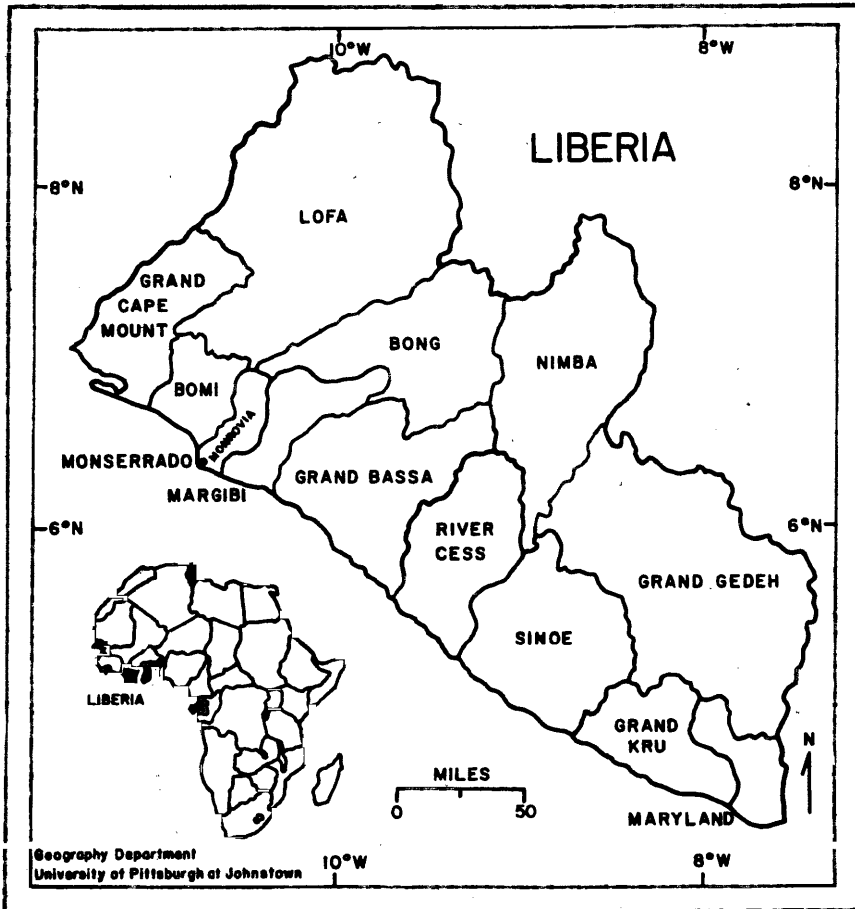


# LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL



Published by THE LIBERIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION, INC.

# LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL

## Editorial Policy

The *Liberian Studies Journal* is dedicated to the publication of original research on social, political, economic, scientific, and other issues about Liberia or with implications for Liberia. Opinions of contributors to the *Journal* do not necessarily reflect the policy of the organizations they represent or the Liberian Studies Association, publishers of the *Journal*.

## Manuscript Requirements

Manuscripts intended for consideration should not exceed 25 typewritten, double-spaced pages, with margins of one-and-a-half inches. The page limit includes graphs, references, tables and appendices. Authors must, in addition to their manuscripts, submit a computer disk of their work, preferably in WordPerfect 6.1 for Windows. Notes and references should be placed at the end of the text with headings, e.g., Notes; References. Notes, if any, should precede the references. The *Journal* is published in June and December. Deadline for the first issue is February, and for the second, August.

Manuscripts should include a title page that provides the title of the text, author's name, address, phone number, and affiliation. All works will be reviewed by anonymous referees.

Manuscripts are accepted in English and French.

Manuscripts must conform to the editorial style of either the *Chicago Manual of Style* (the preferred style), or the American Psychological Association (APA) or Modern Language Association (MLA).

All manuscripts intended for consideration should be mailed to:

Amos J. Beyan, Editor;  
*Liberian Studies Journal*; Department of History; West Virginia University;  
221E Woodburn Hall; Morgantown, West Virginia 26506-6306.

All items relevant to Book Reviews should be mailed to:

Yar D. G. Bratcher, Book Review Editor;  
*Liberian Studies Journal*; Emory University;  
859 Petite Lane; Lithonia, Georgia 30058

**Cover map:** Compiled by William Kory, cartography work by Jodi Molnar;  
Geography Department, University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown.

**LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL**

**Editor, Amos J. Beyan**  
**West Virginia University**

**Associate Editor, Konia T. Kollehlon**  
University of Maryland—Eastern Shore

**Book Review Editor, Yar D. G. Bratcher**  
Emory University

**EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**

C. William Allen—University of South  
Carolina—Spartanburg

D. Elwood Dunn—The University  
of the South

Bertha B. Azango—University of Liberia

M. Alpha Bah—College of Charleston

Warren d'Azevedo—University of Nevada

Momo K. Rogers—Kpazolu Media  
Enterprises

Christopher Clapham—Lancaster  
University

Yekutiell Gershoni—Tel Aviv University

Thomas Hayden—Society of African  
Missions

Lawrence B. Breitborde—Knox College

Svend E. Holsoe—University of Delaware

Romeo E. Philips—Kalamazoo College

Coroann Okorodudu—Rowan College  
of N.J.

Henrique F. Tokpa—Cuttington University  
College

**LIBERIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

Joseph Holloway—President

Timothy A. Rainey

Cyril Broderick—Vice President

Emmanuel Dolo

Dianne Oyler—Secretary-Treasurer

Massala Prince Reffell

Ciyata Coleman

**FORMER EDITORS**

D. Elwood Dunn

Svend E. Holsoe

Edward J. Biggane

C. William Allen

Jo Sullivan

---

Edited at the Department of History, West Virginia University.

---

The editors and Advisory Board gratefully acknowledge the contributions of Eberly College of Arts and Sciences and the Department of History at West Virginia University in the production of the *Journal*.





CONTENTS

iii

**Pre-Intervention Trust-Building, African States and Enforcing the Peace: The Case of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone**  
By Jeremy Levitt ..... 1

**The Impeachments and Trials of President James S. Payne and Secretary Benjamin J. K. Anderson: The Documentary Evidence (Part I)**  
By Tim Geysbeek ..... 27

**Building a Sustained Peace: Human Rights and Democratization in Liberia: A Commentary**  
By Ezekiel Pajibo ..... 56

**Book Reviews**

Boikai, Jerome Z., *Broadcasting and National Development in Liberia*  
By T. Nelson Williams, SA ..... 69

Chicoine, Stephen, *A Liberian Family: Journey Between Two Worlds*  
By Jo Sullivan ..... 73

Pay, Won-Ldy and Margaret H. Lippert, *Why Leopard Has Spots: Dan Stories from Liberia*  
By Kathryn Z. Weed ..... 75

**Minutes of the 31st Annual LSA Conference**  
Prepared by Alpha Bah ..... 77

**New Publications on or Relevant to Liberia** ..... 80

**Documents** ..... 83

A refereed journal that emphasizes the social sciences, humanities, and the natural sciences, the *Liberian Studies Journal* is a semiannual publication devoted to studies of Africa's oldest republic. The annual subscription rate is US\$40.00, US\$15.00 for students, and US\$50.00 for institutions, and includes membership in the Liberian Studies Association, Inc. All manuscripts and related matters should be addressed to Dr. Amos J. Beyan, Editor; *Liberian Studies Journal*; Department of History; **West Virginia University**; 221E Woodburn Hall; Morgantown, West Virginia 26506-6306. Subscriptions and other business matters should be directed to Dr. Dianne Oyler, Secretary-Treasurer; Liberian Studies Association, Inc.; **Fayetteville State University**; P.O. Box 14613; Fayetteville, North Carolina 28301-4297.



# Pre-Intervention Trust-Building, African States and Enforcing the Peace: The Case of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone

*Jeremy Levitt\**

## INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the cold war, Africa has been host to an inordinate number of internal deadly conflicts. At no other time in contemporary African history have the masses of African people been forced to live amidst the violence and carnage that has manifested in the post cold war era. These phenomena have been exacerbated by systemic political and economic disengagement of Western states from Africa due to the devaluation of it's geo-political stock. Hence, African states appear to be attempting to re-assert themselves as national, sub-regional, regional and even international power brokers in order to obtain or sustain legitimacy in the "new continental" and global order. This power brokering has created complex security dilemmas that have affected the internal and external balances of power in and amongst states. Both authoritarian and democratic regimes have endured internal and external military challenges to their authority. In addition, they have had immense and counterproductive pressures bestowed upon them by coercive international financial institutions. These circumstances have worked together to spawn and exacerbate deadly conflict. As a result, African leaders have been forced to originate and implement indigenous formulas to establish the necessary mechanisms to prevent, manage and resolve conflict.<sup>1</sup>

African states, in particular West African regimes, have demonstrated their commitment to build sustainable peace by proffering and securing African solutions to African problems. This point is best evidenced by the relative

---

\* Attorney at Law, Ph.D. candidate, University of Cambridge—St. John's College; Doctor of Law, University of Wisconsin—Madison Law School.

<sup>1</sup> The Organization of African Unity, "Resolving Conflicts in Africa Implementation Options," OAU Information Services Publication – Series II (1993), p. 1.

success of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) missions in Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1997); Nigeria's popular intervention in Sierra Leone (1997); the Mission for the Implementation of the Bangui Agreement (MISAB) in the Central African Republic (1997); Senegal and Guinea's interventions in Guinea-Bissau (1998); and South Africa's intervention in Lesotho (1998).<sup>2</sup> All of the above mentioned interventions were carried out without the authorisation of the United Nations Security Council and transpired between 1990 and 1998, the latter four taking place between 1997 and 1998. Notwithstanding, each mission had a distinctly different outcome, which I argue can be explained by qualitatively assessing the degree of trust-building that took place prior to each intervention.

This article is concerned with examining the dynamics of trust-building in a pre-intervention context.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, it will analyse the concept of trust-building prior to the ECOWAS humanitarian interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone,<sup>4</sup> although the general thrust of my argument will no doubt apply to other African interventions.<sup>5</sup> Humanitarian intervention can be taken to mean: Intervention in a state involving the use of force (U.N. action in Iraq and Somalia or ECOWAS action in Liberia and Sierra Leone) or threat of force (U.N. action in Haiti), where the intervenor deploys armed forces and, at the least, makes clear that it is willing to use force if its operation is resisted—as it attempts to alleviate conditions in which a substantial part of the population of

---

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the establishment of the African Court on Human and People's Rights in 1998 gives further prowess to this contention.

<sup>3</sup> This would be after the decision to deploy forces has been made, but before forces are actually deployed.

<sup>4</sup> A humanitarian intervention is one that is not authorised by the United Nations Security Council, and hence, in legal as opposed to operational terms, is unilateral.

<sup>5</sup> My analysis is only concerned with examining the concept of trust-building prior to the deployment of armed forces in internal conflicts. I concentrate on humanitarian intervention as opposed to traditional peace-keeping since, as indicated (in fn.6 below) international law and U.N. law provide for what appear to be pre-intervention trust-building measures with respect to the latter.

a state is threatened with death or suffering on a grand scale.<sup>6</sup> Within this context, trust-building should be seen as the pre-intervention political processes that seek to demonstrate, assess and verify the predictability of behaviour of all parties to a given conflict, and forecast the consequences of that behaviour with respect to political outcomes (the probability that an intervention will succeed).<sup>7</sup> In this sense, a viable pre-intervention trust-building scheme should seek to proffer all parties to a conflict, including the *de jure* government, factional leaders, civilian populace and humanitarian enforcers (herein relevant parties), a transparent and detailed overview of the political, legal and operational significance and ramifications of intervention. This does not necessarily mean that trust will emanate amongst the relevant parties by following this approach, nor that the conflicting parties would favour or support intervention if this method were followed, but only that they may attain a *confident expectation* that the intended operation is not ill-intended nor illegitimate. Simply stated, my thesis is as follows: Pre-intervention trust-building can determine post-intervention operational outcomes and the extent to which a humanitarian enforcement operation may succeed.<sup>8</sup> Hence, I argue that the primary reason why the Liberian mission encountered many more problems than the one in Sierra Leone is due in part to the degree of pre-intervention trust-building that took place.

The mission led by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Chad, U.S.-led U.N. intervention in Somalia and U.N. intervention in Yugoslavia are prime examples of peace-enforcement missions that to a large extent failed due

---

<sup>6</sup> Portions of this definition were extracted from Christopher Greenwood's definition of humanitarian intervention. Christopher Greenwood, "Is There a Right to Humanitarian Intervention?," *The World Today*, Vol. 49 (February 1993), p. 34. Hence, the standard pre-intervention "peace-keeping" criteria, which requires that, there exist a cease-fire, all parties to a conflict consent to intervention and that force is only used in self-defence, are not applicable to my analysis, as they are not elements of the doctrine of humanitarian intervention.

<sup>7</sup> According to Morton Deutsch, trust can be defined as consisting of two elements: (a) predictability of another's behaviour and (b) the positive or negative consequences of that behaviour for oneself. Morton Deutsch, "Trust and Suspicion," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2 (1958), pp. 265-279. See also, Ralph M. Goldman and Willard M. Hardman, *Building Trust: An Introduction to Peace-keeping and Arms Control*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> The terms humanitarian enforcement and peace-enforcement are used interchangeably.

to a lack of pre-intervention trust-building. However, this does not mean that a humanitarian enforcement operation that includes a comprehensive trust-building component will not encounter difficulties or perhaps fail, but only that historic records show the likelihood of success is much greater when states engage in pre-intervention trust-building.

## TRUST-BUILDING

Trust-building should be the first process of any viable preventive diplomacy plan and hence falls within the rubric of conflict prevention. In this context, pre-intervention trust-building should be seen as a latter phase of conflict prevention because it is a political process, which precedes the use of military force and seeks to avert or reduce post-deployment operational failure. "In this respect, it is much like preventive medicine, the purpose of which is to prevent illness before it occurs."<sup>9</sup> I argue that trust-building processes should precede confidence-building and peace-building measures with respect to any humanitarian intervention scheme; confidence-building being a definitive feature of conflict management or containment and post conflict peace-building being a significant component of conflict resolution (see Exhibit 1 below).<sup>10</sup> Stated differently, pre-intervention trust-building should be the first phase of any comprehensive conflict reduction system that entails the use of military force.

---

<sup>9</sup> Mohammed Bedjaoui, "Preventive Diplomacy: Development, Education and Human Rights," in Kevin M. Cahill, M.D. ed., *Preventive Diplomacy* (New York, NY: Basic Books for the Center for International Health and Cooperation, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> It is beyond the scope of this article to explicate the very ambiguous and overlapping concepts of confidence-building and peace-building. For informative works on these concepts see, Fen Osler Hampson, "Can Peacebuilding Work?," *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1997); James Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), chapters 4 and 5.

**Exhibit 1**  
**Phases of Conflict Reduction**

Stages	Political Processes	Operational Objectives	Political Objectives
1 ⇒	Pre-Intervention Trust-building	Promoting Trust	Conflict Prevention
2 ⇒	Confidence-building	Establishing Order	Conflict Management
3 ⇒	Post Conflict Peace-building	Maintenance of Order	Conflict Resolution

The concept of peace-enforcement is a trust-promoting activity itself, however, the process of carrying out an enforcement operation necessitates that pre-intervention trust-building takes place. As previously stated, the absence of coherent pre-intervention trust-building leads to operational tragedies of the type witnessed in Chad, Somalia and Yugoslavia. Trust-building measures should be initiated amongst all parties that have a vested interest in a conflict, including the intervenors, host state government, factional leaders and, when possible, the civilian populace of the target state. Interventionist states should work diligently to develop *institutional trust* before undertaking humanitarian enforcement activities. Institutional trust has been defined as the attitude of trust that results from and is reinforced by the predictable behaviour of the members of an institution, in this case the member states of ECOWAS.<sup>11</sup> In this context, trust may be promoted when political institutions work to make the conduct of conflicting parties "predictable and facilitate [relations] transactions among members from which they [both] derive positive consequences, that is, satisfactions and a 'sense of profit'."<sup>12</sup> This point is particularly important in the African context where distrust and political

---

<sup>11</sup> Goldman and Hardman, *supra* note 7.

<sup>12</sup> Goldman and Hardman, p. 265 (emphasis added).

disillusionment play a major role in the stimulation and exacerbation of conflict. The discussion below will explore several ways to promote trust by building and enhancing mechanisms for pre-intervention cooperation and organisation, and the effective deployment of contingents for peace enforcement operations.

The basis of my analysis with regard to how interventionist states may promote trust is based on four key principles: legitimacy, resource capacity, sub-regional doctrine formulation and transparency.<sup>13</sup>

First, interventionist states should ensure that a proposed intervention is *legitimate* under either U.N. law or customary international law. Once the decision to intervene has been made, and prior to intervention, the intervenors should prepare and deliver a legally coherent policy statement on the validity of intervention to the relevant parties to a conflict. This, for example, would appear to be a progressive way to stimulate dialog between warring factions and the intervenors, or provoke discourse amongst factions that have broken a cease-fire agreement or suspended negotiations.

Second, interventionist states should insure that *resources* exist to complete the proposed operation before troop deployment. A resource-starved operation may contribute to the exacerbation rather than the aversion of conflict, and frustrate future peacemaking efforts. When contingents are deployed into hostile surroundings, states put them at severe risk of injury or death by not providing them with the necessary equipment to effectively carry out their mission.

Third, African states need to fashion African approaches or methods to deal with the dynamics of African conflict scenarios. This may include formulating an African peacekeeping *doctrine* by "drawing up standard operating procedures to take account of the purely African dimension in preparations and orientation of troops for a peace-keeping mission."<sup>14</sup> States

---

<sup>13</sup> Transparency is an interdependent as opposed to a separate principle that gives viability to each of the other principles.

<sup>14</sup> Informal Paper on Conflict Prevention and Peace-Keeping in Africa, submitted to the Secretary-General on the United Nations by HE Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, and HE Sir David Hannay, GCMG Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, April 11, 1995.



should seek to formulate and regularly revise such doctrines according to their sub-regional experiences. This would allow all parties to a conflict to confidently forecast the methods interventionist states would likely employ to forestall conflict. In this sense, the threat of forcible intervention may become a calculated consideration of warring factions and hence serve as a deterrent to continued conflict. Likewise, it could discourage opposition groups (including segments of a military) from attempting to carry out a *coup d'etat*.

Finally, *transparency* is an interdependent principle that gives viability to each of the above principles. For example, interventionist states should conduct pre-intervention technical survey missions in a target state in which detailed operational plans, including an assessment of resource requirements are formulated.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, such states should coordinate the dissemination of information with regard to the basic objectives of the intervention to the relevant parties—without of course jeopardising the object and purpose of the mission. This would increase transparency and decrease the likelihood that the expectations of parties would not be fulfilled. As a result, the mission would have greater legitimacy from the relevant parties.

## BACKGROUND

In the following section, we will discuss the pre-intervention circumstances that led to the ECOWAS missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

The ECOWAS-ECOMOG intervention in Liberia was the first of its kind. It was the first time that the international community as a whole supported military intervention by a regional actor in a state without prior authorisation from the U.N. Security Council. Furthermore, it marked the first time that the U.N. co-deployed a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) with a peace enforcement mission already underway. The ECOWAS-ECOMOG intervention in Sierra Leone marked the second time that both of these phenomena occurred. Hence, it is clear that the Liberian intervention served as a precedent for the one in Sierra Leone.

---

<sup>15</sup> Gambari and Hannay.

Applying the logic of "critical juncture" as employed by Leonardo Villalon and Phillip Huxtable,<sup>16</sup> the ECOWAS' decision to unilaterally intervene in the internal conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone have demarcated a period of significant change in African attitudes toward enforcing the peace, which has left a distinct legacy. The missions have no doubt served as precedents for the other African interventions. Further, with the advent of this critical juncture, absolute compliance with respect to the "non-derogable" international law principles of non-interference and territorial integrity have, on several occasions, been compromised in the spirit of humanitarianism and regional security. African states appear to have accepted by way of practice a norm permitting exceptions to the once rigid OAU Charter prohibitions against non-interference in the internal affairs of states, and infringing upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states.<sup>17</sup> The post-1990 unilateral interventions by ECOWAS-ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Nigeria in Sierra Leone, MISAB in the Central African Republic, Senegal in Guinea-Bissau and South Africa in Lesotho evidence this fact. These cases demonstrate that a shift in customary international law, or, at the least, African continental law has taken place.

Despite the precedent that has been set by the ECOWAS, as previously mentioned, the Liberian and Sierra Leone missions had starkly different degrees of success. Neither intervention can be considered as an absolute operational success; however, it is necessary to explain why the Liberian mission encountered many more difficulties than the one in Sierra Leone. I attribute these different outcomes to the degree of pre-intervention trust-building that took place prior to each intervention.

---

<sup>16</sup> Leonardo A. Villalon and Phillip A. Huxtable ed., *The African State at a Critical Juncture: Between Disintegration and Reconfiguration*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

<sup>17</sup> The Organization of African Unity, "OAU Charter and Rules of Procedure," Article III (2)(3) (Addis Ababa: OAU General Secretariat Information Service, August 1992).

## A. Liberia

The Liberian Civil War began on December 24, 1989, when Charles Taylor,<sup>18</sup> Liberia's current President,<sup>19</sup> and a group of so called 'dissidents' launched a small-scale attack on security personnel in Nimba County (located on the Liberian-Cote d'Ivoire border), and advanced toward Monrovia with the sole purpose of overthrowing President Samuel K. Doe's Autocracy.<sup>20</sup> The group led by Taylor came to be known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). The NPFL grew quickly, as politically disillusioned members of the Mano and Gio ethnic groups joined.<sup>21</sup> NPFL fighters systematically defeated Doe's American- and Nigerian-backed regime, known for its violent and repressive military tactics. As a result, by May 1990, with the exception of Monrovia,<sup>22</sup> Taylor's NPFL controlled more territory in Liberia than Doe's regime. Max Sesay reports that "within six months of the outbreak of the war [by May]...Taylor had already captured over 90 percent of the country."<sup>23</sup> At this stage, it is clear that Taylor was the only *de facto* authority in the Republic.

Doe, facing certain defeat, made unsuccessful appeals for assistance to the people of Liberia and U.S. government. Disgruntled and impaired by the

---

<sup>18</sup> Former Liberian Director-General of the General Services Agency (GSA) under Samuel K. Doe's regime who, after having been charged with embezzlement in Liberia, fled to the United States, only to be arrested in Massachusetts. While awaiting extradition to Liberia, he escaped from jail. Unpublished document, Baffour Ankomah (Deputy Chief Editor, *New African*), Interview with Charles Taylor (Gbarnga, Liberia, July 30, 1992) pp. 1-17.

<sup>19</sup> President Charles Taylor was inaugurated on August 2, 1997. United Nations, *Final Report of the Secretary-General On The United Nations Observer Mission In Liberia*, S/1997/712, September 12, 1997.

<sup>20</sup> Marc Weller, ed., "BBC Monitoring Report, 4 January 1990, Liberia: Curfew in Nimba County Following Alleged Coup, 2 January 1990," in *Regional Peace-keeping and International Enforcement: The Liberian Crisis*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 32-33.

<sup>21</sup> Weller, *supra* note 20 at xix. Taylor's NPFL included members from nearly every ethnic group in Liberia.

<sup>22</sup> Monrovia is the capital of Liberia; it was named after U.S. President James Monroe.

<sup>23</sup> Max Sesay, "Civil War and Collective Intervention in Liberia," *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 23, No. 67 (1996), p. 37 (emphasis added).

collapse of his regime, dissolution of his military and the impending state of anarchy in the country, Doe appealed to ECOWAS to introduce a "[p]eace-keeping Force into Liberia to forestall increasing terror and tension...."<sup>24</sup>

Since ECOWAS and the OAU were not able to mediate a peaceful end to the conflict,<sup>25</sup> on August 7, 1990, the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee (SMC),<sup>26</sup> created the ECOMOG for Liberia.<sup>27</sup> ECOWAS created ECOMOG to halt the "wanton destruction of human life and property...[and]...massive damage...being caused by the armed conflict to the stability and survival of the entire Liberian nation."<sup>28</sup> ECOMOG was mandated to "restore law and order to create the necessary conditions for free and fair elections...."<sup>29</sup> On August 24, 1990, ECOMOG forces landed in Liberia, and immediately came under attack by NPFL forces.<sup>30</sup> In response, ECOMOG forces "fought back with mortars, artillery and automatic weapons."<sup>31</sup> Hence, it is easy to understand why Taylor viewed ECOMOG as an occupying force and foreign combatant.

---

<sup>24</sup> Weller, "Letter addressed by President Samuel K. Doe to the Chairman and Members of the Ministerial Meeting of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, 14 July 1990," *supra* note 20, p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> Weller, *supra* note 20, pp. 38-9, 57-9, 63, 65.

<sup>26</sup> Weller, "ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, Decision A/DEC.9/5/90, Relating to the Establishment of the Standing Mediation Committee, Banjul Republic of Gambia, 30 May 1990," *supra* note 20, p. 38.

<sup>27</sup> Weller, "ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, Decision A/DEC.1/8/90, on the Cease-fire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group for Liberia, Banjul, Republic of Gambia, 7 August 1990," *supra* note 20, pp. 67, 71. The ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee included representatives from Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Mali and Togo.

<sup>28</sup> Weller, *supra* note 27, p. 67 (word replaced).

<sup>29</sup> Weller, "ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, Decision A/DEC.1/8/90, on the Cease-fire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group for Liberia, Banjul, Republic of Gambia, 7 August 1990," *supra* note 20, p. 68.

<sup>30</sup> Weller, "BBC Monitoring Report, 27 August 1990, Report: ECOMOG Force Lands; Met by Prince Johnson; Clash with NPFL, 24 August 1990," *supra* note 20, p. 87.

<sup>31</sup> *Id.* Troops from Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Mali, Sierra Leone and Guinea participated in the intervention. See, "Mediation Committee Meets (Banjul)," *Africa Research Bulletin*, (August, 1-30, 1990), p. 9802.

## B. Sierra Leone

In February and March of 1996, in the midst of a civil war, Sierra Leone held its first parliamentary and presidential elections in thirty years.<sup>32</sup> As a result, the Sierra Leone People's Party led by President Ahmed Tijan Kabbah came into power.<sup>33</sup> In spite of the election, fighting continued between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), who contested the election. On November 30, 1996, the Government of Côte d'Ivoire, ECOWAS,<sup>34</sup> the United Nations, OAU and the Commonwealth States facilitated peace talks, which culminated in the Abidjan Accord, ending the civil war.

On May 25, 1997, approximately six months after the war, several junior military officers led by Major Johnny Koromah successfully overthrew the democratically elected government of President Kabbah, forcing him to flee to Guinea.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> The election followed five years of civil war between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). During the war, Sierra Leone's Military Force (RSLMF), traditionally used for external defence, the national police force and civil defence militias (Kamajors) provided internal security. The Nigerian and Guinean militaries supported the RSLMF. The government also employed Executive Outcomes, a private South African mercenary firm. United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on Sierra Leone*, S/1997/80, January 26, 1997. ECOWAS, the OAU, the U.N. and numerous non-governmental organisations were involved in setting the stage for the elections. *African Research Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 6, p. 12733, June 1-30, 1997; *African Research Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 5, p. 12694, May 1-31, 1997; "West Africa," *A Coup in Freetown*, June 2-8, 1997, p. 887; "ECOWAS Intervenes to Restore Democracy," *Africa Today: Voice of the Continent*, Vol. 3, No. 4 July/August 1997, p. 24; and U.S. Department of State, *Sierra Leone Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January 30, 1997.

<sup>33</sup> United Nations, *supra* note 32.

<sup>34</sup> It is important to note that prior to and during the war in Sierra Leone, ECOWAS maintained a military base there for peace enforcement activities in Liberia.

<sup>35</sup> President Kabbah believes that the military junta seized power in order to profit from the country's rich supply of diamonds and gold. He accused the Revolutionary United Front of deceiving the regular army into staging the coup. Panafrican News Agency, "Kabbah Urges ECOWAS Leaders to Restore Him to Power," September 2, 1997.

However, before fleeing, President Kabbah officially requested that Nigeria and ECOWAS intervene to restore him to power.<sup>36</sup>

During the *coup d'etat*, in order to prevent a counteroffensive by the Nigerian Forces Assistant Group (NIFAG) and ECOMOG, Koromah's forces tactically attacked both contingents.<sup>37</sup> The coup appears to have been successful due to complicity by NIFAG officers who unintentionally leaked information revealing when there would be a change of NIFAG guard units with other units stationed on the outskirts of Monrovia, Liberia.

The coup was condemned by the whole of the international community.<sup>38</sup> For example, during the OAU Council of Ministers' Sixty-sixth Ordinary Session in Harare, Zimbabwe in May 1997, the Council decided that it "[s]trongly and unequivocally condemns, the coup d'etat ... and calls for the immediate restoration of constitutional order [and] appeals to the leaders of ECOWAS to assist the people of Sierra Leone to restore constitutional order to the country..."<sup>39</sup>

Soon after the coup, and pursuant to its obligations under the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), the Republic of Nigeria (not ECOWAS) sent additional NIFAG troops to Sierra Leone to restore law and order.<sup>40</sup> NIFAG was met with strong resistance from the junta and RUF, and was forced to

<sup>36</sup> *African Research Bulletin*, supra note 32, Vol. 34, No. 5, p. 12695; see also Panafrican News Agency, "Kabbah Urges ECOWAS Leaders to Restore Him to Power," September 2, 1997.

<sup>37</sup> The Nigerian Forces Assistant Group (NIFAG) was created pursuant to the Status of the Forces Agreement (SOFA) between Nigeria and Sierra Leone. SOFA is essentially a defence pact between the two countries under which Nigeria provides military and security support to Sierra Leone. Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), "Between the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and The Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone Concerning the Provision of Military and Security Assistance to the Republic of Sierra Leone," Lagos, Nigeria, March 7, 1997. *Africa Today*, supra note 32, p. 24; *African Research Bulletin*, supra note 32, Vol. 34, No. 5, p. 12694.

<sup>38</sup> See, U.S. Department of State Office of the Spokesman Press Statement, "U.S. Reaction to Coup in Sierra Leone," May 26, 1997; United Nations, "Statement by the President of the Security Council on Sierra Leone," S/PRST/1997/29, May 27, 1997.

<sup>39</sup> Organization of African Unity Council of Ministers Sixty-sixth Ordinary Session, May 28-30, 1997, Harare, Zimbabwe, "Draft Decisions," C . (LXVI) Rev. 1, p. 14 (emphasis added).

<sup>40</sup> *African Research Bulletin*, supra note 32, Vol. 34, No. 6, p. 12734.

retreat. On August 30, 1997, during the 20th Summit Meeting of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government in Abuja, Nigeria, ECOWAS "officially" mandated ECOMOG to enforce sanctions against the junta and restore law and order to Sierra Leone.<sup>41</sup> Similar to Taylor's NPFL, the junta and RUF viewed the situation as a purely internal affair and therefore scorned foreign intervention. However, unlike the NPFL, the latter were clearly aware that ECOWAS had a valid basis for intervention.

Liberia and Sierra Leone share a common history.<sup>42</sup> The post-cold-war era did not change this reality, as both countries have suffered from perpetual warfare and economic stagnation, having been stifled by serious rebel movements, *coup d' etats*, state collapse and anarchy, not to mention the grand human suffering that the civilian populations of both states have been forced to endure. In light of the above, it is important to determine why the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia was less successful than the one in Sierra Leone. Considering the fact that both states have had to face different international and macroeconomic realities, which have no doubt affected the nature of the interventions, the most definitive factor in this context has been the degree of pre-intervention trust-building that took place prior to the intervention.

