

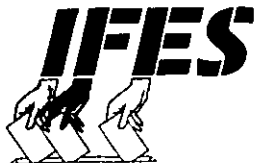
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**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

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**UNITED NATIONS  
(DEPARTMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT  
AND MANAGEMENT SERVICES)**

**AND**

**INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

**REPORT ON JOINT UN/IFES MISSION  
ELECTORAL PROCESS IN LIBERIA**

**FROM 9 SEPTEMBER 1993 TO 24 SEPTEMBER 1993**

**THOMAS BAYER, IFES**

**MARIA HELENA ALVES, DDSMS/UN**

IFES' participation on this joint IFES/UN Mission has been made possible through funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 The United Nations Special Coordinator's office of Liberia (UNSCOL) requested the Electoral Assistance Unit of the Department for Political Affairs of the United Nations (EAU) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) to organize and send a mission to Monrovia for the following purposes:

- to establish a realistic budget for the 1994 elections in Liberia;
- to assess the resources available to the Liberian Ad-Hoc Elections Commission;
- to establish a preliminary list of tasks to be undertaken by the commission along with a tentative calendar;
- to analyze the needs for external funding and technical assistance;
- to formulate a UNDP/UNDDSMS project document for support to the Electoral Process in Liberia after discussions with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, IGNU, NPFL and ULIMO representatives, the UNDP field office and representatives of the donor community;
- to ascertain with UNSCOL, IGNU, NPFL and ULIMO representatives the status of implementation of the provisions of the Cotonou Peace Agreement concerning the electoral process, and to establish a realist time-line for the implementation of election-related activities;
- to prepare a tentative working plan for the tasks featured in the time-line, specifying critical milestones for the major tasks or operations;
- to assist in mobilizing and coordinating donor support to the project and overall election budget;
- to organize and coordinate with the field office the immediate steps to be taken for launching the project.

The mission participants were Mr. Thomas Bayer, assigned by IFES, and Ms. Maria Helena Alves, assigned by the Public Administration and Management Division of the Department for Development Support and Management Services (TCMD/ UNDDSMS) upon request from Electoral Assistance Unit. Funding for IFES' participation in this mission was provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

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I.2 The post-Cotonou Liberian Ad-Hoc Electoral Commission (ECOM) had yet to meet in Monrovia as a group. The timing of this mission was seen by the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative (SGSR), Trevor Gordon-Sommers, as a means of encouraging the immediate convening of the full ECOM in Monrovia.

I.3 The mission met with the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General to Liberia, four ECOM commissioners, representatives and leadership of the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), representatives and leadership of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), members of Liberian civic organizations, and members of the diplomatic corps and the international donor community. Discussions focused on the establishment of a technical and financial "umbrella" for a United Nations-sponsored project supporting Liberia's electoral process. Topics included: a calendar for the organization of elections, the establishment of benchmarks to allow the measurement of progress toward the elections and the evaluation of this progress, and financial arrangements for election funding. (Refer to Annex I for a list of meetings and contacts).

I.4 The mission participants would like to extend a special thanks to Mr. Trevor Gordon-Sommers, the Secretary-General's Special Representative; Mr. Gerald King, the Acting Resident Representative of UNDP/Liberia, and staff members of his office; U.S. Ambassador William Twaddell, U.S. AID Director, Mr. Lowell Lynch and their staffs; and representatives of the Carter Center at Emory University and the Friends of Liberia for information, guidance and support.

## II. MEETINGS

II.1 The mission spent the majority of its time at the United Nations offices preparing documents for the electoral commissioners and waiting for the arrival of the commissioners from Gbanga. During its stay in Monrovia the mission organized briefings and meetings with UNDP and UN officials, the U.S. Ambassador, the Director of USAID, representatives of the Carter Center at Emory University (CCEU), members of the Friends of Liberia (FOL), as well as representatives of Special Emergency Life

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Food (SELF) and the Liberian Network for Peace and Development (LNPD). In Abidjan Ms. Alves met with the UN Resident Representative of Ivory Coast and the Ambassador of Belgium, at the request of the SRSG in Liberia, to brief them on questions related to the electoral process.

II.2 The mission arrived in Liberia intent on meeting with not only the election commissioners, but the leadership of the three groups who were party to the Cotonou Agreement: IGNU, NPFL, and ULIMO. Arranging meetings in Monrovia was difficult due to the sporadic operation of the telephone system and the 19h00 curfew. It was necessary for all meetings to adjourn by no later than 18h00 to allow participants and drivers to return to their respective homes in accordance with the curfew.

II.3 The mission met with some of the IGNU leadership, including President Sawyer, and with Chairman Al-Hadji Kromah, the leader of ULIMO. Two meetings with Chairman Kromah took place, one in Monrovia, and a second, more substantive one, at ULIMO headquarters in Tubmanburg City, Bomi County. The mission was unable to arrange a trip to Gbanga to meet with NPFL representatives.

### III. ELECTORAL PROCESS

III.1 The UN Secretary-General Special Representative and the UN/IFES team met four of the five ECOM members, appointed as a result of the Yamoussoukro IV peace accords. The Cotonou Agreement stipulated that these five individuals would continue as elections commissioners, with the addition of two commissioners to be appointed by ULIMO.

The parties agree that in order to enhance the inclusive nature of the transitional government, ULIMO shall have the right to nominate two members to the Elections Commission, thus expanding the existing Election Commission to seven members. For the purpose of continuity, the present structure shall remain the same. (The Cotonou Agreement, Sec . C, Art .15).

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III.2           The four members of ECOM present at the meetings with the UN/IFES team were: Mr. Nyudueh Morkonmana, Mr. Patrick L.N. Seyon, Chairman and Co-Chairman respectively of the five-member ECOM, Mr. David K. Harris and Mr. Paul N. Guah. Ms. Casselia Stewart, the fifth commissioner was out of the country. ULIMO had yet to nominate their two members.

III.3           The mission prepared for each of the four commissioners a folder with a copy of the following documents (documents 4 through 8 are presented in Annexes III through VII):

1.     the 1986 Liberian Electoral Law;
2.     the 1986 Constitution;
3.     a copy of the mission report prepared by UNDP/OPS consultant Mr. Rafael Lopez-Pintor;
4.     a paper with a series of technical questions on the organization of the electoral process prepared by the mission to facilitate discussions with the commissioners.
5.     an elections calendar prepared by the mission.
6.     a copy of the budget "Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992" prepared by the commissioners with the collaboration of IFES and CCEU;
7.     a copy of the budget "Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992" prepared by the commissioners with the collaboration of NDI and signed by the five commissioners since 1991;
8.     an elections calendar prepared by ECOM;

III.4           From the beginning of the discussions, it was apparent that the four commissioners were reluctant to discuss substantive matters regarding elections modalities and the organization of ECOM in the absence of their colleagues. Prominent topics during the week of September 12 were food, housing, transport, and the salaries of the commission members. These same subjects were of primary interest to the commissioners in 1992. The UN/IFES team was somewhat discouraged by the commission members' inability to focus on issues other than personal support. During the following week, the mission met with the commission's four available members only twice. The mission emphasized that these sessions were "brainstorming" sessions to give the team an idea of some realistic budgeting

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parameters. Comments offered by the commissioners during the meetings were not considered as official ECOM policy. During that week, Mr. Morkonmana was required to return to Gbanga with a message to Mr. Taylor requesting Ms. Dorothy Musuleng Cooper, the NPFL appointee to LNTG, to report to Monrovia.

III.5 The mission requested and was allowed to visit an office in which were stored materials from the 1985 election. Samples of manuals, documents, forms and ballots were collected. Also observed were printouts of the voters registry, indicating that the 1985 electoral list was computerized and that a data base of eligible voters had existed. According to the commissioners and other sources, computers, disks and tapes might have been destroyed during fighting in Monrovia. Apparently, the voters rolls were destroyed when the National Archives building was burnt. None of the commissioners knew if the printed lists observed were the only record of eligible voters, or if the national data was backed up on magnetic tapes. Dr. Seyon agreed to investigate if any materials remain in storage. Approximately thirty metal ballot boxes are in storage. Although these could eventually be used, any boxes remaining in the countryside would be very hard, if not impossible, to locate.

III.6 The electoral process will be conducted in close observance of the 1986 electoral law. This law grants the commissioners considerable freedom in the organization of the Liberia's elections. The commissioners' willingness and ability to use their powers to interpret the law in a manner that will allow for a smooth and open electoral process can not be commented at this time.

III.7 The UN SRSG, the diplomatic corps and the NGOs assisting the democratization process agreed that although preparations for holding elections should start, no elections should take place without the completion of the demobilization process. Lacking safe and free access to each of Liberia's counties, registration can not take place, the election can not be organized, and the political parties can not campaign nationwide.

III.8 Between June and October the amount of rain fall reportedly makes land access to a great number of villages difficult if not impossible. Air transportation can also be difficult. The mission



prepared a preliminary calendar bringing to the attention of the commissioners that with the current status of Liberia's communication and transportation infrastructure, elections would be difficult to administer during the months of heavy rains. The rains would also hamper the conduct of the political campaigns. If the political situation evolves at an adequate pace, elections could be held between the end of March and the end of May 1994.

#### IV. ISSUES FACING THE COMMISSIONERS

##### Participation on ECOM and the roles of the Commissioners

IV.1 The expansion of the Commission from five to seven members raises some questions. The primary of these is whether or not a new chairman and co-chairman should be selected, seeing that the new commissioners had no input into the selection of Mr. Morkonmana and Dr. Seyon as chairman and co-chairman in 1992. Mr. Morkonmana interpreted the statement "...the present structure shall remain the same" referring to the ECOM as referenced in the Cotonou agreements (quoted in III.1 of this report) as meaning that the chairmanship is not to be reconsidered by the expanded commission. Moreover, the commissioners indicated nothing that suggested that any decisions taken by the five-member commission would be challenged by the new commission. From the discussions held with representatives of the parties to the agreement, the team received the impression that not only is this interpretation not shared by all those outside the commission, but that even once the LNTG is seated, its members might question the legitimacy of all decisions made by the previous commission.

