed by LURD fighters against civilians during the Liberian war.

historically economically marginalized areas. Many observers view the broad dissatisfaction, extremely high jobless rates, and economic and education disenfranchisement of Liberia's large youth population as having been a key structural factor facilitating Liberia's armed conflicts.

Governance. Sirleaf vowed to “forcibly and effectively” fight the “debilitating cancer of corruption” as “the major public enemy” and warned that any member of her administration who tried to “challenge us in this regard” would “do so at his or her personal disadvantage.” She promised that she and all members of her administration would lead by example, and that all key officials would be required to declare their assets, and follow a National Code of Conduct, passage of which she outlined as a prospective legislative goal. She strongly endorsed and promised to “enforce” the Governance and Economic Management Program (GEMAP, discussed below) to deal with “serious economic and financial management deficiencies” in Liberia and to achieve her policy goals and obtain foreign assistance conditional upon implementation of GEMAP. She said that these outcomes, along with the implementation of an “integrated capacity building initiative” and what she predicted would be Liberia's “competence and integrity in the management of our own resources,” would eventually obviate the need for GEMAP. She also vowed to undertake a wholesale overhaul of the civil service, the agencies of which she said “lack clarity in mandate and have little or no linkages to our national priorities, policies, and goals” and suffer from a “seriously bloated” workforce, but also contended that civil servant pay was poor and in arrears by about \$20 million. She promised to institutionalize a meritocratic civil service system based on “qualification, professionalism, and performance.”

Foreign Policy. Sirleaf declared peaceful regional integration and security cooperation “based upon economic partnership” and private sector-focal regional integration to be her guiding foreign policy goals. She also vowed to maintain strong international bilateral and multilateral partnerships, notably within multinational organizations and treaty frameworks to which Liberia is a party and significantly, given recent regional history, stated that “no inch of Liberian soil will be used to conspire to perpetrate aggression” against neighboring countries.

Women. Paying homage to what she said were the special efforts of women in securing her election and the peace that made it possible, even in the face of war-related “inhumanity,” “terror,” military conscription, forced labor, and rape, Sirleaf vowed to “empower Liberian women in all areas.” She promised to strengthen laws and law enforcement to protect women against rape, support the education of children, notably of girls, and to provide programs to enable women to play a key role in the economic revitalization process. Sirleaf has nominated women to head the ministries of justice, finance, commerce, and youth and sports, and the national police force, the auditing bureau, and a commission on refugees repatriation and resettlement.

Security Conditions

Liberia's security situation has improved markedly since August 2003 but remains subject to periodic volatility and localized instability. Over 101,000 ex-combatants (22% women and 10.8% children), were demobilized under a

disarmament program administered by UNMIL and the NTGL that ended in late 2004. Public security has periodically been threatened by sometimes violent political faction rivalries; criminal acts, often by ex-combatants; and civil unrest related to socio-economic grievances, predominantly involving students, workers, civil servants, jobless youth, and former fighters. Price increases for rice, fuel, and cement are key sources of social dissatisfaction. The presence of ex-combatants, some armed, on several rubber plantations has also been a source of insecurity, including periodic violence relating to control of plantations. Rubber workers and local residents report that former fighters rob them and coerce them into selling rubber latex at sub-market prices.

U.N. and U.S. officials and many members of Congress have been concerned about persistent, credible reports that Charles Taylor has periodically interfered in Liberian affairs from exile in Nigeria through a network of political, military, and business associates, which Taylor denies. These alleged actions are seen as destabilizing and threatening to the consolidation of peace (see section on Taylor below). There had been some speculation that former Taylor administration officials would make large gains in the 2005 elections and that he would be able to use them as proxies to influence the new government. There was no such general outcome, but several close Taylor associates were elected (see “2005 Post-War Elections,” above).¹⁰ Although there are no specific publicly reported threats against Sirleaf, the United States has provided her with a personal State Department Diplomatic Security team.

Security Sector Reform. With U.S. assistance, Liberia has begun to create a new military made up of an initial 2,000 recruits.¹¹ Selection and vetting of volunteer enlistees, for purposes of screening out human rights abusers, began in late January 2006. The State Department is administering the overall military training program through two contractors: DynCorp International and Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE), in coordination with U.S. military trainers. DynCorp is helping to vet, recruit, and provide basic training for the new force. PAE will provide specialized advanced training, equipment, logistics, and base services. The training package is projected to cost about \$95 million, prospectively to be drawn from a mix

¹⁰ Liberia remains under U.N. sanctions, first imposed under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1521 (2003). These prohibit trade in arms, diamonds, and timber with Liberia, and the travel of certain designated individuals, mostly members or associates of the Taylor regime. The current U.N. travel ban list includes several newly elected legislators: Jewel Howard-Taylor, Adolphus Dolo, Edwin Snowe, and Kai Farley. Many of the listed individuals are also subject to financial asset freezes mandated by U.N. Security Council Resolution 1532 (2004). For more detail, see CRS Report RL32243, *Liberia: Transition to Peace*, by Nicolas Cook.

¹¹ In mid-February, stating that “our country currently lacks the technical and tactical capacities and proficiency to provide for its own defense and national security,” President Sirleaf appointed Major-General Luka Yusuf, a Nigerian UNMIL officer, to be Liberia’s military Chief of Staff heading the rebuilding of the armed forces. This action drew criticism from former Liberian military elements, who called it unconstitutional and an insult to Liberia’s national pride. She also said that she would seek the appointment of a U.S. military advisor. See AFP, “Liberian Leader Names Nigerian to Head Military,” February 13, 2006 and Alphonso Toweh, “Liberia Leader Gets Flak for Hiring Nigeria General,” Reuters, February 14, 2006.

of FY2004 through FY2007 International Disaster and Famine Assistance, Regional Peacekeeping, and Foreign Military Assistance funds. Training is slated to begin in February 2006. Military restructuring was hindered by a need to demobilize and verify the severance pay eligibility of over 13,000 irregular forces and Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) soldiers. Funds for this purpose were scarce, but most irregular and regular forces have been demobilized. Total demobilization cost estimates vary between \$15 million and \$18 million. The United States also is providing Liberia with UNMIL-administered civilian police (CIVPOL) training assistance, which includes the deployment, of about 20 U.S. CIVPOL advisors as members of UNMIL, as well as equipment and contractor-based logistical support. The Special Security Service (SSS), a roughly 1,252-member presidential protection unit that under the NTGL continued to provide executive branch and VIP close protection functions, is being restructured. About 600 SSS officers are receiving general UNMIL police training and will continue to provide VIP protection services. The remaining SSS members are slated to be decommissioned, but there is no current funding for this purpose. U.S. aid also supports the rehabilitation of the judicial and penal systems.