## PRE-INTERVENTION TRUST-BUILDING AND THE CASE OF LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE

The following section will examine the proposed pre-intervention principles of legitimacy, resource capacity, sub-regional doctrine formulation

---

<sup>41</sup> Panafrican News Agency, "Tougher Measures Against Junta in Freetown," September 2, 1997. However, in early August 1997, pursuant to requests by ECOWAS member states, the late Nigerian Head of State and ECOWAS Chairman General Sani Abacha appears to have issued an "executive directive" authorising an economic blockade against Sierra Leone to be enforced by ECOMOG.

<sup>42</sup> Christopher Clapham, *Liberia and Sierra Leone: An Essay in Comparative Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

and transparency in light of the ECOWAS humanitarian interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone.<sup>43</sup>

### A. Legitimacy

The primary reason why the ECOWAS SMC and ECOMOG failed to bring about a cessation of conflict in Liberia was because the mission lacked *legitimacy* from the major party to the conflict, Charles Taylor's NPFL. Taylor opposed the ECOWAS scheme for two primary reasons. First, the ECOWAS SMC did not clearly articulate the basis for intervention or proffer a specific plan that explicated the politico-military aims of the mission, which led Taylor to question the authenticity of the ECOMOG operation. Second, he did not trust former Nigerian Head of State General Ibrahim Babangida, due to the latter's close relationship with President Doe. From this background, it is evident that the ECOMOG mission was launched despite the fact that trust did not exist between the peace-enforcer (ECOMOG) and the primary combatant (Taylor's NPFL).

Disagreement as to the legality of the ECOWAS-ECOMOG intervention in Liberia can be largely attributed to the fact that it failed to clearly specify the legal basis for and delineate the objectives of the intervention. This is an important point because neither the ECOWAS Treaty of 1975, Protocol on Non-Aggression (1978), nor the Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence (1981), permitted the ECOWAS to intervene in the *purely* internal affairs of its member states. More important, however, the U.N. Charter forbids states to intervene in the domestic affairs of states,<sup>44</sup> and

---

<sup>43</sup> This article will not include an analysis of the legality of the interventions with regard to the doctrine of humanitarian intervention, as I have thoroughly dealt with this issue elsewhere. See, Jeremy Levitt, "Humanitarian Intervention by Regional Actors in Internal Conflicts: The Case of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone," *Temple International and Comparative Law Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall 1998). Likewise, for a seminal article on the legality of the Liberian intervention see Max Sesay, "Civil War and Collective Intervention in Liberia," *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 23, No. 67 (1996), pp. 35-52.

<sup>44</sup> U.N. Charter Article 2(4).



to employ force without prior authorisation from the U.N. Security Council.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps, the ECOWAS' failure to proffer a basis for intervention was because its leaders simply did know how best to justify it in light of the above mentioned legal limitations. This is not an illogical conclusion given the fact that it was a case of first impression.

From an operational standpoint, the ECOWAS did not conduct a technical or logistical survey mission prior to intervention, to enable it to forecast and prepare for what eventually transpired on the ground. As a result, the ECOMOG was ill prepared to deal with Taylor's forces upon landing, which forced it to take on an offensive character.<sup>46</sup> This again deligitimised the mission in the eyes of the combatants and some of the member states of ECOWAS.

The ECOWAS' failure to clearly communicate the legal as opposed to the moral basis for intervention appears to have been one reason why Taylor objected to the mission. He was correctly under the assumption that under international law the Liberian conflict was an internal one, and that any intervention would be in violation of its territorial integrity and the masses' right to self-determination. However, he was unaware that the member states of ECOWAS were entitled to invoke a right to humanitarian intervention due to the degree of carnage that ensued with the collapse of the state. This does not infer that Taylor would have favoured intervention had he been informed of its legal basis, but only that a coherent communication detailing the basis for and politico-military objectives of the mission, may have given him a *confident expectation* that the intended operation was not ill-intended or illegitimate. Likewise, the ECOWAS may have been able to earn Taylor's trust had the

---

<sup>45</sup> U.N. Charter Article 39.

<sup>46</sup> David Wippman, "Enforcing the Peace: ECOWAS and the Liberian Civil War," in *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts*, ed. by Lori Fisler Damrosch (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993), pp. 167-9.

SMC's pre-intervention trust-building framework for the resolution of interstate conflict been applicable in internal conflict scenarios.<sup>47</sup>

Taylor's disdain for and distrust of Nigerian Head of State General Babangida stems from the extensive military assistance the latter provided Doe prior to intervention, and because he and Doe were friends.<sup>48</sup> On this point Sesay asserts that, "General Babangida was known to be a close friend of Doe. Before the war, Nigeria's financial support to the University of Liberia led to the naming of the Graduate School of International Relations after the Nigerian leader," and "Nigerian military assistance to Doe after the outbreak of fighting [but before intervention] were known in most circles, matters for which Nigeria was constantly pilloried by Charles Taylor."<sup>49</sup> As a result, Taylor did not believe that Babangida and hence the Nigerian military could objectively enforce the peace.

In addition, there was a great deal of mistrust among the SMC member states, and states contributing to ECOMOG.<sup>50</sup> This was partly due to pre-existing, post-colonial Anglophone-Francophone tensions, as the majority of ECOMOG troops were from English-speaking countries (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra

---

<sup>47</sup> Weller, "ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, Decision A/DEC.9/5/90, Relating to the Establishment of the Standing Mediation Committee," Banjul Republic of Gambia, May 30, 1990, *supra* note 20, p. 38. The decision "provides a system in which a member-state involved in a dispute or conflict could inform the Executive Secretary of the ECOWAS in writing of its intention to refer the matter to the SMC for settlement. *Id.* art. 2. The Executive Secretary then advises the Chairman of the AHSG and the governments of the other members of the SMC about the dispute, and takes measures to help the SMC in settling the conflict. *Id.* art. 3(1). The framework requires the AHSG Chairman to *inform the member-states involved in the conflict of the intention of the SMC to mediate their dispute. Id.* The AHSG Chairman must also report to the AHSG about the nature of the dispute, the parties involved, and the SMC's mediation efforts. *Id.* art. 4." Kofi Oteng Kufuor, "Developments in the Resolution of the Liberian Conflict," *American University Journal of International Law and Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1994-95), fn. 16 (*italics added*).

<sup>48</sup> Wippman, *supra* note 46, p. 191.

<sup>49</sup> Sesay, *supra* note 23, p. 45.

<sup>50</sup> Herbert Howe, "Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. by Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Côte, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 406-7.

Leone and Gambia).<sup>51</sup> Further, the Francophone member states of ECOWAS, namely Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea "accused ECOMOG of being a force with a purpose only to foster the hegemonic interest of particular states."<sup>52</sup> This view was exacerbated because at the time, approximately 70 percent of the troops that were to take part in the ECOMOG were Nigerian,<sup>53</sup> which, according to the Francophone states and Taylor, would give Nigeria unwavering influence over the mission. Further, inter-ECOWAS conflict was also provoked by several Francophone ECOWAS states, namely Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, as they provided military assistance to Taylor before and after the SMC and ECOMOG were established.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, some of the ECOWAS member states played dual roles as peace-enforcers and parties to the conflict. Taken together, Taylor's fact-driven suspicion of Nigeria, and ECOWAS' internal fighting culminated in an era of distrust. These events explain why Taylor so vehemently objected to intervention, and demonstrate that his distrust directly impacted the effectiveness of the intervention.

The ECOWAS-ECOMOG intervention in Sierra Leone was for the most part successful. The success of the mission can be attributed to the pre-intervention trust-building mechanisms that ECOWAS instituted in wake of the Liberian experience. These measures guaranteed that the mission would have a certain degree of legitimacy.

In 1993, the ECOWAS adopted a revised treaty,<sup>55</sup> which provided for a *de jure* mechanism for collective security that was not included in the original treaty. According to Article 58 of the treaty, "member states undertake to work to safeguard and consolidate relations conducive to the maintenance of peace, stability and security within the region" and pledge to "co-operate with the Community in establishing and strengthening appropriate mechanisms for the

---

<sup>51</sup> Ibrahim A. Gambari, "The Role of Foreign Intervention in African Reconstruction," in *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, ed. by I. William Zartman (London: Lynne Rienner, 1995), p. 230.

<sup>52</sup> Gambari.

<sup>53</sup> Howe, *supra* note 50, p. 406.

<sup>54</sup> Howe, p. 407.

<sup>55</sup> Economic Community of West African States Revised Treaty, Article 58 (July 24, 1993).

timely *prevention* and resolution of *intra-State* and *inter-State* conflict..."<sup>56</sup> Likewise, the article calls on member states to "establish a regional peace and security observation system and *peace-keeping forces* where appropriate."<sup>57</sup> Hence, three years after the Liberian intervention in 1990, and four years before the Sierra Leone mission in 1997, ECOWAS established a permanent mechanism that obligated it to take enforcement action to resolve internal conflicts. As a result, Article 58 conferred unambiguous legitimacy to the Sierra Leone mission, which was not enjoyed during the Liberian intervention.

The mission was also legitimate because President Kabbah consented to it and the international community at large, including the OAU,<sup>58</sup> U.N. and U.S. supported intervention.<sup>59</sup> Under international law, Kabbah's request was sufficient enough to justify intervention since he was still recognised as the *de jure* head of state by the international community, and because his regime did not at any time lose *de facto* control of the state.<sup>60</sup> According to Louise Doswald Beck, the 'existence of *de facto* control is generally the most important criterion in dealing with a regime as representing the state.'<sup>61</sup> Hence, by the time ECOWAS made the decision to intervene in Liberia, Doe's regime had lost *de jure* recognition by the international community, and was not in *de facto* control of the state; from Taylor's perspective, these factors deligitimised the ECOWAS mission. ECOWAS should have obtained Taylor's consent prior to intervention because he was in *de facto* control of the state. Consequently, since Koromah's *junta* was not internationally recognised and because it never obtained *de facto* control of the state, it did not at any time obtain international

---

<sup>56</sup> ECOWAS Revised Treaty, Article 58 (*italics added*).

<sup>57</sup> ECOWAS Revised Treaty, Article 58 (*italics added*).

<sup>58</sup> Organization of African Unity Council of Ministers Sixty-sixth Ordinary Session, May 28-30, 1997, Harare, Zimbabwe, Draft Decisions, CM/Draft/Dec. (LXVI) Rev. 1, p. 14.

<sup>59</sup> United Nations, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/1997/29, May 27, 1997; see also, U.S. Department of State Office of the Spokesman Press Statement, "U.S. Reaction to Coup in Sierra Leone," May 26, 1997.

<sup>60</sup> Louise Doswald-Beck, "The Legal Validity of Military Intervention by Invitation of the Government," in *The British Yearbook of International Law*, (LVI 1985), pp. 195-6. See also, Jeremy Levitt, *supra* note 43.

<sup>61</sup> Louise Doswald-Beck, p. 194.

legal personality, as did Taylor's NPFL. This may explain why ECOWAS did not deem it legally necessary to obtain Koromah's consent prior to intervention. Moreover, it appears that the ECOWAS did not need to offer a justification for the intervention because "on [May] 27th a Nigerian frigate docked and began unloading troops at Freetown port *with the permission* of the country's new rulers."<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, as formerly alluded to, although it has been reported that the frigate docked with the permission of the junta, Koromah nor the RUF promised that Nigerian troops would not be attacked, if upon landing they demonstrated an offensive military posture.

Unlike Charles Taylor, after the junta seized power, Koromah predicted that ECOWAS may take unilateral humanitarian action to restore law and order, and appealed to the United Nations to forestall or dissuade ECOWAS from intervening.<sup>63</sup> Koromah's *pre-intervention appeal* shows that more likely than not he was aware that there was a legitimate basis for intervention, which may elucidate why he did not frustrate the ECOMOG mission in August of the same year. In contrast, Koromah and the RUF may have thwarted the Nigerian operation because they considered it illegitimate. Likewise, as previously stated, Taylor's NPFL appear to have attacked ECOMOG forces because they believed that the intervention was illegal. Hence at a minimum, it is evident that ECOWAS was obligated to proffer Taylor an explanation as to the legality of intervention, and alternatively why they were not beholden to do so in the case of Sierra Leone. Notwithstanding, both cases reveal that if a permanent pre-intervention trust-building were established to validate ECOWAS style interventions, violence between peace enforcers and combatants may be averted when troops are deployed in conflict scenarios.

## B. Resource Capacity

Regardless of the degree of legitimacy a proposed humanitarian enforcement mission may have, unless peace enforcers have the material

---

<sup>62</sup> *African Research Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 5, May 1-31, 1997, p. 12694 (italics added).

<sup>63</sup> *African Research Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 5, pp. 12694-5.

resources to viably carry out an operation, it will more likely than not fail. An under-resourced enforcement operation not only threatens the object and purpose of a mission, but also puts at risk individual humanitarian enforcers and civilians, and encourages participant troop corruption. As a result, a conflict scenario may be exacerbated or additional conflict stimulated by a poorly financed operation.

Neither the Liberian nor Sierra Leonian interventions were exact operational successes due to the negligible amount of resources that the member states of ECOWAS (with exception to Nigeria) contributed to those missions. Nigeria provided over 70 percent of the troops for each operation and for the most part financed them.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, Nigerian arrogance, poor pre-intervention intelligence gathering, and a lack of logistical support and reconnaissance capacity hindered and compromised both missions.

A comprehensive economic feasibility study based on data compiled from target state survey missions would allow states to determine the likely operational costs of intervention. If such data were to be provided to member states in the pre-intervention planning phase of an operation, they would be in a better position to determine whether the necessary resources exist to adequately finance a mission. A coherently planned operation, which includes an assessment of the resource capacity of contributing states is likely to decrease confusion, increase *transparency* and promote trust amongst the relevant parties to a conflict. This is especially important with respect to contributing member states, who as a result of such an assessment will know exactly what resources other states intend to proffer. This will increase accountability by obliging the former to work with the latter to raise the necessary assets. Most important, however, such information should be made available to the government of a target state and combatants, so that they know in advance the extent to which states are willing to go to resolve a conflict. In this sense, pre-intervention transparency may positively affect the nature of an operation as combatants may be deterred from fighting if they are aware that the intervention has regional or international legitimacy, and that continued

---

<sup>64</sup> Howe, *supra* note 40, p. 406.

hostilities may result in them being confronted by a conventional humanitarian force. Likewise, if the relevant parties are informed as to the material resources states are willing to expend to resolve a conflict, a mission may attain additional legitimacy from the combatants and simultaneously deter them from warring. For example, had Charles Taylor been "informed" that Nigeria was willing to invest vast resources (several billion dollars) to avert further carnage in Liberia, he may not have been so hostile toward the ECOMOG, and more apt to work toward resolving the conflict. Either he would have been hesitant to prolong the war knowing the tangible and intangible resources (military equipment, monies and human lives) ECOWAS was willing to expend to enforce the peace, or alternatively, the mission may have obtained legitimacy from Taylor had he been aware of the capital ECOWAS was willing to invest to secure peace.

Yet still, the ECOMOG mission in Liberia was greatly compromised because the ECOWAS lacked the necessary resources to maintain the ECOMOG in Liberia for seven years. Herbert Howe reports that "ECOMOG...lacked much of the equipment, maintenance, manpower, administration, and intelligence required for counterinsurgency in Liberia."<sup>65</sup> To undertake a humanitarian enforcement mission amidst a civil war, particularly in a state that has topography similar to Liberia, the intervenor must have at its disposal helicopters and reconnaissance aircraft. However, ECOMOG sought to enforce the peace in Liberia with neither. From a technical standpoint, incompatibility of military equipment, poor maintenance and a lack of operable communications equipment frustrated the mission. ECOMOG's fluctuating manpower base, weak command and control apparatus and lack of a viable intelligence gathering mechanism also caused major problems. In addition, its inability to ensure that troops received their wages in a timely fashion may have damaged troop morale and encouraged corruption. In short, the ECOWAS' failure to secure resources and develop a bipartisan and comprehensive pre-intervention scheme, contributed to the exacerbation of the conflict and the prolonging of the war.

<sup>65</sup> Howe, *supra* note 40, p. 421.

As previously stated, had the ECOWAS conducted a comprehensive technical survey mission detailing the material resources needed to effectively carry out the mission, it may have increased transparency and decreased the amount of distrust amongst its member states and between them and the NPFL. Likewise, it may have prevented hundreds of African humanitarian enforcers, combatants and civilians from being killed.

Although the ECOWAS intervention in Sierra Leone encountered some difficulties, it was enormously more successful than the one in Liberia. This may be attributed to the above mentioned pre-intervention trust-building mechanisms that were instituted in wake of the Liberian experience. Moreover, this could also be because Nigerian forces were already in Sierra Leone before the *coup d'etat* pursuant to a bilateral Status of the Forces Agreement between the two countries,<sup>66</sup> and since ECOMOG maintained a small-scale military base there for operations in Liberia. Prior to the ECOMOG intervention it was evident that the necessary manpower (albeit unorganised) existed to quickly engage and subdue the junta.

It is probable that the ECOMOG mission was successful because its commanders learned from the blunders of the Nigeria intervention. For example, after Nigeria (not ECOMOG) unilaterally deployed troops to Sierra Leone to restore law and order, they came under attack by guerrillas from the *junta* and RUF.<sup>67</sup> Since Nigerian contingents were not provided with the necessary equipment (specifically ammunition) to enable them to repel the RUF, dozens of Nigerians were murdered and the mission commander was forced to halt the operation until reinforcements arrived.<sup>68</sup> *New African* reported that the Nigerians "with their array of modern weapons backed by frigates and all, were no match for the battle-hardened boys and girls of the RUF who had six years to test their reflexes in the bush."<sup>69</sup> By the time ECOMOG forces "officially" landed in September 1997, Nigeria SOFA and

---

<sup>66</sup> Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), *supra* note 34.

<sup>67</sup> *New African*, "Sierra Leone: RUF Comes Town", (July/August 1997), p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> *African Research Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 6, June 1-30, 1997, p. 12733.

<sup>69</sup> *Id.*



ECOMOG Nigerian forces already present in Sierra Leone had established the necessary conditions for an "incident free" intervention. Similarly, the ECOMOG forces landed with the necessary equipment to enforce the peace and restore law and order to Sierra Leone. Although the mission can be referenced as an operational success in comparison to the one in Liberia, ECOWAS has yet to establish a viable command and control structure. Furthermore, the majority of the member states of ECOWAS have failed to put forth the resources to make such operations authentically multilateral. As a result, both interventions have had an overly intrusive Nigerian presence.

Due to the diplomatic efforts made by the ECOWAS, OAU and United Nations between the Nigerian intervention in June 1997, and the ECOMOG mission in September 1997, the junta and RUF were well aware of ECOWAS' intent to mobilise the ECOMOG humanitarian force against them. Therefore, unlike the ECOMOG mission in Liberia, the Sierra Leone mission was transparent, as the junta unquestionably had formal notice that ECOMOG intended to intervene.

Resource capacity and transparency are key pre-intervention trust-building principles. As the ECOMOG-Liberian and Nigerian-Sierra Leone interventions demonstrate, when states seek to enforce the peace ill-prepared and with inadequate resources, various politico-military problems will undoubtedly occur. Likewise, when operational transparency is apparent to the relevant parties to a conflict, the ECOMOG-Sierra Leone intervention seems to illustrate that humanitarian enforcers will encounter less resistance from combatants when they intervene in a state. This is not to assert that rebels will not attack or frustrate an intervention if they are not given notice, but only that pre-intervention transparency may give such rebels a confident expectation that the mission is not ill-intended nor illegitimate.

### **C. Sub-Regional Doctrine Formulation**

The failure of the U.S.-led U.N. mission in Somalia and the Belgium-led U.N. mission in Rwanda appears to have been directly related to material flaws in Western-based U.N. peacekeeping practices (doctrine) with respect to

its demonstrated inapplicability and ineffectiveness in African conflict scenarios. This may, in part, be due to the fact that such doctrine is for the most part a byproduct of Western military experiences in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, such doctrine has been developed from and is a manifestation of interstate as opposed to internal conflict situations. Hence, to a large extent U.N. peacekeeping doctrine has been shown to be inadequate due to the internal character and harsh brand of conflicts occurring in Africa since the end of the cold war.

Standard or universal international peacekeeping doctrine as employed by the OAU in Chad and initially by ECOMOG in Liberia has proven itself ineffective and even counterproductive in the African context. As a result, there is a need for African states to re-evaluate and re-devise such doctrine to take into account the nature and complexities of African conflict, as the majority of internal deadly conflicts since 1990 have required forcible military intervention. This, however, does not mean to suggest that standard international doctrine should be discounted, nor that one African humanitarian enforcement doctrine can in fact be created. On the other hand, military leaders in Africa should seek to devise African peace enforcement doctrine within the rubric of universally accepted standards. Given Africa's enormous size and geo-political and military diversity, it would seem feasible for states to work through pre-existing sub-regional arrangements to conceive humanitarian enforcement doctrine along sub-regional lines. The ECOWAS missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, MISAB mission in the Central African Republic and South African (SADC) mission in Lesotho have demonstrated that states are working through sub-regional mechanisms to avert conflict, and therefore should complement such efforts by formulating doctrine based on their respective experiences.

The ECOWAS has yet to develop sub-regional peace enforcement doctrine. Although successful, the Liberian and Sierra Leone interventions were "ill coordinated" reactions to humanitarian crises, which from an operational perspective could have been greatly enhanced had they been guided by doctrine. "Failure by African states to establish an effective collective security system" based on sub-regional African peace enforcement doctrine has affected their capacity to effectively respond to serious humanitarian crises, and hence

contributed to African insecurity.<sup>70</sup> African fashioned sub-regional doctrine, as opposed to universal Western-styled doctrine, would appear to be more applicable and acceptable to states because as previously mentioned it would be a manifestation of their collective sub-regional experiences. To borrow an expression from Lord David Owen, African premised doctrine may increase states "self-discipline to be impartial" and add credibility to a humanitarian mission and force.<sup>71</sup> The existence of such doctrine would seem to allow the military apparatus' of states to develop familiarity with, and a vested interest in comporting with agreed upon politico-military standards of operation. Doctrinal familiarity may promote interorganisational transparency and institutional trust, as participating states and perhaps conflicting parties would become familiar with the methods and procedures in which states have committed themselves to work.

## CONCLUSION

The case of Liberia and Sierra Leone demonstrate that pre-intervention trust-building can determine post-intervention operational outcomes and the extent to which a humanitarian enforcement mission may succeed. The discussion above clearly shows that the ECOWAS-ECOMOG intervention in Liberia was far less successful than the one in Sierra Leone due to the negligible amount of pre-intervention trust-building that took place prior to intervention. Legitimacy, resource capacity, doctrine formulation and transparency are key pre-intervention trust-promoting principles that African states need consider before partaking in peace enforcement operations. When

---

<sup>70</sup> Peter Mutharika, "The Role of the United Nations Security Council in African Peace Management: Some Proposals," *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Winter 1996), p. 561.

<sup>71</sup> (Lord Owen was commenting on the need for the Security Council to be self-disciplined and impartial before a humanitarian intervention, so as not to undermine the credibility of the intervening force). Lord David Owen, "A Clinician's Caution: Rhetoric and Reality," in Kevin M. Cahill, M.D. ed., *Preventive Diplomacy* (New York, NY: Basic Books for the Center for International Health and Cooperation, 1996), p. 317.

a state, group of states or regional actor intend to employ military force in a state, the above case studies suggest that pre-intervention trust-building may decrease the chances that the relevant parties will oppose intervention, and lessen the likelihood that combatants will violently resist an operation. If the relevant parties to a conflict have a confident expectation that a mission which entails the use of forces is not ill-intended nor illegitimate, then it appears from both a political and operational standpoint that the intervention is more likely to succeed.

## **The Impeachments and Trials of President James S. Payne and Secretary Benjamin J.K. Anderson: The Documentary Evidence (Part I)**

*Tim Geysbeek\**

On December 24, 1877, the Liberian House of Representatives impeached President James S. Payne of the Republican Party. The Senate then formed a "High Court of Impeachment" and suspended President Payne from office. The High Court began to try the president in January, but delayed its proceedings shortly thereafter because the trial provoked so much "political excitement." In the meantime, on January 7, 1878, True Whig Party standard bearer Anthony W. Gardner succeeded Payne as president. The Impeachment Court resumed its trial of Payne, but adjourned at the end of the year. In December 1879, the legislature dismissed the case, concluding the first and only impeachment and trial of a directly elected president in Liberian history.

The House's most important charge against President Payne was that he refused to implement a joint-legislative directive to suspend Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin J.K. Anderson from office. The legislature had suspended Anderson on December 21, 1877 because Anderson did not file his department's annual report on time. Anderson was impeached by the House in January, and convicted by the High Court on three counts in February. James Payne (1819-1882) was a Methodist minister who earlier served as Liberia's president from 1868-1870. Benjamin Anderson (1835-1910) was Secretary of the Treasury from 1863-1864, and was Liberia's famous explorer who traveled to Musadu in the late 1860s and mid-1870s.

The Payne-Anderson saga strengthened the True Whig Party's growing domination over the Republican Party, and ultimately doomed any aspirations

---

\* Professor Tim Geysbeek teaches at Calvin College in Michigan, and he is completing his doctoral dissertation in West African History at Michigan State University. Professor Geysbeek has published several scholarly articles on Liberia.

that Payne might have had to seek the presidency again. Yet, one is hard pressed to find any of these events mentioned in any Liberian history book. The purpose of this two-part study is to show how this rift developed between the legislative and executive branches of government in the late 1870s. Part I provides the primary sources that tell about Payne and Anderson's impeachments and trials.<sup>1</sup> Part II will analyze the sources, discuss the underlying social, political, and economic factors that precipitated these events, and examine the complex constitutional issues that the process engendered. The second part will appear in a subsequent issue of this journal.

The texts below derive from memoranda that Liberian and United States government officials generated, and newspaper articles that Liberians published in the Monrovia press. These materials are presented in chronological order, and appear in Documents A-K.

Most of the early information is from handwritten reports and papers that U.S. representatives in Monrovia shipped to the State Department in Washington, D.C. on a regular basis. J. Milton Turner was the U.S. consul general in Liberia when the process began, so much of what we know comes from communiqués that he mailed to William E. Evarts, the U.S. Secretary of State (Docs. B-F). Fortunately, Turner enclosed a document titled "Papers in the Case of the Impeachment against J.S. Payne, President of Liberia" with one of his reports (Doc. E). The "Papers" included the House's six articles of impeachment against Payne, and Payne's response to each article. The "Papers" are reproduced in the first inset. For a retyped copy of the critical first article that accused Payne of being "guilty of official misconduct in office" because he did not suspend Anderson, see Document J. John H. Smyth replaced Turner as the U.S. minister in Liberia in July 1878. Smyth's report about the High Court's decision to postpone the trial in December of the same year is in Document I. Turner and Smyth's reports are in a series of materials in the U.S.

---

<sup>1</sup> The first draft of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association in Chicago, 1998. I thank professors Thomas Carney, Amos Beyan and the anonymous readers for offering very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

archives called "Despatches from the United States Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1900" (Series 170, Roll 7).

Another important source is *The Observer* newspaper. *The Observer* began in Monrovia in September 1878, with E. S. Morris as its editor. Except for Minister Smyth's short report about the deferment of the trial, nearly everything else that is known about the last phase of Payne's trial derives from *The Observer*. *The Observer* explained why the legislature postponed Payne's hearing in December 1878 (Docs. G-H) and dismissed his trial one year later (Doc. K). *The Observer* also printed an editorial which stated that President Payne's refusal to suspend Secretary Anderson was unconstitutional and "dangerous" (Doc. J). *The Observer's* articles demonstrate the sophisticated way in which the press and some of the populace engaged in and influenced the legal and political aspects of the case. Further research in the Papers of the American Colonization Society and at institutions like Indiana University that house the Svend E. Holsoe Collection should yield more data.

Portions of the 1847 Liberian Constitution and Luther S. Cushing's tome on parliamentary procedure are reprinted in Appendix A and B because some of the documents referenced these works. The Liberian Constitution established the basic guidelines that explained how high government officials should be impeached (App. A). Although the Liberian legislators used the constitution as their key referent when they impeached Payne and Anderson, they supplemented the constitution with other materials that provided more procedural details and expounded on earlier precedents. The only text which we know of for certain that the legislators used was Luther Cushing's *Lex Parliamentaria Americana*. According to *The Observer*, the legislature voted to postpone its trial of James Payne in 1878 based on Sections 2550 and 2552 that Cushing wrote in his chapter on impeachments (App. B). Cushing based his study on the development of parliamentary practice in Great Britain and the United States. As we know that the Liberians used Cushing's book, nine additional sections that they probably consulted are also republished. Section 2556 tenders precedence which states that legislatures have suspended persons in the past when they were impeached and before they were tried. Sections 2563-2570 explain the basic process used in the United States to impeach

government officers. The Liberian House and Senate basically followed the pattern that Cushing outlined, notwithstanding some new procedures that the U.S. congress added when its members impeached and tried President Andrew Johnson in 1868.

All of the words in the documents and appendices are exactly reproduced from the originals, including misspellings, underlining, italicizing, bracketing, missed words, strikeouts, abbreviations and punctuation errors. The exception is Liberia's 1847 Constitution which is taken from Charles Huberich's *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia*. Turner and Smyth's reports are slightly reformatted to conserve space, but the contents that they wrote remain the same. Compare Turner's report in the second inset with the typed version in Document F.

#### **DOCUMENT A: "DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REGISTER - TO THE DEPARTMENT," 1877-1880<sup>2</sup>**

*Source:* U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 1).

- - - - -

From Whom	No.	Date	Subject	Receipt & Deposition
		1877		
J. Milton Turner	287	Dec. 24	Political. Secretary of the Treasury has been suspended by the Legislature for failure to present an annual report as usual.	2/6

---

<sup>2</sup> Only the entries that Turner and Smyth entered about the impeachments and trials appear in this document.



From Whom	No.	Date	Subject	Receipt & Deposition
		1878		
	288	Jany 2	Political. Impeachment articles preferred right Pres. Payne. Trial to take place on 2nd inst. Suspension of the Pres. pending the trial. Cabinet officers have resigned, and the only Administration officer remaining is the Vice Pres. who is acting Pres.	2/6
	289	" 8	... Articles of impeachment have been preferred agt. B.J.K. Anderson suspended Secretary of the Treasury.	3/10
	290	" 8	Political. Inauguration of A.W. Gardner as President on 7th inst. Cordial addresses interchanged bet. US. Min. & the new President.	3/10
	291	" 26	Impeachment of Ex. Prest Payne. Trial postponed until Dec. 1878. Copy of articles sold. Trial of suspended Secretary of the Treasury nearly concluded.	3/10
	294	Feb. 6	Impeachment of Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia. He has been convicted on three counts. Criminal proceedings to be instituted agt him in the courts. Legr. unable to furnish copy of impeachment articles.	3/10
		1879		
John H. Smyth	9	Jany. 9	Political. Meeting of the Liberian Legislature on the 2 <sup>nd</sup> ult. Impeachment proceedings agt. Ex-Prest. Payne.	2/15

**DOCUMENT B: "ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS CONCERNING  
JOINT RESOLUTION OF LEGISLATURE FOR SUSPENSION OF  
THE LIBERIAN SECRETARY OF TREASURY" (NO. 287).**

*From: J. Milton Turner (Monrovia), on 24 December 1877*

*To:* Hon. William M. Evarts, U.S. Department of State (Washington), received on 6 Feb. 1878

*Source:* U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 7).

