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ELEVENTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON
THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995, by which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 30 June 1995.

2. In that resolution, the Security Council requested me to report by 15 June on the situation in Liberia, including whether there was an effective cease-fire and whether UNOMIL could carry out its mandate, and on the status of contributions of financial and logistical resources from the international community in support of the troops participating in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The Council noted that it would consider the future of UNOMIL in the light of my report. In this connection, it should be recalled that, in my report of 24 February 1995 (S/1995/158), I presented a number of options regarding the future role of the United Nations in Liberia. The present report covers the main developments since my tenth progress report, of 10 April 1995 (S/1995/279).

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

A. Preparations for the summit of the Economic Community of West African States

3. In its resolution 985 (1995), the Security Council, *inter alia*, urged the Liberian parties to implement the Akosombo agreement (S/1994/1174, annex) and Accra agreement (S/1995/7, annexes I and II) by re-establishing an effective cease-fire, promptly installing the Council of State and taking concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the agreements. The Council also encouraged ECOWAS member States to continue to do everything in their power to facilitate a political settlement in Liberia and, in this regard, welcomed the decision of ECOWAS to hold a summit of heads of State and Government.

4. During the reporting period, the Liberian National Transitional Government, the Transitional Legislative Assembly and the Liberian National Conference all formulated proposals for consideration by the ECOWAS facilitators and the Liberian factions. The Transitional Government stressed the primary role of a permanent cease-fire and disarmament in the peace process. It supported the view that the Council of State should be made up of five members, with executive power vested in its Chairman who would be assisted by one Vice-Chairman elected by and from the membership of the Council. It maintained that the Council's membership should not include the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) since it considered it to be a national army. The Transitional Government also called for the establishment of a war crimes commission.

5. The Transitional Legislative Assembly, for its part, recommended that the Council of State should comprise six members and that the original signatories to the Akosombo and Accra agreements should be granted veto power. It also called on ECOWAS member States to harmonize their policies towards Liberia. As for the Liberation National Conference, it adopted a resolution on the peace process that reaffirmed the Akosombo and Accra agreements and called for a six-member Council of State in which both civilian parties and the warring factions would participate. In addition, it requested ECOWAS to enforce the cease-fire. In its resolution, the Liberian National Conference put the factions on notice that it would become the "central force" in establishing peace if they did not begin to implement their agreements within 14 days after the ECOWAS Summit.

B. Summit of the Economic Community of
West African States

6. Following extensive consultations between the Chairman of ECOWAS and the West African Heads of State and several contacts between the Chairman and myself, the Third Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held at Abuja, from 17 to 20 May 1995. The Heads of State of Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo attended the meeting. Burkina Faso and Guinea were represented by their Foreign Ministers. The Senior Minister at the Presidency for Governmental Affairs and National Defence of Benin and the Minister of African Economic Integration of Senegal also attended. My Special Envoy, Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky, and my Special Representative for Liberia, Mr. Anthony Nyakyi, were also present, as were the Eminent Person for Liberia of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Reverend Canaan Banana, and the Special Envoy for Liberia of the United States of America, Mr. Dane Smith.

7. Delegations were sent by the following Liberian parties: AFL; the Lofa Defense Force (LDF); the Liberia National Conference; the Liberian Peace Council (LPC); the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); the Central Revolutionary Council of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (CRC-NPFL); Alhaji Kromah's wing of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-K); and General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-J). Mr. David Kpomakpor, the current Chairman of the Council of State, participated in the meeting. Delegations of all the Liberian factions except NPFL were headed by their respective leaders.

8. The summit meeting was preceded by a meeting, on 15 May, of ECOWAS Foreign Ministers. The Foreign Ministers reviewed the situation in Liberia and the progress that had been made during the Accra consultations in January 1995. They recommended that the Council of State should be made up of six members, with Chief Tamba Tailor as its chairman, and that each group should designate its own representative to the Council. They did not, however, reach consensus on the designation of Vice-Chairmen, as some Foreign Ministers were of the opinion that members of the Council should be of equal status, while others believed a hierarchy to be necessary. In addition, the Foreign Ministers agreed on the need to strengthen the arms embargo, undertake peace-enforcement measures and increase the financial resources for implementing the peace process.