Humanitarian Conditions

Humanitarian conditions are steadily improving, although from a base of severe and widespread post-war need, and poverty remains endemic. Liberia continues to receive substantial international food aid and is highly donor-dependent. International assistance is, however, increasingly supporting resettlement and socio-economic recovery, rather than emergency humanitarian needs. According to a U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) briefing note, about 200,000 Liberian refugees returned home since August 2003, including more than half of 340,000 registered refugees in third countries in late 2003, had repatriated by mid-February 2006. In mid-March, UNMIL reported that more than 306,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs), including 59,015 families, had received resettlement assistance, usually consisting of basic non-food items, transport aid, and two months of food supplies. About 17,500 IDPs remained in two official IDP camps. U.N. agencies, together with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and NTGL ministries have implemented a wide range of reconstruction and capacity building projects relating to nutrition, water and sanitation, primary healthcare services, and transport infrastructure. Numerous schools have re-opened nation-wide, with extensive assistance from UNICEF. Nearly all child ex-combatants have reportedly been reintegrated into their communities of origin, and most are receiving follow-up aid in the form of social services.

Health Issues. Liberia faces substantial public health challenges. Malaria is endemic, water-borne stomach illnesses are common, tuberculosis cases often go uncured, and there are periodic outbreaks of diseases like Yellow Fever, measles, and cholera, but Liberia lacks an adequate health infrastructure for combating such illnesses.¹² Medical supplies and trained staff are in chronic short supply. A number

¹² War-related psycho-social trauma is also seen as widespread. The preliminary findings of a September 2005 WHO/Liberian government sexual and gender-based violence survey found that 91.7% of women and girls interviewed had been the victims of multiple violent (continued...)

of donor-backed initiatives help improve health care capacity, however. UNICEF is aiding the reopening of health clinics nation-wide, and a UNICEF/WHO polio vaccination campaign that began in October 2004 has reached some 1.2 million children. WHO is coordinating a U.N./government/NGO/USAID technical group that is working to improve the national health system, notably regarding HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis (see below). WHO and FAO are also helping the government to create an avian flu surveillance and response plan.

AIDS. The threat of HIV/AIDS in Liberia is gaining increasing attention. Although no reliable national prevalence tests have been completed recently — though such efforts are underway — Liberia is estimated to have an HIV infection rate of between 5.9% and 8.2%, though some observers believe that the rate could be as high as 12% in some population sub-groups.¹³ The UNMIL HIV/AIDS Adviser's Office is supporting public education-related AIDS prevention and national planning efforts focused on care of orphans and vulnerable children, among other activities. The World Health Organization, in coordination with other U.N. agencies and the NTGL, is developing project proposals to fight AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and build health system capacity. The U.N. Population Fund supports several AIDS awareness and prevention programs. Liberia receives Global Fund assistance, but its application for further assistance under the Fund's recent Round 5 funding project assessment process was reportedly rejected.¹⁴ USAID implements several AIDS-related programs in Liberia on behalf of the Office of the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator (OGAC). These include the first post-war demographic health survey, in partnership with other donors, which includes HIV surveillance; targeted behavior change efforts focusing on youth and other groups; and support for home-based care and related assistance. In her inaugural speech, in which she cited the 12% infection rate, President Sirleaf vowed to “tackle this national scourge by updating and reinvigorating our HIV/AIDS policy within our first 150 days [and...] reconstitute and empower, along with our development partners, the National Commission on HIV/AIDS.” At a February 2006 House International Relations Committee hearing on Liberia (see below), Members suggested to USAID Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Africa Lloyd O. Pierson that Liberia be considered for U.S. assistance under the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief in South Africa (PEPFAR), a consideration that Mr. Pierson stated he would raise with appropriate Administration officials.

¹² (...continued)

acts during Liberia's war (Security Council, S/2005/764, Dec. 7, 2005). The transitional legislature made all rape illegal in December 2005 (only gang rape had previously been illegal) and laid out punishments for rape-relation violations, but activists say increased sexual violence-related law enforcement is needed. See IRIN, “Liberia: Sexual Abuse of Children Still Rampant, Report Says,” Feb. 22, 2006, *inter alia*.

¹³ IRIN PLUSNEWS, “Youth Not Putting HIV Prevention Lessons into Practice,” Oct. 27, 2005 and USAID, Health Profile: West Africa-HIV/AIDS, n.d.

¹⁴ For background on the Global Fund, see CRS Report RL31712, *The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria: Background and Current Issues*, by Raymond W. Copson and Tiaji Salaam.

Governance

Progress in governance under the NTGL was mixed. Although it carried out most basic functions, the restoration of state authority and the rehabilitation of state institutions under its authority were hampered by central government ministry inefficiencies, widespread resource constraints, and lack of institutional and financial system capacities and trained manpower. Progress was reported in the last half of the transitional government's tenure, however. Many revenue, customs, immigration, and local officials were deployed to sites outside Monrovia, and regional Central Bank offices opened, permitting salary payments without recourse to time-consuming travel to Monrovia. USAID is supporting the rehabilitation of administrative buildings in several key counties.

Among the most challenging issues facing governance capacity-building efforts were persistent reports of corruption within the NTGL, in some cases on a large scale. Alleged acts were particularly notable in the context of import-export transactions, government contracts and budgeting, and the issuance of commodity marketing or land, natural resource, and associated concession rights.¹⁵ The U.N. Secretary-General reported in mid-March 2005 that there was a "lack of [NTGL] transparency in the collection and use of revenues and the resistance of some government and public corporation officials to reforms and audits aimed at fighting corruption" (S/2005/177). The World Bank and bilateral donors made similar observations and called for transparency measures. National fiscal and budget obligation mechanisms and voucher record-keeping systems are described as chaotic and subject to manipulation in some cases by key officials. The agency miscellaneous expense budget account category "Other" was reportedly extremely large in many cases, and expenditures of such funds were said to have been carried out in a highly *ad hoc* manner. Actions by the transitional legislature either to appropriate for private use or pay very nominal lease fees for expensive vehicles that each legislator was given drew local and foreign condemnation. In November 2005, the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia stated that the U.S. government was

shocked and disappointed by the recent incidents of transfers of Liberian Government property and resources into private ownership. This drains vital government resources that could otherwise be used for critical developmental programs, and sends the wrong signal to international donors who finance such programs. It also perpetuates the culture of abuse of public trust and impunity that has contributed to two decades of decline in Liberia. The U.S. Embassy considers these transfers unscrupulous, irresponsible, and contrary to the public interest of the people of Liberia. Liberian government resources are for the benefit of the Liberian people and should not be misappropriated for private use.¹⁶

¹⁵ See, for instance, *The Analyst*, "NTGL's Past Haunts Bryant, Others," Mar. 9, 2006, regarding Liberian parliamentary investigations into the transitional government's budget and EU audits of key Liberian parastatals, available via FrontPage Africa [<http://www.frontpageafrica.com>].