- - - - -

[p. 1] Subject:

Abstract of Contents

Concerning of Joint Resolution of Legislature for suspension of the Liberian Secretary of Treasury

[p. 2] Sir: Honorable William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, Washington  
----- The Liberian Legislature by Joint-Resolution passed on the 21st, instant suspended the Honorable the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia, for the failure of that officer to present to that Body a report of the doings of the Department of the Treasury for the fiscal year ended September 30 1877. This action of the Legislature creates commotion and is regarded in political [p. 3] circles as quite a decided reproof to the present administration

I have the honor to be your (Sir) obedient servant

J. Milton Turner

**DOCUMENT C: "IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT AND  
RESIGNATION OF CABINET-OFFICERS" (NO. 288)**

*From:* J. Milton Turner (Monrovia), on 2 January 1878

*To:* Honorable William M. Evarts (Washington), received on 6 February 1878

*Source:* U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 7).

- - - - -

[p. 1]

## Abstract of contents:

Preferment of Articles of Impeachment against President Payne. Resignation of Officers of the Administration Referring to suspension of Secretary of [p. 2] Treasury. Vice-president [is the] only officer of the Administration not accused, and at present Acting President.

[p. 3] Sir: Honorable William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, Washington  
I have the honor to inform you that the Honorable the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia decided by an almost unanimous vote taken on the Twenty-fourth day of December, too present to the Senate of Liberia Articles of Impeachment against His Excellency the President of Liberia. On the Twenty-Fourth day of December the Honorable [p. 4] the House of Representatives through a Board of Managers<sup>3</sup> composed of four members of the said House; appeared at the Bar of the Senate of Liberia and agreeably with certain provisions of the Liberian Constitution,<sup>4</sup> preferred (Six. 6.): Articles of Impeachment against His Excellency the President. The Senate, on the same day, without first resolving itself into a High Court of Impeachment with the Chief Justice of the Republic as presiding judge, as the Constitution of Liberia provides must be done in such cases,<sup>5</sup> issued a Citation or Summons to His Excellency the President ordering him to respond [p. 5] to the Articles of Impeachment on Monday the Thirty-first day of December, at Ten O'clock, A.M. The Attorney General<sup>6</sup> resigned his office on the Twenty-ninth of December within a few hours subsequent to the presentation of the Articles of Impeachment; and appeared at the time set for His Excellency's response as Attorney for Respondent. On the Thirty-first day of December, the Chief Justice presiding, the High Court of Impeachment was formed: And it was ordered that a Copy of the Articles of Impeachment be furnished the

---

<sup>3</sup> The members of the House of Representatives selected "managers" from its own membership to prosecute its case before the High Court of Impeachment.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> Article II, Section 6 of the Constitution (App. A).

<sup>6</sup> William McCall Davis.

Respondent through his Attorney; and that the Second day of January, A.D. 1878 at Two O'clock [p. 6] P.M. be time fixed for His Excellency the President to appear and answer to the specification and causes for impeachment, preferred by the Honorable the House of Representatives. The High Court of Impeachment, at its sitting held January the First, A.D. 1878, after debate of great warmth, suspended President Payne from the exercise of the functions of the presidency. The Secretary of State<sup>7</sup> has informed me verbally that his resignation of the Folio of the State Department has been tendered and accepted. I have elsewhere had the honor to inform the Department of the Suspension of the Honorable the Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia.<sup>8</sup> [p. 7] I take occasion to remark that the action of the Legislature in suspending the Secretary of the Treasury was perhaps unconstitutional; as that instrument provides for the tenure of that officer during the pleasure of the President.<sup>9</sup> However, the Vice-President<sup>10</sup> is the only officer of the Administration now in the unquestioned exercise of official functions: The Vice-President is now acting President of the Republic. The action of the Legislature at this session produces great consternation in Liberia; and it is at present impossible to forecast the result of these disturbances. I have found it difficult, [p. 8] indeed impossible, thus far to obtain for the Department a copy of the Articles of Impeachment. I hope, however, to have the honor to send a copy there or as soon as it can be procured. I omitted to state in the body of this despatch that the General of the Liberian Army has also resigned.

I have the honor to be,

Sir

With Considerations of high esteem

Your obedient servant,

J. Milton Turner

---

<sup>7</sup> John W. Blackledge.

<sup>8</sup> Document C.

<sup>9</sup> Article III, Section 6 (App. A). For an opposing view, see the editorial that *The Observer* later published (Doc. J).

<sup>10</sup> Charles H. Harmon.

**DOCUMENT D: "IMPEACHMENT OF HONORABLE  
B.J.K. ANDERSON (SUSPENDED) SECRETARY  
OF THE LIBERIAN TREASURY" (NO. 289)**

*From:* J. Milton Turner (Monrovia), on 8 January 1878

*To:* William M. Evarts (Washington), received on 11 March 1878

*Source:* U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States  
Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 7).

- - - - -

**Subject:**

[p. 1]... Impeachment of Honorable B.J.K. Anderson, (suspended) Secretary of the Liberian Treasury.<sup>11</sup>

**Abstract of Contents**

[p. 2] ... the Secretary of the Treasury is arraigned before the High Court of Impeachment.

[p. 3] No. 289

Sir: William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, Washington

... I desire to inform the Department that the Honorable the House of Representatives have preferred Articles of Impeachment against Honorable B.J.K. Anderson (suspended) Secretary of the Liberian Treasury; for malfeasance in office and using the public funds without the authorization of law. There are now, therefore, [p. 4] two - 2 - trials of impeachment pending before the Honorable the Senate of Liberia; vis: that of ex-president Payne and that of ex-secretary Anderson. I have made several verbal applications for the

---

<sup>11</sup> Turner first explained how President Payne's son James Payne Jr., planned to assassinate three members of the House of Representatives. James Jr. was a member of the House, and the House found him guilty of the charges. James Jr. was jailed and freed after paying a \$100 fine and posting a \$1000 bond.

Articles of Impeachment in these cases, but without success. I shall have the honor to forward them as soon as copies can be obtained.

I have the honor to be,

Sir:

With considerations of high esteem,

Your obedient servant,

J. Milton Turner

**DOCUMENT E: "TRANSMITTING ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT  
AGAINST EX-PRESIDENT PAYNE" (NO. 291, see Exhibit E-1)**

*From:* J. Milton Turner (Monrovia), on 26 January 1878

*To:* William M. Evarts (Washington), received on 11 March 1878

*Source:* U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States  
Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 7).

- - - - -

[p. 1]

Abstract of contents:

ex-President Payne's Trial postponed until the next session of the Legislature.  
Mr. Anderson's trial in progress. 1 Inclosure.<sup>12</sup>

[p. 2] Sir: Honorable William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, Washington  
I have the honor to transmit for the information of the Department, the printed copy of the Articles of Impeachment as preferred by the Honorable the House of Representatives of Liberia against ex-president James S. Payne: The High Court of Impeachment at its session today set the trial of Mr. Payne for the second Monday in December, A.D., 1878. This action [p. 3] is regarded

---

<sup>12</sup> This enclosure or the "printed copy of the Articles of Impeachment" mentioned on page 2 are the "Papers" that appear in Exhibit E-1.

generally as a judicious one on the part of that court; and was probably taken in view of the political excitement and strong feeling manifested relative to the trial of the ex-president. The impeachment trial of Hon'ble B.J.K. Anderson, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, has engaged the attention of the High Court of Impeachment throughout the last eight or ten days. The evidence and arguments on both sides were considered in the case of Mr. Anderson on the Twenty fourth instant: and the High Court determined upon eight days in which to make up the decision. The decision will, [p. 4] I believe, be rendered on the Second day of February. I hope then to have the honor to inform the Department of the nature thereof. The Senate has not ordered the Articles of Impeachment against Mr. Anderson to be printed: hence, I am, thus far, unable to procure said Articles for the information of the Department.

I have the honor to be,

Sir:

With high esteem,

your obedient servant,

J. Milton Turner

**EXHIBIT E-1**

PAPERS IN THE CASE OF IMPEACHMENT

**AGAINST J. S. PAYNE, PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA**

## ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT

ARTICLES EXHIBITED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, IN THE NAME OF THEMSELVES AND ALL THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA, AGAINST JAMES SPENCER PAYNE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, AS MAINTENANCE AND SUPPORT OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT AGAINST HIM FOR MISDEMEANOR AND OFFICIAL MISCONDUCT IN OFFICE.

Art. Ist. That James Spriggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia, on the Twenty fourth day of December in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ's Humiliation and Salvation, in the fourth year of the said Republic, at Monrovia, in the County of Montserrat, manifest of the high duties of his oath of office, and of the requirements of the Constitution, that he should " *take care that the laws be, faithfully executed*" did in violation of the joint assent of both branches of the Legislature refuse to suspend Benjamin J. K. Amieson from the office of Secretary of the Treasury, the said James Spriggs Payne President of the Republic of Liberia well knowing that the said Benjamin J. K. Amieson had been guilty of official misconduct and was in misconduct in office Whereby said James Spriggs Payne President of the Republic of Liberia, did then and there commit, and was guilty of official misconduct in office.

tion of his office and the dignity and propriety thereof, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Liberia criminal of the high crime of treason against the said Republic of Liberia, and of our Lord, Eighteen hundred and Seventy seven, and between that day and on divers other days and times in witness whereof, Between and amidst that day of November, A. D. Eighty hundred and seventy seven and the twenty second day of November, A. D. Eighty hundred and seventy seven, at the City of Montserrato, the said James Spriggs Payne, President of the said Republic of Liberia, did unlawfully draw or caused to be drawn for his own use and behoof Two thousand seven hundred and thirty seven dollars and nine cents in Custom House notes for the said Republic of Liberia, and did draw the same from the Public Treasury, Whereby said James Spriggs Payne President of the Republic of Liberia did thus and so

[illegible]

Art. 4th That said James Spriggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia, on the nineteenth day of August in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and seventy six, and on divers other days and times, in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and seventy seven, before the Twenty fourth day of December, Anno Domini, Eighteen hundred and seventy seven, at Monrovia in the County of Montserrado, the said James Spriggs Payne, did solemnly swear, and did publicly and lawfully administer the said oaths and solemnities, in and to the said members of the Legislature of the said Republic of Liberia, and of the requirements of the Constitution and laws of the said Republic of Liberia, did lawfully draw, or cause to be drawn, drafts on the Revenue or Custom House officers (commonly known as Delinquents) in favour of the Liberian Republic and divers other persons, whereby the said James Spriggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia, did then

[illegible]

then and there commit and was guilty of official misconduct in office.

2. <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> <sup>408</sup> <sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> <sup>411</sup> <sup>412</sup> <sup>413</sup> <sup>414</sup> <sup>415</sup> <sup>416</sup> <sup>417</sup> <sup>418</sup> <sup>419</sup> <sup>420</sup> <sup>421</sup> <sup>422</sup> <sup>423</sup> <sup>424</sup> <sup>425</sup> <sup>426</sup> <sup>427</sup> <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> <sup>430</sup> <sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup> <sup>433</sup> <sup>434</sup> <sup>435</sup> <sup>436</sup> <sup>437</sup> <sup>438</sup> <sup>439</sup> <sup>440</sup> <sup>441</sup> <sup>442</sup> <sup>443</sup> <sup>444</sup> <sup>445</sup> <sup>446</sup> <sup>447</sup> <sup>448</sup> <sup>449</sup> <sup>450</sup> <sup>451</sup> <sup>452</sup> <sup>453</sup> <sup>454</sup> <sup>455</sup> <sup>456</sup> <sup>457</sup> <sup>458</sup> <sup>459</sup> <sup>460</sup> <sup>461</sup> <sup>462</sup> <sup>463</sup> <sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup> <sup>466</sup> <sup>467</sup>

The House of Representatives beg leave most respectfully to give notice to the Honorable the Senate that they reserve themselves the right to exhibit additional Articles of Impeachment against the said James Spriggs Payne President of the Republic of Liberia if found necessary.

Attest,  
ARTHUR DARCLAY,  
Chief Clerk. H. R. H. L.

ANSWER TO ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT  
AGAINST JAMES SPRIGGS PAYNE.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA  
AS REFERRED BY THE HOUSE

FILED JANUARY 2 1878.

*Senate of the Republic of Liberia sitting as a Court of Impeachment for the trial of James Spriggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia.*

The Answer of the said James Spriggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia, to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia.

### Answer to Article I.

For answer to the first article the respondent says; that he has not so much of the high duties of his office as of the requirements of the Constitution that he be "always take care that the laws be faithfully executed." And this respondent further answering denies the right of the Legislature to direct the President to remove an officer of the Executive branch of the Government. The Constitution binds the office of the President and the President and the Constitution does not authorize the Legislature to request the President to suspend an officer but they may request his removal and then it is optional with the President whether he will suspend or remove the officer. The respondent further answering denies that he knew that Benjamin J. K. Anderson Secretary of the Treasury had been guilty of mismanagement and official misconduct in office for the reason that the respondent is not a member of the Legislature and the Legislature has not yet investigated his official acts and in order to establish the fact of his official misconduct in

### Answer to Article IX.

And for answer to the second article this respondent, referring to himself the right of requiring proof of the allegations made against him in said second article, says that it is no quarrel with him, but in office has been received from the government in money the amount due him for that quarter, and the checks for such money have accumulated in his hands in an amount greater than that for which he is charged with drawing orders on the revenue (commonly called debentures) and second article—by so doing this respondent says that he is not guilty of official misconduct.

### *Answer to Article III.*

And for answer to said article third, this respondent, reserving to himself the right to require proof of the allegations in said article third, says that he did cause to be drawn draft on William Comyns Esq., Librarian Consul Gen.

real in the United States for the amount designated to maintain the fund, and the Government has not been able to pay the third, and did appropriate said amount to his own use, but he denies that he did so in violation of the Constitution. He says that he was not a member of the House of Representatives at that time, was owing him a larger amount, than the amount so drawn for, and the money then in his hands was the property of the Government, and he appropriated it lawfully by the authority of the Government, and he is entitled to appropriate the amount on account of the money then due to him. And this respondent further answers the charge of the House of Representatives, that he had not the authority to incur for the purpose of the common necessities of life much less enable him to maintain that appearance belonging to the dignity of his office, and therefore he had a right to use that money as he pleased, and that it had not been otherwise appropriated by the Government.

### Answer to Article 10

And few answer to said fourth article this respondent, not having had the time allowed him to examine the books, as to the issuing of defalcations, and reserving to himself the right to require proof of the charges set forth in the said article, says that if he did not consider the said charges as defalcations he would be obliged by the necessity of carrying on the government, the Legislature at its session of eighteen hundred and seventy-six and eighteen hundred and seventy-seven authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds for the purpose of raising money for the said Legislature and, because Court not an officer or other person was willing to lend the government any money under that legislation and therefore he was forced to count the same as defalcations and he is not a party to the said charges and in doing so is not guilty of official misconduct.

... ..

And for answer to the said fifth article this respondent denies the charge contained in said article.

Answer to Article VI.

And for as much as said article of this respondent, reserving to himself the right to require proof of the allegations contained in said article, says that said article is contrary to the rules of pleading in this or any other court known in this Republic in as much as it contains allegations of acts done on a date and at a place which are not proved, and that said respondent is in violation, thereby making such act exparte and therefore the respondent motions the Honorable Court to strike out the said said article from the articles of impeachment and that said respondent motions the Honorable Court of Representatives to suspend said respondent from his office as a member of said House of Representatives until he has been cleared by the Committee of the House of Representatives and having taken from said said or twenty nine Senators and two and one thousand seven hundred and fifty cartridges in

And this respondent, in submitting to this honorable court his answer to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, respectfully reserves the right to amend and add to the same from time to time, as may become necessary or proper, and when and as such necessity and propriety shall appear.

[Signed] JAMES S. PAYNE,  
W. M. DAVIS,  
Counsel for the Respondent

Correct copy from the original. H. D. BROWN  
Secretary of the Senate.

## • REPLICATION

Replication of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia, to the answer of James M. Briggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia, to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the House of Representatives.

[illegible]

(Signed) W. D. COLEMAN,  
Speaker, House of Representatives.

• ARTHUR BARCLAY  
Chief Clerk H. R. R. I.



**DOCUMENT F: "IMPEACHMENT OF THE EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY" (NO. 294, see Exhibit F-1)**

*From:* J. Milton Turner (Monrovia), on 6 February 1878

*To:* William M. Evarts (Washington D.C.), received on 25 March 1878

*Source:* U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 7).

- - - - -

Subject: Impeachment of the ex-Secretary of the Treasury

Abstract of Contents:

Verdict of guilty on three counts. Criminal proceedings to be instituted before Courts of proper jurisdiction. Unable to secure copy of Articles of Impeachment.

[p. 2] Sir: Honorable William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, Washington  
I have the honor to inform the Department that the High Court of Impeachment in the case of Honorable B.J.K. Anderson, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, found a verdict of guilty of three of the charges alleged by the Honorable the House of Representatives: The High Court decided, on the motion of the principal manager of the prosecution, that the Clerk of the High Court<sup>13</sup> direct the proper officer of the Department of Justice to institute criminal proceedings against Mr. [p. 3] Anderson before the Courts of competent jurisdiction in Montserrado County, and that the said High Court of Impeachment defer to enter further judgment in the case of Mr. Anderson, until the regular session of the Legislature to be held in 1878-9. I have not been able as yet, to secure a copy of the Articles of Impeachment in this case: - The High Court not having ordered the publication thereof.

I have the honor to be

Sir:

With highest considerations

Your obedient servant

J. Milton Turner

---

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Barclay, who became Liberia's president in 1904 (Exhibit E-1).

## IMPEACHMENTS AND TRIALS

## EXHIBIT F-1

File

Feb 7

M. S. R. S. R. S.

No. 294



Legation of the United States

Monroe February 6. 1878

E. Milton Turner

to

the Department of State

Washington.

Subject: Impeachment of  
the ex-Secretary of the Treasury

Abstract of Contents:

Verdict of guilty on three counts.

Criminal proceedings to be instituted before Courts of proper jurisdiction.

Unable to secure copy of articles  
of Impeachment.

No 294. Legation of the United States

Honoria, Edinam, 6 1878

Sir,

I have the honor to inform the Department that the High Court of Impeachment in the case of Honorable B. F. Anderson, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, found a verdict of guilty of three of the charges alleged by the Honorable the House of Representatives. The High Court decided, on the motion of the principal manager of the prosecution, that the Clerk of the High Court direct the proper officer of the Department of Justice to institute criminal proceedings against

Mr.

Honorable

William M. Evarts

Secretary of State, Washington

## IMPEACHMENTS AND TRIALS

~~Mr. Anderson before the Courts of compe-~~  
~~tent jurisdiction in Montserrat County,~~  
and that the said High Court of Im-  
peachment defer to enter further judg-  
ment in the case of Mr. Anderson, un-  
til the regular session of the Legis-  
lature to be held in 1878-9. I have not  
been able as yet, to secure a copy of  
the Articles of Impeachment in this  
case: - the High Court not having  
ordered the publication thereof.

I have the honor to be

Sir:

With highest considerations

Your obedient servant

Milton Turner

**DOCUMENT G: "THE LEGISLATURE"**

*Source: The Observer (Monrovia) 1,10 December 12, 1878*

-----

Since the beginning of the Session and up to the end of last week, both branches have been mainly occupied in perfecting their organization. On Monday last a Convention of the Senate and House took place when the Hons. S.C. Fuller, Willis Fort, and H.C. Brooks, members elect, were sworn in by the President. On Tuesday, the most interesting incident was the debate on the Impeachment of the Hon. J. S. Payne, Ex President of Liberia. On the preceding day Mr. Williams of Montserrado County introduced a Resolution authorizing the Managers on the part of the House of Representatives to postpone the trial of Ex President Payne until the Session of 1879-80 which was adopted. The next day [Tuesday] Mr. Sims, representing the same county, offered a Resolution to rescind that of yesterday and to instruct the Managers to enter a *nolle prosequi*<sup>14</sup> in respect to the proceedings against the citizen referred to, which after the debate mentioned above, was ordered to lie on the table for an indefinite time...<sup>15</sup>

**DOCUMENT H: "IMPEACHMENT OF EX PRESIDENT PAYNE"**

*Source: The Observer (Monrovia) 1,10 December 12, 1878*

-----

---

<sup>14</sup> A *nolle prosequi* or *noll-pros* means to abandon. In a legal setting, the prosecutor enters a motion of *nolle prosequi* to end the prosecution of a case. The House tabled Sim's resolution to discontinue the trial in this instance, but adopted Rep. Wood's *noll-pros* motion one year later (Doc. K).

<sup>15</sup> The article ended with two short paragraphs that discussed other business of Congress.

The High Court of Impeachment duly convened on the 9th inst. But little business was done. The minutes of the last sitting of the Court were read and adopted and upon motion of Senator Russell, the Court then adjourned to the following day. On this day the Court was opened at the usual hour, and the case of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia, Vs. James S. Payne. Ex President of the Republic of Liberia was duly called. The Managers on behalf of the House and the counsellor H.W. Johnson, Jan [sic.], appearing for the respondent, were present. Several persons visited the Court, among whom was the American Minister<sup>16</sup> who conducted to a seat next the presiding judge, Chief Justice Parsons.

The Managers of the House of Representatives through their chief leader Hon. J.W. Worrell, begged to announce to the Court of Impeachment that the House of Representatives had concluded to postpone the case until the next or ensuing Session of 1879 & 80: and that their determination was based on Section 2550 and 2552 of page 983 of Cushing's Manual.<sup>17</sup> Great surprise was manifested at this announcement, and after some remarks associate Ross moved that the Court adjourn until the second Monday in December 1879. The motion was negatived by a majority of the members of the Court; and it was thence inferred that the majority was in favor of proceeding at once with the trial. Associate Ross then said that he did not see what the Court would do under the circumstances. The Managers on behalf of the House said that it was their inherent right as the branch of the legislature having the impeaching power to say they will do so and so. They did not ask the Senate to do so and so: but said that by the power vested in them by such and such a section cited, they did so and so. What had the Court against that the silence of the Respondent. That was all left to the Court, no matter what might be its own opinion. He was anxious as any one for the matter to be determined but then he would not put himself in the position of Manager and judge also, or respondent and judge also; nor did he think that the Court would. The

---

<sup>16</sup> John H. Smyth, who reported on this meeting to Secretary Evarts (Doc. I).

<sup>17</sup> This is a reference to two sections in Luther Stearns Cushing's book *Lex Parliamentaria Americana* (App. B). The writer of this article evidently confused the correct title with the author's popular *Cushing's Manual of Parliamentary Practice*.

**DOCUMENT I: "THE LEGISLATURE OF LIBERIA" (NO. 9)**

**Source:** U.S. Consulate. Monrovia, Liberia. Despatches from United States Ministers to Liberia, 1863-1906 (No. 170, Microfilm 4391, Roll 7).

— — — — —

The convening of the legislature, Monday, December 2, 1878, proceedings in relation to impeachment of Hon. J.S. Payne, Ex-President...<sup>18</sup>

I have the honor after unavoidable delay to inform you that the Liberian Legislature convened on the first Monday in December, 1878 and thereupon the Senate proceeded to resolve itself into a High Court of Impeachment for the trial of Ex-President Payne, the immediate successor of Mr. Gardner the present incumbent.

The trial had proceeded but a day - when on the following day the House of Representatives, by a resolution, caused a continuance from the present to the next Legislature. This course was pursued, it is generally

<sup>18</sup> Smyth also discussed the annual messages of President Gardner and the Treasury Secretary.

believed, that Mr. Payne may be deprived of the privilege of aspiring to presidential preferment this year...

[p. 11] With regrets for delay in giving the within facts. Believe me, Sir, with highest considerations of distinguishment, I am your abd'st servant,  
John H. Smyth

## **DOCUMENT J: "THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET, UNDER THE CONSTITUTION"**

*Source: The Observer (Monrovia) 2,18 December 25th., 1879*

- - - - -

It is obligatory on the President of Liberia to remove the Head of a Department on a joint address of the two branches of the Legislature? This was one of the questions raised during the recent proceedings in Impeachment exhibited against Ex President Payne.

The House of Representatives made the following allegation in their Articles of Impeachment against Mr. Payne:

That James Spriggs Payne, President of the Republic of Liberia, on the Twenty fourth day of December in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and seventy seven, at Monrovia, in the county of Montserrado, unmindful of the high duties of his oath of office, and of the requirements of the Constitution that he should "*take care that laws be faithfully executed*"<sup>19</sup> did in violation of the joint address of both branches of the Legislature refuse to suspend Benjamin J.K. Anderson, from the office of Secretary of the Treasury, the said James Spriggs Payne President of the Republic of Liberia, well knowing that the said Benjamin J.K. Anderson had been guilty of misdemeanor and official misconduct in office, whereby said James Spriggs Payne, President of the

---

<sup>19</sup> Article III, Section 1 of the constitution (App. A).



Republic of Liberia, did then and there commit, and was guilty of official misconduct in office.

Counsellor W.M. Davis for the respondent President Payne put in the following replication to above allegation:

For answer to the first article the respondent says; that he was not unmindful of the high duties of his office and of the requirements of the Constitution that he "should take care that the laws be faithfully executed." And this respondent further answering denies the right of the Legislature to direct him by a "Joint address" to suspend an officer who according to the Constitution holds his office at the pleasure of the President and the Constitution does not authorize the Legislature to request the President to suspend an officer but they may request his removal and then it is optional with the President whether he will comply with that request or not.<sup>20</sup>

It seems to us that the question, if there are any doubts concerning it, ought to be settled as soon as possible. If the President can retain an officer in place against the wishes of the Legislature constitutionally or even informally expressed he has a power under the Constitution which ought to be restricted as quickly as possible.

As journalists we are inclined to take the position that the sixth section of article III of the constitution<sup>21</sup> does not give the President the option which Counsellor Davis claimed for him. It pointed out two ways by which an officer may be removed from office - by impeachment or upon the address of both branches of the Legislature stating the particular reason for his removal. The reason once stated the President is obligated to remove him or suspend him if he is required to do so. The word "may" in the clause "may be removed from office" applies we think to the manner in which an officer may be got rid of rather than to any pleasure of the Executive, under the circumstances. It is

---

<sup>20</sup> The editorial omitted the last sentence of Payne's answer which read: "And this respondent further answering denies that he knew that Benjamin K. Anderson Secretary of the Treasury had been guilty of misdemeanor and official misconduct in office for the Legislature has not yet investigated his official actions in order to establish the fact of official misconduct in office" (Exhibit E-1). The writer copied Article I and Payne's response word-for-word, but added some commas and did not capitalize some words.

<sup>21</sup> Article III, Section 6 (App. A).

perfectly true that certain officials retain their positions at the pleasure of the President, but it ought to be remembered that these same officers are appointed *by and with the advice and consent of the Senate*.<sup>22</sup> Now it is monstrous to assert that an officer appointed by the advice and consent of the Representatives of the people need not be removed from office at their request and can be retained against their wishes. If this doctrine obtains in Liberia, a dangerous blow will have been struck at the liberties of the people and that fundamental principle of Democratic Communities that the will of the People expressed legitimately is the highest law.

### **DOCUMENT K: "THE IMPEACHMENT OF EX-PRESIDENT PAYNE"**

*Source: The Observer (Monrovia) 2,18 December 25th, 1879*

- - - - -

The High Court of Impeachment reassembled on the Second Monday in December for trial of President Payne. The Court adjourned until the 15th ulto - induced thereto by various reasons.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Wood of Maryland County submitted a Resolution on the 11th ulto and again on the 12th ulto to instruct the managers to enter a *noll pros*;<sup>23</sup> but to this the House refused assent because no examination had been made of the papers by the present House in order that it might appear whether or not the Impeachment had been justly preferred.

On Saturday, 13th ulto, the House by Resolution appointed Messrs. McGill, Howard, Kirk and Cummings the Managers of said impeachment and instructed them to examine the papers and make such recommendations to the House on the subject as might seem to them met.

---

<sup>22</sup> Article III, Section 1 (App. A).

<sup>23</sup> This was the same resolution that Mr. Sims offered one year earlier (Doc. G).

On Monday the 15th, ulto, Mr. McGill on behalf of the Managers submitted a Resolution fully endorsing the action of the House that had preferred the charges and expressing their belief that they had been involved thereto by patriotic motives; but that they believed that sufficient punishment had been inflicted by the length of time the impeachment had been pending to prevent similar conduct on the part of Executive officers in the future. They recommend therefore that the Managers be instructed to enter a *noll. pros.* To this Resolution the House agreed. The Managers entered a *noll. pros.* accordingly.<sup>24</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

## **APPENDIX A: IMPEACHMENT PROVISIONS** **IN THE 1847 CONSTITUTION<sup>25</sup>**

*Source:* Charles Henry Huberich, *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia*, vol. II, New York: Central Book Company, 1947, pages 856-860.

-----

### Article II (Legislative Powers)

Section 4: The House of Representatives shall elect their own Speaker and other officers; they shall have the *sole power of impeachment*.

Section 6: The Senate shall *try all impeachments*; the senators being first sworn or solemnly affirmed to try the same impartially, and according to law; and no

---

<sup>24</sup> The same issue of *The Observer* reported that, on Monday: "The House discussed the Resolution to instruct the Managers to enter a *nolle prosequi* in the action of impeachment against James S. Payne which they adopted." Monday's entry for the Senate's activities simply read: "High Court of Impeachment" ("The Legislature").

<sup>25</sup> Emphases added.

person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two thirds of the senators present. Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic: but the party may be tried at law for the same offence. When either the President or Vice President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

### Article III (Executive Power)

Section 1: The Supreme Executive Power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years... He shall nominate, and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint and commission all Ambassadors, and other public Ministers and Consuls, Secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury, Attorney General, all Judges of Courts, Sheriffs, Coroners, Marshalls, Justices of the Peace, Clerks of Courts, Registers, Notaries Public, and all other officers of State civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the Constitution, or by standing laws. And in the recess of the senate, he may fill any vacancies in those offices, until the next session of the senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. *He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed...*

Section 4: The Secretary of the Treasury or other persons who may by law, be charged with the custody of the public monies, shall before he receive such monies, give bonds to the State with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such monies when required by the President or Legislature, and no monies shall be drawn from the Treasury, but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

Section 6: Every civil official may be removed from office by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer *may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature*, stating their particular reason for his removal.

**APPENDIX B: CUSHING'S *Lex Parliamentaria Americana* on Impeachment<sup>26</sup>**

Source: Luther Stearns Cushing, *Lex Parliamentaria Americana: Elements of the Law and Practice of Legislative Assemblies in the United States*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1866 (second edition), pages 983-985, 987-989.

- - - - -

2550. If the accused is declared not guilty, the impeachment is dismissed; but, if guilty, it then remains for the commons to demand judgment against him, if they think proper. But *as the commons commence a prosecution by impeachment, at their own will and pleasure, so they may proceed with it or not, or suspend their proceedings, at any stage, as they please*. It is their power therefore, after a conviction, to refrain from demanding judgment against the accused, and thus, in effect, to extend a pardon to him. Without such demand, the lords cannot proceed to pronounce judgment.

2552. *When an impeachment is once pending in the house of lords, it is not discontinued by a prorogation, or even by a dissolution of parliament, but continues from session to session, until the proceedings are terminated*. Each succeeding house of commons may, therefore, take up and proceed with an impeachment, which has been commenced or prosecuted by their predecessors. But this is not the case with the preliminary steps in the house of commons, which precede an impeachment, which, like all other unfinished business, are discontinued by a prorogation or dissolution, and therefore require to be revived in a succeeding session. To prevent the inconvenience which would have resulted from such a discontinuance in the cases of Warren Hastings in 1786, and in that of Lord Melville, in 1805, acts were passed to provide that the proceedings depending in the house of commons upon the

---

<sup>26</sup> Emphases added, except for *ex parte* in Section 2566. *Ex parte* means from one side, here referring to the Senate.

articles of charge in those cases should not be discontinued by any prorogation or dissolution of parliament.