9. The ECOWAS summit opened on 17 May with statements by the Head of State of Nigeria, General Sani Abacha, and the current Chairman of ECOWAS, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana. General Abacha called on all concerned to reach the consensus needed to end the Liberian crisis, noting that his Government would support collective action towards that end. He also called for the strict implementation of the arms embargo. President Rawlings, in his address, focused on the need for harmonizing ECOWAS policies, noting that the individual agendas of ECOWAS States had undermined their combined efforts to bring the crisis to an end.

10. The Heads of State met together and, subsequently, General Abacha and President Rawlings met with each of the factions to review the recommendations made by the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers, particularly the designation of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Council of State. These consultations continued until 20 May. While the Liberian parties did not reach a final agreement on the composition of the Council of State, the Heads of State and Government observed that, in building on the gains made during the Accra consultations of January 1995, a substantial measure of agreement had emerged on nearly all the outstanding issues. They emphasized the need to preserve and consolidate those gains and requested the leaders of the Liberian parties to conduct the necessary consultations towards a definitive solution. The Heads of State entrusted the Ministers of the Committee of Nine with responsibility for reconvening a meeting of the Liberian parties within a short period, in order finally to resolve the outstanding issues.

11. My Special Envoy reported that it was evident from his discussions with the ECOWAS leaders and Liberian parties that the lack of harmonization between the policies of neighbouring States remained a significant obstacle to the peace process. Many felt that the Liberian people and combatants were tired of the war and that the peace process would be relatively easy to implement if the cooperation of the faction leaders could be secured. However, their deep mistrust of one another, perhaps influenced by external support, and an unwillingness to share power in governing the country, even under transitional arrangements, kept them from extending the necessary cooperation.

12. The ECOWAS leaders noted that, if and when agreement was secured, it would be imperative that the United Nations fully support the implementation of the peace process, not only by bringing UNOMIL back to full strength, but also by securing resources both for ECOMOG, including for its expansion, and for rebuilding the country.

13. The Heads of State and Government expressed their concern over the continued flow of arms into Liberia, in violation of the arms embargo. They reminded ECOWAS member States, as well as the international community at large, of their obligation to abide strictly by the arms embargo established by ECOWAS and the Security Council. They also called on Member States to bring all violations of the embargo to the attention of the sanctions committee established by the Security Council under resolution 985 (1995). In addition, they requested ECOMOG and UNOMIL to improve the existing monitoring mechanisms and appealed to the international community to provide logistical support to ECOWAS in order to facilitate the effective patrolling of Liberia's borders and stem the flow of arms into the country. They also stressed that the provision of adequate resources for ECOMOG would enhance its capacity to compel the armed factions to conform to ECOWAS decisions. The communiqué issued by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government is attached as annex I.

14. At the invitation of the Government of Nigeria, Mr. Charles Taylor, the leader of NPFL and the only Liberian faction leader who did not attend the ECOWAS summit, travelled to Abuja on 2 June for consultations with Nigerian officials. These talks were reported to have been cordial and are expected to lead to a further meeting of the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers and the Liberian faction and political leaders. I shall report orally to the Security Council on any significant developments that may occur in this regard before the Council decides on the future mandate of UNOMIL.

III. MILITARY AND SECURITY ASPECTS

15. During the period under review, fighting continued between ULIMO-K and ULIMO-J in Grand Cape Mount and Bomi counties; between NPFL and ULIMO-K in Lofa county; between NPFL and ULIMO-J in Bong and Margibi counties; and between NPFL and LPC in Grand Bassa and Maryland counties. This resulted in a continued influx of displaced persons into the ECOMOG-controlled areas of Buchanan and Kakata (see map). Contending factions continued to block access routes into inhabited areas, resulting in the disruption of the delivery of relief supplies and unnecessary suffering of civilians.

16. As indicated in my last report, UNOMIL's military strength has been reduced to 70 unarmed military observers, including a medical staff of 7 (see annex II). During the reporting period, the Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL, Major General Daniel Opande (Kenya), completed his tour of duty and returned to national service.

17. Given the security situation in most of Liberia, the deployment of ECOMOG remains restricted to the central region and to some areas of the western region. In accordance with UNOMIL's concept of operation, United Nations military observers are codeployed with ECOMOG in Buchanan, Kakata and Monrovia.