¹⁶ See U.S. Embassy-Monrovia, "U.S. Embassy Shocked and Disappointed at Abuse Of Public Trust," Press Release, Nov. 18, 2005, and IRIN, "Liberia: Scramble for Goodies (continued...)"

Citing a 2004 presidential proclamation, it stated that Liberian government officials who engage in “violations of the public trust” and persons who abet such actions might — along with their families — will be ineligible for U.S.-funded programs and services, including consideration for Diversity Visa, Immigrant Visa, and other visa services.¹⁷

Liberia is not eligible for African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) benefits, “largely for reasons related to its poor record on economic reform, rule of law, corruption, human rights, and regional destabilization,” according to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR).¹⁸ However, in late February 2006, the U.S. Trade Representative’s Office (USTR) announced that President Bush had reinstated duty-free Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) trade benefits for Liberia. USTR said that the action was intended to provide “strong support to recently elected President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf’s efforts to increase employment, diversify exports, and stabilize society.” It was made, according to the USTR, because Sirleaf had repealed a decree prohibiting strikes and invited the International Labor Organization (ILO) to help Liberia to conform with ILO obligations, thus making “improving worker rights a high priority.”¹⁹

Concession Deals. Natural resource and land concession contract deals drew notable attention during the NTGL’s tenure because of their financial significance and potential long-term effects on national development. U.N. experts and donor governments questioned the propriety of a March 2005 monopsony diamond concession deal with a previously unknown firm, which was later cancelled.²⁰ Some observers also questioned the NTGL’s award of offshore oil exploration permits to three relatively obscure firms just prior to elections.

¹⁶ (...continued)

Ahead of Political Handover,” Nov. 21 2005.

¹⁷ See Proclamation by the President, *To Suspend Entry as Immigrants or Non-immigrants of Persons Engaged in or Benefitting From Corruption*, Jan. 12, 2004.

¹⁸ USTR, *2005 Comprehensive Report on U.S. Trade and Investment Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa and Implementation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act*.

¹⁹ USTR, “U.S. Reinstates Trade Preference Benefits for Liberia,” Feb. 22, 2006.

²⁰ Diamond deposits in Liberia are mostly alluvial, i.e., found on or near the surface after having been deposited by water flows, often far from their point of origin. In January 2006, however, the firm Diamond Fields International (DFI) Ltd. announced that it had discovered strong indications of a kimberlite, or pipes of igneous, volcanic, often diamond-bearing material, in Grand Cape County. DFI is also involved in gold exploration in Liberia. See DFI, “Diamond Fields Announces the Discovery of Kimberlite in Liberia and Progress with Gold Exploration,” Jan 9, 2006. Several other firms are involved in diamond explorations in various counties. Diamond exports are presently banned under a U.N. Security Council resolution, as discussed above. The Liberian government is attempting to set up structures and processes required to comply with the Kimberley Process, an international regime to regulate trade in rough diamonds, a precondition for removal of the diamond embargo. As part of such efforts, it has suspended issuance of diamond mining licenses, all of which expired at the end of December 2005; diamond mining is thus effectively illegal at present.

The NTGL also signed two major long-term natural resource concession deals. One, with the Firestone group of companies, extends and amends a previous series of concession agreements, first signed in 1926, giving Firestone rights to large plantation areas for the cultivation of rubber.²¹ The contract was amended, in part, because Firestone contended that it was unable to exploit its holdings due to fighting over the last decade and a half, and in order to boost foreign investment in Liberia. The deal gave the Firestone group surface rental and other rights to nearly 200 square miles of active or proposed rubber plantation land for 36 years in exchange for \$.50 per acre per year and various investments, tax payments, social and infrastructure development outputs, and various other commitments. It may be extended for another 50 years after renegotiation. Another deal, with Netherlands-based Mittal Steel Holdings, provides for the rehabilitation or construction of diverse mining, administrative support, processing, and transport infrastructure intended to support the extraction and shipment of iron ore from northern Liberia. It gives Mittal a variety of surface rental, mineral license, iron ore extraction, transport infrastructure construction, and other rights in exchange for diverse capital investments, totaling about \$900 million, and royalty, lump sum, tax, and other payments to the government. The initial term of 25 years is extendable for additional 25-year terms, if certain criteria are met.

Both deals drew criticism from some civil society groups that contended that the NTGL lacked a legal mandate to negotiate long-term concessions, that such functions could only be carried out by a duly elected government, and that such deals should be negotiated in a manner more favorable to Liberian economic and other national interests.²² The contracts were also politically controversial. The Mittal deal was the subject of rival bids by the large mining firms Global Infrastructural Holdings Limited (GIHL), BHP Billington and Real Tito, and its ratification was contested legally and in parliament. Some civil society critics have alleged that the deals were not undertaken in a transparent manner. Mittal has denied that charge, and maintains that the contract was won in a “transparent and competitive bid process” and will bring significant foreign investment and infrastructure development to Liberia.²³ The

²¹ The agreement is between the government of Liberia and Firestone Natural Rubber Company, a U.S. limited liability firm that is an affiliate of Bridgestone-Firestone North American Tire, and its Liberian subsidiary, Firestone Plantations Company.

²² A coalition of Liberian human rights groups unsuccessfully petitioned the Liberian Supreme Court to halt execution of the two contracts on such grounds and contended that the deals had been made without public input. The complainants reportedly may seek to re-file their case after the formation of the new elected government. See Morrison O.G. Sayon, “Supreme Court Places ‘Stay Order’, Firestone, Mittal Steel Agreements,” *The Inquirer* (Monrovia), Nov. 7, 2005; John Walsh, “Supreme Court Issues Stay Order On NTGL; Ja’neh Appears Today,” *FrontPageAfrica*, Nov. 7, 2005; George Bardue, “Supreme Court Stops Budget Execution and Summons NTGL Officials,” *The News* (Monrovia), Nov. 7, 2005.