2556. II. The power of impeachment is expressly conferred by all our constitutions upon the lower or more popular of the two branches of which the legislative body is composed, and which, from this function, is sometimes denominated the grand inquest of the State; to be exercised, not like a grand-jury, but in its ordinary legislative form of proceeding; and to be determined upon, unless otherwise specified, which is the case in some of the constitutions, by the ordinary major vote. This power, in the constitutions of the United States, and of the greater number of the individual States, is conferred directly, and in the most appropriate phraseology, upon the house of representatives; in others, notice is required to be previously given, and an opportunity to be heard in his defence, allowed to the party accused; in others a greater than the ordinary majority is required to sustain articles of impeachment; and in others it is provided, that the impeachment of an offender shall operate, until a decision of it in his favor, to *suspend him from the exercise of the functions of his office*.

2563. The following is a summary of the practice in this respect of the two houses of the congress of the United States. When an officer is known or suspected to be guilty of malversation in office, some member of the house of representatives usually brings forward a resolution to accuse the party, or for the appointment of a committee to consider and report upon the charges brought against him. The latter is the usual course; and the report of the committee ordinarily embraces, if adverse to the party, a statement of the charges, and recommends the resolution that he be impeached therefor. If the resolution is adopted by the house, a committee is thereupon appointed to impeach the party at the bar of the senate; to state that the articles against him will be exhibited in due time, and made good before the senate; and to demand that the senate take order for the appearance of the party to answer to the impeachment.

2564. This being accordingly done, the senate signifies its willingness to take such order; and articles are then prepared by a committee; under the direction of the house of representatives; which, when reported to, and

approved by the house, are then presented in the like manner to the senate; and a committee of managers is appointed to conduct the impeachment. When the articles are thus presented, the senate issues a process summoning the person accused to appear before it, to answer the articles. The process is served by the sergeant-at-arms of the senate, and due return is made thereof under oath.

2565. The articles thus exhibited need not, and do not in fact, pursue the strict form and accuracy of an indictment. They are sometimes quite general in the form of the allegations; but always contain, or ought to contain, so much certainty as to enable the party to put himself upon the proper defence, and also in case of acquittal to avail himself of it, as a bar to another impeachment. Additional articles may be exhibited, especially, as is commonly the case, if the right to do so has been reserved, at any stage of the prosecution.

2566. When the return day of the process for appearance has arrived, the senate resolves itself into a court of impeachment, and the senators are then, if not before, solemnly sworn or affirmed to do impartial justice upon the impeachment, according to the constitution and laws of the United States. The person impeached is then called to appear and answer the articles. If he does not appear in person, or by attorney, his default is recorded, and the senate may proceed, *ex parte*, to the trial of the impeachment. If the party does appear in person, or by attorney, his appearance is recorded. Counsel are permitted to appear, and to be heard upon an impeachment.

2567. When the party appears, he is entitled to be furnished with a copy of the articles, and time is allowed him to prepare his answer thereto. The answer, like the articles, is exempted from the necessity of observing great strictness of form. The party may plead that he is not guilty as to part, and make a further defence as to the residue; or he may in a few words, saving all exceptions, deny the whole charge or charges; or he may plead specially in justification or excuse all the circumstances attendant upon the case. And he is also indulged with the liberty of offering argumentative reasons, as well as facts, against the charges, in support, and as part, of his answer, to repel them. It is usual to give a full and particular answer separately to each article of the accusation.

2568. When the answer is prepared and given in, the next regular proceeding is, for the house of representatives to file a replication to the answer in writing, in substance denying the truth and validity of the defence stated in the answer, and averring the truth and sufficiency of the charges, and the readiness of the house to prove them, at such convenient time and place as shall be appointed by the senate. A time is then assigned for the trial, and the senate at that time, or before, adjusts the preliminaries and other proceedings proper to be had, before and at the trial, by fixed regulations: which are made known to the house of representatives, and to the party accused. On the day appointed for the trial, the house of representatives appears at the bar of the senate, either in a body, or by managers selected for that purpose, to proceed with the trial. Process to compel the attendance of witnesses is previously issued, at the request of either party, by order of the senate, and at the time and place appointed, such witnesses are bound to appear and give testimony.

2469. On the day of the trial, the parties being ready, the managers to conduct the prosecution open it on behalf of the house of representatives, one or more of them delivering an explanatory speech, either of the whole charges, or of one or more of them. The proceedings are then conducted substantially as they are upon common judicial trials, as to the admission or rejection of testimony, the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, the rules of evidence, and the legal doctrines as to crimes and misdemeanors. When the whole evidence has been gone through, and the parties upon each side have been fully heard, the senate then proceeds to the consideration of the case. If any debate arises, they are ordinarily conducted in secret; if none arise, or after they are ended, a day is assigned for a final public decision by yeas and nays upon each separate charge in the articles of impeachment.

2570. When the court is assembled for the purpose of giving judgment, the question is propounded to each member of the senate by name, by the presiding officer of the court, in the following manner, upon each article, the same being first read by the secretary of the senate: "Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, how say you; is the respondent guilty, or not guilty, of a high crime and misdemeanor, as charged in the \_\_\_\_ article of impeachment?" Whereupon the member arises in his place, and answers guilty or not guilty, as his opinion is. If upon no one



article two-thirds of the senate decide that the party is guilty, he is then entitled to an acquittal, and is declared accordingly to be acquitted. If he is convicted of all, or any of the articles, the senate then proceeds to fix and declare the proper punishment. The pardoning power of the president does not extend to judgments upon impeachment; and hence, when once pronounced, they become absolute and irreversible.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Story [Joseph], *Commentaries on the Constitution*, II, [1873], pp. 805-9.

## **Building a Sustained Peace: Human Rights and Democratization in Liberia: A Commentary**

*Ezekiel Pajibo\**

I am the most Mischievous Liberian.

**Charles Taylor**, President, Republic of Liberia

People feel as though we are still in a war zone.

**Philip Wesseh**, Editor, *Inquirer* Newspaper

Although it is over, the dreadful legacy of Liberia's Civil War continues to ravage the country and its people politically, economically, and socially. The war machine which visited terror on the Liberian nation, rained deaths on its inhabitants and bequeathed to the body polity a leadership bereft of statesmanship, vision and candor is encountering the challenge of leading the nation towards a sustained peace based on democratic practices and respect for human rights. President Charles Taylor of Liberia, in reviewing his first term in office during August 1998, told the Liberian people that he had failed his country. Six months later, and 18 months into his presidency, he continues to fail the country and its citizens.

In this presentation, I will attempt to demonstrate the failures of the Liberian Government and why such insolvencies have led to the squandering of international goodwill towards Liberia. Further I will explore how these

---

\* Mr. Ezekiel Pajibo works as a policy analyst for the Africa Faith and Justice Network in Washington, DC. He has published several articles on human rights issues. He is working on the current treason trial taking place in his home country, Liberia. This article is a revised copy of a paper he presented at the Liberian Studies Association Conference held at California State University at Northridge in March 1999.



*A photo of Ezekiel Pajibo (fourth from left, in foreground, in T-shirt) and other members of the student governing body of the University of Liberia taken immediately after their release from prison where they were almost murdered for political reasons by the Samuel K. Doe leadership in 1984.*

shortcomings have worsened the material conditions of Liberia, thereby entrenching hopelessness among the people. Unfortunately, this sets the stage for why the author believes Taylor's method of consolidating power legitimizes violence as the preferred, if not the only, method to remove him from power. Yet, this is not necessarily an inevitability. There is still time to reverse the tide, and many Liberians, I believe, would like to see such a reversal.

Two dramas being played out in Monrovia recently clearly illustrate the daunting task of building democracy in Liberia. One is the treason trial of fourteen "Krahn men," who are accused of conspiring to overthrow the Liberian government, and the other is the recent forced resignation of the President Pro-

Tempore of the Senate, Charles Brumskine. Both represent Taylor's evolutionary efforts in establishing himself as the new Liberian "big man." An aside, Taylor thinks he is Tubman reincarnated.

## THE TREASON TRIAL

According to the *Washington Post*, in September 1998 "the same kind of brutality that characterized the war briefly gripped Monrovia ... when Taylor forces attacked a camp of his ethnic Krahn rival, Roosevelt Johnson."<sup>1</sup> According to President Taylor, "a surgical strike" prevented the overthrow of his government. To make that come about the government reported that fifty-two persons were killed. We will never know these men, however, because the government hurriedly had them buried, without the presence of their family members and relatives. Besides, their graves were not marked. Human rights organizations and the media have reported upward of 300 dead and thousands more wounded. Following relentless pressures from human rights organizations for a United Nations' led investigation, the government caved in and promised to cooperate. Nothing else has ever happened. Meanwhile, journalists and human rights workers who reported on the incident and were unequivocal about the need to investigate the "September Massacre," have fled the country in fear for their lives. Those who can not afford to flee or who do not want to leave are being harassed, intimidated, imprisoned and tortured.

It is not facile to consider the Government accusation of a plot to overthrow it as credible. Yet, the Liberian government's actions in aborting the "plot" and the implications thus far stand in stark contrast to the oath the government took to defend and uphold the Liberian Constitution. What is more, the impunity and relish with which government officials disobey Liberian laws suggest that the government is not only acting arbitrarily but also criminally.

Depending on which government spokesperson is at the lectern, the story changes. The Ministry of Justice says it was serving an eviction notice on Mr. Roosevelt Johnson on September 18-19 when the September Massacre at

<sup>1</sup> *Washington Post*, January 14, 1999.

Camp Johnson Road occurred. As was mentioned earlier, President Taylor said it was a surgical action to prevent the overthrow of his government. On both counts, the government acted unconstitutionally. An army is not needed to serve an eviction notice. Besides, serving an eviction notice between 2:00 A.M. - 3:00 A.M. in Monrovia smacks of nefarious intention. Even more disconcerting is the fact that government officials who were so keen on effecting the eviction notice in this case have in the past refused to honor eviction notices served by the court.

In early 1998 three court officers serving eviction notice on relatives of Police Director Joe Tate at the Cabral Estate in Sinkor were ordered flogged by Mr. Tate. No action was taken against those who carried out the order to have the officers of the court flogged and the Director of Police was never reprimanded. More recently, when a court issued a judgment against the TRADEVCO Bank in Monrovia, officials of government refused to comply with the court decision. In fact, a security aide to Mr. Taylor, Lt. Gen. Momoh Geebah, "tore up the order" to close the bank. The bank remains open. Lt. Gen. Geebah has not been brought in for questioning.

In the aftermath of the September Massacre scores of individuals were arrested and detained at the Post Stockade in Monrovia. When human rights organizations pressed for them to be charged and brought to court, the government was unable to present the living bodies of ten detainees. About a month later, Philibert Brown, a spokesman for the Defense Ministry reported that the ten were killed during crossfire between government forces and United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO-J) forces who, according to Brown, were trying to break into the prison in an attempt to release the men.

No one has been held accountable for the deaths of the ten men. Their bodies were never released to the relatives nor were the relatives contacted by government officials. The government version of how the men met their deaths is not supported by facts. No one in PHP, where the prison is located, heard exchanges of gunfire on the night when the prison was attacked and no government soldier received wounds or reported that he was part of the

government resistance to prevent the attack on the prison. Most human rights organizations believe that the men were executed extrajudicially.

A few days before the treason trial, Judge William Boima Metzger reported harassment of judicial officials by state security forces. The prosecutors of the case, all officials of government, were on several occasions threatened and charged with contempt of court. Several government officials, including the Ministers of Justice and Defense, were threatened with contempt charges due to their initial refusal to cooperate with court orders and decisions. Of those arrested, only fourteen civilians are being tried. The government has not produced any credible evidence against the accused. Five persons who were initially charged but turned state witnesses, have given conflicting testimonies in the trial. The only thread which ties the accused together is that they all speak the Krahn language. Aside from that the government has been most incapable if not grossly inept in putting forward a conclusive case against the accused. The other accused, all members of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), have yet to have their day in court. The military has said it lacks logistical wherewithal to try the men. They are charged under the Uniform Code of Military Justice and to be tried by the military.<sup>2</sup> They have been held in detention since September 1998 and only charged with sedition in February.

The greatest problem with the treason trial in Liberia is not only that the charges against the men are without substance and are fabrications but that efforts to reconcile the country are undermined. The trial itself is a distraction from the very real problems confronting the Liberian people including repatriation and resettlement. Additionally, the trial is a clear manifestation of the Taylor government's inability to move away from the "jungle justice" mentality Mr. Taylor threatened to visit on Monrovia prior to the elections in 1997.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> *Washington Post*, January 14, 1999.

<sup>3</sup> In 1997 Mr. Charles Taylor threatened to bring "jungle justice" to Monrovia if human rights organizations did not stop reporting on the abuses by his National Patriotic Front of Liberia. At the time, Samuel Kofi Woods, head of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church, was his major target of the statement. Mr. Woods fled Liberia following the "September Massacre" when state security officers threatened him with arrest. His car was impounded for no reason and his driver was detained by state security officers, once Mr. Woods could not be located. See U.S. State Department Human Rights Report, 1998, for more detail.

The safeguarding of the human rights of all Liberians is a necessary condition for the establishment of a democratic atmosphere in Liberia. What this really means is that the government of the day must scrupulously respect the Liberian Constitution. A Liberian government that does not recognize this simple rule will encounter enormous difficulty in laying claim to political legitimacy and thereby ensure the allegiance of its citizens.

## **BRUMSKINE'S PREDICAMENT**

The so-called constitutional crisis in Monrovia which involves the resignation of Charles Walker Brumskine as President Pro-Tempore of the Senate and the election of Kekura Kpoto as his successor is an indication of a very weak link in the efforts of further democratizing Liberia. The constitutional argument in this case is specious to say the least. I am aware of the array of civil groups including human rights organizations, the Press Union of Liberia, the Liberian Bar Associations and clergy members who have all cited a violation of the Constitution.<sup>4</sup> The apparent support for Brumskine from a cross section of the Liberian body polity is happening, even though Mr. Brumskine is well known to be seriously loyal (although not necessarily sycophantic since, he also nurses presidential ambition) to President Charles Taylor.

The July 1997 election was a special election which was based on proportional representation. As such, members of the Legislature serve at the will and pleasure of the political parties they represent. In the event the legislator does not represent the interest and values of a given political party, its stands to reason that they can be recalled or seek a resignation. I therefore will not take the constitutional argumentation seriously. What I prefer to deal with has to do with the fact that the Taylor government, in its zeal to muscle itself into perpetuity, has begun to marginalize any and all semblance of independent leadership or voice of reason and moderation. Charles Brumskine

---

<sup>4</sup> See *Inquirer* Newspaper, March 10, 11 and 12, 1999 issues for debate regarding the Brumskine case.

is, arguably, a voice of reason and moderation within the National Patriotic Party (NPP), the ruling party. Relegating him to a minor role, promotes elements within the NPP who are interested in maintaining the current status quo of arbitrary rule, incompetence and outright ineptitude.

The dismissal of the Finance Minister, Elias Saleeby, fits this mode as well. Any diligent search for moderation and competence within the Taylor government, until now, would have included these two personalities. Not any more. Even more troubling about this development is the message that even within its own rank the NPP leadership is refusing to broach political differences. It intends, nonetheless, to eliminate if not silence those who entertain other forms of visions for the country and engage in activity suggestive of an alternative leadership form. Hard luck for non-NPP supporters. To paraphrase a Washington, D.C., local political activist, the Charles Taylor government of Liberia is trying to establish a nation where the citizens are more "obsequious than objective, more sycophantic than supportive."<sup>5</sup>

## **DOKIE'S DEATH AND THE IMPACT ON OPPOSITION LEADERS**

In responding to the publication of the United States Department of State Human Rights Report, the Liberian government stated that the Dokie case was still under investigation.<sup>6</sup> That is a big lie, "liar, liar." Those accused in the Dokie case were acquitted. Mr. Benjamin Yeaten, who ordered Mr. Samuel Dokie's arrest is back in government as a major aide to Mr. Taylor on security issues. It may be instructive to revisit the Dokie case as but one example of the creeping tyranny in Liberia. In late 1997, Samuel Dokie, his wife, niece, and drivers were murdered by state security forces. His charred and decapitated body was found a few days after he was arrested by members of the feared Special Security Unit (SSU). Mr. Taylor declared that government would leave no stone unturned in meting out justice to the perpetrators of this horrendous crime. Mr. Taylor made the statement with Benjamin Yeaten, who had ordered

---

<sup>5</sup> *Washington City Paper*, March 12, 1999, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Star Radio Report, Friday, March 12, 1999.



Mr. Dokie's arrest, at his side. The case was tried in Gbamga, Bong County, Taylor's erstwhile capital, while he waged war against the Liberian people. At the time, the Circuit Court judge in Gbamga sounded the alarm that he and his court were ill-equipped to handle a case of that magnitude. The government insisted that trial would take place there anyway. At the conclusion of the trial, in which the government itself stood accused, the judge acquitted the accused men because the government's case against them "could not hold water," as Liberians would say.

In defense of this rule, former President Pro-Tempore of the Senate, Charles Brumskine, told an audience in Washington, D.C., that the judge's ruling was part and parcel of the democratic process and the government could not overturn the judge's decision. Never mind the fact that the government was not interested in a genuine trial, but only vainly attempting to placate human rights groups and the international community. The inability of the Liberian government to hold anyone accountable for the gruesome and cowardly murder of the Dokies is clear and irrefutable evidence that the Taylor government condones assassination as a political tool to eliminate any form of opposition.

Except for the Unity Party of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, perhaps no other political party official strongly condemned the death of the Dokies or registered any outrage. They had received the intended message. If you spoke too loudly, you would end up like the Dokies. In fact, members of the state security apparatus are more blunt. They say "anyone who fuck with papay, [Charles Taylor nom de endearment] will hear from us."

Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf can perhaps afford to be louder than most other opposition leaders because of the following reasons: she lives in Cote d'Ivoire; she has significant international clout to stave off the state security personnel; and besides, her former baglady, Grace Minor, is reputedly "the power behind the throne." Apparently, Senator Grace Minor has not reached the point where she can stomach "neutralizing" her friend and who was once a diehard supporter of Charles Taylor. Incidentally, Mrs. Sirleaf's son, Charles Sirleaf, is an official in Taylor's government, serving no less as President of the Liberia National Housing and Savings Bank. Charles Sirleaf does not even feign regard for the rule of law either. During 1998, he ordered the public flogging of an

alleged burglar and has not been held accountable for taking the laws into his own hands.

Meanwhile, within the country the opposition has been sufficiently cowed into submission. Who can blame them! The impunity with which Dokie and his family were killed and the fact that no one is accountable, coupled with the flight from Liberia of several human rights workers and journalists, make opposition politics "risky business." Those pretending to be "the opposition in government" are trying so hard to prove to Mr. Taylor that they are more loyal to him than his own partisans. Whoever said political opportunism is dead in Liberia. In the absence of a viable and credible political opposition, Taylor's consolidation of power can only mean more difficult times ahead for the Liberian people. Worse, it strengthens the hands of some, including Roosevelt Johnson, and the like, who are hell-bent on removing Taylor from power through the force of arms.

Whereas the Taylor government continues to cry wolf, it is sowing the seed for a violent confrontation by scaring away opposition politicians, marginalizing voices of reason and moderation within his party and giving a free hand to his security personnel to take the laws into their hands. A powder keg is Liberia.

## **SIERRA LEONE WAR AND PEACE IN LIBERIA**

The incessant accusations levied against the Liberian government related to the war in Sierra Leone by Ghana, Nigeria, and the United States, amongst others, is laden with serious problems about sustaining peace in Liberia. Ghana's President, Jerry Rawlings, referred to the Taylor government's behavior as a "stabbed in the back of West Africa." The response of the Liberian government to its alleged support for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), rebels in Sierra Leone has proved most inadequate and unconvincing.

One of the immediate actions by Brumskine just before his downfall was his call for a legislative inquiry into the allegation that Liberia was assisting the rebels of RUF. After numerous calls for the government to support its denial with convincing actions, it arrested ten persons in Monrovia, and said

that they were connected to the RUF. A short while later, the government accused Sierra Leone of planting the men in Liberia in order to embarrass the Liberian government. A Sierra Leonean diplomat was declared *persona non grata*. When the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) requested that the arrested men be turned over to them for investigation, the government refused and threatened them with deportation. No trial was held in spite of the fact a judge ruled that the search warrant used to search the premises of those arrested was illegal. Why was the government unwilling to have the accused turned over to ECOMOG or hold a trial? Why was it so necessary to speedily deport the men from Liberia and what evidence does the government have about the complicity of the Sierra Leonean government? These questions remain unanswered.

Only recently, the Liberian government accused its Guinean counterpart of training Liberians in Macenta, Guinea, to overthrow Charles Taylor. With more than uneasy relations between Liberia and two of its neighbors, where a significant number of Liberian refugees reside, the stage appears set for a prolonged tension in the region. Undoubtedly, this can only endanger Liberia's fragile peace.

## **BEYOND THE "REPUBLIC OF MONROVIA"**

Liberian refugees and displaced persons are having difficulty returning to their homes and returning to a life that approximates normality. Two basic reasons are discernible. One is the apparent lack of adequate local government authority; the second is the lack of security due to the arbitrariness of Liberian security forces in several parts of the country.

Liberian newspapers report almost daily of routine harassment, and intimidation of Liberians in Lofa, Nimba, Grand Cape Mount, Bong, and Grand Bassa among several other counties. The counties in the Southeast; Sinoe, Maryland and Grand Gedeh, appear to be the worst off in terms of the lack of adequate local authorities and the arbitrariness of security personnel. Coupled with these conditions is the woeful state of the infrastructure, especially roads. Two factors are largely responsible for this condition. One is the lack of

resources and the failure of appointed officials to take up their assignments. But the lack of resources and the apparent unwillingness to take up assignments are tied to the unrestrained and unruly behavior of the local state security officers.

Recently, the most outspoken superintendent, Mrs. Ruth Milton of Grand Gedeh County, requested the replacement of a "senior police officer, Mr. Seekay Browne," because according to her, "police in Grand Gedeh County were detaining suspects without charges" and "harassing NGO's." Incidentally, Mrs. Milton is a former commander in the Liberia Peace Council, and Mr. Browne is a former National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) fighter.<sup>7</sup> If the two cannot get along, the people are bound to suffer. In this sad scenario, two elephants do not even have to fight for the grass to suffer. All you need is for two grasshoppers to fight and the grass would suffer.

Respectable local authorities—not warriors-turned-politician or rebel soldier-turned-policeman—need to be established and provided the necessary resources so Liberians can return to their places of domicile and began to rebuild their lives. Government's previous budget process did not accommodate this important public policy priority. Liberian refugees have told news reporters that the refugee camps they left are better than the "homes" to which they have returned. A sad commentary, indeed, given the times. The displaced people in Monrovia are being forcibly returned to their villages, towns and cities without an adequate resettlement package, if any at all.

Hundreds of Liberians who were struggling to eke a way of life by selling from market stalls have had those stalls destroyed because President Taylor's sense of aestheticism is challenged by the presence of stalls "all over Monrovia." In a society where unemployment is more than 80 percent, any attempt by government to undermine legal means of survival can only promote criminality. The whole of Liberia is an eyesore as far as the world is concerned, and for the Liberian government to destroy market stalls in Monrovia, because they are "eyesores" or because of concocted "zoning laws" is most shocking. Even with this most bizarre preoccupation or, dare I say, priority of the Liberian government, confusion persists. Who is legally garbed

---

<sup>7</sup> Star Radio News, March 16, 1999.

to remove the stall is the question. The Monrovia Police or the National Police Force (NPF)? That is what the government is debating. It could care less that by destroying the stalls, it was preventing countless Liberians from earning a decent and respectable livelihood. One does not have to look far to see how callous and pernicious the Taylor government can get.

## THE WAY FORWARD

As I have discussed in my "Liberia: One Year and One Step Too Many Backwards,"<sup>8</sup> the obtaining circumstances in Liberia following more than eighteen years of misrule punctuated with numerous violent episodes, Liberia's path to the future is onerous. This is not the time to "enjoy too." This is the time, if there was any, for a Liberian leadership to emerge that will attend to the basic needs of all Liberians. **One of the most elementary pre-conditions for peace and stability in Liberia is for the government to uphold and respect the Constitution of the land;** no more no less. Given the history of the war and the deep divisions and pain it has caused, any government worth its salt must necessarily include the following as priority objectives:

1. **The repatriation of all Liberians to their former places of residence;**
2. **a significant resettlement program that will address the needs of resettled people primarily in assisting them to have their homes and farms rebuilt;**
3. **a reconstruction program that will focus on farm-to-market roads and major highways and bridges in the country; and,**
4. **a fervent and scrupulous program to seriously secure, protect and uphold the democratic liberties and human rights of all Liberians.**

---

<sup>8</sup> "Liberia: One Year and One Step Too Many Backwards—A Critical Perspective on the Taylor's Government First Year in Power" in *Observance of Liberia's 151st Independence Anniversary*, July 15 (1998).

Deviations from these necessary priority issues would undermine any basis for sustained peace in Liberia. What is more, this is not too much to ask from Liberia's first postwar government. Additionally, if the Liberian Government consider these public policy concerns seriously, it will be in a better position to obtain international assistance, which is so vital for Liberia's reconstruction needs and the pacification of the country.

## Book Reviews

### ***Broadcasting and National Development in Liberia***

***Jerome Z. Boikai: Monrovia, Nigeria, 184 pp.***

The broadcast media has been and will continue to be the most effective instrument of social change and development in every civilized society. For example, Japan, devastated and impoverished by the effects of World War II, utilized the mass media, especially the electronic media, to mobilize its citizenry for hard work and discipline, thus becoming one of the most powerful technological and industrial countries in the world today.

The 184-page book, *Broadcasting and National Development in Liberia*, attests to these realities. The book is a well-researched historical document buttressed by statistical data and other illustrative materials.

*Broadcasting and National Development in Liberia* speaks of two important eras in Liberia's political, cultural, social and economic history:

- the pre-broadcast era, characterized by under-development, illiteracy, economic stagnation, and the most primitive forms of communication including but not limited to the town crier and the ten-foot war drum known as the *Dugba* in Bassa, which had many functions; and,
- the broadcast era, characterized by economic development, industrialization, national cohesion and international and regional socialization.

Dr. Boikai points out that "the most obvious expression of Americo-Liberian solidarity was religion." This reviewer would add to that the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons and other fraternities and sororities as strong

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

binding forces. But the growth and development of the broadcast media in Liberia, education and affluence also helped to narrow the gap between the so-called Americo-Liberians and the indigenous citizens.

### **The Tubman, Tolbert and Doe Eras**

William V. S. Tubman, President of Liberia for 27 years (1944-July 1971), utilized the mass media of communication, especially the electronic media to promote his political agenda. As Dr. Boikai points out, Tubman's Open Door Policy brought numerous investments to Liberia, while his Unification and Integration Program, in a large measure, had as its objective, to unite all Liberians as one people of one country. President William R. Tolbert, Jr., who succeeded Tubman after serving as vice president for nineteen years, used the broadcast media to motivate the Liberian people and brighten their hopes for a better future. His "Mat to Mattress" slogan, therefore, became a household expression that was intended to transform the lives of many Liberians and alleviate their poverty but, like Paul Cofee, he died before his plans were realized. Samuel K. Doe who succeeded Tolbert following a bloody *coup d'etat* in which President Tolbert and some members of his government were killed, used the media, in the opinion of this reviewer, to propagate falsehood and misinformation to galvanize public opinion.

### **Scarcity of media resources**

This reviewer concurs with Boikai that Liberia's low literacy rate and per capital income contributed to the corresponding low ownership of radio receivers and television sets in the early development of broadcasting in Liberia. However, this gap was narrowed between 1960 and 1979 as the Tubman and Tolbert governments placed great emphasis on the development of Liberia's indigenous culture. As more and more cultural programs took to the air waves, individual ownership of radio receivers and television sets increased nationwide. People in the remotest villages of Liberia could hear their own tribal vernaculars on radio, and where the signals were available, see



related images on television. They could hear and see their representatives and national leaders in action both at home and abroad.

Television, which before 1964 was a novelty, achieved rapid growth and development in the two decades that followed, particularly in urban areas. More indigenous plays and programs replaced imported programs on our air waves. Bai T. Moore and Jankaba Johnson deserve the commendation of the Liberian people for their role in popularizing our indigenous culture.

Dr. Boikai points out that under its management contract with the Government of Liberia, Rediffusion was free to introduce programs that appealed more to advertisers than to the Liberian people. While this is true, it should not have made the government insensitive or reticent to the needs of its citizens.

### **Training and manpower development**

The author is right when he stresses the urgent need for trained personnel to man and operate our broadcast media. Toward this end, the military government of Samuel K. Doe assisted in launching a degree program in print and broadcast journalism at the University of Liberia in 1983. But this was not adequate, as the Department of Mass Communication lacked the essential broadcast equipment for training purposes and the Liberian Broadcasting Corporation could not afford to have intern students playing around with their expensive equipment.

While training of personnel is of paramount importance for the further development of broadcasting in Liberia, the problem of regulatory control is another matter that needs to be addressed.

The current law in Liberia empowers the Minister of Postal Affairs to grant licenses to those who wish to establish broadcasting stations in Liberia; but it is the Ministry of Information that has been like a traffic cop, directing broadcasters what to and what not to broadcast. Liberia needs an independent agency like the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) that issues and renews licenses and has regulatory powers. The need is more imperative when

we consider the proliferation of radio stations and private ownership of these stations since the Taylor government came to power.

Dr. Boikai's *Broadcasting and National Development in Liberia* is the first comprehensive handbook on broadcasting in Liberia that this reviewer is aware of. I would highly recommend it as a complimentary text for students majoring in broadcast journalism at the University of Liberia.

T. Nelson Williams, SA

The reviewer is a former chairman of the Department of Mass Communications at the University of Liberia. He served at one time as Deputy Minister of Information in the Government of Liberia, and was head of Public Relations for the LAMCO JV Operating Company in Yekepa, Nimba for many years. He has a graduate degree in Journalism from Indiana University.

***A Liberian Family:  
Journey between Two Worlds Series***

***Stephen Chicoine. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1997. 64 pp.***

From a Lerner Publications series on refugees, "Journey Between Two Worlds," *A Liberian Family* is a straightforward presentation of a real family, the Millers, who were forced to leave Liberia in 1990, at the beginning of what was to become a seven-year civil war. This brief book of nonfiction is appropriate for upper elementary and middle school students; it provides personal history, a good summary of Liberian history as a nation, recent history that led to the civil war and accurate but not salacious descriptions of the suffering of the war led by armed factions of children and young adult soldiers.

With that background, the book takes up the Millers' new life in Houston, Texas, living in an American urban neighborhood, adjusting to apartment living, isolation and low-wage jobs for the adults. The photographs provide a range of information and insight into the life of this family, from the historical photos of Liberia and the recent war, to Monrovia before 1990, and the daily life in Houston: dinner, school, soccer, holidays, Sunday church services, gatherings with friends, becoming part of the Houston community and the West African culture within the larger community.

As the author notes at the end, their new life in the United States is bittersweet. This life is the painful lot of most refugees, safe from persecution but far from home, seeking the balance of a new life and Liberian values. The determination and faith of the Millers shines through the photos, with the Liberian values they have brought with them evident in the comments of the adults and the children: the importance of family, the church, and education. While these may seem typical of recent immigrants and many other refugees, the paucity of positive images of Africans in the U.S. or on the continent, makes this book unusual and highly recommended. The book includes a pronunciation key, and several books for further reading. Only four of the eight

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

titles listed are about Liberia; the others are generic folktales and are not helpful for understanding either Liberia or refugees in general.

