Questions

1. Is Clay Ashland in Montserrado County or Bomi County?
2. What is the current security situation in Liberia? Is it safe for those who fled during the civil war to return?
3. Are people whose families were associated with the Taylor regime at risk of harm now?
4. What is known of George Dwah (or Dweh etc) said to be the speaker of the Liberian parliament? Was he in LURD or MODEL? Are there any allegations that he is still pursuing those with whom he was in conflict during the war, or members of their families?

RESPONSE

1. Is Clay Ashland in Montserrado County or Bomi County?

Sources indicate that Clay Ashland is in Montserrado County in Liberia.


2. What is the current security situation in Liberia? Is it safe for those who fled during the civil war to return?

The sources consulted indicate that the current security situation is stable but fragile, with a number of potential sources of disruption. The country relies on international peacekeeping forces for security, as Liberian security forces need reform and training. Over 150,000 nationals have returned to Liberia from countries where they had sought asylum, but for groups who are particularly vulnerable there is not adequate protection. There are still groups of former combatants who have not been disarmed.

General security situation

A March 2006 report on Liberia by the UN Security Council provides an update of the current security situation in the country:

8. During the reporting period, the security situation in Liberia remained generally stable but fragile. Disgruntled former armed forces personnel continued to challenge the ongoing restructuring of the Armed Forces of Liberia. Despite repeated orders from the Transitional government, former armed forces personnel also refused to vacate the Camp Schiefflin barracks, the proposed training site for the new army, where they were residing with their families. On 14 January, they finally vacated the barracks, leaving behind several stripped and roofless buildings. Widows of former soldiers of the Armed Forces of Liberia also organized disruptions of Monrovia to protest non-payment of allowances and pensions. Members of the disbanded Anti-Terrorist Unit, a militia group established by former President Charles Taylor, organized protests, claiming that they had been excluded from the security sector reform programme and demanding salary arrears.

9. The security situation in the subregion remained volatile, particularly because of the conflict in Côte d’Ivoire. There were concerns about the movement of armed groups across the border; the recruitment of former Liberian combatants, including children, for operations in Côte d’Ivoire; and the risk that Ivorians might seek refuge in Liberia in the event of escalating violence in Côte d’Ivoire. UNMIL [United Nations Mission in Liberia] troops, including the UNMIL Quick Reaction Force and military observers, conducted intensified air and ground patrols of the border areas…(UN Security Council 2006, Tenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia, 14 March http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/4459bf260.pdf – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 3).

The same report later assesses possible threats to stability:

39. In conducting the security assessment, the mission identified a number of potential sources of instability, including former personnel of the Liberian armed forces dissatisfied with severance and pension payments; ex-combatants awaiting reintegration and habilitation opportunities; members of the former Anti-Terrorist Unit excluded from the Armed Forces of Liberia demobilization exercise; excombatants occupying and illegally exploiting rubber plantations; other groups illegally exploiting the country’s minerals; political groups marginalized by the recent realignment of Liberian political forces; and individuals who stand to lose influence as a result of reforms of President Johnson Sirleaf, in particular her anticorruption initiatives and the cancellation of Government contracts and concessions.

40. Several pervasive challenges were noted, such as the extreme poverty in which a large segment of the population still lives; the inability of the authorities to provide basic social services, including proper sanitation, health care, clean water and electricity; the high rate of
unemployment, particularly among youths; criminality countrywide, especially burglaries, robberies and street muggings; and the high concentration of ex-combatants in Monrovia. In addition, the potential for increased ethnic tensions and disputes over property rights and land ownership as refugees, internally displaced persons and former combatants return to their communities of origin was noted (UN Security Council 2006, Tenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia, 14 March http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/4459bf260.pdf – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 3).

Three recent news reports from September and October 2006 indicate that the security situation may have improved somewhat since March, but is still not completely stable.