18. Since September 1994, the renewed fighting between the factions and the continuing deadlock in the peace process have confined the activities of United Nations military observers to daily patrolling in Greater Monrovia and weekly patrols to Tubmanburg and Bo Waterside, verification of disarmament and investigation of reported cease-fire violations. UNOMIL also assists, as

required, in facilitating logistics support for humanitarian assistance and access to areas controlled by the factions.

19. In March and April, a number of ambushes on civilian vehicles and fighting between the two wings of ULIMO threatened security along the Bomi and Kle Junction-Bo Waterside highways in the western region. ECOMOG issued an ultimatum to the ULIMO factions to withdraw their forces from the highways by 5 April 1995 and, subsequently, declared Tubmanburg, Bo, Tiene and Kle Junction safe havens. In late April, UNOMIL started to carry out regular patrols in Tubmanburg and Bo Waterside. However, on 12 May, fighting again broke out between ULIMO-K and ULIMO-J in the area. As a result, UNOMIL had to suspend its patrolling in Grand Cape Mount and Bomi counties.

20. The Cotonou agreement (S/26272, annex) assigned ECOMOG the primary responsibility for ensuring the implementation of its provisions. The agreement envisaged that UNOMIL would monitor the various implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application. In UNOMIL's implementation plan dated 9 September 1993 (S/26422), I noted that UNOMIL would not be able to carry out its mandate successfully without the cooperation and support of ECOMOG. Every effort is being made to strengthen the working relationship with ECOMOG so that UNOMIL can more effectively carry out its military tasks. However, while ECOMOG and UNOMIL continue to enjoy close working relations, especially between the top levels of their command structures, the cooperation required for UNOMIL to carry out its task has not always been satisfactory at the working level.

21. UNOMIL military and civilian staff have, in the past, been obliged to abide by the 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. curfew set by ECOMOG. This restricts UNOMIL's ability to monitor certain aspects of the implementation of the peace process, especially the arms embargo. While my Special Representative has taken this issue up with the Force Commander, who has promised that ECOMOG will respect UNOMIL's freedom of movement, there have been cases when UNOMIL military and civilian staff have been stopped and harassed at ECOMOG checkpoints.

22. In accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou agreement, ECOMOG was to provide security for UNOMIL observers and civilian staff. ECOMOG has not always been able, however, to provide the necessary security escorts, often for logistic reasons, thus limiting UNOMIL's ability to carry out its mandate.

23. The cooperation of the warring factions is also required for UNOMIL military observers to carry out their duties, especially the investigation of cease-fire violations. Efforts by UNOMIL to bring all relevant faction representatives to participate in the Cease-fire Violations Committee remain unsuccessful, since some factions have consistently declined invitations to such meetings.

24. Nor have the factions participated formally in the process of disarmament and demobilization since the breakdown of the cease-fire in September 1994. However, spontaneous, ad hoc disarmament of individual combatants has continued. Since the beginning of 1995, 190 such combatants have been disarmed and demobilized. While this process is carried out by ECOMOG, UNOMIL continues to

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play a role in verifying it and in registering demobilized combatants and providing them with some food and clothing.

25. As mentioned in my last report, the Governments of both Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania had indicated to me their intention to withdraw their contingents from ECOMOG. The repatriation of the Tanzanian contingent was completed during the second week of May 1995. The Government of Uganda has advised me of its decision to maintain its contingent in Liberia until further notice.

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS

26. Several towns have changed hands during the period under review, and there have been reports of human rights abuses as combatants move into or out of a particular area. In addition, there have been frequent attacks on and harassment of civilians and displaced persons in communities around Monrovia. In other safe havens, such as Buchanan and Kakata, combatants are sometimes seen carrying weapons, thus undermining the security which these areas are intended to provide.

27. UNOMIL's ability to document reported violations of international humanitarian law remains limited. However, after receiving reports of atrocities committed against civilians in Yorse village, about 25 miles south-east of Buchanan in an area contested between LPC and NPFL, UNOMIL tried to collect more information by visiting Buchanan on 13 April 1995. Only nine survivors, including five children, could be located. Three of the four adults and all the children had severe cutlass wounds. Sixty-two bodies were reportedly found in the town after the attack.

28. UNOMIL was also notified by displaced persons from the Royesville community area (about 10 miles north-east of Monrovia) of an incident that occurred there in early May. It was reported that, at the time of clashes between ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K in the area, civilians were killed, terrorized and raped. These incidents are a cause of deep concern. With the cooperation of ECOMOG and the factions, UNOMIL will, within its means, continue to document and report such allegations.

V. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

29. Since my last report there has been some expansion of humanitarian assistance activities in Bomi and Cape Mount counties. However, in the areas around Gbarnga, Kakata and Bong Mines, where humanitarian needs assessments were completed in March and April, the factions have prevented the delivery of relief supplies.

30. The declaration in mid-April by ECOMOG that the areas around Bo Waterside, Tiene, Kle and Tubmanburg were "safe havens" resulted in the increased delivery of assistance to those areas. On 18 April, a World Food Programme (WFP) convoy dispatched from Monrovia reached Bo Waterside on the Sierra Leonean border. In addition, on 3 May, the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator led an inter-

agency mission to determine the emergency needs of internally displaced persons in Tubmanburg. Steps are now being taken to meet those needs.

31. In the Gbarnga-Kakata area, WFP and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) noted the prevalence of malnutrition and the need for emergency sanitation, food, health and education assistance. These needs can be met only if the factions provide safe passage for relief supplies from Monrovia to the affected areas. Regrettably, they have failed to do so.

32. Similarly, the Bong Mines area is under the control of ULIMO-K, ULIMO-J and NPFL forces. These factions have denied humanitarian organizations safe passage to 20,000 needy people in the area. Consequently, relief supplies can be provided only by helicopter and in relatively small amounts. Talks on this issue between the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator, UNOMIL, ECOMOG, NPFL and ULIMO-J did not yield the necessary results in terms of access and security. My Special Representative has since taken this matter up with the factions in order to gain their acceptance of the basic conditions required for relief organizations to operate.

33. Small-scale economic rehabilitation programmes have begun in Buchanan and Tubmanburg, including 39 quick-impact projects and 858 grants provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). These grants will also aid the reintegration of demobilized combatants who are the focus of special ongoing programmes, including food-for-work activities.

34. In late April, concerns relating to food security led to a demonstration by Sierra Leonean refugees and internally displaced persons in Monrovia and an attack on offices and vehicles of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). United Nations agencies, in cooperation with the Liberian National Transitional Government, are trying to address, through public information campaigns, the fears among refugees that their food needs will not be met.

35. My Special Representative has convened a task force to formulate a comprehensive programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants for the long term. This task force consists of representatives of UNOMIL, ECOMOG, the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator, the Liberian National Transitional Government, donor Governments and non-governmental organizations.

36. The office of the Humanitarian Coordinator is developing a strategy for the delivery of humanitarian assistance that takes into account the above developments. The strategy is being prepared in collaboration with United Nations agencies in Liberia, national and international non-governmental organizations and local counterparts. Upon completion in August, the strategy will form the basis of a resource mobilization campaign for humanitarian activities in Liberia. The current United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Liberia has received US\$ 49 million of the total \$65 million requested, most of it in support of food aid needs.

VI. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

37. As indicated in my report on the financing of UNOMIL (A/49/571/Add.2), which is currently before the General Assembly, the cost of maintaining the Mission beyond 30 June 1995 amounts to \$1,421,200 gross (\$1,323,900 net) per month. Therefore, should the Security Council decide to extend the mandate of the Mission, as recommended in paragraph 44 below, the cost of maintaining UNOMIL would remain within the monthly rate indicated above.

38. As of 31 May 1995, unpaid assessed contributions to the UNOMIL special account since the inception of the Mission amounted to \$10 million. Total outstanding assessed contributions for all peace-keeping operations stood at \$1,851 million as at 30 May 1995. In order to provide UNOMIL with the necessary cash flow, a loan of \$2 million, which remains unpaid, has been made to the UNOMIL special account.

39. As at 7 June, voluntary contributions received by the United Nations Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement in Liberia amounted to \$24 million, most of which was earmarked for the Tanzanian and Ugandan contingents. Disbursements of \$20.1 million have been authorized. The difference between the amount received and that authorized reflects, inter alia, funds received for the repatriation of the Ugandan contingent of ECOMOG, which has been postponed until further notice (see para. 25 above).

40. In its resolution 985 (1995), the Security Council requested me to report on the status of contributions of financial and logistical resources from the international community in support of troops participating in ECOMOG. The amount referred to in paragraph 39 above includes an additional contribution to the Trust Fund since my last report of \$700,600 from the United States of America. No other contribution was received or announced during the reporting period.