A leading Liberianist and now the Principal  
of Federal Street School, Salem, Massachusetts

Jo Sullivan

## ***Why Leopard Has Spots: Dan Stories from Liberia***

***Won-Ldy Paye and Margaret H. Lippert. Ill. by Ashley Bryan.  
Golden, CO: Fulcrum Books, 1998. 50 pp.***

Six of the oral tales that Won-Ldy Paye (pronounced One Day Pay) heard from his story-teller grandmother are presented in this collection. Three of them, including "Why Leopard Has Spots," "Mrs. Chicken and the Hungry Crocodile," and "Why Spider has a Big Butt" are *pourquoi* tales explaining the reasons for phenomena such as the leopard's spotted coat, chicken's bathing in puddles, and spider's distinctive shape. The other three—"The Talking Vegetables," "The Hunger Season," and "Spider Flies to the Feast"—feature the trickster Spider and his (mis)adventures. Some of the stories have morals. others are for entertainment. Each story is about three pages long, except for the eight-page "Spider Flies" which, as Won-Ldy explains in the afternotes, is a story that has "no head and no tail" because it can go on forever. Each story is dramatically illustrated by Ashley Bryan's Black-and-white linoleum prints.

For anyone interested in African tales, this book is a "must-have." The stories in themselves are delightful to read both silently, and, since they spring from the oral tradition, aloud. But in addition to the stories, the book is a treasure trove of information. Won-Ldy presents himself in the introduction and briefly takes us through his life growing up on Tapita in northeastern Liberia. He introduces us to his family, the "tlo ker mehn" (story-tellers), and specifically his grandmother. There is a map which located Liberia in Africa and Tapita in Liberia. After the stories, Won-Ldy again talks to us, giving general information about Dan stories and then information about each story individually. The following Glossary not only includes definitions, but also provides explanations of the Dan culture, for example, the "Great Spirit", the most important spirit to the Dan, and her role in the community is described, accompanied by a photograph.

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

"Ma kpon," a Dan counting game, is not only described but is also explained so that readers could try it out themselves.

Palm nuts play an important role in the community as evidenced by the explanation of their harvest and procedures to make palm oil. For further reading about the Dan, Liberia, and African-American games for children, a Bibliography is provided.

Lastly, there are interesting biographies of the two authors and the illustrator.

I highly recommend this book. It is appropriate for elementary and middle school readers, although high school readers interested in branching out to new cultures would find this an excellent beginning for background in a specific African group.

California State University-San Bernardino

Kathryn Z. Weed

## Minutes of the 31st Annual LSA Conference

*Prepared by M. Alpha Bah*

### MINUTES OF THE LIBERIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION 1999

Minutes of The Liberian Studies Association Business Meeting, Saturday, March 20, 1999. The meeting was hosted by Joseph Holloway, California State University at Northridge.

Presiding: Ciyata Coleman, President of the Liberian Studies Association.

At about 4 P.M., she called the meeting to order. Ciyata thanked Joe Holloway and California State University for hosting the 1999 Annual Meeting of the Liberian Studies Association. The agenda for the meeting was adopted. Bill Allen moved the acceptance of the minutes as printed for the 1998 meeting held in Atlanta; Walter Wiles seconded the motion.

Secretary-Treasurer: Dianne Oyler reporting on the Atlanta meeting stated that there was moderate profit because of increase in membership (see full financial statement attached to the minutes). Elwood Dunn moved and seconded by Alpha Bah the acceptance of the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

Editor's Report: Amos Beyan began his report by soliciting scholarly articles for the next issue of the *Liberian Studies Journal*. He expressed his gratitude to West Virginia University for their generous support in the publication of Volume XXIII. Amos suggested the publication of the names of those killed in the Liberian Civil War. After some discussion on the problems, impact, and likely consequences on the Liberian Society, it was agreed to task the Editorial Advisory Board to further study the project. Malakpa moved the acceptance of the Editor's report, and was properly seconded.

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

**Committee Reports:**

**Tax Exempt Status:** Arnold Odio informed the LSA membership that he has just received the tax exempt forms and was in the process of consulting with attorneys on how to effectively complete the forms. Alpha Bah moved the acceptance of the report and was seconded by Sakwui Malakpa.

**LSA 2000 (to be held in Liberia):** Elwood Dunn, who chaired the committee identified its members on both the United States and Liberian sides. He stated that those in Liberia continue to show greater enthusiasm for Liberia 2000. However, Elwood pointed out that there does not seem to be adequate preparation on the ground for the meeting. He cautioned that there must be an agreed alternative meeting site for LSA 2000. Several members including recent visitors to Liberia contributed in the discussion. Among numerous other difficulties in holding LSA 2000 in Liberia, members pointed out the lack of facilities at the University of Liberia, the problem of insecurity, the cost of travel and adequate lodging, and difficulties in adjusting academic calendars for members to make the trip to Monrovia. Sakui Malakpa moved a motion to postpone the holding of a Liberian Studies Association meeting in Liberia until further notice. John Yodder was asked to report back to the association on his return from Liberia about the possibilities for a future meeting of LSA in Monrovia. Delaware State University was chosen for LSA 2000 pending on DSU institutional approval. Toledo University was chosen as an alternate.

LSA continues to solicit books for Liberian universities and colleges, especially in the sciences and mathematics. Members were informed that copies of the *Liberian Studies Journal* have been sent to the library of the University of Liberia. The Book and Executive Committees promised to disseminate information on shipping to Liberia.

The final committee report was on membership: After some discussion including the listing of the Table of Contents of the *Liberian Studies Journal* in the Liberian Connection Web Page, a new membership committee was



constituted. Bill Allen will chair a committee made up of Tim Siklo, Jackie Sayeh-Birch, and Joe Kappia.

Under New Business, it was reported that Mr. Dolo a member of the Executive Board was absent and all attempts to contact him since his election in 1998 have failed. It was suggested that he may have moved from his former address and might have had some difficulties in contacting his colleagues. It was agreed that he should be contacted by senior members of the Liberian Studies Association.

A question of copyright policy was brought to the floor for discussion. It was agreed that all requests for copyright on the *Liberian Studies Journal* should be addressed to the Editor, and all other requests should be directed to the Editorial Board.

Tim Siklo appealed to the association for assistance in getting the late Paul Yaa's manuscript published. The Editorial Board was asked by the general body to review the manuscript, and assist in its publication.

Arnold Odio was singled out for distinguished service to the association. Ciyata Coleman, the outgoing president, was thanked for her services by members present. At this time, the gavel was handed over to Joseph Holloway as the incoming president of LSA. After thanking members for attending the conference, he adjourned the 1999 meeting.

Respectfully submitted

M. Alpha Bah

## **New Publications and Theses on or Relevant to Liberia**

- Alao, Abiodun. *The Burden of Collective Goodwill: The International Involvement in the Liberian Civil War*. New York: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998.
- Ali, Taisier M. and Matthews, Robert O. eds., *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Revolutions*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999.
- Ayittey, George B. N. *Africa in Chaos*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998.
- Bah, M. Alpha. *Fulbe Presence in Sierra Leone: A Case History of Twentieth-Century Migration and Settlement Among the Kissi of Koindu*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998.
- Belt-Beyan, Phyllis M. "The Development of African-American Literacy Traditions: A Family and Community Effort in the Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation. Kent State University, 1999.
- Chambers, Catherine. *West African States: 15th Century to the Colonial Era*. New York: Raintree/Vaughn, 1999.
- Clapham, Christopher ed., *African Geurrillas*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Davidson, Basil. *West Africa before the Colonial Era: A History to 1850*. London: Longman Publishers, 1998.
- Gourevitch, Philip. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed with Our Families*. London, UK: Picador, 1999.
- Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

- Holloway, Joseph E. *An Introduction to Classical African Civilization*. Northridge, CA: Boniface I. Obichere Research Center, California State University, 1999.
- , *African American History: A Brief Outline*. Northridge, CA: Boniface I. Obichere Research Center, California State University, 1999.
- Kamara, Tom. "Elections and Stability in Postwar Liberia." University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, Politics and Economics Series No. 22, (1999), pp. 1-14.
- Kaplan, Robert. *The Ends of the Earth: From Togo, Turkmenistan, From Tran to Cambodia, a Journey to Frontiers of Anarchy*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.
- Korte, Werner. "Liberia: A Bibliography, 1988-1998 with Special References to the Civil War." University of Leipzig Papers on Africa, Politics and Economics Series No. 23, (1999), pp. 1-76.
- Kulah, Arthur F. *Liberia Will Rise Again: Reflections on the Liberian Civil Crisis*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1999.
- Lewis, Peter, ed., *Africa: Dilemmas of Development and Change*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- Liberty, Clarence E. Zamba. *Growth of the Liberian State: An Analysis of Its Historiography*. Northridge, CA: Boniface I. Obichere Research Center, California State University, 1999.
- Lindquist, Sven. *Exterminate All the Brutes*. London: Granta Books, 1998.
- Minow, Martha. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. New York: Beacon Press, 1998.

- Reno, William S. K. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- Soyinka, Wole. *The Burden of Memory, the Muse of Forgiveness*. (W.E.B. Du Bois Institute Series). New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- USA, Amnesty International. *Getting Away with Murder: Political Killings and Disappearances in the 1990s*. New York: Amnesty International USA, 1993.
- Weschler, Lawrence. *A Miracle a Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Wright, Stephen, ed., *African Foreign Policies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.

## Documents

### ***President William R. Tolbert of Liberia Addresses a Joint Session of Congress of the United States on September 23, 1976***

Mr. Speaker:

I consider it a distinct honor and privilege to have been invited to be the only Liberian President, indeed the first African Head of State in this your third century, to address a joint session of your honorable body. I therefore ask that you accept our profound appreciation and thanks for the warm words of welcome and the extraordinary opportunity you have afforded us today.

In the name of the Government and all the people of Liberia I bring you heartiest greetings, congratulations and best wishes as America celebrates this centennial of pre-eminent international distinction.

Unto this land of individual excellence, institutional vibrancy and triumphant continuity, the United States Congress has remained the bulwark of the national purpose, the prescient promoter of the thriving enterprise of state, and the constant preserver of ideals and aspirations of democracy. Contemporaneous with the spirit of the American revolution, the United States Congress has resiliently upheld for its constituency those eternal values of human dignity, economic opportunity and social equity.

It has earned the enviable admiration of nations and peoples everywhere.

As you celebrate with pride the accomplished heights of national experience and maturity, Liberians can proudly reflect upon the peculiar but solid contributions made by people from our continent and shores, people of our race and color, in enhancing the unprecedented international stature of the United States of America today. Joining in the defense of freedom during two world wars, Liberia courageously committed its strategic resources and position to the coordinate efforts of the allies.

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

As you stand upon the threshold of another century of uplifting promise, Liberians can warmly recall the historic events leading to the birth of our own nation one hundred and thirty years ago, events in which the United States Congress and Government, as well as farsighted American citizens, enacted decisive leadership roles in strategically assisting the founding fathers of Liberia—those who left here and those whom they met there—to secure a new life on the African continent free from human oppression, free for human distinction.

Indeed, not only at Bunker Hill and at Gettysburg, but Americans have also paid the supreme price of securing freedom upon the sunlit shores of the West African Republic of Liberia.

Seizing likewise the sparks of liberty from the American halls of eloquence and its fields of valor, the Republic of Liberia, throughout the age of colonialism, has held aloft the exalted torch of freedom, as ordained by providence calling forth the heroic emancipation of the African peoples and continent.

In the eternal interest of mankind, the liberating experience of the Spirit Of '76 must invincibly prevail. In fulfillment of the ordinance of providence, likewise, the vision and decisions of the United States Congress must always be to provide the future of this our one world.

A famous historian has described our times as the age of paradox, evincing competition of arms and usurpation of development, signifying creative ingenuity and destructive proclivities, manifesting determined aspirations and defiant domination. Plenty is marred by plunder, vibrancy is despoiled with violence, freedom is left to fortuity, and friendship cast to fatality.

Even in this Bicentennial Year of refreshing democratic renewal, when Americans will participate in free elections exercising their universal suffrage, our sisters and brothers in southern Africa are being violently denied their basic human rights and dignity. The scourge of discrimination and minority rule is afflicting and repressing the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. International rule of law is flaunted by the defiance of force. And the dimensions of resentment portend the danger of imminent conflagration.

At a time when the world can take pride in a plethora of its collective wealth, billions of its resources are being channeled to armaments rather than to food and socio-economic development.

Jet fighters of power are exchanged between nations, and paid fighters against freedom delay emancipation.

Technology superiority astounds humanity, while human malignancy and misery, alas, imply a curious misuse of technology and a strange misplacement of human values. And the potential for nuclear abuse is being channeled into the sinister hands of those who are even fostering the isolation of the races in their own land.

Despite the availability of reconstructive material, the present economic order of the world yet awaits a more functional design for balanced opportunity. The majority of the world's economies has had to accept a declining and volatile price structure for its output of raw materials. This same majority of the world's economies has had to accept higher and constantly rising prices for its imports of manufactures and services, foodstuffs and capital goods.

Growing debts and deficits, rudimentary technology, widespread illiteracy, prevalent infant mortality and wasting diseases seem too long to postpone for these nascent economies the prerequisites to development and prosperity.

Today, in the council halls of the world, an interim of dialogue and negotiation is therefore sustaining a continuing paradox upon the family of man. While unions are being formed, alignments met, and alliances forged, the tide of human frustration uneasy confrontation are building up on every side.

With vestiges of oppression incongruous with the American ideals, with global divisiveness incongruous with the federation of the world; with pervasive destitution incongruous with suffusive American affluence, the Congress of the United States—that reservoir of the American conscience, that hum of America's leadership—must assert again in this third century the unconquerable Spirit Of '76.

It is time for the United States Congress to bring to pass the hopes of the world in the heart of America.

It is time for the United States Congress to usher in a new age of the American revolution wherein this great nation of nations will demonstrate its appropriate responsibility to the prosperity of the whole of mankind.

It is time for the United States Congress, even more articulately and effectively, to choose uplifting priorities, and to create and promote universal conscience for international dignity and development.

The critical situation in Africa and Third World nations today presents a challenge to the conscience and choices of America in her third century.

What are the priorities for bringing dignity and serenity to southern Africa? Counterweigh with neighboring States the massive strength of investments and military ties with South Africa? Repeal the Byrd Amendment? Make southern Africa a nuclear free zone? Institute an arms embargo on South Africa? Defuse the momentum of the guns of liberation?

Should the priority be concessionary talks and repressive atrocities? Majority rule and inviolable equal rights? A conciliatory spirit and peaceful exchange?

Should these priorities be such that developed nations would strengthen freedom's adversaries and placate the oppressors of Africa?

Let the United States Congress decide.

I am convinced that each and every African remains distressfully insecure so long as their brothers and sisters in southern Africa suffer and struggle under the anvil of colonialism and racism. Africans will never exchange one form of external oppression, however veiled, for any other. And no extent of tyranny will prevent the courageous people of Africa from achieving their God-given rights.

With all sincerity and determination, the Spirit Of '76 demands, and I am convinced of the increasing will of each and every African, to the last man and the last drop of African blood to accept the fate of violent death rather than endure the infamy of continued oppression.

As history itself must conform, it is only after an earnest but unsuccessful quest for peace that Africans would pursue a path of violence; and then with valor and with vigor, they fight to obtain their God-given right and dignity.



At a time when the world has recognized the humane frontiers of global interdependence, what might constitute the humane priorities of socio-economic conquest? Might it not consist in more responsive funding of multilateral agencies which equitably administer concessional aid for the rural and urban poor of the world? Might it not mean stable, fairer and more remunerative prices for primary exports of developing economies, and integrated commodity program undergirded by a common fund? Might it not involve more meaningful participation in the monetary and economic decision-making processes, in the managerial and the shipping services of the world?

Might not the overall flow of financial aid to developing countries increase at least proportionately to equal the present phenomenal expenditure on arms? Might not the volume of official aid to developing nations, particularly the most seriously affected, begin to move upward from its all-time low towards the proposed United Nations target of one percent of Gross National Product? Might not the urgent goals of economic diversification require a more cooperative and productive blend of international corporate and technological skills?

Let the United States Congress decide.

As the world stands disquietedly on this humane frontier of a new economic order, will these priorities prosage the isolation that comes with counter-alliances, or will they foster immutable copetulance or will they excite passion from the blight of ignorance, disease and poverty—deadly enemies against which we are uncompromisingly at war in Liberia?

The revolutionary Thomas Paine expressed unwavering faith in "the power of the United States to create a happy world." In this age of accelerated evolution, shall it constitute the dignity of America not to care so much as what the world will think, but to care so much as how the world shall live?

Let the Congress of the United States decide.

In the founding of the Republic of Liberia which early launched the hope of Africa's emancipation, the United States played a decisive role. Resolutely, in 1819 it put an end to the heinous practice of slave-trading. Generously, in the same year, it appropriated a fund of a hundred thousand dollars to facilitate the return of liberated black people to the African shores.

In preventing the financial collapse of the Liberian Republic in 1911, Congress used its good offices to arrange a multinational refunding loan of 1.7 million dollars, and encouraged other crucial private investments subsequently, Whereby the nation's internal development could be continued. Skillfully, it steered the course of insuring Liberia's independence and avoiding the spread into Liberia of colonialism for which we will remain ever grateful.

Since World War II, Congress, in providing significant economic aid for Liberia's development, has again enacted the means by which our country has benefitted from technical and military assistance, from Peace Corps services, corporate American investments, and overall programs of bilateral cooperation.

Indeed, no emblem of the democratic ideal of '76 in any part of our one world should ever be abandoned to the fight of uncertainty and need.

Though humanely salutary and crucially decisive throughout the years considering the special relationship between the United States and Liberia not infrequently referred to, yet it would seem that the role of the United States Congress could have been more fully manifested in greater progress and development for the Liberian people.

When noted economists can rank our nation among those holding the worst place among fifty-nine developing countries today and describe it as being in urgent need of aid to balance its development process; when a foreign journalist can visit Liberia and portray it as depressing and appalling; when we review the entire spectrum of unique and historic relations with this great American citadel of splendor and power, we can perceive a clearly evident need for closer and more meaningful cooperation between our two nations. And we are the more inspired with the patriotic fires for strategic economic diversification and greater self-reliance for self-sufficiency.

Thus, Liberia has an urgent rendezvous with reconstruction and development. She must, and she will plan creatively, promote her finances securely, and afford the most useful environment for international productive co-partnerships.

She must, and she shall transform her rural sectors, increase her health and educational facilities, and provide modern housing accommodations in rural and urban areas.

Liberia must, and she will build more schools and feeder roads, deliver modern agricultural inputs and health delivery systems, and thereby raise her people from mats to mattresses.

Liberia's priorities are clear. With the total involvement of everyone in every way for self-sufficiency, with ultimate faith and trust in God, and reliance on self, Liberians are fervently determined to raise their nation to heights of unprecedented achievement.

With appropriate understanding and encouragement, particularly from her trusted friends, Liberia will continue to demonstrate, in common with her brothers and sisters, that Africans are capable of developing their own political, social and economic institutions, suitable to their desired destinies.

Mr. Speaker and honorable members of Congress: let us always remember that the world is seized today in the grip of imbalances and disadvantages, in muck and malignancy. Sharp income disparity and striking social distinction exists. Human deprivation, degradation and indignity are complemented by corporate concentration and systematic exploitation.

Let the Congress become the bold crusader for social and economic reform around the world.

Let the United States then become the fearless campaigner for international cooperation and accommodation.

Let this greatest Congress of the United States of America continually assure for the family of man and of nations a lifted standard of liberty, opportunity and justice within a wholesome functioning world society.

## ***The Threat to Democracy in Liberia\****

By Patrick L. N. Seyon

### **Introduction**

I wish to take this opportunity to express deepest gratitude on behalf of the people of Liberia and in my own name, firstly for the singular honor accorded me to appear before you, and secondly, for the aid, technical assistance and support, through you, the people and government of the United States of America have given the people of Liberia. Life in Liberia would have been extremely difficult in these trying and troublesome days of our national life without such aid and support. I wish to single out the aid and support given for the work of the Constitution Commission that drafted the new constitution for returning Liberia to constitutional democratic civilian rule, hopefully, in 1986.

By way of introduction, for the record, I am a university man. Except for brief periods for advanced studies in the United States, I have spend my entire working life at the University of Liberia, starting in 1961. I was serving as Vice President for Administratin in August 1984, when the soldiers, on the orders of the Head of State of Liberia, raided the University. As you are, no doubt, aware the University was closed and its entire administration and senior faculty were dismissed. Re-appointments have been on the basis of being pro-government (meaning Doe) or on the basis of perceived non-threat to Doe's burning desire to be president. Since I did not fall in either category, I was not re-appointed. I was a member of the Constitution Commission and also served

---

\* Statement given in testimony before the Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Congress of the United States, Thursday, March 7, 1984. As former Vice President of the University of Liberia, Dr. Patrick L. N. Seyon was also a visiting scholar at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University when he presented the foregoing testimony.

THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY IN LIBERIA  
BY PATRICK L. N. SEYON

91

on the National Reconstruction Commission that was set up in 1979 after the rice riot in Monrovia. I have a master's and doctorate degree from Stanford University, California. So much then for introduction. And now to the business at hand.

I would like to address myself to "The Threat to Democracy in Liberia." In doing so, I shall confine my remarks to denial of freedom of speech and of the press, denial of human rights and civil liberties. I shall comment on the return to civilian rule process with specific reference to obstacles being thrown in the way of competing parties with Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia to keep them from completing registration as required by law.

I shall preface my statement by saying that Liberia needs all the aid it can get. However, the aid donors, particularly the United States, want to ensure that the broad objectives of their aid, i.e., "political stability, and the planned 1985 return to civilian (rule)," which denote democracy, are met satisfactorily. Furthermore, the United States wants to make sure that its aid benefits the greatest proportion of the Liberian people. For example, *Liberia is at peace with its neighbors, and has been for at least the past three decades or longer. Yet, defense expenditure, as a percentage of total expenditure, rose from 2.5% in 1979 to 10.1% by 1981, accounting for 3.8% of GNP. For such increase in military expenditures, the people of Liberia have suffered two ways. Firstly, they were deprived of basic economic and social services, i.e., health, education, safe drinking water, among others. And secondly, with the arms and other military materials, the military, under Doe, has and continues to oppress, suppress and repress the people so that they are denied their fundamental rights.* Such was the case of the raid on the University of Liberia to which we shall refer later.

## **Denial of Freedom of Speech and of the Press**

Freedom of speech and of the press is denied in Liberia under Decree 88-A and its enforcement by state security agents. The decree is purported to "protect the public against the spread of rumors, lies and disinformation." The spread of rumors and what is termed "disinformation," as you well know, only arises under conditions where people are denied freedom of speech and of the press. Furthermore, there are legal remedies in Liberia under the libel laws adequate to protect the public. Decree 88-A prohibits anyone from expressing views that are critical of government policies or government officials. The government is free to interpret the decree to suit itself. My testimony, for example, can be interpreted by the government as a violation of Decree 88-A, and I fear for my life. But I feel it is important and in the interest of the Liberian people for me to testify. It follows then that Decree 88-A protects not the public, but the government, meaning the Head of State. Violators of Decree 88-A are held in detention without trial and bail for as long as the government wishes. Let me cite two cases for the record.

In August 1984, after the arrest and detention of Dr. Amos Sawyer on charges of plotting to overthrow the Doe government, the then acting chairman of the organizing committee of his Liberia People's Party, Mr. Dusty Wolokollie, issued a signed statement on behalf of the committee denying the charges and demanding Sawyer's release. Mr. Wolokollie was subsequently arrested and has been in jail without trial and bail since.

In December 1984, Mr. Ezekiel Pajibo, Acting President of the Liberia Students Union, and Messrs. Christian G. Herbert and Wuo G. Tappia, also members of the Union, were arrested under Decree 88-A on suspicion of being authors of an anonymous publication called "REACT." They too are still being held without trial and bail.

Outside of Decree 88-A, but under the rubric of denial of freedom of speech and of the press, I wish to cite two cases also for the record.

August 22, 1984, the University of Liberia was raided by soldiers on the Head of State's direct orders, because the administration and faculty issued

THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY IN LIBERIA  
BY PATRICK L. N. SEYON

93

two statements. One statement, issued prior to formal charges being made against Dr. Amos Sawyer, a member of the University's faculty, following his arrest and detention for "security reasons," demanded his release. The Head of State requested the University administration to retract the statement, but they refused. The second statement was issued after charges of plotting to overthrow the government had been made. It requested a fair and speedy trial; defining what the University and the rest of the free world understand as fair trial.

As you may have heard by now, the government claimed 102 persons were injured from the raid; five from bullet wounds and one from sexual molestation. While the government adamantly maintained that no one was killed from the raid, it at least acknowledged August 31, 1984, in a press conference held at the Ministry of Information, and subsequently, that a minimum of five people had been reported missing after the raid. It claimed that one of the reports was false. While the government denied on television that that particular person was missing, she was never produced during the televised press conference at the Defense Ministry to convince the public of the government's claim. There are persistent reports that the government's figures on casualties are misleading and inaccurate. There is truth to these reports, because, for example, three of my children, all brutally beaten by the soldiers and stripped naked, are not counted in the government's report. There are many other such cases, including bizarre, inhumane and cruel acts such as pushing guns into women's vaginas. The Council of Churches of Liberia, the faculty and students of the University of Liberia have all requested a commission of inquiry, but the government won't act. Any time people talk about what happened at the University of Liberia, Decree 88-A is invoked. Such a commission of inquiry is still in order.

The *Daily Observer* newspaper was closed indefinitely in January 1985, for, among other things, giving more prominence to a labor leader story on its front page than to the Head of State. The newspaper was also closed down in early 1984 for printing articles critical of the government. Between 1980 and 1985, the paper has been closed a total of five times. Also, newspaper

publishers and journalists have frequently been jailed for being critical of the government or its policies.

I have cited these cases, gentlemen, to bring to your attention that there is a serious threat to democracy in Liberia as regard freedom of speech and of the press, which is the bedrock of and is indispensable to a democracy. And now to the denial of human rights and civil liberties in Liberia.

### **Denial of Human Rights and Civil Liberties**

Tuesday, February 12, 1985, the Executive Committee of the Interim National Assembly banned Dr. Amos Sawyer from political activities until he submits to a political audit ordered by the Head of State, because Sawyer served as the Chairman of the Constitution Commission that drafted Liberia's new constitution. The Head of State, who is President of the Assembly, as you know, also chairs the Executive Committee that banned Sawyer. Do you wonder, Sirs, why the whole body was not called to consider such a grave matter in the democratic tradition? This constitutes part of the threat to democracy in Liberia that I am referring to.

The order for the audit came one year one month after dissolution of the Commission by the Head of State. Prior to its dissolution, the Commission conducted an audit of its financial transactions and submitted a copy of the audit report to the Head of State.

According to the February 13, 1985, issue of the *Footprint Today* newspaper reporting the ban, the terms of which specified that "Dr. Sawyer is not to engage in any political activity, including holding of meetings or interviews with the press, the making of speeches or the holding of consultation on political matters with any individual or group." As you can clearly see, the intent here is to take Dr. Sawyer out of the presidential race and to pave the way for the Head of State to have no challengers with the chances of winning.

In the same vein, your attention is drawn to the financial requirements of \$150,000, of which \$50,000 is cash, to qualify for registration of a political party, in a society where the real per capita income per annum does not exceed



\$400. This financial requirement for party and independent candidate registration is designed to limit participation, which is contrary to the principle of democracy that we wish to establish in Liberia.

So far only two parties are reported registered. They are the National Democratic Party of Liberia, headed by the Head of State, and the Unity Party, headed by Dr. Edward Kesselly. Even with the rigid financial requirements, as evidence of the desire of the Liberian people for true democracy in their country, four other parties have met the financial requirements for registration. These are: Liberia People's Party of Dr. Amos Sawyer; Liberia Action Party of Counsellor Tuan Wreh; United People's Party of G. Baccus Matthew; and Liberia Unification Party of Gabriel Kpolleh. We shall comment later on the obstacles being thrown in the path of these parties so that they cannot complete registration as required by law.

Reference was made earlier to Decree 88-A under denial of freedom of speech and of the press. It is pointed out here too that Decree 88-A denies human rights and civil liberties in Liberia. With the decree in effect, *no issues can be raised now or during the elections, which should be free, open and fair. The net effect of the decree then is to nullify the broad objective that your aid is designed to achieve: returning Liberia to a constitutional and democratically elected civilian government.*

Under human rights, the two most authoritative independent organizations that monitor human rights violations, Amnesty International and Freedom House, have not given Liberia a passing grade. In the case of Amnesty International, Liberia was omitted from its 1984 report for what was termed lack of sufficient information. The main reason for this is that the Liberian government has been unwilling to allow these international organizations to enter the country to conduct investigations into reports of human rights violations, of which there have been too many. In 1981, for example, when I was in jail, I was beaten for seven days morning and night receiving 50 lashes. There were other forms of torture carried out. Freedom House considers Liberia only partially "free." Political trials, of which there

have been quite a few since 1980, have been closed to the public. These trials have been anything but fair, and all principles of a fair trial have been violated.

In December 1984, five people were arrested but not formally charged. They were reportedly picked up as part of a security sweep to arrest people who were believed to be publishers of an anonymous leaflet. They are still being held in detention, and neither been tried nor given bail. Also in 1984, a prominent lawyer, Toye Barnard, representing Mr. Hilary Dennis in the embezzlement case brought by the government, was arrested and detained in the government maximum security prison without trial for several months before he was released. Several journalists mentioned earlier were also arrested and detained without trial for months before being released.

Even the judiciary cannot function independently. Toward the close of 1984, the Supreme Court took a decision to ban the Justice Minister from practicing. This unusual procedure was taken because, the minister, after freeing prisoners sentenced by a lower court, refused to respond to a summons from the court to give legal reasons for his actions. He also turned away officers from the court with warrants for his arrest. After the Supreme Court gave its decision, the Head of State ordered the Chief Justice to lift the ban immediately, and it was done. The only institution for law and order in Liberia then is the *Head of State*. *This is down the road of irreversible dictatorship and not democracy, and it is important that you should know.*

### **Obstacles to Registration of Political Parties**

The recent changes made in the membership of the Special Elections Commission now raise major concerns as to whether the elections in October 1985 will be fair. Two persons were removed from the Commission, including its co-chairman, Mr. Albert White. One of the recent appointees is the brother of the Assistant Secretary-General of the Head of State's party, the national Democratic Party of Liberia, and also a member of the NDPL. This is a violation of the decree setting up the Commission which stipulates that its

THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY IN LIBERIA  
BY PATRICK L. N. SEYON

97

members shall be nonpartisan. This meant that they could not be members of parties.

Since the appointment of the new members, obstacles have been thrown in the way of the competing parties so that completion of their registration is being systematically delayed. In one instance, the United People's Party registration is being held up, because it is alleged that it published some pamphlet when it had not finished registering as a party.

In the case of the Liberia People's Party of Dr. Amos Sawyer, registration is being held up because Dr. Sawyer is being audited.

One of the requirements for the registration of the parties is to present to the Special Elections Commission a membership list of 500 from at least six of the ten counties. Then the list is published by the Commission and opened to challenges. When challenges are filed, the Commission has to resolve them before the party or parties can be allowed to proceed with the registration process. When the NDPL of Head of State membership list was published, there were many challenges.

The Commission took the position that the challengers should resolve their challenges with NDPL. The party was then allowed to proceed with registration. Now, registrations of parties are being held up because of challenges. Once again, these matters are being brought to your attention because it is important for you to know what is happening in Liberia, and that all is not well with the democratic process.

Given the behavior of the Special Elections Commission, and also to ensure a fair election, it is imperative that you insist on an international observer team for the elections in October 1985. The process is as critical as the end result. It is important to point out that the process of return to civilian rule is as important as the end result. If the Liberian people do not develop confidence in the process, they may withhold legitimacy. It is therefore important that every effort is made to ensure that the process and all those involved adhere to the principles of democracy.