A September AllAfrica report quotes the UN Secretary General’s recent opinion that “the security situation in Liberia has remained generally stable, but there are continuing serious threats to stability that require careful and robust management”. In a report to the UN Security Council, Kofi Annan identified threats such as “the activities of associates and supporters of war-crime indictee Charles Taylor; the security situation in neighbouring Cote d’Ivoire, unemployment, and the lack of a national security policy…” Other factors he identifies were threats “emanating from spoilers who may be adversely affected by the government’s reform process” and issues relating to “the re-integration of ex-combatants, the resettlement of internally displaced persons and returning refugees and the consolidation of state authority” (‘No Military Threat – Kofi Annan Tells UN Security Council’ 2006, All Africa, 25 September – Attachment 4).

The report by the Secretary General “originally sought a one-year extension for the [UNMIL] Mission because – despite the establishment of three branches of government and an operational Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as well as some advances in security sector reform – he says Liberia was still dependent on UNMIL for providing security, given that the new police service was in its formative stages and training of the Armed Forces had only just begun”. The UN Security Council in response extended UNMIL’s mandate for six months until 31 March 2007, stating that “while the progress made in the restructuring of the Liberian security sector is encouraging, the Government still needs to rapidly deploy a national security policy and architecture, which will enable it to set out a coherent road map for assuming responsibility of the country”. The phased drawdown of UNMIL would be linked to this road map (‘Security Council extends mandate of Liberia mission until 31 March 2007, unanimously adopting Resolution 1712 (2006)’ 2006, M2 Presswire, 29 September – Attachment 5).

An October 2006 news report quotes a Liberian NGO called the Governance Reform Commission. It states that “pervasive poverty, idle de-activated and de-mobilized ex-servicemen and fighters and high rate of unemployment top the list of serious threats to national security” (‘Poverty, ex-fighters, unemployment Liberia’s serious security threats’ Agence France Presse, 14 October – Attachment 6).

A recent paper on Liberia’s justice system by the International Crisis Group (ICG) makes the point that reform of the justice system is crucial to any lasting security for the country:

Liberia will not have lasting peace and stability unless it drastically overhauls its failed justice system. The culture of impunity marked by the lack of impartial institutions was a primary catalyst for the wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d’Ivoire. There is a crisis of confidence in the
Liberian justice system because powerful individuals have used it as a political tool through which to exercise and legitimise their power.

Rebuilding Liberia is like transforming a large block of wood into a sturdy table. Although the raw material is rich, each of the four legs must be solid and stable or the entire table could collapse. In Liberia, the four legs are good elections, economic governance reform, a restructured military and justice reform. Liberia has achieved transparent elections and is working at reform of economic governance and the military but it is only now being recognised that justice reform is so vital that failure to move on it could sabotage the other three (International Crisis Group 2006, Liberia: Resurrecting the Justice System: Africa Report No.107, 6 April http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/west_africa/107_liberia_resurrecting_the_justice_system_web.doc – Accessed 13 November 2006 – Attachment 7).

The same paper discusses particular areas of the country which are beyond the rule of law and which still pose a security risk:

Another challenge is the culture of impunity that continues to reign on Guthrie rubber plantation in Bomi and Grand Cape Mount Counties, which poses a grave security threat and is symptomatic of a court system unable to prosecute ex-combatants who continue to commit crimes. Ex-LURD fighters illegally occupy the plantation, terrorising civilians there and in surrounding towns. Police have reported acid attacks on the plantation and a rise in domestic violence, often between ex-combatants and women whom they kidnapped and held as sexual slaves during the war.

The ex-combatants have created a military structure in the camp and exercise judicial powers over civilians on the plantation. They have threatened chiefs and magistrates with violence in cases where the latter have insisted they respond to criminal charges. Townspeople express concern the ex-combatants are negatively influencing young men who live in the towns and mimic their illegal activities, especially violence against women. The fear is palpable. As a town chief remarked, “the ex-combatants brag and say ‘just wait until the UN leaves’”. The political cost of doing nothing about Guthrie plantation, as well as Sinoe plantation in the east, is great. The new government does not yet have a functioning army, and it is up to UNMIL to flush out the ex-combatants as a matter of urgency, as was done in Sapo National Forest and the Monrovia Freeport.


Two earlier ICG reports are of interest as they discuss the October 2006 elections.