VII. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

41. In my report of 24 February 1995 (S/1995/158), I set out, for the consideration of the Council, a number of options on the future role the United Nations could play in Liberia. I stated that, if the political stalemate were to continue, the Security Council might wish to consider either the withdrawal of UNOMIL or its conversion into a good offices mission, pending a clear demonstration by the parties of the political will necessary to reactivate the peace process. If, on the other hand, the parties were to demonstrate a clear willingness to fulfil their commitments and achieve peace, I stated that the Security Council might wish to consider either maintaining UNOMIL as originally mandated under resolution 866 (1993) or the establishment, subject to the consent of the Liberian National Transitional Government and in cooperation with ECOWAS, of a United Nations peace-keeping force. I also noted that the viability of maintaining UNOMIL as originally mandated would depend, inter alia, on the availability of adequate logistical and financial support for ECOMOG, as well as on the effective implementation of the arms embargo.

42. In my report of 10 April (S/1995/279), I noted that the proposed ECOWAS summit offered a possibility for reactivating the peace process and for achieving concrete results by harmonizing the policies of ECOWAS member States and installing the Council of State. I therefore recommended that the Security Council extend UNOMIL's mandate until 30 June in order to allow sufficient time for ECOWAS to convene the summit and, in the hope that the parties would finally decide to cooperate fully with the ongoing efforts of ECOWAS and the international community, to restore peace in Liberia. I urged the parties to use this period to install the Council of State, re-establish an effective cease-fire and take concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the Accra agreement.

43. Although the ECOWAS summit has been held, none of the steps that I had asked the Liberian parties to implement during the reporting period has been achieved. It could therefore be argued that the Security Council should now consider the options outlined in my report of 24 February. However, the ECOWAS Heads of State have noted that, in Abuja, a substantial measure of agreement emerged among the factions on nearly all the issues that remain unresolved concerning the installation of the Council of State. As noted earlier, the factions are also expected to meet shortly to reach final agreement on these issues. In addition, the recent visit of the head of NPFL, Mr. Charles Taylor, to Nigeria and his meetings with senior officials there, including the Head of State, General Sani Abacha, may help build the confidence necessary for the implementation of the peace process.

44. In view of these developments, and bearing in mind the options set out in my report of 24 February, I recommend that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a period of three months, until 30 September 1995. I hope that during this period the parties will reach agreement on the outstanding issues, as called for by ECOWAS, and that they will demonstrate, through concrete steps, the political will necessary to bring the long standing Liberian crisis to an end. These steps would include the installation and functioning of the Council of State; a comprehensive cease-fire; the disengagement of forces; and an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of other aspects of their agreements, in particular the disarmament process.

45. In the event that the political stalemate continues and the steps mentioned above have not been implemented by the end of the three-month period, UNOMIL would, subject to the consent of the Security Council, be terminated on 30 September 1995 and converted into a good offices mission, including a small military cell, which would maintain liaison with ECOMOG. During this period, I would withdraw those UNOMIL military observers who, in the absence of a cease-fire and the resumption of disarmament, may be unable to perform their monitoring functions effectively. I would also consult with ECOWAS on the modalities of the good offices role of the United Nations and make appropriate recommendations to the Council in this regard.

46. If, on the other hand, there is significant progress over the next three months, especially regarding the steps mentioned in paragraph 44 above, I would recommend that the Security Council then consider restoring UNOMIL to its full strength. It is evident, however, that UNOMIL's role in Liberia and its relationship with ECOMOG would have to be adjusted to enable these two

operations to carry out their respective functions more effectively. As I noted in the implementation plan for UNOMIL (S/26422), the deployment of the parallel operations of ECOWAS and the United Nations in Liberia broke fresh ground in the field of peace-keeping. Since the establishment of UNOMIL on 22 September 1993, a number of lessons have been learned. In the light of these lessons and of the additional role that the Akosombo agreement called on the United Nations to play in the peace process, it would be my intention, during the next three months, to consult ECOWAS with a view to enhancing cooperation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG and defining a joint concept of operations. I would submit the necessary recommendations to the Council before 30 September 1995.