IV.2 The mission was informed from various sources that Dr. Seyon's participation on the commission presented a possible incompatibility, based on the potential time conflicts posed by his dual role as ECOM commissioner and co-chairman, and his duties as president of the University of Liberia. Dr. Seyon expressed to the mission his interest in the work of the commission and his commitment to

the success of Liberia's electoral process in Liberia. However, Dr. Seyon announced officially his resignation from ECOM on October 31, 1993.

IV.3 The 1986 electoral law stipulates that ECOM commissioners serve for a period of seven years. Given the circumstances surrounding these elections and the nomination of the commissioners, it is the understanding of the members of the commission that their mandate as election commissioners expires following the publication of the final results of the upcoming elections.

ECOM/commissioners logistics problems

IV.4 Mr. Morkonmana asserted that he wanted to see the electoral process move forward and that NPFL members of the commission should spend more time in Monrovia, since the electoral process can not start to be organized from Gbanga. The commissioners have no logistical support that will allow them to address transportation to, from and around Monrovia, and lodging in Monrovia.

IV.5 While in Monrovia meeting with the mission, Mr. Morkonmana requested that the U.N. place three or four vehicles at the disposal of the commissioners so that they might begin their work. This arrangement was proposed as a temporary one until the commission could obtain money and vehicles from the donors. The UNDP office was already short of vehicles and could not offer a permanent solution to the request. While the mission was in Monrovia, the UNDP office put one car at the disposal of the commissioners to facilitate their freedom of movement between Hotel Africa, where they were lodged, ECOM offices, UNDP offices and any other parties they needed to meet. UNDP officers warned the commissioners that its vehicles were already committed to other programs and projects.

IV.6 Mr. Morkonmana pointed out that ULIMO-nominated commissioners will also face lodging and transportation difficulties. He mentioned that President Sawyer had at one time promised to prepare villas to accommodate the out-of-town commissioners. This has not happened, and is yet another "stalling tactic" according to Mr. Morkonmana. When asked, IGNU officials point to operation "Octopus" in October 1992, which further damaged Monrovia's housing infrastructure, and did nothing

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to improve IGNU's financial situation. The mission noted that the location of the Hotel Africa in relation to ECOM headquarters in Sinkor can require a 45 to 60 minute commute. The organization of meetings is very difficult due to the distance, the 19h00 curfew, and the lack of dependable communications between downtown and the Hotel Africa. More central accommodations should be arranged in Monrovia for the commissioners by the LNTG.

IV.7           The UN/IFES team visited the ECOM office. The building is located in the Sinkor part of Monrovia and offers adequate space for the commission and their support staff, as well as for visiting international consultants who will be assisting the commission. The interior is in good condition, and has some basic furniture, such as desks, sofas and tables. The office lacks chairs, file cabinets and virtually all supplies needed in a functional office.

IV.8           The commissioners raised the issue of the payment of rent for the office. The rental agreement for the facility was negotiated by ECOM before it presented IGNU with a budget for the 1992 elections to be approved. Annual rent for the building is 43,000 US dollars. Since the signing of the agreement in 1992, the commission has paid 21,000 US dollars corresponding to six months occupancy in 1992. This payment was taken from seed money contributed to the elections effort by the NPFL and IGNU. No rent has been paid for 1993 and the commissioners are concerned that the facility will be lost if the rent is not paid soon. The payment of this rent is the responsibility of the government that "employs" ECOM, in this case the LNTG. However, this transitional body has yet to be seated. The rental agreement was negotiated by an ECOM formed under the auspices of IGNU, but currently IGNU does not see the payment of the 1993 rent as their responsibility.

IV.9           On the other hand, ECOM has developed the idea that Project Liberia (a coalition of five American NGOs: IFES, the Carter Center of Emory University, the National Democratic Institute, Friends of Liberia, and the African-American Institute) has agreed to pay the rent. This is not the case. On separate occasions, when contacted by ECOM, representatives of each group have offered advice to aid ECOM in designing their search for funding of all election-related activities, not solely limited to office rent. Bi- and multi-lateral donors are willing to assist ECOM with technical assistance, logistics

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support, and the purchase of equipment.. Donors are in most cases unable, and unwilling, to pay the bills for expenses such as office rent, commissioners' lodging, per diem or salaries, all items that are considered necessary local contribution to electoral assistance projects.

IV.10 In early 1992, both Liberian groups involved in the Yamoussoukro IV agreed to make a financial commitment to the organization of free and fair elections. IGNU and the NPFL agreed to pledge a contribution of 250,000 US dollars each as "seed money" to ECOM. Aside from allowing the commission to begin its work before international funding could be made available, the contribution would exhibit to potential donors the parties' commitment to the electoral process. During March and April 1992, each group made a contribution of 75,000 US dollars to ECOM, deposited in their respective banks in Gbanga and Monrovia, making payments difficult to organize and to track. As mentioned in IV.8, the first rent installment for ECOM offices was paid out of these funds. The accounting for these funds is included in Annex VIII. The mission was interested to note that the majority of the funds made available to the commission went for staff salaries, "honorarium", and per diem (US\$100,735 or 67% of the contribution). Based on these figures provided by ECOM, 68% (\$68,165) of all salaries, "honorarium" and per diem was disbursed retroactively for the months of January, February and March of 1992. No receipts or additional justification for these expenses have been made available to the mission. The mission questions ECOM's capacity to maintain a reasonable operational overhead and to manage funding in a manner that will pass the scrutiny of not only Liberian accountants, but accountants affiliated with potential donors. Once the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) is seated, their members should approve ECOM's budget and devise a mechanism to pay for it.

Executive Director

IV.11 The search for an executive director for the Ad-Hoc Elections Commission was under way at the time of the resumption of hostilities in October 1992. At that time, a short list of six candidates had been selected and four of those individuals had already been interviewed. There was an informal discussion between the commissioners and the mission about the reopening of the selection process and acceptance of new applications for the position. Pending a discussion with the full

commission, it is planned that the executive director will serve as the Liberian counterpart of the chief technical advisor of the United Nations technical assistance project.

Budget development

IV.12 Several budgets were prepared by the commission in 1992. One of these budgets was formally approved and signed by the five commissioners (Annex VI). That budget was subsequently reduced following meetings between ECOM and representatives of IFES and the Carter Center. However, this budget was not approved by each of the five commissioners (Annex V). Regardless of approval by the members of the commission, any budget prepared by the members of the commission must be submitted to the LNTG for analysis and final approval.

IV.13 The mission is concerned that the commissioners think that the mission possesses budget drafting and approval authority. This is not the case. Any contributions made by the donors to the support of Liberia's elections will be based only on a budget that has the approval of the transitional government.

Proportional representation

IV.14 The mission urged the commissioners to study the report of Mr. Rafael Pintor which focuses on the question of proportional representation. The tainted outcome of the 1985 elections and the years of violent civil strife have shattered the element of trust within Liberian society. The system of representation must acknowledge this distrust, as well as the large-scale cross border and interior movements of the population. The 1986 population distribution is not representative of the 1993 one. To facilitate nation-wide participation in political and social reconciliation, all groups should have an opportunity to be represented in this first post-civil war government. This opportunity can be created through the adoption of a system of proportional representation with the entire nation as one constituency - or each of the thirteen counties as constituencies - rather than structuring the system around the 1986 pre-civil war constituencies. Rethinking the constituencies for this election will prevent the displaced

citizens from feeling that they were denied the ability to choose the political representation for their normal constituencies due to circumstances beyond their control.

IV.15 To build on Mr. Pintor's study, the mission encourages the NGOs assisting in Liberia's democratization process to conduct a comparative study of several scenarios of majority rule and proportional representation, based on what is currently known about the distribution of Liberia's population. The mission heard opinions from a range of Liberians regarding how difficult or how easy it would be for individuals from one region to end up representing population from a completely different area.

#### Technical Assistance

IV.16 The mission designed an umbrella project providing technical assistance to ECOM, in which a UN team will coordinate the assistance of other NGOs and donors. Contributions can be made to the electoral process in the form of consultants and equipment, facilitated through parallel financing, cost-sharing or a trust fund.

IV.17 UNDP has committed funds from Liberia's IPF to finance the project's Chief Technical Adviser (CTA), the infrastructure necessary to coordinate the aid, some national consultants, and equipment for the project teams of experts. It was decided that the project will also finance some of the office equipment and supplies necessary to give ECOM staff the minimum conditions to begin its work immediately. The CTA will advise the commissioners through a counterpart, most likely the ECOM's Executive Director, who will be directly responsible for the operational component of the organization of the elections.

#### Districing and Voter registration

IV.18 According to the Constitution, each electoral district or constituency must lie completely within one county and should have a population of approximately twenty thousand, such that the total

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number of districts does not exceed one hundred. One of the documents obtained by the mission from the 1986 election has the maps of the counties with the delineation of the electoral districts and marks of the polling/registration stations. At this time, many of these stations are said to be empty, either because they were destroyed by the war or because the villagers fled. ULIMO leaders believe that most villagers will return to their homes by the time the elections are held; therefore, the 1986 distribution of electoral districts should be maintained.