- A January 2006 report comments that the inauguration of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as president “completes a credible election process, the first of the country’s four major peacebuilding challenges”. The elections had run smoothly and without violence. Section III B. is of interest as it discusses plans for the reform of the security sector (International Crisis Group 2006, Liberia: Staying Focused: Africa Briefing No.36, 13 January http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/west_africa/b036_liberia_staying_focused_web.doc – Accessed 13 November 2006 – Attachment 8).

- A September 2005 report on the lead-up to the elections states that an “active civil society” was developing, which was responsible for a shift in the dynamic in Liberia, away from corruption and “the predatory logic that had decimated the country”. With

The safety of returnees

Two recent and authoritative publications examine in detail the situation of refugees returning to Liberia, and internally displaced persons (IDPs) returning to their homes within the country.

The UNHCR Global Report on Liberia for 2005 looks at the security situation specifically in relation to returnees:

The peaceful elections in October and November 2005 marked a turning point in the history of Liberia after a quarter of a century of civil strife. The inauguration of a democratically elected government brought to an end the two year term of the National Transitional Government created under the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Accord in Accra in 2003. The new Government promised to tackle corruption, restore basic social services and resuscitate the war-ravaged economy. The National Transitional Government had already begun the process of reforming the security sector, including the restructuring of the army. However, responsibility for security still rests with the 15,000-strong peacekeeping forces of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), who are deployed in all 15 counties of Liberia (UNHCR 2006, UNHCR Global Report 2005: Liberia, pp.233-4 http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/publ/opendoc.pdf?id=4492676d0&tbl=PUBL – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 10).

The same report goes on to state that “UNHCR helped some 37,000 Liberians to return from various asylum countries. It is estimated that 150,000 refugees returned of their own accord during the period under review” (UNHCR 2006, UNHCR Global Report 2005: Liberia, p.234 http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/publ/opendoc.pdf?id=4492676d0&tbl=PUBL – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 10).

A very detailed report published in August 2006 by the Norwegian Refugee Council examines the problems currently faced by IDPs returning to their homes. [Please note that this report is 129 pages long.] The introduction sums up the current situation for displaced people, which is also relevant to returning refugees:

In April 2006 the IDP return process in Liberia was officially declared over. More than 314,000 IDPs had been returned to their areas of origin in 18 months and a total of 35 camps were closed, formally marking the end of a 17-year era during which much of Liberia’s 3 million population had at some time been internally displaced. At the same time considerable political progress was made by the government of President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, which impressed international donors with its efforts to stamp out corruption and achieve financial accountability. The transfer of former president Charles Taylor to The Hague in July to face charges of war crimes committed during the conflict in neighbouring Sierra Leone, as well as the start of Liberia’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission in June, further contributed to restoring Liberia’s credibility internationally.
Yet Liberia remains fragile, and much must still be done to consolidate the gains made so far. Years of conflict, compounded by acute mismanagement and poor governance, have devastated Liberia’s infrastructure and economy, leaving it one of the poorest countries in the world. IDPs have returned to areas without basic social services or livelihood opportunities, in some cases causing them to drift back to urban areas. Some 28,000 people continue to occupy the former camps – about half of that number officially recognised as IDPs – and unknown numbers of unregistered IDPs are living in public buildings in the capital Monrovia in often grim conditions. **Protection concerns persist in areas of return, particularly sexual and gender-based violence as well as violence resulting from disputes over land and property ownership.** Crucially, the reintegration and rehabilitation of ex-combatants is incomplete, largely due to funding constraints, which poses a risk to sustained peace and stability. The volatile political situation in the region, particularly in neighbouring Côte d’Ivoire, could also threaten the progress made so far. Long-term international engagement is crucial to support the Liberian government in its daunting task of achieving sustainable reintegration and reconstruction, and to build solidly on the considerable progress made so far (Norwegian Refugee Council 2006, *Liberia: Key challenge is ensuring sustainability of IDP return*, 3 August, p.7 [http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/44e9b3484.pdf](http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/44e9b3484.pdf) – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 11).