²³ Alphonso Toweh, “Liberia Minister Wants Mittal Iron Ore Deal Revised,” *Reuters*, Sept. 14, 2005; D. Moses Wantu, “Mittal Steel Hearing Backfires,” *The Analyst* (Monrovia), Sept. 6, 2005; Economist Intelligence Unit, “Liberia: A steel?,” *Country Monitor*, Aug. 29, 2005; Steve Swindells, “Mittal Steel Defends Pursuit of Liberian Iron Ore Concession,” June 14, 2005 *Metal Bulletin News Alert Service*; *The Analyst* (Monrovia), “Bryant, Mittal Steel (continued...) ”

former U.S. Ambassador to Liberia John Blaney reportedly pushed for requirements that, regardless of what firm was awarded mining rights, a major railroad that would be rehabilitated under such a deal be made a multi-use railroad.²⁴

The Firestone contract drew attention for other reasons. Some Firestone plantation workers have complained about poor working conditions and high production quotas. Some environmental advocacy groups and residents living near Firestone rubber processing facilities have alleged that chemicals used in latex processing are polluting wells, rivers, and water life. The Firestone group also is the subject of a class action suit brought in California by the International Labor Rights Fund, an advocacy organization that says its goal is to counter child, forced, and other abusive labor practices internationally, including through litigation. The suit alleges that Firestone employs children, practices forced labor, involuntary servitude, and negligent employment practices. Firestone categorically denies these charges, describing the suit as “outrageous” and “completely without merit.” It maintains that its operations comply fully with Liberian laws and asserts that its workers are all adults of legal working age, are union-represented, are paid well above prevailing wages, are provided with social services, and that Firestone is bringing much needed investment to Liberia.²⁵

NTGL Anti-Corruption Efforts. The NTGL took some steps to halt corrupt practices. It established a Task Force on Corruption and a Cash Management Committee and attempted to eliminate bribe-taking in relation to commodity imports, notably by better managing Monrovia’s port, of which UNMIL took temporary control in late April 2005. In addition, the National Transitional Legislative Assembly (NTLA) created a committee to investigate allegations of administrative and financial irregularities by its leadership, which eventually led to the removal of key NTLA leaders. Some observers, however, saw the NTGL Task Force as lacking the capacity or political will to achieve significant results, and some Liberian officials resisted donor and ECOWAS-backed transparency and audit measures. An African Development Bank loan was reportedly not disbursed in 2005 because Liberia failed to provide required fiscal data, and an ECOWAS-sponsored auditing mission was opposed by Liberian auditors and certain government officials, who cited concern over a violation of Liberian sovereignty, despite the publicly-stated support of Chairman Bryant for the audit. In July 2005, Chairman Bryant suspended two

²³ (...continued)

Flout Law,” June 13, 2005; *The Analyst* (Monrovia), “NTGL Sued in U.S. District Court - Over LIMINCO Bidding,” June 13, 2005, *inter alia*.

²⁴ A smaller former mine railroad between Monrovia and Bong County has been rehabilitated by AmLib, a mineral exploration firm, and put into use as a multi-use transport line. It has reportedly contributed to a several-fold drop in charcoal prices in Monrovia, and is increasing the supply of other farm products to the capital. Charcoal is the main cooking fuel in Liberia.

²⁵ Femi Oke, “Is Bridgestone/Firestone Exploiting Liberian Workers?,” *Inside Africa*, CNN International, Nov. 12, 2005; Joe Bavier, “Firestone Lease an Issue in Liberia Election Campaign,” VOA News, Sept. 14, 2005; Gary Gentile, “Firestone Accused of Using Slave Labor,” Associated Press, Nov. 17, 2005; and Reuters, “Labor Group Sues Bridgestone on Liberia Plantation,” Nov. 17, 2005, *inter alia*.

officials over their alleged diversion of funds paid by the satellite communications firm Inmarsat to several Liberian state entities, and the NTGL suspended three Bureau of Maritime Affairs officials, including the Commissioner, and Liberia's International Maritime Organization representative for fraud.

Concerns over transparency produced a sometimes halting and highly conditional provision to Liberia by donors of pledged aid, as well as some reticence to offer new funding. This negatively affected the scale and pace of resettlement, reintegration, and socio-economic rehabilitation. Nonetheless, a network of national, international, U.N., and private development and relief organizations has made considerable progress in these areas. Most of them participate in an inter-sectoral, U.N.-coordinated initiative, the Results-Focused Transitional Framework (RFTF). An April 2005 NTGL/U.N./World Bank assessment of the RFTF found that it has been effective in "addressing short-term, stabilization priorities," but that medium to long-term post-transition institutional and reconstruction development will require a more robust, coherent, and comprehensive strategy.

Anti-Corruption Prospects Under Sirleaf. There are indications that Liberian-donor government relations may improve under Sirleaf, in large part due to her strong policy emphasis on anti-corruption efforts. In late January 2006, she announced a financial audit of the outgoing transitional government, which had repeatedly been accused of corruption. In early February, Sirleaf adopted the recommendations of the Liberian Forest Concession Review Committee, an entity comprised of Liberian civil society, government agency, UNMIL, and donor government representatives. It reviewed the legality and propriety of logging concession contracts and recommended diverse logging sector reforms. Her action canceled all existing logging concessions and created a Forestry Reform Monitoring Committee to regulate future concession contracts. Her move is seen as a key step in meeting requirements for the potential lifting of U.N. timber sanctions.²⁶ Sirleaf

²⁶ The NGO monitoring group Global Witness, which has long investigated corruption and diverse labor, legal, and war-related security sector and human rights abuses within the forestry sector and pressed for reforms, praised the move, but called for "greater support" by UNMIL "to the Forestry Development Authority ... to ensure that it is able to operate in a secure environment" prior to the removal of timber sanctions ("Global Witness Welcomes President Sirleaf's Decision to Cancel All Forest Concession Agreements," Feb. 9, 2006). The Forestry Reform Monitoring Committee is tasked with carrying out its functions by applying or creating for implementation land-use planning principles; a timber production and export chain of custody tracking system; a market value-based tax system timber tax system defined by "equitable sharing of the benefits with local communities;" revised contract requirements; transparent forest concession allocation procedures based on the Public Procurement and Concession Act of 2005 allowing suspension of participants who abet civil disturbances or default on their financial obligations; a regulatory and law enforcement aimed at countering financial and tax fraud, human rights abuses, economic sabotage, and violations of labor and other laws relating to the misuse and mismanagement of forest resources; and an Environmental Impact Assessment process. It was also given the tasks of advising on implementation of GEMAP in the Liberian Forestry Development Authority, ensuring the full and transparent participation of communities and civil society in forest management, conducting a full review of the forestry laws and regulations, and recommending legislation to implement forestry reforms. See "Liberia, Forest Sector (continued...)"

has also suggested that she may seek a review of other public contracts and concession deals granted by the NTGL.²⁷