I shall now make a brief comment on the contents of the aid and technical assistance to Liberia.

### **U.S. Aid and Technical Assistance to Liberia**

In 1979, military assistance to Liberia was only \$1.5 million. By 1983 it had increased to \$12.7 million representing an increase of 846%. The extent to which this level of military assistance has increased the capacity of the military to oppress, repress and suppress the Liberian people is clear. There is a linear relationship between such military aid and the military authoritarianism. In terms of overall aid, including the military, in 1979, the amount was \$19.1 million, \$1.2 million of which was loans. By 1982, it had risen to \$78.1 million with \$22.0 million as loans. The overall increase represents 408%. For the 1986 proposed figures, \$48 million is for economic support fund, and \$13 million is for military aid. While \$13 million is provided for military aid, only about \$3.8 million is provided for human resource development and education for a country that has 25% adult literacy.

I cite these figures only to show that the present military regime in Liberia has been sustained in power by American aid. *It therefore becomes a moral duty on the part of the American people and government, through you, to ensure that Liberia is returned to a genuine constitutional and democratically elected civilian government. Anything less will say loudly and unmistakably clearly to the Liberian people that while America loves and ensures freedom and democracy for its people, it does not wish for the Liberians to be free and to have democracy.*

The one and only sure way to safeguard democracy against authoritarianism or military rule is to educate the people. One approach is to help develop or strengthen national universities. In the United States there are great state university such as Michigan State, for example, that have developed and today contribute significantly to the overall economic progress of the United States of America. Furthermore, in the state of New York, it is Cornell University that supervises all agricultural research. In the state of California, it

THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY IN LIBERIA  
BY PATRICK L. N. SEYON

99

is the University of California at Davis that supervises all agricultural research. However, in Liberia, there is a tendency not to assist and strengthen the state-owned University of Liberia so that it can better serve the people of Liberia. Instead, programs are set up with USAID funds to duplicate and compete with the University's programs. This practice is wasteful of much needed resources and benefit neither the people of Liberia in the long run nor the American people who are providing the funds to assist Liberia.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that there is a serious threat to democracy in Liberia. The United States has as much at stake in Liberia returning to genuine constitutional democratically elected civilian government as do the Liberians themselves. The United States is providing Liberia aid in order to assist the country's return to civilian rule. The United States would like to make sure then that an international observer team is set up to oversee the elections in October 1985. If America fails to act and Liberia winds up under a dictatorship, America will have thereby lost a great friend and ally in the Liberian people.

Thank you very much.

## ***The Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas (ULAA)***

By Michael S. Wotorson\*

### **Immigration Protection for Liberian Refugees Is Protection for Our Families**

WASHINGTON—Leaders of the Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas (ULAA) and thousands of Liberian nationals currently residing in the United States of America are calling on the Clinton administration and the American people to support and pass legislation designed to adjust our immigration status to permanent residency. Liberians living all across the United States are joining forces with Rhode Island congressman Patrick J. Kennedy and Senator Jack Reed in seeking permanent residency for thousands of Liberian refugees granted special protection by the United States after fleeing Liberia's bloody civil war. This special protection, "temporary protective status" (TPS), is due to expire on September 28, 1999, leaving thousands of Liberian families facing the prospect of returning to a nation where their basic physical well-being is in doubt. We are respectfully calling on the people of this great nation to support the House and Senate versions of the "Liberian Refugee Immigration Protection Act of 1999."

### **Our Position**

The position of ULAA on the status of Liberian refugees in the United States has consistently been based on its own findings as well as those of the U.S. Department of State. ULAA recognizes quite clearly that Liberia is still

---

\* Mr. Wotorson is the Secretary General of the Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas (ULAA). He may be reached at 301-879-8633 (h) or 202-478-4659 (wk).

UNION OF LIBERIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN THE AMERICAS 101  
BY MICHAEL S. WOTORSON, SECRETARY GENERAL

not safe for Liberians citizens to return. Of a population of 2.6 million, fully 1.7 million people are estimated to be without basic health care, 1.5 million do not have access to safe drinking water and nearly 2 million are without sanitation services. More importantly, however, human rights and basic physical security still cannot be assured by Liberia's government. Instability, harassment, and periodic killings continue to plague Liberia nearly two years after general elections. "Unfortunately, security and general living conditions in Liberia are unlikely to improve in the near future and forcing families to return will subject them to undue hardship and suffering," stated ULAA President Joseph D.Z. Korto.

Liberians are perhaps most concerned about the threat posed to thousands of U.S. citizen children born to Liberian parents over the last decade should these parents have to return home. Liberians see this possibility as being not only patently unfair, but also destructive to stable families that have subsisted as useful and productive members of local American communities for nearly a decade. As Liberians in America, we have continued to watch the pervasive disrespect for basic human rights in Liberia and we simply want our families to live in peace and stability.

The bills introduced by Rep. Kennedy and Sen. Reed, H.R. 919 and S. 656 respectively, would allow Liberians to become permanent legal residents if they were previously eligible for TPS. The TPS provision has allowed Liberian immigrants and refugees to live and work in the United States, raise families and pay taxes, without fear of being forcibly returned to Liberia. The TPS order was a clear recognition by the Clinton administration of Liberia's ongoing security crisis and questionable human rights practices. Recently, the U.S. Department of State released its *1998 Report on Human Rights in Liberia*, which found that the government of Liberia routinely and grossly abused human rights, harassed members of the press and continued to carry out "political and extra-judicial killings." Additionally, Amnesty International's 1998 Annual Report on Liberia highlighted the human rights abuses and urged the Liberian government to take the issue of human rights more seriously.

Perhaps the most important fact about TPS is that it gave many Liberian families an opportunity to start a new life. About 9,000 Liberians were granted TPS in 1991, two years after the initial outbreak of Liberia's civil war. Thereafter, thousands of additional Liberians were granted TPS as the war raged on for six more years, killing an estimated 200,000 and displacing well over another 1.4 million. Today, untold thousands of Liberians remain languishing in West African refugee camps. Many others were fortunate primarily through resettlement programs and/or political asylum claims, to be relocated to the United States. Unfortunately, the TPS order is scheduled to expire on September 28, 1999, leaving thousands of Liberians facing the prospect of uprooting their families and returning to a future of uncertainty.

### **Background**

Liberia's civil war began on Christmas Eve 1989 when the struggle for preeminent political power took to the battle fields, transformed from the streets, cities, and towns of Liberia. During the ensuing conflict, unprecedented brutality became commonplace. Every Liberian today can easily recount the horrors directly or indirectly experienced through this terrible war. Men, women, and children were routinely beaten, raped, mutilated, and killed. Liberia also reached distinction during the war by joining the ranks of other warring nations choosing to introduce unprecedented numbers of children into armed combat. By 1996, the war had already claimed over 150,000 lives and Liberians were fleeing the violence by the thousands through any means they could find.

Many of these Liberian refugees fled to the United States between 1989 to 1996. At the start of this massive influx of Liberian refugees, around 1991, the United States Department of Justice extended protection to these émigrés through the issuance of a "Temporary Protective Status" order. Although seven years of bloody civil conflict has ended, and Liberia held an abrupt general election process in 1997, Liberians are still forced to live daily with a reality very close to the state war (See, U.S. Department of State, "Liberia Country



UNION OF LIBERIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN THE AMERICAS 103  
BY MICHAEL S. WOTORSON, SECRETARY GENERAL

Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998." Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, February 26, 1999). Today in Liberia, there exist over three para-military organizations answerable to no one but the President. This is in addition to Liberia's poorly trained standing army which has been accused by members of the international community and a host of West African nations, of playing an integral role in ongoing civil conflict in neighboring Sierra Leone.

**INAUGURAL ADDRESSES**

**Inaugural Address of his Excellency, J. J. Roberts,  
President of the Republic of Liberia,  
Delivered at the first meeting of the  
Legislature of the Republic, January 3d, 1848**

**Inaugural Address of  
President Stephen Allen Benson  
of the Republic of Liberia  
Delivered at Monrovia,  
Before the Legislature in Joint Convention,  
January 4, 1858**

**Inaugural Address of President D.B. Warner,  
Delivered before the Legislature in Joint Convention,  
Monrovia, January 4, 1864**

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

# INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ROBERTS

105

[From Africa's Luminary—Extra.]

## Inaugural Address

*Of his Excellency, J. J. ROBERTS, President of the Republic of Liberia.  
Delivered at the first meeting of the Legislature of the Republic, January 3d, 1848.*

By the Liberia Packet we received the following very interesting document, which we have great pleasure in laying before our readers. It is a noble address, worthy of any body :

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Before I proceed to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed on me, it is with great pleasure I avail myself of the occasion, now presented, to express the profound impressions made on me by the call of my fellow citizens to the station, and the duties, to which I am now about to pledge myself. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate suffrage of my fellow citizens, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion ; as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. But I feel particularly gratified at this evidence of the confidence of my fellow citizens, in as much as it strengthens the impression on me that my endeavors to discharge faithfully the duties which devolved on me as Chief Executive officer of the Commonwealth, during the last six years of our political connection with the American Colonization Society, have been favorably estimated, I nevertheless meet the responsibilities of this day with feelings of the deepest solicitude. I feel, fellow citizens, that the present is a momentous period in the history of Liberia ; and I assure you, under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the crisis, I am sensible that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

We have just entered upon a new and important career. To give effect to all the measures and powers of the government, we have found it necessary to remodel our Constitution and to erect ourselves into an independent State ; which, in its infancy is exposed to numberless hazards and perils, and which can never attain to maturity, or ripen into firmness, unless it is managed with affectionate assiduity, and guarded by great abilities ; I therefore deeply deplore my want of talents, and feel my mind filled with anxiety and uneasiness to find myself so unequal to the duties of the important station to which I am called. When I reflect upon the weight and magnitude now belonging to the station, and the many difficulties which, in the nature of things, must necessarily attend it, I feel more like retreating from the responsible position, than attempting to go forward in the discharge of the duties of my office.

Indeed, gentlemen of the Legislature, if I had less reliance upon your co-operation, and the indulgence and support of a reflecting people, and felt less deeply a consciousness of the duty I owe my country, and a conviction of the guidance of an all wise Providence in the management of our political affairs,—I should be compelled to shrink from the task.—I, however, enter upon the duties assigned me, relying upon your wisdom and virtue to supply my defects ; and under the full conviction that my fellow citizens at large, who, on the most trying occasions, have always manifested a degree of patriotism,

perseverance, and fidelity, that would reflect credit upon the citizens of any country, will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their own free choice.

While I congratulate my fellow citizens on the dawn of a new and more perfect government, I would also remind them of the increased responsibility they too have assumed.

Indeed, if there ever was a period in the annals of Liberia, for popular jealousy to be awakened, and popular virtue to exert itself, it is the present. Other eras, I know, have been marked by dangers and difficulties which "tried men's souls," but whatever was their measure, disappointment and overthrow have generally been their fate. That patriotism and virtue which distinguish men, of every age, clime and color, who are determined to be free, never forsook that little band of patriots—the pioneers in this noble enterprise—in the hour of important trial. At a time, when they were almost without arms, ammunition, discipline, or government—a mere handful of isolated christian pilgrims, in pursuit of civil and religious liberty, surrounded by savage and warlike tribes bent upon their ruin and total annihilation—with "a staff and a sling" only, as it were, they determined in the name of the "Lord of Hosts" to stand their ground and defend themselves to the last extremity against their powerful adversary. And need I remind you, fellow citizens, how signally Almighty God delivered them, and how he has hitherto prospered and crowned all our efforts with success.

These first adventurers, inspired by the love of liberty and equal rights, supported by industry and protected by Heaven, became inured to toil, to hardships, and to war. In spite, however, of every obstacle, they obtained a settlement, and happily, un-

der God, succeeded in laying here the foundation of a free government. Their attention, of course, was then turned to the security of those rights for which they had encountered so many perils and inconveniences.—For this purpose, a constitution or form of Government, anomalous it is true, was adopted.

Under the circumstances, expediency required that certain powers of the government should be delegated to the American Colonization Society, their patrons and benefactors—with the understanding that whenever the colonies should feel themselves capable of assuming the whole responsibility of the government, that institution would resign the delegated power, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

At that time it was scarcely supposed, I presume, that the colonies would advance so rapidly as to make it necessary, or even desirable on the part of the colonists, to dissolve that connection within the short space of twenty-five years; such, however, is the case: necessity has demanded it.

Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, these infant settlements soon began to prosper and flourish; and a profitable trade, in a few years, opened an intercourse between them and the subjects and citizens of foreign countries. This intercourse eventually involved us into difficulties with British traders, and of consequence with the British government, which could not be settled, for the want of certain powers in the government here, not provided for in the Constitution.—Nor indeed would the British government recognize in the people of Liberia the rights of sovereignty—"such as imposing custom dues and levying taxes upon British commerce"—so long as their political connection with the Colonization Society continued. Under these

circumstances, a change in our relations with the Society, and the adoption of a new constitution, were deemed, by a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth absolutely necessary. Such also was the opinion of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, who recommended the measure as the only means of relieving the government from these embarrassments, and the citizens from innumerable inconveniences.

In view of these facts, to have shrunk from the responsibility, notwithstanding weighty reasons, adverse to the measure, suggested themselves, would have betrayed a weakness and timidity unbecoming freemen.

Therefore, on full consideration of all the circumstances, it appeared that the period had arrived when it became the duty of the people of Liberia to assume a new position:—such a one that foreign powers would consider them an independent nation.

As you are aware, fellow citizens, the independence of Liberia has been the subject of much speculation, and some animadversion, both at home and abroad.

1st. We are told that the pecuniary assistance the government here has hitherto received from the Colonization Society will now cease; and that in a few years we will find ourselves groaning under enormous taxes, or the affairs of the government will be exceedingly embarrassed, if not totally paralyzed.

I am persuaded, however, that this conclusion by no means follows. To what extent, if at all, the Society contemplates withdrawing the pecuniary aid hitherto granted to the Commonwealth, from the new government, I am not advised; nor have I any data upon which to form even an opinion in regard to it. We have this assurance, however, from Rev. Mr. Mc-

Lain, Secretary of the Society, "That the interest of the Board of Directors, in all that concerns the people of Liberia, will not be diminished—but rather increased—by the alteration in the present relations subsisting between them and the American Colonization Society; and that it is the intention of the Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore, and on the same high and liberal principles."

We are truly, fellow-citizens, under many obligations to the Colonization Society; indeed, it is impossible for one people to have stronger ties upon the gratitude of another, than that Society has upon the people of Liberia.

To the wisdom, philanthropy, and magnanimity of the members of the Colonization Society, who, for more than a quarter of a century, have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of these colonies, and have devoted much of their time and substance to support them, we owe, under God, the political, civil, and religious liberty and independence we this day enjoy; and I have no doubt, in my own mind, but that they will continue to aid us in every way the circumstances of the Society will admit of.

The necessity of imposing additional taxes upon the people to meet the additional expenses of the government, consequent upon the new order of things, is very evident; but I confess, fellow-citizens, I can see no just grounds of fear that they will be enormous or oppressive.

It is true, that for the first few years, in the absence of any foreign assistance, we may find our finances somewhat limited; perhaps barely sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the government; but in a country like ours, abounding in a sufficiency of natural resources, which are so easily developed, it is

scarcely probable that the government at any time will be greatly embarrassed—certainly not totally paralyzed.

2dly. It has been urged that the numerical strength of the government is yet too small; and that we have not sufficient intelligence, experience, or wealth, to command respect abroad; and that in the event foreign powers should refuse to acknowledge our independence, the embarrassments of the government, and its citizens, will be increased rather than diminished.

Now, according to the best computation I am at present able to make—and which I believe is pretty nearly correct—the population of Liberia proper—including, of course, the aboriginal inhabitants who have incorporated themselves with us, and subscribed to the constitution and laws of the Republic—is now upwards of eighty thousand; and we may reasonably suppose that the inhabitants will increase almost in the ratio of compound interest. I have no doubt that the natural population of the Republic, in the course of twenty years, will be doubled; and we have great reason to believe that the number of immigrants arriving from America, and perhaps other countries, will also be very considerable. The free people of color in the United States, wearied with beating the air to advance themselves to equal immunities with the whites in that country, and tired of the oppression which weighs them down *there*, are seriously turning their attention to Liberia as the only asylum they can flee to and be happy.

While we exceedingly lament the want of greater intelligence and more experience to fit us for the proper, or more perfect, management of our public affairs, we flatter ourselves that the adverse circumstances under which we so long labored in the land of our birth; and the integ-

rity of our motives will plead our excuse for our want of abilities: and that in the candor and charity of an impartial world, our well-meant, however feeble, efforts will find an apology. I am also persuaded that no magnanimous nation will seek to abridge our rights, or withhold from the Republic those civilities, and “that comity which marks the friendly intercourse between civilized and independent communities” —in consequence of our weakness and present poverty.

And with respect to the independence of Liberia, I know it to be a favorable object with many great and good men, both in Europe and in the United States; and I have great reason to believe with several European powers, who entertain commercial views.

3d. We are gravely accused, fellow-citizens, of acting prematurely and without due reflection, in this whole matter, with regard to the probable consequences of taking into our own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of our foreign relations; and I have also heard it remarked, that fears are entertained, by some persons abroad, that the citizens of Liberia, when thrown upon their own resources, will probably not sustain the government, and that anarchy and its attendant ruins will be the result of their independence.

The impression, however, that the people have acted prematurely, and without regard to consequences, is evidently erroneous. And, to judge of the future from the past, I have no hesitancy in asserting that the fears entertained respecting the disposition of the people here to insubordination, are totally groundless. No people, perhaps, have exhibited greater devotion for their government and institutions, and have submitted more readily to lawful authority than the citizens of Liberia; which, in-

deed, must be obvious to every one at all familiar with the past history of these colonies. But to return. It is well known that the object of independence has been agitating the public mind for more than five years, and that every consideration, for and against it, has been warmly discussed.

I am sensible, however, it is no uncommon thing for men to be warm in a cause, and yet not know why it is they are warm. In such cases the passion of one is lighted up by the passion of another, and the whole circle is in a flame; but the mind in the meantime is like a dark chamber, without a single ray of light to pervade it; in this case it will happen, that when the hasty passion shall have spent its force, all virtuous and patriotic resolutions which it kindled up will also die with it. As in the great affairs of religion, a strong flash of ideas on the fancy may excite a combustion of devotion; but unless the reason is engaged to feed and supply the burning, it will die away, and neither light nor heat will be found remaining in it.

It was the commendation of a certain people of whom we read in the Bible, that when the gospel was first preached to them, "they searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Those who, without examination, had received it, without examination might also give it up; but this more "honorable" people had maturely weighed the doctrine, and embracing it, they gave ground to believe, that as they were rational, so they would be persevering Christians.

The political concerns of Liberia have been equally the objects of attentive consideration. And it affords the most pleasing reflection that the people of these colonies have not acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence; but all the measures which have been

adopted in regard to it, are strongly marked with great caution and matured deliberation, and will bear the strictest scrutiny of reason and conscience.

The time has been, I admit, when men—without being chargeable with timidity, or with a disposition to undervalue the capacities of the African race, might have doubted the success of the Colonization enterprise, and the feasibility of establishing an independent Christian state on this coast, composed of and conducted wholly by colored men,—but, fellow-citizens, that time has past. The American Colonization Society has redeemed its pledge, and I believe in my soul, that the permanency of the government of the Republic of Liberia is now fixed upon as firm a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safely through so many dangers, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption, and consequent happiness, unfinished; and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of prejudices, from whose oppression he has mercifully delivered us with his outstretched arm.

And, fellow-citizens, it must afford the most heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of Liberia, and real lover of liberty in general, to observe by what a fortunate train of circumstances and incidents the people of these colonies have arrived at absolute freedom and independence. When we look abroad and see by what slow and painful steps, marked with blood and ills of every kind, other states of the world have advanced to liberty and independence; we cannot but admire and praise that all gracious Providence, who, by his

unerring ways, has, with so few sufferings on our part, compared with other states, led us to this happy stage in our progress towards those great and important objects. And that it is the will of Heaven that mankind should be free, is clearly evidenced by the wealth, vigor, virtue and consequent happiness of all free states. But the idea that Providence will establish such governments as he shall deem most fit for his creatures, and will give them wealth, influence, and happiness, without their efforts, is palpably absurd. In short, God's moral government of the earth is always performed by the intervention of second causes. Therefore, fellow-citizens, while with pious gratitude we survey the frequent interpositions of Heaven in our behalf, we ought to remember, that as the disbelief of an overruling providence is atheism, so an absolute confidence of having our government relieved from every embarrassment, and its citizens made respectable and happy by the immediate hand of God, without our own exertions, is the most culpable presumption. Nor have we any reason to expect that he will miraculously make Liberia a paradise, and deliver us, in a moment of time, from all the ills and inconveniences, consequent upon the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, merely to convince us that he favors our cause and government.

Sufficient notifications of his will are always given, and those who will not then believe, neither would they believe though one should rise from the dead to inform them. Who can trace the progress of these colonies, and mark the incidents of the wars in which they have been engaged, without seeing evident tokens of providential favor. Let us, therefore, inflexibly persevere in exerting our most strenuous efforts, in an humble and rational dependence on the great Governor of all the world, and we

have the fairest prospects of surmounting all the difficulties which may be thrown in our way. And that we may expect, and that we shall have difficulties, sore difficulties yet to contend against, in our progress to maturity, is certain:— And, as the political happiness or wretchedness of ourselves and our children, and of generations yet unborn, is in our hands, nay more, the redemption of Africa from the deep degradation, superstition, and idolatry in which she has so long been involved, it becomes us to lay our shoulders to the wheel, and manfully resist every obstacle which may oppose our progress in the great work which lies before us. The Gospel, fellow citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent, and I have the highest reason to believe, that it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies, that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country; and to what work more noble could our powers be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, our fellow-men, and shedding abroad over them the light of science and christianity.— The means of doing so, fellow-citizens, are in our reach, and if we neglect, or do not make use of them, what excuse shall we make to our Creator and final Judge? This is a question of the deepest concern to us all, and which, in my opinion, will materially effect our happiness in the world to come. And surely, if it ever has been incumbent on the people of Liberia to know truth and to follow it, it is now. Rouse, therefore, fellow-citizens, and do your duty like men; and be persuaded, that Divine Providence, as heretofore, will continue to bless all your virtuous efforts.

But if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of



their country; if deaf to all the calls of liberty, virtue, and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor the success of other nations, the dictates of reason and of nature, or the great duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their posterity, have no effect upon them;—if, neither the injuries they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great Judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct, in this and a future state, can move them; then let them be assured, that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation. Let them banish, forever, from their minds, the hope of ever obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness, which, as men, they are entitled to. Let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being: let them return into slavery, and hug their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations.

But I am persuaded, fellow-citi-

zens, that we have none such among us;—that every citizen will do his duty, and exert himself to the utmost of his abilities to sustain the honor of his country, promote her interests, and the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to hand down unimpaired to future generations the freedom and independence we this day enjoy.

As to myself, fellow-citizens, I assure you I never have been indifferent to what concerns the interests of Liberia—my adopted country;—and I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of duty, or of justice: the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding may, no doubt will, produce errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, that I shall need all the indulgence I have hitherto received at your hands. I shall need too the favor of that Being, in whose hands we are, who has led us, as Israel of old, from our native land, and planted us in a country abounding in all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his Providence, and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do, shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

## STEPHEN ALLEN BENSON

**Inaugural Address of the President of the Republic of Liberia,  
DELIVERED AT MONROVIA, BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE IN JOINT CONVENTION,  
JANUARY 4, 1858.**

**FELLOW CITIZENS:** On this occasion of meeting you, which introduces the juncture of my entrance

upon my second administrative term, I feel that duty and pleasure harmonize.

*The African Repository*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Washington, 1858) pp. 261-68.

It is a duty, because the law makes it incumbent that I should take upon me at this period the solemn obligations of the oath of office; and it cannot be administered under more appropriate circumstances, than in the presence of my constituents here assembled this day.

It is a pleasure, because it affords me an opportunity to give expression to the profound sense of gratitude I feel towards you for the renewed demonstration of confidence reposed in me by entrusting to my care and supervision the affairs and interest of this nation as its chief executive officer for another biennial term.

I hesitate not to assure you that my sense of gratitude and obligation is greatly deepened in view of the cordiality and unanimity with which you have been pleased to bestow upon me the highest office in your gift the second time.

When in the retrospect I look, commencing a few months antecedent to the period of my inauguration two years ago, and call to mind the very critical nature of that juncture, and the actual vicissitudes through which we have been thus far safely conducted, I discover abundant cause for the most unfeigned acknowledgment to the Great Arbiter of nations for his guidance and overruling Providence by which we have been hitherto directed and supported in the administration of our national affairs.

Perhaps there is no period in the history of Liberia that has been regarded with more anxiety by the friends of our race abroad, as well as by many of our citizens, as having been more critical, than the period of the transition state of this Government when its first, its able, and its pre-eminent Chief Magistrate was in all probability to be succeeded in the incumbency by an inexperienced successor.

The enemies of our race have been incessant in their predictions of our failure to govern ourselves, which, if not before, they said would most assuredly take place soon after the critical period of transition. So current had this stale doctrine of the "incapacity of the colored race to govern themselves" become, as that it is said that a few of our own citizens did not so far escape the contagion as to have been entirely exempt from misgivings on this point; not intending thereby, however, any injury or disrespect to their race, though it is evident that the demonstration of that fact in our history would, in the future, be a favorable argument with the avaricious and relentlessly inclined of the oppressors of our race in justification of holding them in bondage.

The intervention of so short a space of time since my induction two years ago, renders it unnecessary for me to so particularize as to advert in detail to the dark and frightful cloud of destruction and death which hung so heavily over an important and extensive section of this Republic, not merely threatening, but actually resulting in spreading devastation and death, and which, if not timely checked, threatened to spread over the entire length and breadth of this land. I need not remind you that such was the danger and the distressing state of destitution into which at least eight-tenths of the Americo Liberian inhabitants of that interesting county of Sinoe were thrown, as that either an entire abandonment of the settlement, or the removal of a majority of the inhabitants to the other counties, was currently recommended and deemed indispensable in order to their subsistence; and what added still more to the critical nature of the period was the fact, that government, under a new,

untried, and somewhat inexperienced administration, had to depend mainly upon the patriotism and valor of her own citizens for both means and men for the arrest and suppression of death and devastation of their rapid strides, and for the restoration of peace and safety.

Need I remind you of another well-known fact, which constituted another circumstance in the combination before alluded to? I allude to the alarming degree to which the rancor of political party feeling had attained at that time; this was a matter of no small concernment to our most reflecting citizens.

What intelligent citizen is there, that can call to mind the state of political party feeling throughout this Republic in the years 1853, 1854, and 1855, without realizing serious emotions even at this remote period; especially when it is remembered to what a dangerous degree political strife, malignity, and resentment are liable to be carried by persons trained up under the disadvantages to which so large a portion of our citizens have been subject? For though I hesitate not to express the belief, that ours is the most forgiving of all other races, yet it strikes me equally forcibly that this trait clearly evidences our susceptibility of being precipitately raised to a very high degree of excitement, and consequently the danger of our transcending the bounds of reason and prudence, when our political feelings and zeal have thus attained their maximum of tension.

Surely it requires no extraordinary degree of perception to discover how very unwise it is, under such circumstances, to fan the flame of political strife and malignity, and how commendable is that policy, that employs all justifiable means for its extinguishment, and for the

cultivation of peace among all parties and classes. At all events, if it be possible that any one doubts the wisdom of such a policy, perhaps it will duly vindicate itself before many more political campaigns shall have passed away.

Having briefly adverted to well known facts which rendered the period of my induction two years ago peculiarly critical, I do not hesitate in the next place to frankly confess this day that I am fully sensible of the fact, that the discharge of my official duties has not been exempt from imperfections; and yet, from the cordial support I have received, as also from the very kind and patriotic disposition manifested so generally by my fellow-citizens, I feel satisfied that you rightly adjudged, that if those duties were discharged measurably imperfectly, they were nevertheless discharged honestly, and to the best of my ability; and no greater evidence do I desire of the existence of this belief on the part of the citizens of this Republic than has been afforded me by the unanimity with which they have been pleased, by their suffrage, to invest me the second time with the highest office in their gift.

In entering upon the administrative term that is now being closed, I strove, in keeping with the policy of my illustrious predecessor, to occupy the broad and unbiassed platform of the general interest of the Republic, irrespective either of geographical position or improper party bias. Feeling well satisfied as I did, that all who knew me intimately in life, did not doubt that I possessed the necessary courage, and would not hesitate in that sphere of life, when prudence dictated such a course, to employ the necessary mental or physical exertion in self vindication and defence, when assailed, I could therefore well afford,

after my induction, when I became intrusted in a great measure with the honor of the nation, to forego resentment toward any who had been my political opponents, and in the sincerity of my heart seek, in my official capacity, to promote their welfare in common with that of other citizens. I may have fallen short in carrying out this desire, but if so, the delinquency was unintentional.

I have always thought that it should be beneath the dignity of a public functionary to employ the power with which he is clothed, or the advantage of the position in which he may be placed by the suffrage of the people, for the purpose of being avenged upon political opponents; for though I highly disapprove, nay, condemn the conduct of such politicians and partisans who readily compromise and prostitute all honorable principle for the purpose of political triumph, yet partyism in itself, when based and conducted on conscientious and honorable principles, is very commendable, and in a measure indispensable to the safe and healthy existence of a government. It is not, therefore, the mere existence of parties that is so dangerous, but it is the malignant spirit and impure motives with which they are sometimes conducted, which, in bygone days, have led to the humiliating subversion of governments more wise and more strong than ours.

In my efforts to cultivate a friendly and patriotic feeling among and between members of the various political parties, I have neither sought nor desire the extinction of any party, nor have I compromised a single political principle for the sake of promoting peace or for the enhancement of my popularity. My political principles remain the same to day that they were ten years ago,

and to this assertion, I challenge successful contradiction.

I never was, and never will be, committed to a party any further than I conscientiously believe that such party pursues a proper course. It may be that there are some who are inclined to charge me with occupying an anomalous or indefinite political position; if there be such—though as yet I doubt it, they are certainly such politicians—as attach more importance and merit to partyism than to principle. I doubt if the practical operations of the principles of any political party under the sun, since the days of Adam, have been entirely exempt from imperfections, so as to render them in every respect unexceptionable. It is no uncommon thing for members of the same political party to differ in opinion and practice on certain points of policy; and why should partisans in Liberia claim to have attained to a degree of political perfection hitherto unknown in our world? I judge for myself, and act in consonance with my convictions of right, irrespective of an improper party bias, though not without due consideration of and respect for the opinions and advice of others. This is the definition I now and forever give of my political position; it is the only one I care to occupy, and it is the only one I intend to occupy so long as I may be favored with a sound mind.

As it is my purpose to be both short and simple in this address, I will not recapitulate the measures and principles which I shall re-adopt for the purpose of enhancing the interest of this Republic in its various departments: these are stated in my first inaugural address delivered two years ago, which, to the best of my ability, I have striven to carry out; and has I hold it to be a maxim, "That a man's uniform course of

conduct is the only reliable exponent of his principles," you have had, in the two last years of my administration, what you may in the main expect as to the policy during the term upon which I am entering this day.

And with due respect and profound gratitude to my fellow-citizens of both parties for the honor they have so unanimously conferred upon me, I beg respectfully to remark, that as it is neither accordant with my purpose nor desire to be a candidate for re-election for the ensuing term, I feel sure that whatever else may be said against my sincerity in giving expression to the sentiments embodied in this address, I cannot be consistently charged with dissimulation in order to the enhancement of my popularity for re-election.