Pages 55 to 63 of the report, which are attached, are very relevant as they examine the physical security and freedom of movement of IDPs, drawing on a number of other recent reports by various NGOs. Points include:

- There has been widespread sexual abuse of displaced children, and “exploiters included humanitarian workers, camp officials, peacekeepers, government employees, businessmen and teachers”. Parents and others in positions of responsibility have become increasingly resigned to the situation, which would eventually “have a detrimental social and economic impact” (p.55-56).
- Protection problems still persisted in return areas, with vulnerable groups still in “urgent need” of assistance. “Killings, abductions, rapes, forced labour, and destruction of property have been, and continued to be, perpetrated in parts of Liberia” and forced recruitment had been widely reported (p.58).
- The disarmament and demobilisation process had been “badly planned” and had resulted in large groups of “men and young children with available money, but few weapons have been handed in”. Lack of proper reintegration or economic opportunity “increases the chances that these former combatants will return to their previous ways of making a living” (p.59).
- 2004 reports from Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch described the results of widespread rape which had been committed by combatants of all three parties to the conflict. Current health facilities were unable to cope with the resulting physical and psychological trauma of victims (p.62) (Norwegian Refugee Council 2006, *Liberia: Key challenge is ensuring sustainability of IDP return*, 3 August [http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/44e9b3484.pdf](http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/44e9b3484.pdf) – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 11).

The April 2006 UK Home Office report on Liberia contains extracts from several UNHCR reports. In February 2006, UNHCR changed its policy from “facilitating” to “actively promoting” voluntary repatriation of Liberian refugees who were still outside the country, due to the “positive changes” now taking place in the country (Par.6.76). In an August 2005 position paper, UNHCR provided guidelines on the current treatment of Liberian asylum seekers in Par.6.77 as follows:
“Taking into consideration the developments in Liberia, and the decreasing number of Liberians seeking asylum for the time being, it is no longer warranted to advise that all Liberian asylum-seekers should be granted refugee status on a prima facie basis. However, in appreciation of the fragile security situation and ongoing human rights violations in Liberia, it is recommended that possible asylum requests of Liberian nationals should be treated as follows:

“i  Liberian asylum-seekers in Africa should undergo individual refugee status determination in line with the relevant provisions of the 1951 Convention and its 1967 related Protocol, as well as Article I (2) of the 1969 OAU [Organization of African Unity] Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, as applicable.

“ii  Liberian asylum-seekers outside Africa should undergo individual refugee status determination, in line with the relevant provisions of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Given the possible continuing violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, particularly through the targeting of civilians by possible uncontrolled still armed elements (on ethnic and/or political grounds), some Liberians may qualify as refugees under the 1951 Convention/1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Those not recognised as refugees should continue to be favourably considered for complementary forms of protection.

“iii  In the process of refugee status determination, due attention should be paid to possible grounds for exclusion, in accordance with Article 1 F of the 1951 Convention, and/or Article I.5 of the 1969 OAU Convention, as the case might be.


3. Are people whose families were associated with the Taylor regime at risk of harm now?

Evidence was not found among the sources consulted that people or their families who were associated with the Taylor regime are at particular risk of harm. A number of categories of persons have been identified by NGOs as being at more risk than others, which are discussed below, and in general there is a risk of targeting on political or ethnic grounds from groups of former combatants who have not yet been disarmed. Recent news reports indicate that there are still former associates of Charles Taylor in positions of power in Liberia, and that his former son-in-law is currently the speaker of the Liberian parliament.

The August 2006 by the Norwegian Refugee Council lists groups who are especially at risk at present as: returned or displaced women and girls; youths and children associated with fighting factions, who might be attracted to joining criminal gangs; women and girls associated with fighting factions, including those who had given birth to “rebel babies”; unaccompanied elderly, young, sick or disabled persons; persons from the Mandingo group who are mainly Muslim and collectively associated with LURD although they had “participated in all sides of the conflict as well as suffered its consequences”; and “third country nationals, particularly the Lebanese” (Norwegian Refugee Council 2006, Liberia: Key challenge is ensuring sustainability of IDP return, 3 August, p.58 http://www.unhcr.org/home/RSDCOI/44e9b3484.pdf – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 11).
Specific groups identified in the UK Home Office report as being at greater risk than others were the Mandingo and Krahn ethnic groups, who opposed Charles Taylor during the civil war (Par. 6.49-6.52), women, children, gays and lesbians. As already noted, UNHCR is quoted as commenting that there is a possibility of the targeting of civilians by “uncontrolled still armed elements (on ethnic and/or political grounds)” (UK Home Office 2006, *Country of Origin Information Report: Liberia, April – Attachment 12*).