Sirleaf has expressed strong support for the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP), an agreement agreed to and signed in September 2005 by the NTGL and the International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL), an international policy coordinating group of donor and regional governments and multinational institutions. GEMAP provides for contract-based management of the revenue and expenditure flows of key public sector entities, notably the main port, airport, and fuel refining firm, among others, in order to strictly enforce central government controls over state revenues and to improve public fiscal capacities. It also supports diverse economic governance and judicial capacity-building measures for the government aimed at institutionalizing the good governance and management capacity-building goals and reforms envisaged under GEMAP.²⁸ Elements of GEMAP that call for an external management role were initially opposed by some in Liberia as an intrusion on national sovereignty, but donor governments, including the United States, pushed for strict conditionality for future assistance to Liberia. The United States has sent several Treasury Department advisors to Liberia in the areas of budget and tax policy, management, and administration; central bank operations and fiscal policy and regulation; and has assessed Liberia's financial enforcement (financial crime and corruption) capacity. A resident U.S. legal advisor and a temporary duty team of prosecution experts have been deployed to Liberia soon to assist in building Liberia's judicial capacity.

Status of Charles Taylor

Charles Taylor, an indictee of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) for his alleged involvement in war crimes in Sierra Leone, remains outside of the custody of the SCSL. The SCSL would like Nigeria, where Taylor lives in political exile, to transfer him to SCSL custody. However, when Nigeria, under U.S. and other international pressure, provided him with refuge, it stated that it was doing so to aid the Liberian peace process and would not countenance later pressure to extradite Taylor. Nigeria also, however, required him to disengage from Liberian politics, either directly or through proxies. Taylor has reportedly extensively violated these

²⁶ (...continued)

Reform (Executive Order #1), Feb. 7, 2006 [<http://www.elaw.org/resources/text.asp?id=3051>].

²⁷ Katharine Houreld, "Liberian Leader Says to Review Govt Contracts," Reuters, Feb. 20, 2006.

²⁸ International fiscal monitoring experts have reportedly assumed duties at the Central Bank of Liberia and on the Cash Management Committee, a Ministry of Finance-led body that manages all government funds. Similar personnel are expected to fill positions in key ministries and revenue-earning sources, including ports, airports, customs offices and the forestry sector. GEMAP is overseen by an Economic Governance Steering Committee (EGSC) chaired by President Sirleaf, assisted by representatives of the United States, the European Union, the African Union, ECOWAS, and the International Monetary, World Bank and U.N. agencies. See IRIN, "Liberia: Foreign nationals step into government positions to combat graft," Mar. 3, 2006, *inter alia*.

conditions. Many human rights groups, therefore, assert that Nigeria has good reason to surrender him, and that his continued asylum perpetuates a “culture of impunity” for human rights abusers in Africa. Others argue that Taylor’s asylum in Nigeria remains the best way to ensure continued stability in Liberia.²⁹

The United States strongly supports the court’s mandate to try those responsible for war crimes. The court is also seen as providing an alternative institutional model to the International Criminal Court and as a smaller, leaner organization compared to the more administratively extensive and costly international criminal tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Congress has appropriated \$22 million in funding for the SCSL, which receive up to \$13 million in FY2006.³⁰ There has been some friction, however, between the Administration and the SCSL with regard to the effect that some of the court’s actions have had on political events and U.S. policy goals in West Africa. Some State Department officials have in private, for instance, questioned the political prudence of actions taken by former SCSL Prosecutor, David Crane, including his unsealing of an indictment against Taylor during peace talks in June 2003, and have questioned the accuracy of claims he made that Taylor sponsored the January 2005 attempted assassination of President Lasana Conté of Guinea and that Taylor had traveled outside of Nigeria while in exile. Such reservations may, in part, explain the SCSL’s failure to obtain authority under Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter, which would oblige U.N. member states to cooperate with the SCSL. However, on November 11, 2005, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1638, which authorizes UNMIL to arrest Taylor if he returns to Liberia.

On May 5, 2005, President Bush and Nigerian president Olesegun Obasanjo met and discussed the status of Taylor, among other issues. Though few details of the

²⁹ Further background and debate on the case against Taylor are contained in CRS Report RL32243, *Liberia: Transition to Peace*, by Nicolas Cook. The report provides information on the alleged actions that led to Taylor’s indictment; issues pertaining to his departure from Liberia and political power; and his alleged involvement in illicit diamond trading and links with Al Qaeda. The latter issues are also covered in CRS Report RL30933, *Liberia: 1989-1997 Civil War, Post-War Developments, and U.S. Relations*, and CRS Report RL30751, *Diamonds and Conflict: Background, Policy, and Legislation*, both by Nicolas Cook. In Apr. 2005, the Treasury Department designated Viktor Bout, an accused international arms trafficker, and four associates, including his alleged U.S.-based chief financial officer, Richard Chichakli, as “Specially Designated Nationals” (SDNs) under Executive Order 13348. The action expanded the list of SDNs under the order, which prohibits financial transactions between U.S. persons and these SDNs and freezes the assets of SDNs within U.S. jurisdiction. Executive Order 13348 was issued in order to halt the unlawful depletion, removal from Liberia, and “secreting” of Liberian resources, funds, and property, actions that it stated were undermining “Liberia’s transition to democracy and the orderly development of its political, administrative, and economic institutions and resources.” Treasury accused Bout of supplying arms to Taylor’s regime and the Sierra Leone rebel group, the Revolutionary United Front, in exchange for funds from Liberia’s international ship registry, diamonds, and other allegedly illegally acquired goods. Treasury Department, “Treasury Designates Viktor Bout’s International Arms Trafficking Network,” Apr. 26, 2005.

³⁰ The conference agreement accompanying P.L. 109-102 (H.R. 3057/Kolbe), the FY2006 foreign operations appropriation, designates \$13 million in Economic Support Funds for the SCSL. P.L. 109-102 states that these funds “should” be made available for the SCSL.

their exchange were reported, prior to the meeting, White House spokesman Scott McClellan called for Taylor “to be held to account for the crimes he has committed,” and stated that the United States and Nigeria are “engaged” in the question of how “to address the matter” (White House Press Briefing, May 5, 2005) but did not describe the engagement. He also expressed appreciation to Nigeria for facilitating Taylor’s departure from Liberia in 2003, which he said had helped bring peace in Liberia. His remarks mirrored State Department statements on the issue in 2004 and 2005, when State Department officials called for Taylor to “face justice,” but generally offered few specific suggestions on how to accomplish this end.³¹