Fellow-citizens, we have safely passed the crisis of my first administrative term; portentous as were apparently the clouds that overspread the greater part of it, they have in due time discovered themselves to have been pregnant with mercy and blessing instead of permanent evil. As only a part of the result of our two years' efforts amidst difficulties, the area of the territory of this Republic has been increased forty per cent. The two healthy, beautiful and promising settlements of Careyburg and Robertsport have been formed, and four of those destroyed in Sinoe county, two years ago by war, have been partly rebuilt and re-occupied; rebellious tribes have been chastised and made loyal; native wars and misunderstandings have been settled; our foreign relations are both tranquil and respectful.

I am fully aware, that the commercial commodities, such as palm oil, camwood, ivory, &c., which are fluctuatingly afforded by the abori-

gines, are erroneously considered by some as the only reliable basis of our prosperity—as being the *summum bonum* to Liberia; and thus when the natives choose to relax their efforts in the supply of these, or when from the derangement of the seasons, or other causes, the trade in those articles becomes stagnated, they take it for granted that the only reliable channel to individual and national prosperity is closed, and set it down as an unmistakable sign of the approach of our every interest to a vortex of destruction. I have frequently thought (and perhaps it was the object of Divine Providence to teach us that lesson last year) that if such erroneous notions cannot be corrected otherwise, it would be a blessing to us if a blight were to seize upon the palm nut, and upon every other commodity, (the exclusive product of heathen labor within this Republic) until all our chief and most active men shall have learned to regard the native trade as an auxiliary to, instead of a basis of individual and national prosperity and independence.

But as there is such a large majority of our citizens who are sound in their views on this subject, to such, and the Christian world, I will simply remark, that the industrial productive interest of this Republic at present, embracing agriculture, manufactures, mechanism, and arts, presents an encouraging prospect; the vast number of citizen and foreign visitors at the National Fair daily, during the week it was held in this city a fortnight ago, and the various departments of skill and industry that were so very gratifyingly represented, both as to quantity, quality, and taste, abundantly testify to the prospect of progress in Liberia in productive industry, far! far! exceeding the

expectations of the most sanguine ; so that the vast number of our citizens from the four counties of this Republic, who were in attendance, have returned home encouraged to try and do more than they had ever attempted to do before, and with the belief that what they thought before was impossible to be done in Liberia can, by the proper effort, be accomplished ; and feeling more than ever indignant at, and laughing to scorn those whose effeminate fears and predictions had sealed the end of all things in Liberia months ago.

I thank God that I have been raised up under the circumstances I was ; that a combination of circumstances prevented my being raised up too effeminately. There are hardly any hardships, trials, and sufferings short of death, that are incident to new and remote countries, whether they spring from affliction, poverty, toil, or such dangers as are not a hair's breadth remove from death, that it has not been my lot in the order of Divine Providence to pass through during the 36 years of my residence in Liberia ; and though the gracious designs of a good and wise Providence were not then clearly understood by me—for I have been tempted during some part of that time to murmur and wonder why his hand was so frequently and heavily laid upon me, yet since, in my riper years, His wise counsels have been made clearly manifest to me, I thank him for every soul and body trying incident through which I have had to pass ; for thereby having become inured to the greatest difficulties, and consequently endowed with fortitude, I happily escape the imaginary frightful hauntings by which some few have seemed really or pretendedly to be annoyed, around whom in every imaginary direction,

startling spectres of national dissolution arise on every trivial occasion.

Fellow-citizens, so far as Liberia is concerned, I have not for the last quarter of a century entertained a moment's despair of her success. The word *despair* has long since not only become obsolete in, but actually erased out of any political vocabulary. The enterprise in which we are engaged is manifestly of God. The good, great, and wise men in the United States who projected the great colonization scheme were influence thereto by the Holy Spirit, and His special Providence has been as unmistakably manifest in Liberia, during her entire history as well as in supervising the counsels and operations of the Society in the United States, as ever were the pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, to direct Israel's course to the land of promise.

It may appear to some fanatical in me when I assert, that I do not believe it to be in the power of any man or set of men, whether in Liberia or in foreign lands, to defeat the purpose of Jehovah with regard to our country and our race. It is true that the consummation of His gracious purpose may be somewhat retarded by our delinquency, but will never be entirely defeated by it ; for he will timely remove those of us out of the way who prove dangerously and incorrigibly delinquent, and will raise up more faithful ones in their stead. And so with the enemies of Liberia and colonization who dwell in foreign lands, they cannot permanently injure the cause ; their malignant misrepresentations, and forced remarks of disparagement with regard to the ultimate success of the enterprise, "especially the capacity of colored men in Liberia to govern themselves," may, for a very short time

somewhat retard the operations of the Society, and consequently measurably effect the interest of Liberia, but will as assuredly result in a reaction, as the fact of that darkness must give place to light. Their misrepresentation and forced disparagement almost invariably result in eliciting encouraging, and honorable facts respecting colonization and this rising Republic, which would have otherwise lain concealed, and thus, like gold which passes through the furnace, instead of suffering or losing anything thereby, comes out more pure and more to be appreciated and admired. Hence, contrary to most persons, I would hail with joy every renewed spasmodic effort of our enemies abroad—if it were not for the exceeding sinfulness of their conduct—to check by malignant representations the progress of this great enterprise, as being nothing less than an unmistakable prelude to a season of great prosperity and encouragement to the Society as well as to this Republic: for thus the wrath and folly of man are made to subserve Jehovah's gracious designs.

If those editors and others in the United States who predict such an evil and disreputable destiny for colonization, Liberia and our race in general, because of the rare occurrence of three or four months scarcity of domestic provisions in Liberia last year—arguing therefrom that the only proper condition of our race is that of servitude as exhibited in American slavery—were not on quite so good terms with themselves, and would allow their singular prophetic vision to retrovert for a moment from Liberia's present condition and future destiny to a retrospection of the moral, intellectual, and industrial condition of some of their own colonies during the first half century or more of their

history, I feel sure that their tongues and pens would become palsied in case they attempted any further forced remarks of disparagement at our present condition or evil predictions of our future destiny, unless the last good quality—susceptibility of shame—upon which we can venture to base our hope of their reformation, had become extinct in them. If the moral and industrial delinquencies of Liberia from her incipency to the present, equaled one-tenth of those delinquencies delineated in the histories of some of the American Colonies for the same length of time, and number of inhabitants, perhaps my misgivings for the ultimate success of the enterprise would have overcome me, and I might have yielded to despair; but until this is the case, I think reason and common sense dictate to Liberians to persevere and be of good cheer, and to regard all such malignant, shameless, and imbecile predictions with deserved contempt. Before the dismissal of this subject will you indulge me with the privilege of a repetition of the sentiment to which I had the honor of giving expression on the 15th ult., on the memorable occasion of inaugurating our First National Fair. It was simply this: "That when Liberia fails, when her national existence terminates, shall not only wish, but shall expect the world to terminate simultaneously; for Liberia is all the world to me, so far as temporal things are concerned, and when she does fail, to me all the world will have failed, for I have and desire no other earthly home; all my interest in the affairs of this world will have then come to an end."

Fellow-citizens, after doing myself the great pleasure of gratefully acknowledging the obligations I feel to be under to the officers who have

been associated with me directly and indirectly in the administration of the affairs of this government, who with very little exception have demeaned themselves with fidelity in their respective functions, I beg to close by assuring you, that with the prospects with which I am this day favored to enter upon the duties of another administrative term, I think we have abundant cause for gratitude to the Father of all our mercies as well as for mutual gratulations; for notwithstanding the pecuniary pressure, there are those among us, who are sufficiently intelligent, observant, and candid, to declare without a moment's hesitation, that the prospect in Liberia, for real, substantial prosperity and independence, was never brighter at any previous period of her history. With this fact, associated with the hope I have, which almost amounts to assurance, that I shall witness no diminution of the wonted support and co-operation of my fellow-citizens generally, I enter this day—though solemnly yet cheerfully, upon the very responsible duties of another executive term, with the solemn promise of serving your interest to the best of my ability.

STEPHEN ALLEN BENSON.  
Government House,  
Monrovia, January 4, 1858.

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

### PRESIDENT D. B. WARNER,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE IN JOINT CONVENTION,

MONROVIA, JANUARY 4, 1864.

Hon. Daniel B. Warner was inaugurated at Monrovia, on the 4th of January, 1864, President of Liberia. His inaugural address, delivered in the presence of the Legislature in joint convention, is a well prepared and judicious document. We give it entire, and invite for it an attentive perusal.

Mr. Warner is of unmixed African descent, born in Baltimore, April 19, 1815, and landed with his parents at Monrovia, May 24, 1823, since which time, he has not been absent from Africa. He has had large experience as a ship-builder and master, and as a successful merchant. Latterly, he has proved a popular legislator. Mr. Warner is an Elder in the Presbyterian Church at Monrovia, and is universally esteemed as a man of strict integrity and unswerving Christian principles.

*The African Repository*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Washington, April 1864) pp. 97-109.



## INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

**FELLOW CITIZENS:** Sixteen years have elapsed since we assumed the responsibilities of an independent nation. Amid numerous doubts and fears—chilled by the scepticism and forebodings of friends and the sneers and evil prognostications of enemies—we discontinued our political connection with that philanthropic American institution which founded and for more than a quarter of a century had fostered Liberia. We have thus far, with varied fortune, maintained our position among the nations of the earth.

## MY PREDECESSORS.

At the outset of our national career, all felt the necessity of a wise and prudent ruler. The importance of the issues involved in the experiment we were about to make, seemed by the unmistakable signs of the times constantly rising up before us, to call for a man to take the helm of affairs of peculiar abilities. All felt that to succeed in the enterprise—to form a nucleus for a nation out of materials which had been exhausted of nearly all the properties adapted to so grand an undertaking—there was needed a combination of such rare qualities in the head of the nation as perhaps could not be found in Liberia.

But Providence, whose superintending power can be traced through all the affairs of Liberia, directing and controlling them from the days of its founding to the present, had prepared the man, and at the hour pointed out to the nation, JOSEPH JENKINS ROBERTS. With a stout and resolute heart, Mr. Roberts undertook the arduous task to which he was called, and with an application undissipated and unwearied, he achieved for Liberia a respectable name among the nations.

The labors and perplexities attendant upon the formation and settling of foreign diplomatic relations and aboriginal disturbances at home, left little time for the organizing Administration to prosecute enterprises for the development of the internal resources of the country. Though an eye was constantly had to such improvements, yet little could be done in consequence of the division of energies just referred to.

Having performed the task imposed upon him by his country, and for which his energy, boldness, directness of purpose and diplomatic skill so eminently fitted him, of making us known abroad and inducing those relations between Liberia and the Great Powers which have been of such immense service to us; and having, in various other ways, served Liberia's best interests for eight years under most trying circumstances, Mr. Roberts retired and the Government was assumed by STEPHEN ALLEN BENSON.

Mr. Benson, trained from infancy in Liberia, and having also passed through various gradations of office, brought no little expe-

rience to the Presidential chair. He took the Government just as it was on the eve of a heavy and expensive native war. But the foreign relations of Liberia being in a satisfactory condition, he could turn his attention to domestic improvements. He displayed, on his induction to office, great power and ability in leading popular sentiment, and either keeping in check or completely destroying for a while the noxious influence of restless demagogues, and turning the attention of the people more generally to the cultivation of the soil. He has shown himself an able chief, and his Administration was marked by a vigorous commencement of internal improvements.

#### DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

This day marks another epoch in the history of Liberia. I am called before you to-day to assume the solemn responsibility of the duties of Chief Magistrate—to pledge myself to study and to endeavor to promote the best interests of the nation for the next two years. No desire of my own, no ambition to figure in political life, however justifiable such an ambition may be, has contributed in the least to the causes which have conspired to place me in my present position. Nothing but the desire of large numbers of my fellow-citizens, expressed again and again, and formally and decidedly announced on the fifth day of May last, has impressed me with the idea that I should make an effort to administer the affairs of this government. Of the great honor conferred upon me on that day by your abundant and enthusiastic vote I feel myself inexpressibly sensible; and it shall be one of the first duties of my life and a prominent care among the many cares devolving upon me, always to prove myself worthy of the confidence you have reposed in me.

In accordance with the custom on such occasions, it becomes my duty to indicate the manner in which it is my desire to administer the national trust which you have committed to my hands. It is of course impossible for me at the beginning of a career, to state the details of the policy by which I shall be guided, as these will develop themselves only with circumstances. But I may indicate, in general terms, the course which I think the present exigencies of the country demand.

We are still at the threshold of our work on this continent. So to accomplish what our hands find to do that we may not transmit weakness and helplessness, but strength and efficiency to posterity, should be our earnest endeavor. For this we should labor and strive. To succeed in the enterprise begun by us, on this coast, of rearing an African Nationality, requires a highminded and untiring devotion, a lofty and unswerving purpose and an intense patriotism, which I think we need to cultivate. We have much work to do. Our task is immense. We are backward in almost everything. We have to achieve our own fortune by unremitting indus-

try and self-devotion. Neither the ultraism of party measures, nor the dissimulation of office lovers, nor the craft and deceit of demagogues, nor the loquacity of fault finders, nor the orthodox lamentations of progressive or go-ahead men, nor high sounding letters for foreign consumption, nor the bolstering up of foreign friends, nor the sympathy of the Great Powers, will supersede the necessity of intelligence, thrift, industry and enterprise on our part.

#### RETRENCHMENT.

In the beginning of my career, then, I shall encourage and endeavor to carry out, as a prime necessity in view of our financial depression, a vigorous retrenchment of Government expenditure. And this economic course I would recommend to all my fellow-citizens in their social relations. Having assumed a position among the nations of the earth, we must quit us like men. We must not shrink from the exertion and self-denial which our condition and circumstances demand.

There are many expenditures we indulge both in government and in our domestic relations, which we can ill afford; much work done and paid for out of the Government treasury, which should be done by citizens free of any charge to Government.

I have nothing to say against the refinements and comforts which civilization brings along with it; for these things are the result, and to a great extent, the promoters of civilization. Material enjoyments and elegancies are no doubt desirable. But what I wish our citizens, male and female, to consider, is this: Whether they can afford the time and the money, in this youthful country, which many of our indulgences call for; whether any portion of these luxuries really contribute to our progress in true refinement or not; and whether, on the whole, they are conducive to the development of those manly qualifications which are desirable in the present state of Liberia?

I would ask, is it not probable that our political and social life is based upon an erroneous assumption? We have modeled in theory, and are endeavoring to model in practice, all our affairs upon the customs and practices of the United States, from a false idea of the analogy of the conditions of the two countries. Few comparisons, however, could be more infelicitous. What analogy is there between the United States with their millions of inhabitants and multiplied agencies of civilization, and Liberia with its few thousands and the absence of almost every art? Compare the population and exports and imports of the one country with those of the other, and see whether our exports bear anything in proportion to our population as compared with similar things of the United States. No class of our population have reached that security and ease in their circumstances which give leisure and means for indulgence. We are, for the most part, still bound to the neces-

sity of seeking supplies for our rudest wants. The inexorable necessities of daily life absorb nearly our whole attention and entire strength. Were it not for the assistance which we receive from abroad, we could not support many of the institutions of literature and religion among us. To argue, therefore, from the condition of things in the United States to that of things in Liberia, is simply preposterous

To name, for illustration, a single instance in which we are too servilely copying the United States, I may refer to our system of representation and the expenditure it involves—too great by far for our real necessities and our financial ability.

The average annual receipts of the Treasury during the last five years was \$45,000 00. The amount disbursed on account of the Legislature for the same time was \$5,000 00, being an annual expenditure of more than one-ninth of the entire revenue.

I have named but one of the instances in which we have been expending money without anything like a remunerative return.

Did the limits of this paper allow it, I would show further how systematically we are impoverishing the country by sending to foreign ports our vessels for repairs. Without stopping to point out to you the many ways in which the practice is highly detrimental to the interests of all, I will simply state that the cost of the repairs in foreign docks, put upon the three of our vessels sent away for repairs within the last three years, was over six thousand dollars.

It is very important, in order to achieve a proper independence, that we look at things in their true light; and that we set ourselves earnestly to work to lay a strong and sure foundation for the national superstructure which we are endeavoring to erect. In connection with this I would remark further, that my strong convictions are that our national strength would have been greater, our wars with the Aborigines fewer, our growth more rapid, our prosperity more uniform and permanent, and our happiness more increased and abiding, had all our settlements been comprehended at most in but two.

There are many burdens which we needlessly lay upon our shoulders in this new country which interfere with the bearing of those burdens which are really necessary. Many are under a great delusion as to the amount of money necessary to carry on our government. For my part, I consider that our revenue, provided we were out of debt, is amply sufficient to keep the machinery of government in effectual operation and carry forward several much needed improvements. But we must surrender the idea of slavishly copying older governments for the sake of keeping up appearances. The follies arising from this idea are not more detrimental to our prosperity than they are censured and ridiculed by honest and observant foreign visitors to our shores. We must be content to do and improve at home, without being solicitous to make a fine show for effect abroad. In incurring expenditure, we should con-

sider whether what we are about to pay for will really contribute to our national progress and happiness, or, whether we merely wish the object because others have it. We must learn to distinguish between things that differ. We must lay hold of essentials instead of accidents—of substances rather than shadows. I am satisfied that if we pursue this course—if in our political and social life we restrict ourselves to our actual necessities; if we reduce our exigencies from what is purely factitious to what is undoubtedly real, we should soon place ourselves individually and our country generally on a more comfortable, easy and prosperous footing.

Considering the character of the country before us, no people on the face of the globe should be less affected, in a material point of view, by the present distracted state of America than ourselves. In fact, we might have, by this time, by a vigorous culture of cotton, ground-nuts &c., attracted the commercial attention both of England and France. Believe me, fellow-citizens, we have, in many things, been going wrong. We must begin again.

We are not so circumstanced as to render it possible, or even proper for the Government to give every individual citizen employment to enable him to procure his daily food or support. But we have an abundance of good, fertile land, which only requires to be properly cultivated to afford each citizen both a comfortable living and means to contribute liberally to the public institutions of his country. Remember, fellow citizens, that heat is not more antagonistic to the cohesive properties of substances than non-industry to the prosperity of any people.

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

I shall encourage a system of internal improvements—a liberal outlay of public money upon public works, without which the vast resources of our country must remain undeveloped. Though charged by some with antiquated notions, I shall at all times be ready to extend a welcome hand to what are commonly styled liberal and progressive views. But I must be convinced that they *are* liberal and progressive. “Modern improvements” that involve the Government in an expenditure of thousands of dollars without producing in return one cent of pecuniary or moral advantage, I beg to be excused from prosecuting. At this truly critical moment in our history, when our affairs are in a state of dangerous depression, it is especially incumbent upon us to prove all things and to hold fast that which is good. We should carefully consider what will be the practical bearing of every novel influence upon the success of our work. As I have intimated, a few patriotic spirits have manifested some alarm at beholding me in an attitude, as they allege, of hostility to the tendencies of modern improvements. This attitude they deprecate as inconsistent with the position of the Chief Magistrate, and as inevitably detrimental to the prosperity of the

country. For the comfort and consolation of these patriotic souls, I beg to say, I am no enemy to modern improvements, especially among ourselves, if they are anything in advance of the times of Lott Cary, Elijah Johnson, Sampson, Allen, James, and others, who wrought here in the darkest hour of our beginnings and have been dead for more than a quarter of a century.

As another means of developing the resources of the country, I will give, as far as shall be in my power, encouragement and assistance to the various branches of national industry. Foremost among these, agriculture will claim the patronage of the Government. Little system has been practised in our agricultural labors. In order to increase our independence, it is necessary that our people not only labor industriously but that their labor be wisely directed. I believe that nowhere can there be found a more laborious class of men than our farmers.

Destitute, for the most part, of those implements and machinery which are so useful in saving labor and rendering it efficient, they use their bone and sinew with an industry and perseverance highly commendable. But they need that their labors should be aided and directed to the production of proper articles—such articles as either in themselves or by way of exchange with foreign countries are most capable of ministering to our wants. I believe that if there were a proper division of labor, or, as the later political economists call it, co-operation of labor, we should be able to produce nearly all that we need for our consumption, and have a considerable quantity to sell to foreigners. Therefore, I beg to suggest the following as an initiatory step towards systematizing our plans of operation in the general, and causing a more advantageous division of labor in the great scheme before us, viz: That a suitable number of citizens devote their attention exclusively to the rearing of cattle—such as are mostly required for food; another number engage in the cultivation of the heavier vegetable crops—sugar-cane for instance; a third number enter upon the growing of coffee, and a fourth, if the doing so profitably be practicable, go into the cultivation of cotton.

The professed merchant should prosecute distinctively his branch of industry, regarding his interest as intimately associated or connected with the interest of the farmer; and such a number only of mechanics should engage in their useful art as can obtain ready and constant employment at fair wages; and so on with other departments of industry. Experience has shown us that it is altogether impracticable for either one of the above departments of industry to engage at one and the same time profitably in the business of all the others. At the rate we were living until within the last few years, we could never thrive. And there is abundant room for improvement. Our expenditure in money for dry goods and provisions is a dead expense—what is called exhaustive expenditure, for it takes away from the resources of the community and yields

nothing in return, but what is consumed and passes away. When a country has to pay money out to foreigners for what it eats and wears, it is exhausting its resources.

Witness the present depression of our money market, notwithstanding the thousands of dollars recently paid to this Government for the support of the Congo Africans, by the Government of the United States. And again, for example, if a man buys a barrel of flour and pays for it in coffee of his own raising, the money which he would have been obliged to pay for the flour remains for circulation in the country, and his labor is so much gain to the country. But when he pays money for the flour, and consumes it, his expenditure is exhaustive. He reaps only a temporary advantage and his country none.

We number in population between twelve and fourteen thousand. At an average of one dollar a suit for each of these, and this suit repeated twice a year, we have an expenditure for this article, dress, alone, of from twenty-four thousand to twenty-eight thousand dollars annually. Now, what proportion of this amount is paid from the exports of the country arising immediately from its sugar and coffee plantations, the only source whence any available commodity in commerce is derived from our industry?

Nor does the argument that each citizen is supplied with a dozen such suits, and is therefore relieved of the necessity of purchasing others for six years hence, do away with the evil or kill the canker worm preying upon the vitals of the nation; for, at the end of the six years, we shall be under the necessity of paying to some foreign country for six years clothing the sum of one hundred and forty-four thousand dollars, unless, however, we shall before that time manufacture a part or all of it ourselves. At present there are not five suits of clothing of any description made here a year from cotton grown and manufactured by ourselves.

Give, fellow-citizens, your attention more to these stern realities than to the more formal parts of this address. To correct this economical irregularity—this consumption of our resources—by encouraging the various branches of productive industry, will be the earnest endeavor of the Administration.

#### EDUCATION.

Some years ago, a foreign visitor to our shores charged upon us the discredit of having all our schools supported by foreigners. This was to a great extent true. This state of things, all will agree, should be discontinued as far as possible. It does not, to say the least of it, accord with our high professions of independence.

The Legislature has, from time to time, passed laws and appropriated money for the support of schools, but owing to the expensive multiplication of Government offices, and the much to be regretted increase of salaries, the Government has not been able to carry out

those very wholesome and necessary laws. But we must, if we are obliged to forego other things, remedy the necessity of depending upon foreigners for the education of our people. We have, in the recent suspension of several of the mission schools, seen and felt the inconvenience of trusting to such schools, instituted and maintained as they are by voluntary associations abroad. We must, as far as possible, rid ourselves of the trammels of this dependence. I do not wish to be understood as objecting to those Associations operating in Liberia. They are worthy of abundant praise. By all means let them continue their efforts. They are powerfully aiding us to reclaim our heathen brethren from the great depth of ignorance, immorality and vice into which they have been sinking for unnumbered centuries. There is a great work in this respect to be done. We cannot do it alone. But what I insist upon and shall endeavor earnestly to carry out is some Government scheme for educating the people—schools to be established and supported by Government, and open to Government inspectors. The moral effect of such establishments upon our people would be wholesome. Their understanding would open to the importance of instruction, and they would get into the habit of making provision for that necessity; our educational system would acquire a character of reality to which it has never yet attained, and which it can never reach while our schools are dependent upon a precarious foreign support. Bright examples of the tuition received at schools established in the early settlement of the country and supported entirely by the settlers themselves, are not wanting even in the present history of Liberia. If similar schools were now put on foot, subject to the special and rigid inspection of the parents or guardians of the children attending them, our educational interest would be promoted and would be fixed upon a firmer basis than it is at present.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

It shall be my constant endeavor to maintain and cultivate the good-will and friendly feelings of foreign nations, especially those with whom we are in treaty stipulations. And whatever difficulties or misunderstandings may now exist between us and any foreign Power, growing out of territorial or other questions, it shall be my earnest effort to arrange and settle them in the most satisfactory and amicable manner.

#### THE NATIVE TRIBES.

I regret that it is impossible for me, within the limits of this Address, to enter as fully as I could wish to do on the question of the native tribes around us. Without denying the great benefits which have been conferred upon our aboriginal brethren by preceding Administrations, and the salutary impulse that has been given to the cause of their civilization, I think the time has come when greater efforts should be put forth by the Government to teach them our



fraternal connection with them, and the nature of the feelings which should subsist between us. There are obvious reasons which render it desirable that the State should take a more direct part in the work of civilizing the natives, and in imbuing all classes of our civilized population with a deep sense of the advantage of speedily training and incorporating them among us. There are political reasons. We cannot or should not expect to build up the nationality we are daily picturing in our minds and after which we are striving, with the scanty materials which come from the United States of America. Admitting we could do so, and become in point of wealth and power foremost of the nations, this would not free us from our great responsibility to the Great Head of nations for the moral reformation of the people around us—for their elevation, and, as far as human agencies can effect it, their genuine conversion to and constant practice of the Christian religion. But we cannot do without them. In the bosom of these mighty forests lie the elements of the great African Nationality. They, brought out and instructed, are to develop the resources of this country, and extend and continue the noble work of which we have been privileged to assume the initiative, and to which we may hope we are giving a wholesome stimulus.

There are commercial reasons. Immense wealth is in the hands of the interior tribes. A channel for its conveyance hither should be opened up that it may be judiciously handled and made to contribute to the best interests—the civilization and Christianization of those tribes, and to the benefit of mankind generally. I appeal to men of business and capital among us to further their own interests by boldly embarking in enterprises of trade with the interior which would be remunerative to themselves, beneficial to the nation, and of incalculable good to the aborigines. I shall take measures to enter into friendly relations with distant tribes and open up and maintain regular intercourse with them—improving every opportunity and seizing upon every favorable circumstance to convince them of our brotherly connection and our good-will towards them. As long as we maintain a distance from them it will be impossible to civilize them, and jealousy and war will always, as they have hitherto done, form the middle wall between us. It is true that now and then circumstances occur which induce despondent feelings as to the speedy and complete civilization of the aborigines. This is the case when we witness the sad return to their original homes, to indulge and practice all their former heathenish customs, of some who have, on various occasions, shown a strong aversion to their native habits and condition. But I am sure I need not stop here to explain to this intelligent audience the causes of this disheartening result. The revolving of a few thoughts in your own minds will fully solve the question. Before we yield to despondency and deprecate the susceptibility of improvement of our heathen brethren, let us fulfill our duty to them in a national form as well as in a benevolent and Christian spirit. The late invention of letters or writing among the Veys will

very shortly afford the State important help in its efforts to make known its laws and policy to that tribe and the tribes contiguous to it. Already this invaluable art is being made a medium of communication between the Americo-Liberian and his Vey neighbor; and if it be encouraged and persevered in, it will soon revolutionize for good the whole country within our jurisdiction, and even regions far beyond.

#### SHIPPING.

The shipping interest of the country should claim a greater share of our attention than it has for the last eight or ten years. In number of vessels, it should be revived to what it was at the time of, and for several years immediately after, the declaration of our independence.

First, in order to give employment, and thereby afford the means of sustenance to that class of our citizens whose legitimate home seems to be upon the great and dangerous deep. At present many of these hardy sons of Neptune are wandering on our streets in almost utter destitution. And, secondly, that there may be no diminution in the various articles of export collected from time to time along our seaboard. I differ most respectfully from those persons who construe the "Port of Entry Bill," recently passed into law, and the operations of which will demand an increase of National vessels, into an injustice to our seaboard tribes residing between the several ports of entry. For it must be known to all, that the stipulations of some of the articles of our treaties with all the foreign Powers with whom we have treaties, oblige us to defend their citizens and their subjects and their goods trading to our coast or thrown upon it by accident, against attacks and plunder by our aborigines or others of our citizens; but these stipulations cannot be observed or their requirements met, so long as foreigners entitled to these benefits are permitted unqualified intercourse with all persons and at all points of our territory indiscriminately; hence the numerous complaints of foreigners, sent to the State Department against our aborigines residing immediately on the seaboard, and the great expense the Government is made to undergo year after year by the way of Commissioners and as often by war.

#### PERMANENCY OF THE REPUBLIC.

I believe, fellow-citizens, that our work on this coast will go on. Though some suppose that the liberal treatment which is now being accorded to colored men in the United States will stop emigration from that quarter, yet this will not interfere with the progress of our work. I believe that nothing will transpire to prevent the fulfillment of God's designs to Africa.

The mission of Messrs. Mills and Burgess to Africa, on behalf of the American Colonization Society, and the attempt of that Society at founding a Colony on Sherbro Island, through these self-sacrificing

Agents, were attended with difficulties sufficient to chill and effectually break up a much better sustained undertaking. But the thing was of God, and designed to affect Africa for good through all coming time. Out of that supposed defeated mission—from that deathly Sherbro Island—has sprung the free, sovereign, and independent Republic of Liberia.

#### SECTIONALISM.

Of late, however, I have noticed with emotions of deep regret what I consider indications of a growing feeling of sectionalism among us, manifested particularly within the last few weeks. Need I say, that, in every point of view, whether affecting the social condition, the material prosperity, or the civil liberty of our country, sectionalism is an unmitigated curse. I sincerely trust that every such feeling will be at once put down among us, for it cannot but exercise a deep and wide-spread influence for evil and only evil continually.

The unhappy disruption of the United States of America, our mother country, is truly a most unfortunate event. We cannot but cordially sympathize with that country in the disasters which have had so retarding an influence upon the progress of civilization. But let us take warning. Trifling differences, if fostered and encouraged, become in time vital differences necessitating disunion. But as I have already intimated, my confidence in the permanence and ultimate success of Liberia is by no means shaken. I believe that that Great Being who planted us on these shores, and who has so kindly protected us, will continue to protect us if we put our trust in Him. He will bear down and remove every hindrance to our progress. The mighty wheels of His Providence are in operation, and those who will not move along with them will be ground to powder. If the cutting off of a right hand or the plucking out of a right eye be necessary to the ultimate success of Liberia in all her various interests, I believe that in the administration of Providence we shall lose that right hand and be deprived of that right eye. That we have troubles and trials now is no proof of the impossibility of ultimate success and triumph. The history of the world shows that progress in morals, in science and art, and in national permanence and prosperity is the result of many years of experience and of numerous failures. I firmly believe that, notwithstanding past and present discouragements, Liberia is destined to be a blessing to Africa, and to vindicate the Negro's character. Liberia may be pronounced a failure by persons among us and by persons abroad whose standard of success is the short-sighted one of immediate prosperity, wealth and predominance. To such, perhaps, Liberians have shown themselves unequal to grapple with the responsibilities of nationality. But only to such. The fact that we have difficulties in this early stage of our existence should only lead us to labor more earnestly to diffuse and establish throughout the land those principles and to promote those practices which tend to foster true liberty and independence.