IV.19           The electoral law states that a voter is allowed to vote in the constituency where he/she is registered. Some of the voters education materials distributed in 1986 stated that a voter could vote in any polling station of the constituency in which he or she was registered for the election of a representative, and in any polling station within the county for the election of a senator. The computerization of the 1986 register offered a means for distribution of copies of the constituency registers to each polling station within a constituency. At present, there are no materials for the computerization of the voters rolls for the upcoming elections. Regardless, there is no guarantee that a computerized list could be sufficiently complete for use on elections day. Therefore, it would be simpler to request that the voters vote where they had registered for this series of elections. Each polling station should have a list of the voters that are registered in that respective station. All polling stations within each county should be provided a list of voters who have been found to be double registered or illegally registered.

IV.20           In a majority of cases, the registration centres will serve as polling stations. Some adjustment will be necessary following registration due to the lack of sufficient reliable demographic data for the nation. Demographic data is being compiled in some regions for use in targeting relief food distribution and repatriation activities by SELF and their counterpart organization in Greater Liberia, Liberians United to Serve Humanity (LUSH), as well as UNHCR. SELF has a computerized system where it stores population data that it is updating and gathering in a systematic way. Although their data does not cover the entire country, they are continuing to expand, and at this time, it might be the best demographic information around. SELF conducts local elections to elect the officials of each community

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in charge of the food distribution; therefore, it has accurate data on the number of eligible voters in the villages where it already gathered data.

IV.21 The commissioners clarified that a Liberian has to be eighteen at the time of the registration in order to be able to vote. This requirement could prove problematic in the event that significant time transpires between the registration and the voting processes.

IV.22 Prior to the civil war, all Liberians carried a national identification card. IGNU's Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Thomas N. Brima, believes that many Liberians are still in possession of their ID cards and even their voting cards. The mission encountered many Liberians in Monrovia who were eligible to vote in the 1986 elections and remained in possession of their voters card. Minister Brima is convinced that when Liberians fled the fighting, they did not leave their ID cards behind. If this is indeed the case, then the potential problem of voter identification would not be as difficult as anticipated. Regardless, measures would have to be taken for those who have lost their identification documents.

IV.23 ECOM should meet with UNHCR to discuss repatriation plans and procedures. Repatriation teams could provide liberian refugees with ID cards that will be accepted as a national ID cards for electoral purposes. The infiltration of some non-Liberians will remain a possibility. It is believed that their numbers will not be meaningful in terms of election outcomes except in the cases of close races. Minister Brima shared this opinion. He also mentioned that the law states that in order to vote, an elector is required to show only their voter's card. In his opinion, it would be better to require presentation of both the voter's card and the national ID card with photo in an attempt to discourage vote buying by non- registered people.

IV.24 The question of registering refugees who are currently located in Guinea, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, or other surrounding countries, seems not to have been considered. Commissioners on several occasions stated that, "to register and to vote, one must be in Liberia." Voting by refugees does suggest a host of difficulties, not least of which are logistics and voter identification. Representatives of



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NPFL and ULIMO contacted by the mission felt strongly that, once peace is established and demobilization/demilitarization commences, refugees will return to Liberia in great numbers -- and not only to Liberian soil, but to their respective villages or home cities. Therefore, refugee voting, like redetermination of constituencies, is not an issue. In discussion with the team members, some IGNU representatives allowed that special systems might be needed to facilitate refugee registration and voting. The LNTG and the full ECOM will have to discuss this issue as questions remain as to how this should be handled.

IV.25           After several discussions with the commissioners, it was agreed that three weeks will be enough to register the eligible voters, provided that there is an effective pre-registration civic education and voter information campaign.

IV.26           During the meeting with IGNU's Interior Minister and Mr. Ansumanah Kromah, commissioner of the 1986 electoral commission, the mission was informed that a study conducted before the 1986 elections determined that the use of mobile registration teams could be very useful. In this system, the registration team would communicate their schedule to local village chiefs, who, in turn, would announce it to their populations. The minister and the former commissioner indicated that the upcountry air strips were in relatively good condition and planes could land there to discharge the materials for registration and polling. From there the distribution to the registration centres/polling sites could be done with light trucks or even motorbikes. The polling sites were selected so that no station would have to accommodate more than 1000 voters, and that nobody should have to walk more than 45 minutes to the registration centre and more than one hour for the polling site.

## V. CONCLUSION

V.1           The mission prepared a preliminary budget for the general organization of the elections, to be used as a fund raising proposal to the donor community (Annex II). Comments on that budget

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reflect the assumptions made by the mission based on the 1986 electoral law and meetings with the members of ECOM available for discussions. Many of the elections materials listed can be produced locally or in the neighboring countries. Some assumptions may change as the full commission meets and LNTG is seated. (Comments on this budget are presented in Annex IX.)

V.2 According to the Constitution, election of public officials is determined by an absolute majority of votes cast. A run-off election is scheduled if no candidate obtains that absolute majority in the first round. The mission did not include the cost of runoff elections in the budget, as some parts of the Constitution have been suspended. It is not yet clear whether this clause is subject to change by the LNTG for these coming elections.

V.3 Several the questions prepared for the members of the commission remain unanswered at this time. The commission discussed many issues with the UN team, but indicated that they wanted to continue discussion of all issues in the presence of all members. In addition, some issues can only be resolved after the members of the LNTG are seated.

V.4 The commissioners intend to travel throughout the country as soon as LNTG is seated, to talk with people and to assess logistics and other problems to be encountered. The commissioners mentioned that during the previous election, registration of voters was confused with taxation. It is essential that this perception is altered this time around to guarantee a high registration rate and voter turnout.

V.5 Once the decisions are made regarding any revisions to the 1986 electoral law, and the official dates for the registration and elections are set, this budget should be revised to reflect the updated information.

V.6 The mission would like to note that the requests made by the commissioners for technical assistance in 1993 were somewhat different than those made in 1992 to IFES and the Carter Center. This year, the commissioners were insistent that all the expertise necessary to run a free and fair elections

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could be found within Liberia from those who were involved in the 1985 and 1986 elections. Although their outcome reflected blatant tempering, Liberians who were close to the 1986 electoral process maintain that those elections were well organized and facilitated; the problems occurred following the counting of the votes at the polling station level. The mission found evidence that those elections were indeed well-organized, and found that many of the organizers are still in the country. This series of elections coming up will take place in a politically charged, highly polarized atmosphere. The planning of any technical assistance to ECOM must acknowledge this reality.

V.6           The mission agreed that local experts should be incorporated into the process where possible. However, there is a real need that these elections not resemble those of 1985 in order to build confidence among the electorate. There are technical areas where the commission could profit from exposure to other electoral systems; therefore, technical consultants are recommended for all special tasks - registration, civic and voters education, mass media, logistics and general electoral system organization. Many of these consultancies may be of short duration, but they will facilitate knowledge transfer and aid ECOM in maintaining their neutrality throughout the process.

**ANNEX I**

**LIST OF PEOPLE CONTACTED BY THE MISSION**

## LIST OF PEOPLE CONTACTED BY THE MISSION

Mr. Thomas N. Brima	Minister of Internal Affairs, IGNU
Mr. Bai M. Gbala	General Counsel to the President, Social & Economic Affairs, IGNU
Mr. Trevor Gordon-Sommers	Secretary-General's Special Representative
Lyn Gray	Friends of Liberia
Mr. Paul N. Guah	Commissioner, ECOM
Mr. David K. Harris	Commissioner, ECOM
Mr. Henin, Jacques	Ambassador of Belgium, Ivory Coast:
Mr. Gerald King	Acting Resident Representative of UNDP/Liberia
Mr. Al-Haji Kromah	Chairman, ULIMO
Mr. N. Lauzon	Resident Representative, Ivory Coast
Mr. Nyudueh Morkonmana	Chairman, ECOM
Mr. Blamoh Nelson	Programme Officer, SELF
Ms. Susan L. Palmer	Conflict Resolution Program Coordinator, CCEU
Mr. Amos Sawyer	President, IGNU
Mr. Patrick L.N. Seyon	Co-Chairman, ECOM
Mr. Graig G. Smith	Consultant, European Community, Liberia
Ms. Casselia Stewart	Commissioner, ECOM
Mr. Adolphus B. Teah	Controller, ECOM
Mr. Conmany B. Wessek	Special Adviser to the President on the Peace Process
Jackson N. Wonde	Deputy Director, CCEU, Liberia Office

**ANNEX II**

**ELECTIONS OVERALL TOTAL BUDGET**

**ELECTIONS OVERALL TOTAL BUDGET**

**(IN THOUSANDS OF US DOLLARS)**

Budget prepared by the UN/IFES mission

COMPONENT/ BUDGET LINE	DESCRIPTION	MONTHS	BUDGET AMOUNT	ECOM	DONORS
<b>10</b>	<b>PROJECT PERSONNEL</b>				
	<u>International Consultants</u>				
11.01	Chief Technical Adviser	8	112		UNDP 112
11.04	Training Consultant	2	26		IFES 26
11.05	Voter Information Consultant	1	18		IFES 18
11.06	Social Communication Consultant	2	26		IFES 26
11.07	Logistic coordinator	7	91		91
11.08	Telecommunications Consultant	3	39		39
11.09	Computer Expert	2	30		30
15.00	Duty Travel of Project Personnel		40		40
16.12	Mission Costs		23		23
	<u>National Personnel</u>				
13.00	Administrative Support Personnel		16		16
17.01	Programmer	7	12		UNDP 12
17.02	Administrative Officer	7	10		UNDP 10
17.03	Inter-cultural Consultants	8	16		UNDP 16
17.04	Registration Coordinator	3	7		UNDP 7
17.05	Electoral Coordinator	2	5		UNDP 5
17.06	Local Consultants	8	13		UNDP 13
17.07	Voter information coordinator	8	16		IFES 16