The United States now appears to be pursuing this goal more strongly, explicitly, and directly. During a reported telephone call to congratulate Sirleaf on her electoral victory, President Bush reportedly expressed support for bringing Taylor to justice so that “he can no longer threaten the people of Liberia and the region of West Africa,” though he did not specify a venue where such a goal could be achieved.³² At a February 8, 2006, House Committee on International Relations hearing on Liberia entitled *The Impact of Liberia’s Election on West Africa*, State Department Assistant Secretary for Africa Jendayi Frazer stated that “the U.S. Government has consistently maintained that Taylor must be brought to justice before the Special Court” and has relayed that message to the Sirleaf administration. She later added that the time for his extradition “is now,” following the establishment of a duly-elected Liberian government. However, she also portrayed Taylor as a largely spent political force. At a February 16, 2006, House Committee on International Relations Hearing on the Fiscal Year 2007 International Affairs Budget, Secretary of State Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice portrayed him as representing a more pressing potential threat. She stated that

we believe very strongly that he ought to be brought to justice and that he ought to be brought to justice as soon as possible. We will work with all parties concerned to see that happen. He is a danger. He needs to be brought to justice [...] not just for reasons of reconciliation and justice, but because we don’t want him in a capacity or a capability to come back. And so I think there’s a very strong interest and there should be a very strong interest in the Liberian government — also the African states that helped to arrange his ouster — to see this resolved. And so you can be sure that it is the policy of the United States to pursue that.

³¹ See, e.g., State Department, Daily Press Briefing, May 5, 2005. However, in 2005, at least one State Department official did publicly call on Nigeria to hand Taylor over to the SCSL directly (Daniel Balint-Kurti, “Wanted for War Crimes, Liberia’s Ex-president Hunkers down in Nigerian Exile,” Associated Press, May 31, 2005). Some had suggested that the United States should honor Nigeria’s conditions for accepting Taylor after President Bush stated in 2003 that “Taylor must go” [Press Conference of the President, “President Bush Discusses Top Priorities for the U.S.,” July 30, 2003] and defer to Nigeria’s views on the matter, given its central role as a regional peacekeeping and political mediating power. Howard F. Jeter, former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria, stated that “President Obasanjo acted with our full knowledge and concurrence” in testimony before the House Committee on International Relations at a hearing entitled *Confronting War Crimes in Africa* on June 9, 2004.

³² State Department, “Bush Congratulates Liberian President-Elect,” *Washington File*, Nov. 30, 2005.

Some in Congress have suggested that if Liberia is to continue to receive substantial continued U.S. support for post-war reconstruction, Sirleaf must seek obtain Taylor's extradition.³³

Sirleaf: Views and Actions on Taylor. Prior to her mid-March 2006 visit to the United States, Sirleaf had stated that her administration would eventually seek the repatriation of former president Charles Taylor from Nigeria or his transfer to the SCSL under certain conditions. These included consultations with and the assent of "regional leaders who managed the process of leading to his exile;" accommodation for certain unspecified timing considerations; and a transfer process that would "not undermine the security" of Liberia. She also reportedly said that she did not view it as an immediate priority. She specifically stated that any solution would have to have the concurrence of the European Union, the African Union, and West African leaders, with whom she met during a regional pre-inauguration consulting tour, in part aimed at addressing "certain national and regional sensitivities." Her statements were significant because Nigeria has stated that it would only turn Taylor over to an elected Liberian government at the latter's request.³⁴

Notwithstanding these statements, in early March 2006, there were several press reports that the Sirleaf administration was in talks with the Nigerian government regarding Taylor's possible extradition from Nigeria and that President Sirleaf had made a formal request toward that end to the Nigerian government. Her government, however, publicly denied that a formal extradition letter had been given to the

³³ During the Feb. 8, 2006, House Committee on International Relations hearing on Liberia after outlining diverse reasons why Taylor should be promptly extradited, Representative Royce stated that "[t]his friend of Liberia has very little interest in providing more [U.S. assistance] money to rebuild Liberia until its President brings Taylor — a known force for destruction — one step closer to justice by calling on Nigeria's President to send him to the Special Court." He voiced similar sentiments during consideration of H.R. 4939; (*Congressional Record* (House), Mar. 16, 2006, p. H1097). Royce introduced H.Con.Res. 127, passed in May 2005, which urges that Nigeria transfer Taylor to the SCSL.

³⁴ Nigeria, speaking on behalf of ECOWAS has also contended that any decision relating to Taylor's extradition must involve governments in the region. In mid-2005, at least three members of ECOWAS, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, had formally urged that such consultations occur. In July 2005, the three countries, acting in their capacity as the constituent members of the Mano River Union, issued a joint communiqué suggesting that Nigeria should review the terms of Taylor's asylum or refer consideration of his status to the ECOWAS Heads of State. See Agence France-Presse, "Backed by Neighbors, Liberia Requests Taylor Handover to Sleone War Court," July 29, 2005. The role of non-African members of the international community regarding Taylor's case has been contested by some. In mid-November 2005, ECOWAS peace mediator and former Nigerian head of state Abdulsalami Abubakar rejected a call by the European Union, a major donor to Liberia, for the Sirleaf government to call for Taylor's transfer. He stated that any decision on Taylor's status was "beyond the scope of the European Union" and that such a proposition "does not meet the support of ECOWAS." See Hans Nichols, "Liberian President to Ask Nigeria to Hand over Charles Taylor to War Crimes Court," AP, Jan. 20, 2006; Agence France-Presse, "Taylor's Indictment Not Immediate Priority: Sirleaf," Jan. 27, 2006; SAPA-DPA, "Sirleaf Addresses Taylor War Crimes Issue," Nov. 20, 2005; BBC News, "Liberian Taylor's Fate Discussed," Nov. 30, 2005; and Ann Curry, "Interview: Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Discusses Her Election and Plans for Liberia," NBC News: *Today*, Jan. 16, 2006.

Nigerian government, but Liberian Information Minister Johnny McClain confirmed the existence of a “briefing note” on this topic.³⁵ However, on March 16, 2006, Representative Jim Kolbe stated on the House floor that Sirleaf had verifiably informed Representative Nita Lowey and him that she had requested that Nigeria extradite former Liberian president Charles Taylor.³⁶ The following day, using language similar to that which she had used in her address to Congress on March 15, Sirleaf informed the U.N. Security Council that she had “asked the President of Nigeria to consult with colleagues in the sub-region and the international community on the resolution” of “the case of former President Charles Taylor, who was presently in exile in Nigeria ... in conformity with the requirements of the United Nations and the international community.”³⁷ In a subsequent press conference, she used more direct language to state that it was her position that Mr. Taylor should be made to face his SCSL indictment. She also said that this should happen promptly, given the fragility of Liberia’s peace and the potentially significant influence of Taylor in Liberia, and that any decision taken by the international community “must ensure that the safety of the Liberian people and the stability of our nation is not undermined.” She also observed that “Taylor was not indicted in a Liberian court ... he was indicted in the [SCSL] supported by the United Nations. This is why we say the resolution of this must be in accordance with the United Nations and the international community.”³⁸ She further stated that international pressure “constraining our effort to ... raise the resources that we need for our development” had, in part, motivated her to request that Nigeria extradite Taylor. She said, however, that such pressure had been “unfair” and that the Nigerian government and international community should have resolved the issue “long before” her administration took office.³⁹ An Irish UNMIL quick reaction unit has reportedly been placed on standby to arrest Taylor if he is flown to Liberia, in accordance with U.N.