## DOCUMENTS

## CONCLUSION.

Let me say in conclusion, fellow-citizens, that in all my efforts to promote the political, industrial and educational prosperity of the Republic, I shall be guided by my highest convictions of duty. I cannot say I am indifferent to popularity. This would be an affectation. I have no special abhorrence of popularity. But the popularity which I respect is that popularity which is gained by adhering to the path of duty; the path of virtue and integrity; a popularity, indeed, which is not sudden and dazzling, which may be preceded by temporary obloquy, but which when secured is permanent, because founded upon truth.

I have not entered into any detailed statement of my future policy, because, as I intimated at the outset, I cannot pledge myself to adhere undeviatingly to any mere details of policy. I shall always carefully study the best interests of the country, and, having deliberately considered them, I shall strive always to keep them in view, and, in every emergency, select that policy best suited, during the emergency, to attain the desired object. I shall not hesitate to vary my measures and plans whenever I shall conceive that altered national circumstances demand an altered national policy. I enter, fellow-citizens, upon this high office, I hope, with becoming humility. I trust I place a just estimate upon the slender abilities I bring with me to the management of our national affairs. I am aware that the utmost wisdom I may possess, and the most prudent policy I may adopt, must be at best fragmentary and imperfect. I shall, therefore, be always open to suggestions from all classes.

I feel that the first duty of the high position which I am assuming is to abjure prejudice and leave myself free to profit by new facts, new arguments, old errors, and the lessons of past experience, from whatever source they may be indicated.

If, then, during my administration, you shall have reason to believe that there is error in some point of policy, which, in your judgment, weakens the Government, your counsel and assistance, tendered in a proper manner, will be most gratefully received. To tender counsel and aid will be more just and patriotic on your part, than to become disaffected and, by senseless clamors of reproach and crimination, to endeavor to disgrace the Administration, and thus expose ourselves to the ridicule of our enemies abroad, and give occasion for regret and despondency to our friends. With these views and feeling, I this day enter upon the responsible position which your liberal suffrage has assigned me. I throw myself confidently upon the sympathy and support of the patriotic among my fellow-citizens; praying that the Great God of nations may vouchsafe his blessing and guidance to our feeble efforts to establish a home for the oppressed, redeem this benighted continent, and extend the glorious kingdom of our Redeemer.

DANIEL BASHIEL WARNER.

MONROVIA, *January 4, 1864*

**Letter to William Leonard, President of CBS News, Regarding  
"60 Minutes" Segment aired Sunday, January 6, 1980.**



EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

LEW-2/10c/43

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1980

Mr. President:

I am enclosing for your information, copy of a letter I have addressed to Mr. William Leonard, President of CBS News, expressing our concern about the "60 Minutes" segment on Liberia which was telecasted on Sunday, January 6, 1980.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

H.R. Wright Brewer  
AMBASSADOR

Mr. William E. Harris  
President  
Liberian Students Association  
125 Claire Road  
Syracuse, N. Y. 13214

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

## DOCUMENTS



EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

LEW-1/13a/8

WASHINGTON, January 9, 1980

Mr. President:

We viewed with concern your "60 Minutes" segment on Liberia on "Sunday, January 6th, 1980" and would like to thank you for your interest in our country.

While "60 Minutes" has tried to build for itself the reputation of balanced investigatory reporting as was done in the case of Boston University on the same program, it failed to retain this balanced objectivity on its segment on Liberia. We are especially surprised because we never believed that "60 Minutes" would employ double standards in its reporting, depending on relationship and interest.

Most of your million viewers who find your program a must on Sundays believe that it reflects painstaking and thorough research if, indeed we hope, its principal concern is to inform and not to amuse or belittle.

There were many inaccurate statements made about Liberia and it would require several pages to correct and explain each of them. However, we believe that it is necessary to address a few. Firstly, Liberia is not an East African country. Secondly, there is statutory provision and/or actual practice to show that the minimum daily wage in Liberia is \$2.00. This amount, though small in comparison with the

Mr. William Leonard  
President  
CBS News  
51 West 52nd Street  
New York, New York 10019

...../

- 2 -

minimum wage of most western developed countries, is on par or larger than the minimum wage of most developing countries. But this is not the issue in point. What is important here is telling the facts as they are.

Again, you mentioned about our Maritime program giving information which is at least seven years old. The shipping records will show that Liberia has one of the best operated Maritime programs in the world with one of the highest skilled inspectorate services. And these are facts that can be obtained easily not only from the Liberian Government but from your own and other governments with Maritime programs. Unless you had a stereotyped idea of the country before you made the film and did not care to do any meaningful research which would have accentuated the positive, you certainly missed objectivity.

It is hard for anyone to be convinced that a country whose constitution makes provision for any number of additional parties and will shortly have a second political party; a country that has one of the finest Human Rights records not only among the developing countries but in the world, is dictatorial. Can we be dictatorial without having one political prisoner?

If you want to be whimsical it would be easy proving that the Duponts own Delaware, the Rockefellers New York, or the Mellons, Pittsburgh, but we hope that subjectivity would not be the hallmark of a reputable organization such as "60 Minutes".

What is most unfortunate for a country like Liberia is that it is not privileged to have the facilities and opportunities to reply to a program like yours. As a consequence, this reporting has to remain one sided and subjective.

...../

## DOCUMENTS

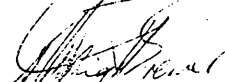
- 3 -

Must Third World Leaderships create problems for the United States of America before they are appreciated and given proper respect?

It would be most appreciated if this letter could be read in its entirety at the first possible opportunity to give the American public a balanced view on the matter.

Kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,



H.R.W. Brewer  
AMBASSADOR



## **Position Statement of the Liberia National Students Union**

ed. Portions of the following text are missing.

POSITION STATEMENT OF THE LIBERIA NATIONAL STUDENTS  
UNION ON THE ARREST OF LINSU OFFICIALS AND DECREE 89A-



### ON THE ARREST OF LINSU OFFICIALS

Within a period of less than two weeks, the Liberia National Student Union (LINSU) has patiently witnessed with deep concern the arrest of three of its officials, Mr. Ezekiel B. Pajibo, Acting President and Messrs Christian C. Herbert and Wuo G. Tappia, both of whom are senior members of the LINSU Secretariat. Mr. Pajibo was arrested on Monday, December 3, 1984 while Messrs Herbert and Tappia were picked up on the 7th and 13th of December respectively. As it is alleged, their arrest was predicated on suspicion by the highest echelon of government security forces that they (the LINSU officials) have relations with the subterranean world ("THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION COMMITTEE - REACT").

However, according to the mass media and as confirmed by television Action News on Wednesday, December 5, 1984, documents available with Mr. Pajibo on his arrest suggested his overt link instead with the struggle of Liberian students. When arrested, in his possession was found a document aimed at galvanizing the support of University students in <sup>adoption</sup> (in an orderly manner) a common position on the question of the re-opening of the University of Liberia.

Since 1981 when the government of the People's Redemption Council imposed a ban on democratic student political activities nationwide, students of the University of Liberia, the national microcosm and the nation's highest learning institution, have never had the opportunity of being governed by a representative leadership. In academic '84 in particular, University students have in fact not been favored with the right of having even an appointed student government. Under the circumstances, there has been no conduit for proper coordination between the University administration and/or the national government, on the one hand, and the masses of the University of Liberia, on the other hand. Trivial disagreements between students and authorities have therefore easily degenerated into crisis which could have otherwise been aborted. As is common knowledge, negotiation, which is the intellectual approach to the mitigation of problems, becomes impossible in the absence of mutual understanding and respect/representations by the parties involved.

It is this phenomenon which has engendered fierce crisis at the University of Liberia and other institutions of learning in most recent years. Mention need not be made of August 22, 1984 when government soldiers marched on the main campus of the University of Liberia, imposing barracks regulations that brought suffering to many students who had gathered to peacefully protest what they considered a violation of the democratic process by government.

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

## DOCUMENTS

circumstances that led to the sad event of August 22nd, resolved that until at such time when the students of the University of Liberia would be provided with or have the opportunity to create a government, those University students in the LINSU leadership would take initiative to control the struggle of University students in order to avoid a recurrence of the ugly experience of August 22nd.

The LINSU Secretariat is convinced that it is this sentiment which impelled Mr. Ezekiel B. Pajibo, acting in his capacity as Acting LINSU PREXY, to take the initiative of preparing a document to be discussed and adopted by students as a joint position on the re-opening process. As yesterday, we believe today that there was no better way of handling the matter of the University students who lack the necessary leadership to protect and defend their interest. Hence, the Secretariat of the Liberia National Student Union (LINSU) affirms its unwavering support for the bold initiative taken by the Acting LINSU President and calls on the Liberian Government to understanding the need to give students of the University of Liberia a redress.

We are not unaware of the fact that the LINSU officials have been arrested and detained on suspicion of alleged association with clandestine publications. What alarms us is that while there is yet no evidence established against the accused, they continue to languish behind cold prison bars, the authorities being indifferent to the fact that they are all students who are at present in school. On this count, the LINSU Secretariat, on behalf of all the students across the length and breadth of the Republic of Liberia calls on the government to:

1. 1. Formally charge all the LINSU officials at present under detention with a view to giving them speedy and fair trial before a civil court of competent jurisdiction; or
2. Unconditionally release all the LINSU officials arrested for alleged involvement with anonymous publication in the event that there is no corpus delicti against the accused; and
3. Reduce the shock and panic sent through the population by halting the arbitrary arrest of students in the country.

The Liberia National Students Union (LINSU) has a tradition of bold, open and frank struggle for which our organization has paid very costly price over the years. The history of the National Democratic Student Movement establishes no link with the underground. In the past, as at present, LINSU has always publicly advocated its views on issues of national concern no matter how difficult the situation. It surprises us, thus that the Liberian Government, knowing all this, should cast outright suspicion on the LINSU leadership as being responsible for publications by authors who prefer to remain anonymous.

The LINSU Secretariat wants Liberia and the world to know that the attack on LINSU is as unprovoked as the suspicion by government is misdirected. We call on all democratic individuals and organizations in Liberia and the world to express

ON DECREE 88A

The National Democratic Student Movement, LINSU, is compelled by the present quandary in which Liberia finds herself to establish official position on the infamous Decree 88A. The Decree reads thus:

PRC DECREE NO. 88A

Decree by the people's Redemption Council of the Armed Forces of Liberia to protect the Public against the spread of rumours, lies and disinformation.

Section 1. That a person has committed a felony of the First Degree if he accuses any executive authority, judicial authority, member of the Interim National Assembly, or any other individual either by word-of-mouth, writing or by public broadcast of conduct, or any act which constitutes the commission of a crime, provided that at a time of such accusation, the purpose of the author is:

- (a) to hereby injure the official or other individual in his reputation to undermine his official or personal status;
- (b) to create disharmony, spread rumours, lies and disinformation;
- (c) to undermine the security of the State, cause civil strife or confusions, labour unrest, hinder, impede or interfere with the electoral process;
- (d) "word-of-mouth" means spreading or making known by verbal communication;
- (e) "writing" means any writing, written production, engraving, drawing or effigy of a government official; and
- (f) "public broadcast" means any dissemination through public channels or individuals, by sound <sup>or</sup> picture.

Section 2: That the security forces are hereby empowered to arrest and detain any person who violates any of the provision contained in Section 1 herein.

Section 3: That any person violating any provisions of this decree shall be arrested and detained without bail pending a judicial hearing.

This Decree shall take effect upon the signature of the Head of State and Chairman of the People's Redemption Council.

ANY LAW TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING

Dated this 21st day of July A.D. 1984.

The methods chosen for participation in a political process are usually determined by the kind of rules adopted and how these rules are applied. The proliferation of anonymous publications, the suspicions and the subsequent arrests and hardships being suffered are actually sequels of Decree 88A which has in essence

18 November 1984

## DOCUMENTS

ment against its oppositions with a defensive barrier reminiscent of the ugly emergency power enjoyed by the past regimes. For example, the sweeping power conferred on the security forces "to arrest and detain any person who violates any of the provisions contained in Section 1" of the decree "with out bail" could as well be abused, as is evidenced by the mass arrest in recent time of individuals some of whom have already been brutalized while not yet convicted, a violation of their basic and fundamental human rights.

"Many pressmen have expressed fears and grave doubts as to their ability to continue their work without endangering their personal safety and livelihood..." (Daily Observer, Tuesday, August 14, 1984 Page 4). At the same time, the Liberia Council of Churches (LCC) has expressed serious concern that "this decree can easily be used to plunge the nation into the reign of terror; a strategy used by past administrations" (Footprints Today, Monday, August 27, 1984 page 1).

Against this background, to make application for the granting of freedom to those who are victims of a history created by the promulgation of Decree 88A without suggesting that the decree be annulled is improper diagnosis and treatment of the symptom rather than the root cause. Therefore, the Liberia National Students Union (LINSU) in no uncertain terms joins all democratic and patriotic forces of Liberia in calling on the government to take the first convincing step towards a democratic Liberia - the complete abrogation of Decree 88A.

Just as the circumstances under which Decree 88A was invoked, the present atmosphere surrounding the transitional period is dubious. Although decrees were created exclusively by the People's Redemption Council, there is no doubt that the will of the governed constitutes the real basis of government and that whenever this is not recognized, a political structure cannot be said to have presided over a democratic society.

We acknowledge the truth that an undemocratic transitional process is unlikely to give rise to a democratic Liberia. The quintessence of our call for the abrogation of Decree 88A is to encourage free participation in the political process by erasing the fear generated by the cling to the said decree which contains the seed that has germinated into unlawful approaches.

This is a matter on which the students of Liberia cannot remain silent because we are equally affected by all developments in this country. We owe it to our conscience and our country to make clear this sincere position, and we are grounded and sustained in this belief by the fact that the Liberian people and democrats the world over are with us. FORWARD MARCH TO DEMOCRATIC CIVILIAN RULE!!

*Atokpaka*  
Alaric K. Tokpa  
D. Sumowui Pewu  
D. Dougbeh Myan  
J. Kirkpatrick Weah

THE LINSU SECRETARIAT  
General Secretary  
Member  
Member  
Member

J. Boley N'Dorbor  
Emmanuel Dolo  
Elvis Hoggan  
Member  
Member  
Member



## ***Statement to the Special Elections Commission***

STATEMENT TO THE SPECIAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE  
FINAL REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS OF THE LIBERIAN  
PEOPLE'S PARTY, FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1985

BY

Amos Sawyer  
CHAIRMAN

THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE PROPOSED  
LIBERIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (LPP)

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Special Elections Commission, Senior Staff of the Commission, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Six weeks ago today, my colleagues and I constituting a delegation representing the Organizing Committee of the proposed Liberian People's Party (LPP) appeared before you to present to you four items, namely, a draft constitution of the Proposed Liberian People's Party, a list of officers of the Organizing Committee of the proposed Liberian People's Party, an indemnity bond valuing \$102,700.00 and a manager's check in the amount of \$50,000.00.

On that occasion, we assured you of our full commitment to the democratic process which is unfolding in our Country and of our preparedness to cooperate with you as long as you sought to impartially fulfil the mandate given you as specified in Decree 75. We took that occasion to remind you that the people of our country were expecting you to fulfil your assignment fairly and impartially; that if you fail to execute your work fairly and <sup>with</sup> justice and impartiality, you would not only disappoint the Liberian people, you would also endanger their posterity. I finally reminded you that God and history are the final judges of your actions.

Since that Friday morning, six weeks ago, your Commission has unfortunately undergone a complete metamorphosis. Not a single one of the gentlemen who sat at this table representing your Commission is here with us today. Over the last three weeks, we have seen the replacement of the entire Commission with the exception of its Chairman. It was public knowledge that one of the Commissioners had requested and been granted retirement due to old age and ill health, and another had compromised himself in ways unacceptable to both the public and your Commission.

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

- 2 -

The other two members were replaced without any explanation to the public. As a result, we stand today before a Commission whose only thread of continuity is its Chairman. We stand today before a Commission whose membership has been reconstituted without public explanation. The cynics and skeptics may impute an ulterior motive into the act of reconstituting the Commission without explanation however, it is up to the Commission to show through its every action that it has not been reduced to a puppet, rubber stamping body. The public is watching!

Mr. Chairman, in 1927, a body of men which was constituted as the Elections Commission of the Republic Of Liberia brought much disgrace to our country by presiding over the most extensively rigged elections in our history. The lack of integrity of those men leave us today stained with the disgrace of being recorded in the reputable Guinness Book of Records as having held elections which were the most rigged elections ever recorded in history.

History recalls that during those elections, the opposition candidate Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner, polled 9,000 votes out of an electorate of 15,000 eligible voters. The incumbent, President King polled 243,000 voters - 15 times more than the total electorate of 15,000. It may occur to some that it is possible to cheat without providing so glaring a discrepancy for it did seem clear that the Chairman and members of the Elections Commission of 1927 did get slightly carried away in their dishonesty and dishonorable deeds. But such shameful occurrences usually have small beginnings because in 1923, Mr. King had won by 45,000 votes when the qualified voters were less than 7,000. It is from such unchallenged beginnings that dishonest men mobilize the courage to move on to larger levels of dishonesty.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission, it was the low level of literacy, the low level of political awareness and the poor technology which made communication primitive in 1923 and 1927 that spared the members of the Elections Commission and their posterity the shame which the dishonesty of those men so justly accrued to them. But things are different now. You are undertaking your assignment at a time when political awareness of our people is highest.

# STATEMENT TO THE SPECIAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION 141

- 3 -

You are undertaking your assignment at a time when our people are aware that the issue of these forth coming elections is not simply the question of who will become president, but rather whether the democratic process will be permitted to take root in our society. If the democratic process fails to be given a chance because of misdeeds which would be attributed to you, history, current history, will not fail to bring shame and disgrace to you, and enduring embarrassment to your posterity.

Mr. Chairman there are three types of people in our society. There are those who have integrity which is readily reflected in their actions. Whether rich or poor, these are people of substance and strength of Character; then there are those who lack integrity but are careful to cultivate the appropriate facade. These are like a rotten coconut, one has to crack it to know that it is rotten inside. As soon as such people are tested, their knees buckle. Such weakness of character is pervasive in our society. The third type of people in our society are those who have no integrity and do not pretend to have integrity. Such persons are totally conscienceless and openly purchasable frequently, for only a patence. Mr. Chairman, this Commission, has to be composed of people of the first type if it is to avoid serious problems in our society.

You have a tough job gentlemen, and we hope you have the will and strength to do it properly. There are certain guidelines which the Liberian people have already given you. You will do well to heed them. First, the Liberian people have made it clear that they want a genuine return to civilian rule through a genuine democratic process. They do not want "guided democracy", "selective democracy" or "partial democracy". They want "one person, one vote democracy". Second, they want a multi-party democratic process. There must be more than one political party participating in the democratic process and any attempt to avoid this will be totally contrary to the will and desire of our people and will therefore be considered unpatriotic. The people of this country require that you treat all parties and proposed parties fairly. If dropping leaflets from the air is acceptable, then distributing leaflets on the ground should also be acceptable.

- 4 -

If the holding of organization meetings prior to certification is acceptable in one proposed party, it should be acceptable for all parties. There cannot be two sets of rules or two official interpretations of the same set of rules. You would do well to heed the guidelines provided you through the unrepressed voices of the Liberian people!

For our part, Mr. Chairman, you can count on our full support in moving our country to democratic-civilian rule. Our presence here today is a clear indication of our desire to cooperate in this noble undertaking, for we have come here today to present to you a number of documents. We take this opportunity to present to you first, a list of 750 names and signatures of members of our proposed party from a minimum of six counties. These include the names and signatures of officers of our Organizing committee. Second, we present to you the names of a minimum of 500 citizens from each of 6 counties who have willingly made themselves available to join our proposed party. We are pleased to inform you that we have the signature or thumb print of each individual on our files. We are therefore prepared to face any citizen who for whatever motive may come forward to assert that he was tricked by our canvassers or by an unfaithful son. We also present to you our emblem which is the broom the "country broom" a symbol of unity (as depicted in its numerous fibers), hard-work, and cleanliness both in personal life and national life. We do not only intend to sweep to victory, we also intend to undertake to clean up corruption from our national life when victory is achieved.



**Joint Statement of the Unity Party, Liberia Action Party and  
Liberia Unification Party to  
George Schultz, U.S. Secretary of State**

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE UNITY PARTY, LIBERIA  
ACTION PARTY AND LIBERIA UNIFICATION PARTY  
TO MR. GEORGE SCHULTZ, UNITED STATES SECRETARY  
OF STATE ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO  
LIBERIA - JANUARY 14, 1987

The Opposition, representing officials, members and supporters of Unity Party (UP), the Liberia Action Party (LAP), and the Liberia Unification Party (LUP), welcomes you to our Country, with mixed feelings. Mixed feelings, because we are not sure whether you are making a working visit or simply making a diplomatic transit in Liberia, since your mission finds you in this part of West Africa.

We are really apprehensive about the nature and objective of your visit at this time, when the political, social, and economic systems have seriously drifted, and continue to drift downwards. The Opposition is convinced that the Reagan Administration (of which you are the foreign policy architect) the Congress and the American people, are fully aware of these negative and downward trends in Liberia. Our apprehension concerns the fact that with these serious problems, you have elected to spend only a mere six hours in Liberia. We have therefore concluded that your visit can only be described as a stop-over, which would not naturally cover the real Liberian problems and conditions. You will then leave Liberia as your principal African policy architect left here with the wrong impression that, positive developments were taking place in Liberia, and that the United States wants to contribute to these developments. This is the Liberian version of your Constructive Engagement Policy.

*Liberian Studies Journal*, XXIV, 1 (1999)

Mr. , we in Liberia, as well as yourselves and the U.S. ss, know as per evidence and , that the National tic Party of Liberia (NDPL) of Dr. Samuel Doe, is illegitimate, and itive to consti rule and the wishes of Liberian people.

The 15, 1985 clearly proved without doubt, the people's wish for a responsible and an enlightened t, without Dr. Samuel K. Doe, as its leader. But the Special Elections Commission (SECOM) betrayed the Liberian people's hope, and contravened the Election Law and fraudulent results. UP, LAP and LUP jointly filed legitimate protest to the provisions of the law, but which up to date, has not been acknowledged nor investigated in compliance with (the provisions of) the Election Law.

The National tion by Dr. Samuel Doe himself on January 6, 1986, which should have by now brought his t some ty, legitimacy, and confidence, still remains unfulfilled. The reasons for this failure are directly attributed to the unpreparedness of the NDPL to pursue a genuine tion process that would appease aggrieved Liberians and bring honour to the government and Country.

The issue of confidence, credibility and popularity still hovers over the since the general of 1985. This was recently , one year later, on December 20, 1986, when less than five per cent of registered voters in the Constituencies in which the Municipal and were held, voted. This very poor response must be viewed against the often repeated boasts of the NDPL Party and government, accepted by the Reagan Administration, that they are a mass-based and popular party and t. The fact that these elections were contested only

- 3 -

by the NDPL as the sole political party, and the effective stay-home demonstrated by the electorate on that day, is clearly a vote of no confidence and confirms the illegitimacy of the NDPL Government.

Thus to stay in power, against the wishes of the Liberian people, the NDPL government has embarked on coercive, violent, and extra-constitutional measures to impose political stability and legitimacy. Extensive networks of security apparatus with large stock of lethal weapons have been installed to ensure these objectives. High budgetary and extra-budgetary allocations, in the face of severe limitation of resources, have been given and continue to be given to these security networks. Of course, no government of the people, for the people, and by the people, needs to spend scarce resources on security and ammunitions to protect itself against its own people through sheer and unprovoked violence. It is really alarming to know that this government would buy arms from socialist and communist countries to suppress its people.

Rampant human and constitutional rights violations are the order of the day, and the Judiciary provides no relief as it is influenced by political considerations. Mr. Secretary, you can see the dangers and the insecurity, not only to the Opposition, but the people of Liberia, including foreign investors and businessmen. Bans, denials of due process of law, arrests, excessive fines, imprisonment, newspaper closures, dismissals and threats of dismissals are some of the measures used to silence the opposition, put fear in innocent citizens, and deprive lawyers, academicians, professionals, and civil servants of their legal means of livelihood.

Unarmed women and mothers of this Country were tear-gassed and beaten with batons when they left from a prayer meeting in a Church, and were peacefully walking to the Justice Ministry to present a petition.

Press freedom and the legal profession are constantly threatened, as evidenced by the excessive Executive fines imposed and the subsequent closure of the Suntimes newspaper as well as the Foot Prints Today newspaper; and the suspension from legal practice of three Opposition Lawyers.

These pervasive human and constitutional rights violations, we believe, have their genesis in the leadership of Dr. Doe himself, as a military man. His statements such as "If peace cannot be achieved through dialogue, then we will use 'fire power'; if the Opposition want war then we'll fight until the last man in the army dies"; Justice Minister's statement that "Due process is strange to Africa", etc. These statements should not come from a responsible, and enlightened civilian leader who claims to have been elected by his people. They can only come from a military government.

You see, Mr. Secretary, Liberians are a profoundly religious people, and like all religious people everywhere, they know that "a government that assumes or retains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis." If a government is not legitimate, it does not allow itself to be held accountable by the people through due process of law. It tends to become a law unto itself, inspite of the Constitution. In fact, it remains a de facto military government that is inherently unstable.

The constant suppression of demonstrations in the streets of Liberia to protest this de facto military and tribalistic government of Dr. Doe, evidences this government's records of brutality, reprisals, violence and threats of violence, and abuses of the people's human and constitutional rights.

- 5 -

These bizzare records are not limited only to the one year 'civilian' government, but also extend to the predecessor governments presided over by the same Dr. Doe: the People's Redemption Council government, four years; and the Interim National Assembly government, two years. Restrictive decrees, summary "trials" and executions, arbitrary killings, the August 22, 1984 University of Liberia invasion, the November 12, 1985 attempted coup d'etat, etc., all exhibit the intrinsic violent instinct and the ability of the government to inflict widespread sufferings on innocent and armless people. The facts that no investigations into these major national tragedies have been commissioned, and that the same people who inflicted these atrocities are still ruling the Country and its people, are constant reminders to the Liberian people of the violent-prone nature of this government.

It is also common knowledge that this government is incompetent and indisciplined to manage the affairs of the Liberian people including the economy. The social and economic systems are in a state of disarray. Education, health and sanitation, roads, etc., have deteriorated to unprecedented low levels. The educational system is the worst affected, and this causes the Opposition the greatest concern, as it directly affects the quality of life and leadership for the present and the future. No doubt, this should also concern you as Liberia's closest ally and largest aid donor.

The health and sanitation situation, as well as the serious economic condition facing the country do not need further elaboration, as they are all known to your Government. The point we want to emphasize is the inability of the NDPL government to effectively address these issues, coupled with their arrogant attitude and the lack of concern and commitment to national problems.

Of course these are Liberian problems that must be solved by Liberians themselves. We only bring them to your attention because of your historical and economic role in our country, and the compelling moral and political sway you exercise over this nation. You nurtured the Liberian State to where it is today. The level of your economic contributions as well as your strategic interests in Liberia, has made direct and indirect impact on the Liberian political system. It is therefore the view of the Opposition that any responsible Liberian government ought to take American advice and persuasions seriously.

Your aid portfolios from 1946-1980 (35 years) of US\$322 million, and from 1980-1985 (six years) of US\$384 million, vividly explain your direct and indirect involvement in shaping the political, socio-economic and military directions in Liberia, particularly during the 1980-1985 period, notwithstanding your diplomatic disclaimers. Your aid to Liberia during this six-year period made the Country the highest per capita US aid recipient in Africa. Accordingly, the Liberian people had correctly hoped, and we are sure, that the American Government and Congress, as well as the international community had hoped, that this very high US aid portfolio would have strengthened democratic forces, and encourage constitutional rule and political stability in Liberia.

On the contrary, instead of the U.S. government strengthening and supporting democratic forces, it continues to openly support and defend oppressive and authoritarian elements, who use American money and arms to suppress, intimidate, threaten, and kill innocent people. The Liberian people are therefore asking the following questions: Where is that great America that is the bastion of democracy and social justice? Where is that

- 7 -

great America that constantly cites her democratic and constitutional traditions as the instruments of her social and economic success, and present them as the model for socio-economic development? Where is that great American influence that encouraged the League of Nations' investigation into the existence of slavery and the abuses of civil liberties in Liberia? Where is that great America that caused the Liberian government to reform its Native and Political Administration policies?

It is significant to mention that previous Liberian governments at the times, listened and responded positively to these American persuasions, which brought relief and satisfaction to all concerned, Liberia, the U.S., and the League.

Liberians are therefore surprised that with the indepth knowledge America has about major violations of human rights, incompetence, mismanagement, and the arrogance of the NDPL government, she continues to defend it publicly. And this defense is done against the background of popular domestic and international reports, protests, and warnings.

Mr. Secretary of State, if any of your emissaries told you that Dr. Doe won the 1985 elections, then that American is not committed to telling the truth. And if any American compares events in Liberia with those in other West African countries to justify the status-quo, then that American has lost his sense of history and the unique role of Liberia as the model of independence and democracy in Africa and as a founding member of the League of Nations, United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. It is for other African countries to emulate Liberia, and not the other way around.

The Opposition hopes that the United States Government will soberly reflect, and use its leverage on Liberia in a positive way. The rationale being that in these times, the permanent interests of America in Liberia are best served by a legitimate committed to constitutional rule and due process.

In the light of these past and present experiences since the bloody and reckless coup of 1980, the Liberian people hope that the U.S. foreign policy will the democratic forces and institutions to resolve the issues and problems of confidence, accountability or due ss of law, -mismanagement of the economy, and the political will to a int and remote - able and tent citizens (regardless of party or tribal affiliation) to professionally manage the nation's resources for sustainable development. These are among the major issues which we must resolve because they persistently threaten national and international investments, foreign aid, business activities and economic recovery.

Like the U.S. Congress, the Liberian people are convinced that America must use its economic and political influence to encourage free and fair elections and to the democratic forces and institutions in Liberia to serve its permanent interests.

The only that can serve the permanent interest of the U.S. in Liberia is one that is legitimate and committed to the following policy actions:

to the Constitution, Human Rights and Due Process of Law

- (a) All unconstitutional decrees (such as Decree 88-A), bans, and restrictions imposed on all citizens, groups, politicians, lawyers, aca and newspapers at home and



- 9 -

abroad shall be removed. The screening and selection of unconstitutional decrees could be done through a Committee of the National Bar Association and submitted for repeal.

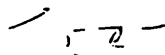
- (b) Liberian citizens residing abroad should be declared freed to come home to freely participate in the confidence-building process of reconciliation and in businesses without harassment, threats of violence, arrest, detention, etc.
- (c) The constitutional right of all citizens to travel freely at home and abroad shall not be restricted or infringed upon except in accordance with due process of law. Therefore, the Security and Immigration check-points shall be limited to the borders of entry.
- (d) The banning order imposed on the three Opposition Lawyers shall be lifted so that they or any other lawyers may feel free to provide legal services to the Opposition parties during the reconciliation talks, and in cases in which the Government is a party.
- (e) To clear the air and help allay citizen's fears of the pervasive threats of violence, brutality or "fire power", a public policy statement shall be made on the lifting of all bans and restrictions imposed on citizens, newspapers and party officials at home and abroad.
- (f) Finally and most importantly, a free and fair elections which will usher in a democratically elected government is necessary and indispensable to economic recovery, building of confidence in the economy and the protection of basic fundamental rights.

## DOCUMENTS

- 10 -



Jackson F. Doe, Standard  
ACTION PARTY (LAP)



W. Gabriel Kpolleh, ,  
LIBERIA UNIFICATION PARTY (LUP)



Edward B. Kesselly, Standard Bearer  
UNITY PARTY (UP)