COMPONENT/ BUDGET LINE	DESCRIPTION	MONTHS	BUDGET AMOUNT	ECOM	DONORS
17.10	Computer Programmers' (Register)	16	27		27
17.20	Data Entry staff		350		350
17.30	ECOM Personnel	12	2 583	2583	
17.40	4800 Registration Officers	1	2 160	2 160	
17.50	2 400 Polling officers		90	90	
19	<u>Personnel Component Total</u>		5 710	4 833	877
40	<b>EQUIPMENT</b>				
	<u>ECOM</u>				
45.00	Supplies ECOM offices		2 100	2 100	
45.00	Machinery and Equipment		1 450	1 200	UNDP 250
45.00	Training ECOM Staff		150	150	
45.00	Maintenance of Equipment		30		30
47.00	Project office supplies		126		UNDP 126
	<u>Voters Registration</u>				
47.00	Registration Equipment and supplies (2700 kits)		540		UNDP 540
47.00	Transportation		25		25
47.00	Training material		30		30
47.00	Computer Equipment		200		200
	<u>Civic Education</u>				
47.00	Printed Material		300		300
47.00	Audio-visuals supplies		20		20
47.00	Public Information/Promotion		250	100	150
	<u>Logistic</u>				



COMPONENT/ BUDGET LINE	DESCRIPTION	MONTHS	BUDGET AMOUNT	ECOM	DONORS
47.00	Air Transportation		600		600
	<u>Land Transportation</u>				
47.00	13 Four Wheel Drive Vehicles		221		221
47.00	3 Four Wheel Drive Vehicles (UNDP)		51		UNDP 51
47.00	34 Motorcycles		85		85
47.00	Spare Parts		20		20
47.00	Fuel / Oil		80		80
45.00	Car Rental		39		39
	<u>Communications</u>				
47.00	Telecommunications equipment		265		265
	<u>Election</u>				
47.00	Ballot boxes (2.400)		60		60
47.00	Ballot paper (presidential)		300		300
47.00	Ballot paper (legislative)		500		500
47.00	Electoral kits		300		300
49	<u>Equipment Component Total</u>		7 742	3 550	4 192
			13 452	8 383	5 069
	Contingency		300	100	200
	TOTAL		13 752	8 483	5 269

"BUDGET AMOUNT" indicates total figures of estimated cost.

"ECOM" indicates the estimated cost of the Government contribution for the operation of the AD-Hoc Electoral Commission.

"DONORS" indicates the estimated need for donor contribution.

**ANNEX III**

**Technical Issues of Liberian Electoral Procedures**

**Technical Issues of Liberian Electoral Procedures**  
(Prepared by the IFES/UN Mission, September 1993)

Following are a series of questions and observations, developed following our study of *The New Elections Law* (1986). These questions highlight some critical aspects of the organization of the upcoming elections. It has come to our attention that there are procedural and timing inconsistencies in the Electoral Law as it exists. In the interest of respecting the timing of the elections as stipulated in the terms of the Cotonou Agreement, each of the issues raised here requires immediate attention, clarification, and where necessary, alteration by the Commission.

We are aware that some of these issues may have been resolved by the Electoral Commission as it existed before October, 1992. However, this is a new commission with new members and a revitalized mandate. Until the entire commission sits together, we can not be sure that the work of the pre-October Commission will be considered as valid.

The objective of our brief trip to Liberia is the performance of a technical needs assessment for the electoral process. Your responses to these questions, and reactions to our observations will improve our perception of the scope of these financial and technical assistance needs. At the same time, we hope that our presence, and the discussions in reaction to this document, will prove valuable to you as you work together as a commission to establish the modalities of the elections.

Electoral Commission

1. What differences exist between the role and the authority of this electoral commission in view of its role and authority as indicated in the 1986 electoral law?
2. Are the designated members of this commission transitional, or will they fulfil their seven year terms (Section 2.2)?

Population, Registration, and Voting

1. According to a wide variety of sources, there has been significant population movement since October 1992. From where and to where has this movement occurred?
2. The issues of population displacement and refugees call into question the form of representation to be implemented in this first government. As indicated by other elections specialists visiting Liberia, of the two basic formulas of political representation, majority rule and proportional representation, proportional representation has often proven the most effective in the facilitation of

reconciliation and the achievement of popular representation.

3. In the case of the Senate, two Senators are selected in each of the thirteen counties. In 1985, eighty-six single-member constituencies were being contested in the House race. Given the questions regarding the displacement of the population and the fact that the current electoral law has never been completely implemented in the conduct of a successful electoral exercise, we raise two possible adjustments for this election. First, the House election could follow the same format as the Senate, in that the country would be divided into thirteen constituencies (the thirteen counties). Second, the reduced number of constituencies would allow for a system of proportional representation in the House. These suggestions have been made before in the report of Rafael Lopez-Pintor, a UNDP consultant who visited in July of 1992. We agree with his assertion that the adoption of these measures would reduce many of the difficult unknowns concerning current population distribution and post-election population movements. What approach are you considering to handle this difficulty? Are the two "adjustments" mentioned above among those approaches?
4. Section 3.1 of the 1986 law indicate that voters must vote in the constituency where he/she has registered. Section 5.1 specifies that voters can vote at any polling station within that constituency for the president and for members of the senate. What is the relationship between registration center location and voting station location? Are registration centres transformed into voting centres for the election?
5. Are there different days for voting for the various legislative and administrative posts? If so, what is the specified order for the elections?
6. Section 3.1 states, "Every citizen of Liberia who has attained the age of eighteen (18) years or older, may register as a voter..." Does this indicate that a Liberian must be 18 to register, or 18 to vote? The same indication is given in Article 77 (b) of the Constitution.
7. Section 3.11 (2) states:  
  
"The Commission shall determine a period of not less than at least two days before election day which: (a) the registration roll shall be available for inspection at each Registration Center..., (b) claims for Registration and Objections to Registration may be made."

Section 3.13 states:

"If a claim is in order and not objected to, the Registrar of Elections, at the expiration of ten days from its receipt, shall endorse the claim as approved and register the claimant..."

Section 3.15 states:

"The Magistrate of Elections shall within thirty (30) days, determine the validity of the objection [to the claim] and shall give public notice within the locality of his findings."

Section 3.19 states:

"No Registration Roll may be altered within the thirty days period immediately prior to an election...Except on order of the Honorable Supreme Court of Liberia on the determination of a manifest error."

These Sections provide a basis for confusion with, and complaints against, the process by participants and electors. What steps are you considering to clarify the legal period of the establishment and the revision of the electoral list?

8. The reconciliation and resettlement process that will follow cantonment and demilitarization will take time. Many of the estimated 800,000 Liberian refugees will return home. This return may not gain momentum until after the elections. Are you considering the establishment of registration centres and voting stations in the refugee centres outside of Liberia?
9. Section 5.5 outlines the modalities for absentee voting. Will this electoral process include a system for absentee voting by Liberians abroad?
10. What is an acceptable amount of time for the registration of eligible Liberian voters and the establishment of national and constituency-level voter's rolls?

#### Technical

1. Are you planning to utilize the same registration card format as that used in the 1985 elections? What are your concerns regarding registration card design?
2. Different requirements have been established around the world for the identification of potential voters. These include the presentation of birth certificates, driving permits, tax payment stubs, and/or local witnesses to the registration authorities. What kind of registration/identification safeguards are appropriate to Liberia today?

3. Was the ballot design used in 1985 acceptable to the Liberian electorate? What are your principal concerns regarding ballot design?
4. Section 4.1 (2) states that the number of voters in a precinct "shall not exceed one thousand (1,000)." Is the delimitation of a precinct limited in terms of distance to be travelled to the poll? Can a precinct contain more than one polling place? If so, is there an average of voters per polling place?
5. How many clerks are necessary to assist the sheriff in the polling station? What is the minimum number of poll workers that must be present to continue with voting operations?
6. On occasion, individuals selected and trained to serve as poll workers are unable to serve on the day of the election due to unforeseen events. The law lacks a provision for the naming of the alternates of clerks and sheriffs. Would you consider calling for this provision, allowing for the naming and training of not only clerks and sheriffs, but their alternates as well?
7. Section 2.27 states, "Each Elections Officer shall be paid honorarium of such amounts as may be prescribed by budgetary appropriation from time to time for duties actually performed." What is the standard honorarium for Election Officers? Is this extended to poll workers? Do the poll workers and election officials receive food on election day?
8. Section 4.7 (2) states that "different coloured ballots may be provided for elections to different elective offices." Are these all deposited in the same ballot box in the event of elections for different offices on the same day?
9. What measures are you thinking of implementing to prevent against double-voting and double-registration (Sections 3.17 and 4.8 (4))?
10. Liberia's illiteracy rate is estimated at as high as 75%. The method of assistance for "unlettered" and "physically incapacitated" voters outlined in Section 5.8 violates the secrecy of the vote.
11. Other electoral laws provide the opportunity for a handicapped voter to go to the polls with a registered voter of his or her choice who is registered to vote in the same polling place. That individual is authorized to enter the polling compartment with the voter to assist them in marking their ballot. The reason for the assistance of the voter, and their voter number, are noted on the electoral list or in the poll book. This practice is seen as

acceptable given that the percentage of handicapped voters unable to mark their ballots (double amputees, birth defects, and sight-impaired) is normally small. Technically, this procedure also violates the secrecy of the ballot; however, it does not directly involve the personnel of the polling station in the voting process, and the individual assisting the voter is of his or her choice. All individuals working in the polls on election day are required to maintain their neutrality.