³⁵ Tom Ashby and Alphonso Toweh, “Liberia denies asking Nigeria to extradite Taylor,” Reuters, Mar. 13, 2006.

³⁶ *Congressional Record* (House), pp. H1097-H1098, Mar. 16, 2006. Nigeria has acknowledged the request as well. See Nico Colombant, “Nigeria Confirms Liberia Request for Taylor’s Extradition,” VOA, Mar. 17, 2006, *inter alia*.

³⁷ Security Council, “Addressing Security Council, President of Liberia Expresses Determination to Confront Painful Past to Enable Nation to Move Forward,” SC/8666, Mar. 17, 2006. At the meeting, many Security Council members praised Sirleaf’s decision to seek a resolution of the Taylor case.

³⁸ Some observers, including the Special Assistant to the SCSL Prosecutor and human rights activists, have stated that there is no need for Nigeria to consult African Union or Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) leaders regarding Taylor’s potential extradition, as the Nigerian government has contended is necessary. See Robyn Dixon, “Liberia Seeks Extradition of Indicted Ex-Leader,” *Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 18, 2006.

³⁹ U.N., “Press Conference by Liberia’s President,” Mar. 17, 2006. Some have echoed Sirleaf’s views, criticizing what they see as the unfair conditioning of assistance to Liberia on the Sirleaf government’s request for Taylor’s extradition, given that the Sirleaf administration was not a party to Taylor’s indictment or to the arrangements leading to his exile in Nigeria. Interview with Emira Woods, Institute for Policy Studies, BBC *World News*, Mar. 17, 2006.

Security Council Resolution 1638, which authorizes UNMIL to arrest Taylor if he is present in Liberia.⁴⁰

U.S. and Congressional Focus

U.S. First Lady Laura Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, among other prominent U.S. guests, attended President Sirleaf's inauguration. Their presence, Sirleaf stated in her inaugural speech, "manifests a renewal and strengthening of the long-standing historic special relations which bind our two countries and peoples." She also stated that it "reflects a new partnership with the United States based on shared values" and that Liberians are "confident that we can continue to count on the assistance of the United States [...] in the urgent task of rebuilding of our nation."

Sirleaf undertook an official visit to the United States, beginning the week of March 13, 2006, during which she addressed a joint session of Congress on March 15⁴¹ and met with president Bush on March 21. She has reportedly closely consulted with U.S. officials regarding her priorities for Liberia and the status of Charles Taylor. During a pre-inaugural December 2005 trip to the United States, Sirleaf met with National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley and his Africa deputy, Cindy Courville, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Treasury Secretary John Snow, and Members of the House and Senate, including the Congressional Black Caucus and Majority Leader Bill Frist, as well as World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz (former Deputy Secretary of Defense).⁴²

Congress has long monitored developments in Liberia. Most recently, on February 8, 2006, the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations of the House Committee on International Relations held a hearing on Liberia entitled *The Impact of Liberia's Election on West Africa*. Congress has shown continuing interest in the status of Charles Taylor and has generally, with a few exceptions, shown strong support for the SCSL. It passed laws (P.L. 108-199 and P.L. 108-106) urging that SCSL indictees, like Taylor, be transferred to the court, and in May 2005, the House and Senate passed H.Con.Res. 127 (Royce), which urges the same outcome.⁴³ P.L. 109-102, the FY2006 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, reaffirms congressional support for the court. It would limit some types of assistance under certain conditions for countries in which SCSL indictees are

⁴⁰ Don Lavery, "Irish Troops Braced to Arrest Former Leader," *Irish Independent*, Mar. 20, 2006.

⁴¹ *Congressional Record* (House), pp. H996-H998, Mar. 15, 2006.

⁴² Reed Kramer, "Showered With Enthusiasm, Liberia's President-Elect Receives High-Level Reception in Washington," *AllAfrica.com*, Dec. 11, 2005, *inter alia*. During a Mar. 20 appearance with Sirleaf, World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz reportedly announced that the World Bank would provide \$25 million for a road-building fund for Liberia and stated that he was seeking debt forgiveness for Liberia by the World Bank, the IMF, and the African Development Bank. See VOA, "World Bank Commits \$25 Million to Liberian Infrastructure Fund," Mar. 21, 2006.

⁴³ The European Parliament passed a similar resolution in Feb. 2005.

“credibly alleged to be living” unless such countries cooperate with the SCSL, including by transferring such indictees to the SCSL. It also requires U.S. support for that goal within the U.N. Security Council. It specifically would, after a period, bar assistance to Nigeria unless the President reports to the Committees on Appropriations on steps taken in FY2003 through FY2005 to obtain Nigeria’s cooperation in surrendering Taylor to the SCSL and a strategy and time line for achieving that purpose. H.Amdt. 480 (Watson) to H.R. 2601, the FY2006 - FY2007 foreign relations authorization act, would require the Administration to seek the expeditious transfer of Taylor to the SCSL for trial.

Congress also provided substantial support for Liberia’s rebuilding and peace building processes.⁴⁴ U.S. assistance is summarized in **Table 2**.⁴⁵ Other congressional interest in Liberia focuses on Liberia-related immigration and debt issues. H.R. 257 (Jackson-Lee), H.R. 2092 (Jackson-Lee), H.R. 3450 (Patrick Kennedy), and S. 656 (Reed) would give permanent U.S. residence status to qualified Liberians resident in the United States, among other measures, as would S.Amdt. 452 (Reed) to H.R. 1268 (Jerry Lewis).⁴⁶ H.R. 1130 (Waters) would enact various measures intended to reduce the national debts of certain poor countries, including Liberia, and encourage their governments to fund social services. Two concurrent resolutions, H.Con.Res. 327 (Eddie Bernice Johnson) and H.Con.Res. 313 (Payne), would commend Liberia for successfully conducting elections and congratulate Sirleaf for her electoral victory. S. 779 (Dorgan), A Bill to Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to Treat Controlled Foreign Corporations Established in Tax Havens as Domestic Corporations, would designate Liberia as a “tax-haven country,” allowing the Internal Revenue Code to treat certain foreign corporations created or organized under Liberian law as U.S. domestic corporations for tax purposes.