A recent news report discusses an alleged assassination plot against the president. Two “former officials in the gone Taylor’s government” had reportedly been detained. In other news, some other associates of Charles Taylor were petitioning the court to prevent Taylor having to testify at the upcoming Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Wrokpoh, Patrick 2006, ‘No Knowledge of Assassination Plot, Says Solicitor General’, *All Africa*, 1 November – Attachment 13).


Another October report states that the court petition about Charles Taylor was “filed by a campaign group run by Mr Taylor’s former national security adviser John Richardson” (‘Taylor bids to halt truth probe’ 2006, *BBC News Online*, 25 October – Attachment 15).

4. What is known of George Dwah (or Dweh etc) said to be the speaker of the Liberian parliament? Was he in LURD or MODEL? Are there any allegations that he is still pursuing those with whom he was in conflict during the war, or members of their families?

The Wikipedia entry on George Dweh states:

George Dweh is a Liberian politician and a member of the ethnic Krahn group operating in the LURD and the MODEL faction groups. He is also cousin to late Samuel K. Doe, a notorious Krahn that killed all his colleagues after the 1980 coup. Dweh was not known on the Liberian political scene until recently. He has terrible records of massacring innocent civilians in Monrovia and its surroundings.

Dweh was a leader of the Doe death squad. He is accused of leading the Death Squad unit to the Lutheran Church in Sinkor where civilians were seeking refuge. Dweh has also been accused of killing Johnny Nah and his pregnant wife.


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A 2005 news report from IRIN gives further detail of the suspension of Dweh for corruption:
MONROVIA, 17 Mar 2005 (IRIN) – UN and regional leaders appealed for calm as Liberia’s transitional parliament on Thursday took a firm stand against graft by electing a new speaker following a US $92,000 corruption scandal.

Former incumbent George Dweh, a key rebel fighter in Liberia’s recently-ended civil war, was suspended indefinitely on Monday along with his deputy and two other members of the house for spending government money without authorisation (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2005, ‘LIBERIA: Appeals for calm amid parliament corruption row’, IRINnews.org, 17 March http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=46168&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=LIBERIA – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 17).

Recent news reports indicate that George Dweh is still on the public scene in Liberia, but has not been able to return to parliament:

- An October 2006 names George Dweh as one of a group of “citizens and elders of Grand Gedeh” who met with the president to pledge their support (‘We’ll Serve As Beacon of Peace, Development’ 2006, All Africa, 14 October – Attachment 18).

- A May 2006 report states that Dweh “stunned” fellow worshippers at the Trinity United Methodist Church by taking the microphone and declaring publicly that he was a changed man and was now a devout Christian (Weah, D.S. 2006, “I’m Transformed,” Says George Dweh’, All Africa, 26 May – Attachment 19).

- A January 2006 report states that when Dweh was called on to apologise to the Liberian people he stated that he had done nothing to warrant his suspension from parliament (Dennis, Elwood 2006, “I owe nobody apology”, All Africa, 24 January – Attachment 20).

- Another January 2006 report states that Dweh and others had attempted to have the suspension lifted, but all their efforts had been “thwarted” (Sworth, B.B. 2006, ‘Dweh, Others Fate Thwarted Again’, All Africa, 7 January – Attachment 21).

**List of Sources Consulted**

Internet Sources:

**Search Engines**

Databases:
FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)
RRT Library Catalogue
List of Attachments


6. ‘Poverty, ex-fighters, unemployment Liberia’s serious security threats’ Agence France Presse, 14 October. (FACTIVA)


18. ‘We’ll Serve As Beacon of Peace, Development’ 2006, *All Africa*, 14 October. (FACTIVA)