12. The issue of "unlettered" voters is another matter. The voting process can be designed with these voters in mind, paying close attention to the design of the ballots (the use of symbols, numbers, and colour) and the system of marking the ballots. The voter can have the choice to mark the ballot with either a pen or a fingerprint. The sole requirement is that the mark made by the voter indicates his or her "intent" (Section 4.13 (1)d).
13. In other electoral systems, individuals are appointed to assist the president and the clerks in counting the ballots following the closing of the polls. This is done for two reasons: 1.) After a 10 to 14-hour polling day, the clerks are tired. If they are tired, it is difficult for them to remain vigilant through the all-important process of counting and tabulating the votes. 2.) Selecting additional citizens to participate allows a greater participation in the electoral exercise. This can serve to reduce complaints of biased control of the elections process by the Government.
14. Normally these people are appointed by the polling station president (sheriff) a couple of hours before the closing of the polls. They must be voters registered on the voting registry of that particular polling station. Upon the closing of the poll, the president assigns them their tasks; such as filling out the tabulation form, unfolding and stacking ballots to be counted, displaying ballots to the assembled political party/independent candidate representatives for verification, etc.. Do you consider that the implementation of this system might augment the level of confidence of the Liberian electorate in the election system and the election results?
15. Section 4.8 (2) stipulates that the polls are open between 08:00 and 18:00. Counting of the ballots takes place upon the closing of the polls at 18:00. Then the results are transmitted to the Magistrate and then to the Commission. Much of this process will take place at night. The counting in many areas will be made difficult by the absence of electricity. In these areas, lamps or candles will be needed. Maximizing the use of the daylight hours can reduce some of the problems posed by the lack of electricity. Changing the hours of polling would allow

this. Depending on the number of voters per polling station and the participation rate, the counting could easily be completed before nightfall. Would you consider commencing the election at 07:00 and closing the polls at 17:00?

16. The vote count and result tabulation at the polling station-level, the result centralization at the Magistrate-level, and result transmission to Monrovia are critical activities. The modalities for this reporting require more specifics. One consideration would be to add another level of control at the county level. All constituencies within a county would report to the county-level electoral officials. The communication of the provisional results from the counties to Monrovia could be immediate via telephone or radio. The publicizing of provisional results should be controlled by the Commission to avoid rumours and misunderstandings.
17. Section 4.14 indicates that the results are to be announced fifteen days after election day. Provisional results should be made available to the population as soon as they are tabulated in Monrovia. Failure to do this will create mistrust, especially in light of the 1985 experience. What measures are you planning to enact to facilitate result tabulation and verification at each level?
18. Referring to Section 4.12, the three copies of the tabulated register (Synonyms--tally sheet?? pollbook?? procès-verbale??) are signed and then sent to three locations. Who accompanies the registers to the Magistrate of Elections and to Monrovia?
19. Does each political party/independent candidate representative (Section 4.9) have the right to a signed copy of the tabulated register?

#### Political Parties

1. Political party representatives are allowed to observe the polling, counting, and result reporting on election day. If these individuals behave in a partisan manner in the polling station, they can be barred from the station and fined (Section 10.15 (2)). Do these individuals have the right to an alternate who can take their position in this event?
2. How long is the political campaign? What are the time limitations of the political campaigns for different government positions?



## Media

1. How will media access by political parties and independent candidates be determined?
2. In your opinion, is Liberian mass media able to cover the electoral process in a non-partisan manner?
3. What are the most effective forms of information dissemination in Liberia?
4. Does a press code exist? Are you considering issuing guidelines for election coverage by the press?

## Civic Education, Voter's Information, and Election Monitoring

1. Civic, religious, and professional organizations are numerous and growing throughout Liberia. There is a need to involve Liberians in the electoral process to the greatest extent possible. Which domestic groups (NGOs, religious, professional) have the capacity to educate the population in the registration and elections processes?
2. The Electoral Code makes no mention of national or international observers. The participation of observers and monitors is mentioned in Article 15 of the Cotonou Agreement. As you are aware, the presence of both domestic and international observers can go a long way to increase the confidence of the electorate in the elections process. In addition, their presence can dissuade individuals or groups from initiating or participating in fraudulent activities. The conduct of an international observation mission can require considerable physical and financial resources. There are several ways to reduce these needs using creative planning. However, no matter how many international observers do participate in an electoral process, they remain just that--international observers--strangers to the nation whose activities they are diligently monitoring and observing. Our experience has shown that the parallel organization of domestic observers can increase the effectiveness of the international effort. What is under way in terms of considering the role of domestic observers? What groups do you consider as potential participants?
3. Both domestic and international observers become active in a electoral process during an important period in any nation's history. In some instances, electoral commissions prepare a code of conduct for the election observers, stating that while in country, the observers will abide by the laws of the country. In addition, the code of conduct can acknowledge that the observers have access to all election activities at all levels.

4. In order to insure that the individuals presenting themselves at polling stations around the country before, during, and after election day are indeed observers, a system of accreditation should be established. Only accredited observers should be considered as official observers. It is common to confuse elections observers and monitors in the field with members of the domestic and international press corps. In other nations, accreditation is issued by the electoral commission. This accreditation consists of some type of I.D. or official paper that identifies the observer to the polling officials around the country.

**ANNEX IV**

**CONSOLIDATE TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS  
IN LIBERIA  
ELECTIONS HELD IN MARCH 1994**

**CONSOLIDATE TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN LIBERIA  
ELECTIONS HELD IN MARCH 1994**

ACTIVITIES	1993			1994				
	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M
	T	V	C	N	B	R	R	A
1. ADOPTION OF ELECTORAL PROCEDURES	■							
2. REGISTRATION SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT	■	■	■					
3. TRAINING OF REGISTRATION OFFICERS	■	■	■					
4. CIVIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN (VOTER REGISTRATION)	■	■	■					
5. VOTER REGISTRATION			■	■				
6. ELECTORAL SUPPLIES	■	■	■	■	■			
7. TRAINING OF POLLING OFFICIALS			■	■	■			
8. CIVIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN (VOTING)	■	■	■	■	■	■		
9. ANNOUNCEMENT OF ELECTIONS DAY AND ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN			■		■	■		
10. ELECTIONS							■	

■ : 1 day event; ■ : Preparation period, ■ : Execution period

Periods set by electoral law, which impact directly the date for elections:

- Section 3.15: (claim to registration) 30 days to determine validity of objection;
- Section 3.19: (alteration of rolls) no alteration of rolls within 30 days prior to elections day;
- Section 5.5: (absentee voting) request for absentee voting 45 days prior to election;
- Section 4.5 (3): (nomination of candidates) list of candidates have to be received eight (8) weeks before election.

**ANNEX V**

**"Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992"**  
**prepared by the commissioners with the collaboration of IFES and CCEU**

**"Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992"**  
**prepared by the commissioners with the collaboration of IFES and CCEU**

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
<u>OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN</u>		
Chairman (\$208/day)	50,000	
Administrative Assistant (\$600/m)	7,200	
Secretary (\$450/m)	5,400	62,600
<u>OFFICE OF THE CO-CHAIRMAN</u>		
Co-Chairman (\$200/day)	48,000	
Commissioners (5 @ \$191/day)	230,000	
Administrative Assistant (2 @ \$600/m)	14,400	
Secretary (2 @ \$450/m)	10,800	
Chauffeur pool (8 @ \$300/m)	28,800	
Telephone Operator/Receptionist (\$250/m)	3,000	335,000
<u>REGISTRAR'S OFFICE</u>		
Registrar General (\$85/day)	20,400	
Secretary (\$450/month)	5,400	25,800
<u>OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR</u>		
Executive Director (\$95/day)	22,800	
Training Officer (\$75/day)	18,000	
Secretary (\$450/day)	5,400	46,200
<u>BUDGET AND FINANCE SECTION</u>		
Financial Controller (\$100/day)	24,000	
Accountant/Payroll (\$65/day)	15,600	
Accountant Clerck (\$450/m)	5,400	
Janitors (2 @ 200/m; 1 @ \$250/m)	7,800	52,800

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
<u>SECURITY SERVICES / ECOMOG</u>		
<u>PROCUREMENT SECTION</u>		
Director of procurement (\$60/day)	14,400	
Receiving Clerck (\$400/m)	4,800	19,200
<u>LEGAL SECTION</u>		
Legal Counsel (2 @ \$85/day)	40,800	
Clerck of Writs (2 @ \$30/day)	14,400	
Secretary (\$450/m)	5,400	60,600
<u>PUBLIC INFORMATION AND EDUCATION</u>		
Information Officer (\$65/day)	15,600	
Ass. Information Officer (\$65/day)	8,400	
Secretary (\$450/m)	5,400	29,400
<u>COUNTY AND REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION</u>		
County Coordinators (13 @ \$45/day)	140,400	
Magistrates (13 @ \$30/day)	93,600	
Secretary/Clerk (13 @300/m)	46,800	280,800
<u>CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES</u>		
Postage	5,000	
Gas and oil	100,000	
Rent	146,400	
Utilities and Maintenance	75,000	
Office Supplies	10,000	
Travel & perdiem	50,000	
Insurance	133,200	
Contingency (5%)	25,980	545,580