47. After five years of civil war, the sustained efforts of ECOWAS and the contribution that the United Nations has provided to the peace process over the past 22 months, I find it regrettable that the Liberian political and factional leaders have still not laid down their arms for the greater good of their country. The international community has given the Liberian parties many chances to implement the various agreements which they themselves have signed. But the resources of ECOWAS States and of the international community are not infinite. I call, once again, on the Liberian faction leaders to do all they can to give peace a chance, to save innocent civilians from death and suffering, and to avoid the continuing destruction of Liberia as a result of their inability to settle their differences.

Annex IFinal communiqué dated 20 May 1995 of the Third Meeting of
Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on
Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States

1. The Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia held its Third Session at the ECOWAS Secretariat in Abuja, Federal Capital of Nigeria, from 17 to 20 May 1995 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS. The Heads of State and Government deliberated on the measures for putting back on track and accelerating the Liberian peace process.

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

- His Excellency Konan Bedie
President of Côte d'Ivoire
- His Excellency Captain Yahya A. J. J. Jammeh
Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council and Head of
State of the Republic of the Gambia
- His Excellency Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings
President of the Republic of Ghana
- His Excellency David Kpomakpor
Chairman of Council of State of Liberia
- His Excellency Alpha Oumar Konare
President of the Republic of Mali
- His Excellency General Sani Abacha
Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the
Federal Republic of Nigeria
- His Excellency Captain Valentine E. M. Strasser
Chairman, Supreme Council of State of the National Provisional Ruling
Council and Head of State of the Republic of Sierra Leone
- His Excellency General Gnassingbe Eyadema
President of the Togolese Republic
- Hon. Desire Viera
Senior Minister at the Presidency, responsible for Governmental
Affairs and National Defence
Representing the President of the Republic of Benin

- Hon. Ablasse Ouedraogo
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Representing the Head of State of Burkina Faso
- Hon. Kozo Zoumanigui
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Representing the President of the Republic of Guinea
- Hon. Mrs. D. Musuleng Cooper
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Representing the Liberian National Transitional Government of the
Republic of Liberia
- Hon. Massokhna Kane
Minister of African Economic Integration
Representing the President of the Republic of Senegal

3. Also in attendance were:

- The Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General
- The Eminent Person of the Organization of African Unity for Liberia
- The United States Special Envoy for Liberia

4. The Heads of State and Government reviewed developments concerning the Liberian crisis since their last meeting in August 1994. The Heads of State and Government commended the President of Ghana and current Chairman of ECOWAS, His Excellency Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, for the efforts he has relentlessly made since the signing of the Akosombo and Accra agreements to resolve the Liberian crisis in concert with all the key players.

5. The Heads of State and Government deliberated on the sensitive issues that militated against the restoration of permanent and durable peace in Liberia. They identified and examined all facets of the problems relating to these issues, particularly the composition of the Council of State, its Chairmanship, the designation of its officers and the permanent and temporary succession to the Chairmanship of the Council.

6. The Heads of State and Government welcomed the spirit of accommodation demonstrated by all the Liberian parties. They also congratulated them for their disposition to advance substantially the peace process as demonstrated in their representations to the Heads of State and Government. The Heads of State and Government observed that building on the gains made at the Accra summit in January 1995, a substantial measure of agreement had emerged among the parties on nearly all the issues that had remained unresolved. They emphasized the need to preserve and consolidate these gains and requested the leaders of the Liberian parties to engage their principals and constituencies in consultations on this last phase towards final resolution. The Liberian parties were informed to hold themselves in readiness to reconvene within a short period to sign a supplementary agreement on all remaining issues involved.

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

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

8. On the imposition of a cease-fire, the Heads of State and Government stressed that the Council of State could not be set up unless the factions showed a greater degree of commitment to the observance of the cease-fire and disarmament of combatants. They endorsed the schedule of implementation annexed to the Accra agreement, and renewed the appeal to ECOWAS member States, OAU, the United Nations and all friends of the West African region to contribute troops, material and money substantially to ECOMOG and thereby ensure the success of the disarmament exercise in Liberia. They stressed that the provision of adequate resources for ECOMOG would enhance its capacity to compel the armed factions to conform to ECOWAS decisions.

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

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

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

Annex II

Composition of military component of UNOMIL as at 5 June 1995

	<u>Observers</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bangladesh	6	7	13
China	5		5
Czech Republic	6		6
Egypt	3		3
Guinea-Bissau	3		3
India	4		4
Jordan	8		8
Kenya	9		9
Malaysia	8		8
Pakistan	8		8
Uruguay	<u>3</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	<u>63</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>70</u>