⁴⁴ An Administration Economic Support Fund (ESF) FY2006 budget request for \$75 million for Liberia, however, was not included in P.L. 109-102 (formerly H.R. 3057, Kolbe, the FY2006 foreign operations appropriations bill). Any ESF funding for Liberia is likely to be drawn from \$88 million in general ESF funding designated for Africa under P.L. 109-102. P.L. 109-102 also mandates special congressional notification for the expenditure of funds used to assist Liberia.

⁴⁵ At a March 8, 2006, markup hearing on President Bush’s FY2006 Emergency Supplemental request for other humanitarian assistance, the House Appropriations Committee adopted by voice vote an amendment offered by Rep. Jesse Jackson that would provide \$50 million in Economic Support Fund (ESF) assistance for Liberia. These funds are contained in the House-passed version of H.R. 4939 (Jerry Lewis), along with \$13.8 million in Migration and Refugee Assistance funds for Liberia. The Committee recommended that of the ESF funds, \$30 million be used for emergency employment activities to strengthen security and build roads; \$10 million be used to establish an electricity grid; and \$10 million be used for demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. H.R. 4939 passed the House on March 16.

⁴⁶ In August 2005, the Department of Homeland Security extended the designation of Liberia for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) by 12 months, from October 1, 2005, until October 1, 2006. TPS is a temporary “safe harbor” immigration status granted to qualified nationals of some countries affected by ongoing armed conflict, natural disaster, or other difficulties. See CRS Report RS20844, *Current Immigration Policy and Issues*, by Ruth Ellen Wasem and Karma Ester.

Table 2. U.S. Assistance to Liberia, FY2004-FY2007

(\$ millions; errors due to rounding)

Account	FY2004 Actual	FY2005 Actual	FY2006 Estimate^d	FY2007 Request
Child Survival and Health Program (CSH)	2.82	3.97	3.16	3
Development Assistance (DA)	-	6.85	23.93	29.5
Economic Support Fund (ESF)	-	24.8	42.72	40
Foreign Military Financing (FMF)	-	2.98	1.98	1.6
International Disaster & Famine Assistance (IDFA)-Supplemental	200	-	-	-
IDFA Regular ^b	-	9.71	-	
Int. Narcotics Control & Law Enforcement (INL)	0	5	0.99	0.8
Int. Military Education and Training (IMET)	0	0	0.2	0.25
Nonprolif., Antiterrorism, Demining & Related Projects-Small Arms & Light Weapons (NADR-SALW)	0.16	-	-	-
Africa Regional Peacekeeping (PKO)	-	25	20	14.8
P.L. 480, Title II [Emerg. Food Aid] ^b	22.5	22.55	5.96 ^a	-
Transition Initiatives (TI)	4.1	2.53	5.6 ^c	-
Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) ^b	27.89	28.19	-	-
Democracy and Human Rights Fund	-	.05	-	-
Special Self-Help Fund	-	.07	-	-
Totals - Bilateral and Emergency Aid	257.47	131.69	104.54	89.95
U.N. Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)/ Contribs. to Int. Peacekeeping Account (CIPA)	290.34	230.06	157.18	150
Totals - All Funding	547.81	361.75	261.72	239.95

Sources: State Department, *Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, and International Affairs (Function 150) Budget Request*, FY2007 and other fiscal years; and information from USAID/OFDA, State/PRM, and State/Political-Military Affairs officials.

- a. Levels to date.
- b. Funding under some accounts, such as P.L. 480, Title II, IDFA, and MRA, often rises during a given fiscal year because these accounts are appropriated in a lump sum and allocated throughout the year in response to emergent needs.
- c. UNMIL FY2005 figure reflects payments to date; assessments from the U.N. total \$235.42 million; the amount for FY2006 reflects the appropriated level.
- d. P.L. 109-102, the foreign operations FY2006 appropriation act, which was signed into law on November 14, 2005, does not specify aid levels for Liberia, though it requires that the Committees on Appropriations be notified if funds appropriated under the act are used to assist Liberia. FY2006 assistance levels for Liberia have not yet been finalized pursuant to requirements in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 relating to Administration aid allocation decisions, which are arrived at, in part, through consultations between the executive branch and congressional appropriators.
- e. FY2006 budget is \$5.6 million; as of mid-March 2006, OTI had spent \$2.7 million in TI.

Figure 1. Map of Liberia



Source: Map Resources. Adapted by CRS. (K.Yancey 2/10/06)

Appendix 1: Acronyms Used in this Report

AFL:	Armed Forces of Liberia
AGOA:	African Growth and Opportunity Act
CDC:	Congress for Democratic Change, Liberian political party
CIPA:	Contributions to International Peacekeeping Account
CIVPOL:	Civilian police
COTOL:	Coalition for Transformation of Liberia, Liberian political party
CSH:	Child Survival and Health Program Fund
DA:	Development Assistance Account
ECOMIL:	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
ESF:	Economic Support Fund
FMF:	Foreign Military Financing Account
GEMAP:	Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program
GIHL:	Global Infrastructural Holdings Limited
ICGL:	International Contact Group on Liberia
IDFA:	International Disaster & Famine Assistance Account
IDP:	Internally displaced person
IFES:	Elections technical assistance organization formerly known as the International Foundation for Election Systems
INL:	International Narcotics Control & Law Enforcement
IRI :	International Republican Institute
LP:	Liberty Party, Liberian political party
NADR-SALW:	Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Projects-Small Arms and Light Weapons
NDI :	National Democratic Institute
NEC:	National Elections Commission (of Liberia)
NGO:	Non-governmental organization
NTGL:	National Transitional Government of Liberia
NTLA:	National Transitional Legislative Assembly
OFDA:	USAID Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance
OGAC:	U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator
P.L. :	Public law
P.L. 480, Title II :	Humanitarian food aid
PKO :	Regional Peacekeeping Account
PRM:	Population, Refugees & Migration Bureau, State Department
RFTF:	Results-Focused Transitional Framework
SCSL:	Special Court for Sierra Leone
SDN:	Specially Designated National
SSS:	Special Security Service (of Liberia)
TI:	Transition Initiatives Account
U.N.:	United Nations
UNAMSIL:	U.N. Mission in Sierra Leone
UNICEF:	U.N. Children's Fund
UNMIL:	U.N. Mission in Liberia
UP:	Unity Party, Liberian political party
USAID:	U.S. Agency for International Development
USTR:	Office of the U.S. Trade Representative