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
<b>ELECTION REQUIREMENTS</b>		
<u>PERSONNEL SERVICES</u>		
600 Polling Sheriffs @ \$15/day for 5 days	45,000	
600 Chief Magistrates @ \$15/day for 5 days	45,000	
1200 Polling Clerks @ \$15/day for 5 days	90,000	
Training Materials	12,500	192,500
<u>CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES</u>		
600 Ballot Boxes @ \$25	15,000	
600 Padlocks @ \$5.00	3,000	
2000 spare ink pads @ \$5.00	10,000	
2400 ball point pens @ \$.50	1,200	
800,000 Presidential Ballots @ \$1.00	800,000	
800,000 Legislative Ballots @ \$1.00	800,000	
2000 Polling Place Tally Sheets @ \$2.50	5,000	
6000 Poll Workers Manuals @ \$1.00	6,000	
10,000 Copies Electoral Codes @ \$3.00	30,000	
500 Party/Candidate Guidelines @ \$1.50	750	
150 Party/Candidate filing forms @ \$5.00	750	
150 Party/Cand. Fin. Rept. forms @ \$10.00	1,500	
1000 "Vote Here" posters @ \$.50	500	
15 Billboards @ \$500	7,500	
Bumper stickers, Button, etc.	5,000	
Gas and Oil	100,000	
Stationery and Supplies	20,000	
Contingency (5%)	50,310	1,856,510



DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
<b>VOTER'S REGISTRATION</b>		
<u>PERSONNEL SERVICES</u>		
600 Registrars @ \$15/day for 60 days	540,000	
1200 Clerks @ \$15/day for 5 days	90,000	
Training Materials	12,500	642,500
<u>CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES</u>		
100,000 Voter Registration Forms @ \$1.50	150,000	
1,000,000 Voter Regis. Card Kits @ \$1.50	1,500,000	
2000 Spare Ink Pads @ \$5.000	10,000	
2400 Ball Point Pens @ \$.50	1,200	
500 Voter's Registration Guidelines	750	
6000 Registration Workers Manuals @ \$1.00	6,000	
1000 "Register Here" posters @ \$.50	500	
Gas and Oil	100,000	
Stationary and Supplies	20,000	
Automobile Repairs	25,000	
Contingency (5%)	90,635	1,904,085
<u>MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT</u>		
Vehicles	475,000	
Furniture/County	20,000	
Communications	100,000	
Office Equipment/County	75,000	670,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>6 723 575</b>

**ANNEX VI**

**"Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992"**  
**prepared by the commissioners with the collaboration of NDI**

**"Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992"**  
**prepared by the commissioners with the collaboration of NDI**

This budget was signed by the five commissioners after their mission to Washington at the beginning of 1992, but has been modified to reflect the following changes, recommended by the commissioners: 7 Commissioners instead of 5; Deletion of 5 Regional coordinators; and Registration officers hired for 30 days instead of 60.

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
<u>OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN</u>		
Chairman	73,920	
Administrative Assistant	20,000	
Secretary	18,000	
File Clerk	4000	
Chauffeur	5000	120,920
<u>OFFICE OF THE CO-CHAIRMAN</u>		
Co-Chairman	71,280	
Commissioners (5 @ \$68640)	343,200	
Administrative Assistant (6 @ \$18000)	108,000	
Secretary (6 @ \$16000))	96,000	
File Clerks (6 @ \$3800)	22,800	
Chauffeur pool (6 @ \$5000)	30,000	671,280
<u>REGISTRAR OFFICE</u>		
Registrar General	40,000	
Assistant Registrar General	35,000	
Secretary	15,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	95,000
<u>OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR</u>		
Executive Director	55,000	
Training Officer	20,000	
Personnel Analyst	18,000	

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
Secretary	16,000	
Clerk Typist	8,000	
Telephone Operator	5,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	127,000
<u>BUDGET AND FINANCE SECTION</u>		
Financial Controller	55,000	
Chief Accountant	40,000	
Accountant	30,000	
Payroll Clerk	18,000	
Secretary	15,000	
Expediter	12,000	
Clerk/Typist	6,000	
Receptionists (4 @ \$5000)	20,000	
Messengers (4 @ \$3500)	14,000	
Utility Chauffeurs (3 @ \$5000)	15,000	
Janitors (2 @ 4000; 1 @ \$5000)	13,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	243,000
<u>SECURITY SERVICES</u>		
Headquarters (1 year)	100,000	
regional Offices (12/3 months)	40,000	140,000
<u>PROCUREMENT SECTION</u>		
Director of procurement	35,000	
Statistician	20,000	
Expediter	12,000	
Issuing/Receiving Clerk	16,000	
Clerk/Typist	6,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	94,000
<u>LEGAL SECTION</u>		
Legal Counsel (2 @ \$40000)	80,000	
Research Analyst	20,000	

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
Clerk of Writs	15,000	
Assistant Clerk of Writs	13,000	
Secretary	17,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	150,000
<u>RESEARCH SECTION</u>		
Director of Research	35000	
Research Officers (2 @ \$15000)	30,000	
Clerk/Typist	6,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	76,000
<u>PUBLIC INFORMATION AND EDUCATION</u>		
Director	35,000	
Public Awareness Officer	20,000	
Scene Photographer	15,000	
Clerk/Typist	6,000	
Chauffeur	5,000	81,000
<u>RECORD SECTION</u>		
Chief of Records	25000	
Record officers (2 @ \$15000)	30000	55,000
<u>COUNTY AND REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION</u>		
Magistrates (17 @ \$20000)	340,000	
Assistant Magistrates (17 @ \$17000)	289,000	
Clerk/Typist (17 @ \$5500)	93,500	722,500
<u>CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES</u>		
Postage & Communication	100,000	
Gas and oil	500,000	
Advertising & Publicity	100,000	
Rent	300,000	
Utilities and Maintenance	100,000	
Stationery & Supplies	200,000	
Automobile Repairs	250,000	

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
Repairs/office Equipment	50,000	
Travel & perdiem	300,000	
Insurance	300,000	
Contingency	150,000	2,350,000
<b><u>MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT</u></b>		
Vehicles (Cars and 4 Wheel Drives)	750,000	
Furniture & Furnishings	200,000	
Communication	350,000	
Office Equipment	150,000	1,450,000
<b>SUB TOTAL</b>		<b>6,375,700</b>
<b><u>ELECTIONS REQUIREMENTS</u></b>		
Registrars (1200 @ \$15/d for 30 days)	540,000	
Clerks/Polling (3600 @ \$15/d for 30 days)	1,620,000	
Sheriffs (1200 @ \$15/d for 3 days)	54,000	
Inspectors (1200 @ 15/d for 3 days)	36,000	
Languages Translators (16 @ \$15 for 30 days)	7,200	
Training	150,000	2,407,200
<b><u>CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES</u></b>		
<b><u>PRINTING AND BINDING</u></b>		
Voter Registration Forms (185,000 @ \$1.50)	277,500	
Voter Registration Cards (1,500,000 @ \$1.50)	2,250,000	
Ballot Boxes (1,200 @ \$25.00)	30,000	
Pad Locks (1,200 @ \$5)	6,000	
Kit bags (4,800 @ \$2.5)	12,000	
Spare ink bottles (4,800 @ \$5)	24,000	
Ink pads (4,800 @ \$5)	24,000	
Ball point pens (4,800 @ \$.5)	2,400	
Presidential ballots (1,500,000 @ \$1)	1,500,000	
Representative ballots (1,500,000 @ \$1)	1,500,000	
Senatorial ballots (1,500,000 @ \$1)	1,500,000	7,125,900

DESCRIPTION	BUDGET AMOUNT US Dollars	SUB-TOTAL
<u>OTHERS</u>		
Polling place tally booklets (2,000 @ \$250)	500,000	
Certificates of election (25 @ \$1,000)	25,000	
Poll workers training manuals (10,000 @ \$1)	10,000	
Voters instructions posters (10,000 @ \$1.5)	15,000	
copies of election law (30,000 @ \$3)	90,000	
Party/Candidate Instruction Booklet (500 @ \$20)	10,000	
Party/Candidate Filling Forms (500 @ \$5)	2,500	
Party/Candidate campaign finance reporting Forms (500 @ \$10)	5,000	
Training manuals for voter's registration (1,500)	10,000	
"Register Here" signs (1000 @ \$2))	2,000	
"Vote Here" signs (1000 @ \$2)	2,000	
Maps (5000)	5,000	
Bail Boards (15 @ 500)	7,500	
Promotional bumper stickers	10,000	
Contingency	100,000	
Sub-Total		794,000
TOTAL	16,702,800	

**ANNEX VII**

**AD-HOC ELECTIONS COMMISSION  
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**

**CALENDAR OF EVENTS - GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1992**



AD-HOC ELECTIONS COMMISSION  
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

CALENDAR OF EVENTS - GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1992

JUNE 1 - AUGUST 31	POPULATION SURVEY
JULY 10 - JULY 20	PUBLICATION OF TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND LEGAL COUNSELS
JULY 21 - JULY 28	REVIEW OF APPLICATIONS AND APPOINTMENT OF SENIOR STAFF; SHORT LISTING AND APPOINTMENT
	DISCUSSION AND ASSIGNMENT OF COMMISSIONERS TO THE FIVE ELECTORAL REGIONS
	REVIEW OF APPLICATIONS, SHORT LISTING, AND APPOINTMENT OF SECTIONAL HEADS AND JUNIOR STAFFS.
JULY 29 - AUGUST 14	PREPARATION FOR NATIONWIDE TOUR
	FORMULATION OF VOTER'S REGISTRATION GUIDELINES AND TRAINING MANUALS
	COMPLETION OF CENTRAL OFFICE'S ORGANIZATION; PROVISION OF MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT FOR CENTRAL OFFICE
	JOURNALIST WORKSHOP ON VOTER'S REGISTRATION
	PUBLICATION OF VOTER'S REGISTRATION GUIDELINES
	PUBLIC EDUCATION ON VOTER'S REGISTRATION
AUGUST 17 - AUGUST 28	NATIONWIDE TOUR OF COUNTIES
	<u>OBJECTIVES</u>
	IDENTIFICATION OF COUNTY OFFICES
	IDENTIFICATION OF CONSTITUENCIES AND REGISTRATION CENTERS
	RECRUITMENT OF COUNTY ELECTION OFFICERS
AUGUST 17 - SEPTEMBER 17	SUBMISSION, REVIEW AND REGISTRATION OF DOCUMENTS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

AUGUST 31	APPOINTMENT OF COUNTY ELECTIONS OFFICERS
SEPTEMBER 4 - SEPTEMBER 5	TRAINING WORKSHOP FOR COUNTY ELECTIONS OFFICERS
SEPTEMBER 6 - SEPTEMBER 9	RETURN OF COUNTY ELECTIONS OFFICERS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTIES
SEPTEMBER 10 - SEPTEMBER 30	RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF VOTER'S REGISTRARS/COUNTY LEVEL
	PREPARATION OF LOGISTICS FOR VOTER'S REGISTRATION. COORDINATORS WILL BY THEN KNOW HOW MANY REGISTRATION CENTERS ARE THERE AND NUMBER OF REGISTRARS PER CENTER
	PREPARATION OF ELECTIONS LOGISTICS
SEPTEMBER 22 - SEPTEMBER 24	MEETING WITH REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES AND INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES.
SEPTEMBER 28	COMMENCEMENT OF OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN
OCTOBER 3 & 4 (1ST SATURDAY AND SUNDAY)	VOTER'S REGISTRATION BEGINS
OCTOBER 10 & 11 (2ND SATURDAY AND SUNDAY)	VOTER'S REGISTRATION CONTINUES
OCTOBER 17 & 18 (3RD SATURDAY AND SUNDAY)	VOTER'S REGISTRATION ENDS
OCTOBER 20	PUBLICATION OF PRELIMINARY VOTER'S REGISTRATION ROLL
OCTOBER 21 - OCTOBER 30	VERIFICATION OF VOTER'S REGISTRATION ROLLS
	REGISTRATION OF CLAIMS AND CHALLENGES PERTAINING TO VOTER'S ROLL
NOVEMBER 2 - NOVEMBER 30	PUBLIC EDUCATION ON ELECTIONS BEGINS
NOVEMBER 10 - NOVEMBER 15	POLL WORKERS WORKSHOP / COUNTY LEVEL
NOVEMBER 20	PUBLICATION OF FINAL VOTER'S REGISTRATION ROLL
NOVEMBER 28	OFFICIAL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN CLOSES
NOVEMBER 30	GENERAL LEGISLATIVE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

**TIME FRAME FOR ELECTIONS  
LIBERIAN ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

	ELECTION	REGISTRATION	EDUCATION	ADMINISTRATION	LEGAL
M O N T H  1		Survey of population in rough numbers  ▼		Open national office Hire/ Appoint county election commissioners  ▼	Survey of population  Delineation of district boundaries  ▼
M O N T H  2			"Go to Registry;"  Where When Why  ▼	Appoint precinct election commissioners  ▼	Publication of guidelines  ▼
M O N T H  3		4 week voter registration  ▼ ▼ ▼	"Go to Registry;"  Where When Why  ▼	Training for voter registration  VOTER REGISTRATION  ▼	
M O N T H  4	Nomination and certification  ▼	Preliminary Voter Registration List published  ▼ Amendments & complaints  ▼ Final List Published	"Nominate your candidates"  ▼	Election logistics preparation  ▼	
M O N T H  5	Formal campaign period  ▼ ▼		"General education about elections, congress and president"  ▼	Printing ballots and tabulation forms  ▼	
M O N T H  6	Formal campaign period  ▼			Distribution  ▼	
	<b>ELECTION DAY</b>				

**RUN-OFF**



**NEW GOVERNMENT**

**ANNEX VIII**

**STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT  
AD-HOC ELECTIONS COMMISSION**

**Statement of Account  
Ad-Hoc Elections Commission  
Tradevco Bank A/C #883578  
(All amounts in US Dollars)**

**IGNU Contribution - March 30, 1992.....\$75,000.00**

<u>Expenditure</u>	
Honorarium - Jan. 1992 - March 1992	11,200.00
Ignatius Clay - Services rendered	2,500.00
Staff honorarium - April 1992	3,775.00
Chairman and Commissioner Stewart - Air tickets/USA	7,542.00
Chairman and Commissioner Stewart - Perdiem/USA	7,000.00
Advance Honorarium - Commissioners	2,500.00
Death contribution - Comptroller's daughter	250.00
Petty cash - to pay local vendors	1,000.00
Staff honorarium - May 1992	3,825.00
Winston Adechigbe - printing	150.00
Salary for Staff - Jan. 1992	10,550.00
Staff salary - Feb. 1992	12,050.00
Co-Chairman - perdiem/Bennin	2,800.00
Weade Lassanna - office curtains	1,500.00
Staff half salary - February 1992	6,190.00
Honorarium staff - October 1992 - Dec. 1992	925.00
Bank charges	350.00
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</b>	<b>74,107.00</b>

**Balance as at 23 December 1992.....\$893.00**

**Statement of Account  
Ad-Hoc Election Commission  
Bong Bank A/C #CA-0080**

**NPRAG Contribution - April 27, 1992.....\$75,000.00**

<u>Expenditure</u>	
Office Rent	21,900.00
Staff salary - January 1992	12,985.00
Staff salary - February 1992	11,690.00
Chairman and Co-Chairman - per diem to Dakar	5,250.00
Staff salary advance - March 1992	3,500.00
Staff half salary - August 1992	6,495.00
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</b>	<b>61,820.00</b>

**Balance as at 14 September 1992.....\$13,180.00**



**ANNEX IX**

**COMMENTS ON AN ELECTORAL BUDGET FOR LIBERIA**

**22 October 1993**

# UN/IFES COMMENTS ON AN ELECTORAL BUDGET FOR LIBERIA

22 October 1993

## Executive Summary

At this stage of the electoral process in LIBERIA, where a date for the presidential and legislative elections has not yet been established, this budget's figures are estimates of expenses to be reviewed as more reliable information and definite data become available.

The budget presented in this document is to be considered as a starting point to be used by the Liberian Ad-Hoc Electoral Commission (ECOM) and to be presented to the donor community to assist in determining possible contributions to the organization of the elections in Liberia. This document was prepared by a joint United Nations-International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) mission to Liberia in September 1993. Annexed to this document is a table with the overall budget for the organization of the election with the indication of the items whose funding is already tentatively known.

The mission assumed that:

- Liberia's voting population is approximately one million;
- the presidential and legislative elections will occur on the same day;
- these elections will take place between the end of March and May 1994;
- there are Liberians with know-how in electoral matters; therefore, several experts can be recruited locally;
- the general organization of elections will follow the 1986 electoral law;
- most of the electoral structures at the national, county and constituency levels are being set up as they were for previous elections. Re-design of some of the constituencies is to be expected due to the movement of population, but it is too early in the process to take this into account.



This budget is organized according to the main components and phases of the organization of an electoral process: Ad-Hoc Electoral Commission administration, voter registration, establishment of a permanent voter register, civic education and voters information, logistical support and elections day.

The following table is the summary of the budget as it is presented in this document. All figures are in US dollars.

**BUDGET SUMMARY**

ITEM	BUDGET AMOUNT	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
National Electoral Commission	6 956 900	6 132 900	824 000
Voter registration	2 762 000	2 160 000	602 000
Computerization of the voter register	607 000		607 000
Civic education / voter information	692 000	100 000	592 000
Logistics	1 479 000		1 479 000
Elections	1 255 000	90 000	1 165 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13 751 900</b>	<b>8 482 900</b>	<b>5 269 000</b>

"BUDGET AMOUNT" indicates total figures of estimated cost.

"Proposed BUDGET / GOVERNMENT" corresponds to the estimated cost of the Government contribution.

"Proposed BUDGET / DONORS" corresponds to the estimated need for donor contribution.

The "Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992" was used as a source of the figures quoted as "proposed budget for Government", after being modified to reflect the new composition of ECOM (7 Commissioners instead of 5), a registration period of three weeks instead of two months (which means that registration officers will be hired for 30 days instead of 60), and the deletion of the budget for five regional coordinators.

I. National Electoral Commission

According to the 1986 electoral law, the Electoral Commission (ECOM) has a Chairman, a Co-Chairman, and five members appointed for seven years with salaries, entitlements and expenses set by the Liberian Civil Service Statute. For these upcoming elections, as a result of the 1991 and 1993 peace agreements, a seven-member Ad-hoc Electoral Commission was formed. The Commission established its own budget, but the funding and respective controls have not been clearly stated. At the writing of this report, all members of the Electoral Commission have been nominated, but ECOM has not started working normally due to the delay in installing the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) and unresolved issues regarding transportation, lodging, office environment and salaries. Through the UN umbrella project for technical assistance to ECOM, UNDP might agree to fund the procurement of supplies for the ECOM office to give to the commissioners the minimum working conditions they need to start their functions.

According to the 1986 electoral law, the Executive Director, Election magistrates and assistants, Clerk of Writs, Registrars, Sheriffs, Poll Clerks, Judges and Poll workers are paid for duties actually performed. However, in the budget prepared in 1992 by ECOM, all staff members receive a monthly salary. This budget, "Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992: (US \$18,792,420), which is the source for the figures quoted here for ECOM operational expenses, is considered to be very inflated. The budget was approved by the five electoral commissioners named to ECOM in 1992, but not by any Liberian financial institution. Following IFES, Carter Center, and United Nations consultancies in 1992, another budget was prepared. This budget, entitled "Republic of Liberia Interim Election Commission Proposed Budget FY/1992" (US \$5,801,420) was not endorsed by the five 1992 commissioners. Therefore, it was decided not to consider it for this exercise. In the second proposed budget, the line items for the commissioners' salaries and consumable supplies for ECOM totalled US\$1,457,580 compared to the US\$4,682,900 indicated in the first document.

Salary calculations assume that pay scales of administrative and technical staff will follow the local market salary practices for temporary clerical work and local

consultancies. Creation of additional incentive mechanisms can be considered to insure the smooth functioning of elections, but they should not be of such magnitude that the public will perceive them as more of a perk than an incentive. Budgets for internationally recruited consultants include salary, entitlements, cost of travelling and agency's support cost. The budget for "Other equipment UNDP project" include computer equipment, office supplies, fuel, spare parts and maintenance of the project's equipment.

**NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION BUDGET**

ITEM	BUDGET AMOUNT	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
ECOM staff	2 575 700	2 575 700	
Translators (16)	7 200	7 200	
Training ECOM staff	150 000	150 000	
Office supplies	2 100 000	2 100 000	
Machinery and Equipment	1 450 000	1 200 000	250 000
UNDP Chief Technical Adviser	112 000		112 000
Local Computer Programmer (7 months)	12 000		12 000
Local Consultants (8 months)	13 000		13 000
UNDP Project Administrative Support	26 000		26 000
Travel of project personnel	11 000		11 000
UNDP mission costs	23 000		23 000
Vehicles for UNDP Project Team	51 000		51 000
Other equipment UNDP Project team	126 000		126 000
Contingency	300 000	100 000	200 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6 956 900</b>	<b>6 132 900</b>	<b>824 000</b>

In preparing for this budget study, the mission assumed that all operational budgets will be the responsibility of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), while donors might be requested to fund expenses such as cost of translators, consultants, office supplies, machinery and equipment. The mission informed ECOM that donors, in general, will not pay for any ECOM salaries nor expenses related to the running

of the ECOM offices. The LNTG might request a loan or search for additional funding from other donors to pay for those expenses.

## II. Voter Registration

Many of the registration officers could be locally recruited from government officials, school teachers and local NGO employees. Due to the current situation, many of these people may not receive a regular salary. Therefore, the cost of registration workers will be a daily stipend plus a lump sum payable at the end of the registration period. In view of the salary scale in Liberia, US\$15 per day is a fair estimate of the average daily cost for the services of these individuals. Normally, this cost would be absorbed by the government.

ECOM officials initially planned to use four-person registration teams of four people for a sixty day period. After discussions with the UN/IFES team, the commissioners agreed that a three week period would be sufficient with proper preparation.

Given that Liberia's public transportation infrastructure is very poor and that each registration team must register an average of less than 1,000 people over the three week period--less than fifty people per day--the use of mobile registration teams should be considered. The establishment of mobile teams would not only decrease the number of registration teams needed and reduce operating costs, but could also better insure that the maximum number of eligible voters has a chance to register. Given that the electoral law requires that a person votes where he/she registers, one registration team could be established in each constituency and several mobile teams could operate based from the county headquarters, travelling from constituency to constituency covering the areas where communications and access are difficult.

As for the vehicles needed for the transportation of the registration teams and distribution of the registration materials, options should be discussed with potential donors:

- Some of the active projects under the sponsorship of the United Nations and the donor community might be able to lend vehicles to the Electoral Commission (ECOM) during the registration period and during the elections.
- Some vehicles could be purchased now, used for the electoral process, and delivered to other projects at the end of elections. Only two or three vehicles would be charged to the electoral activity.
- Vehicles can be rented for the period of registration and elections.

If these options do not provide enough vehicles, the assessed transportation costs must be increased.

The number of registration kits depends on the number of registration teams to be created by ECOM. For the 1985 presidential and legislative elections, 1,200 registration teams of four persons each were established. The estimates of the material needs for the registration process in this budget are based on those figures. Considering the absence of reliable census data for Liberia, a contingency of about 15% has been included in the budget. This results in an estimated total need for 2,700 kits, each containing 500 registration and voter cards, registration books, pads of paper, ball point pens, pencils, erasers, finger print pads, laminating pouches, laminators, scissors, cords, padlocks packed in a small lockable trunk. The kits could be procured at the approximate unit price of about US\$200 for a total of US\$540,000. Five thousand training kits containing training manuals, example of voter cards, pencils, ball point pens, erasers, pencil sharpeners, blocks of paper, etc. would cost approximately US\$30,000.

#### VOTER REGISTRATION

ITEM	BUDGET	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
4,800 Registration officers (1 200 teams for 30 days - \$15/day/person)	2,160,000	2,160,000	
2,700 Registration kits (\$200/kit; 500 voters/kit)	540,000		540,000
Local Registration Coordinator (3 months)	7,000		7,000
Training material	30,000		30,000
Transportation (registration teams)	25,000		25,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,762,000</b>	<b>2,160,000</b>	<b>602,000</b>

### III. Computerization of the Voter Register

The UN/IFES mission is aware that a computerized registration roll existed for the 1985 election. According to different sources, programmes, data and equipment were destroyed. If some remain intact, they could serve as a useful guide on setting up a new computerized registry, otherwise all the work has to be done from scratch.

Interest was expressed to the team in computerizing the county registration rolls using new powerful and relatively cheap micro computers. Given the poor infrastructure of electrical power supply and communications, it would be very risky to rely solely on an automated registration roll to be prepared in time for the election.

The computerization of the voter register should be approached with great care, to avoid relying on a new system that might fail. Concurrently, efforts should be made to lay the foundations of a reliable permanent national registrar.

Computerization of the list can take place in parallel to the manual preparation of the voters rolls in the field. Even if the computerization of the list is not complete in time for the election, programs and data can be maintained for the next series of elections. By no means should the elections be postponed due to the absence of a fully computerized system, providing that the manual list has been completed and verified by the political parties and the population. If the computerization is completed in time for the elections, the manual list should continue to be kept up to date and distributed in order to be used as a back up in case of technical problems on election day.

If each county is supplied with a computer and related equipment necessary for data entry, an additional US\$200,000 dollars for equipment and approximately US\$350,000 dollars for data entry and supervision staff will be needed. It will also be necessary to have a computer expert to design the system and two good programmers to develop and implement the necessary software.

The estimated time necessary for data entry is of about 1,300 names per month per operator, assuming that detailed voter data is required in the registry data base. If only

information on name, ID number, local of residence and assigned polling station is required, the time required to enter all data might be reduced to half, corresponding to the entering about 2,600 names per month, per operator. The salary for data entry personnel is estimated at \$400/month.

**COMPUTERIZATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION**

ITEM	BUDGET AMOUNT	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
Computer equipment	200 000		200 000
Data-entry staff	350 000		350 000
International computer expert (2 months)	30 000		30 000
Local computer programmers (16 months)	27 000		27 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>607 000</b>		<b>607 000</b>

**IV. Civic Education / Voter Information**

Several NGOs have expressed interest in assisting in this activity. The amounts are tentative and might be insufficient. It is possible that audio-visual techniques will be used extensively to address the illiterate population.

Inter-cultural and mass media consultants should be called upon to design civic education and voter information campaigns targeting the different groups of the Liberian population.

It is expected that the umbrella project for technical assistance to the Ad-hoc Electoral Commission will assist primarily on voter information campaign.

**CIVIC EDUCATION / VOTER INFORMATION**

ITEM	BUDGET AMOUNT	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
International Civic Education / Voter Information Consultant (1 month)	18 000		18 000
International Training Consultant (2 month)	26 000		26 000
International Social Communications Consultant (2 months)	26 000		26 000
Local Civic Education / Voter Information (8 months)	16 000		16 000
Local Inter-cultural Consultants (8 Months)	16 000		16 000
Audio-visuals supplies	20 000		20 000
Printed material (manuals, posters, etc.)	300 000		300 000
TV/Radio, Printed media	250 000	100 000	150 000
Travel of consultants	20 000		20 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>692 000</b>	<b>100 000</b>	<b>592 000</b>

**V. Logistic Support**

Transportation needs for the transport of the registration kits to the registration centres and the election kits to the polling stations are best arranged by borrowing vehicles from other ministries for two or three days at a time, or renting them. Buying vehicles to be used during the relatively short period required for the delivery of the registration and election supplies and transportation of the registration and electoral teams is not cost-efficient. The considerations on the use of vehicles indicated in the voter registration section apply for all transportation logistics.

Airstrips outside Monrovia are supposed to be in reasonable condition. Therefore, the use of a combination of fixed-wing airplanes and helicopters should be considered for the transportation of the registration and electoral materials. In areas where roads exist and are passable, nearby airstrips could make the use of air transportation combined with land transportation more efficient than land transportation alone.



UNOMIL and other UN agencies that are using air transportation might be willing to lend planes and helicopters on a reduced-cost or loan basis.

LOGISTIC SUPPORT

ITEM	BUDGET AMOUNT	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
International logistical consultant (7 months)	91 000		91 000
International telecommunications consultant (3 months)	39 000		39 000
Renting of cars (26 cars for 6 weeks, \$250/week)	39 000		39 000
Four wheel drive vehicles (13)	221 000		221 000
Motorcycles (34)	85 000		85 000
Air transportation	600 000		600 000
Communications equipment	265 000		265 000
Spare parts and fuel	100 000		100 000
Maintenance of equipment	30 000		30 000
Travel consultants	9 000		9 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 479 000</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1 479 000</b>

As a realistic plan for communications should be established before proceeding with the purchase of any equipment. The level of funding allocated in this budget for the communications equipment is based on the assumption that an HF network will be installed with a transmitter/receiver in each county headquarters and a VHF network will be installed in Monrovia. At this time neither ECOM nor the mission have enough information to assess if this will adequately cover the ECOM needs.

VI. Elections

The cost of ballot paper depends very much on the kind of ballot chosen, since the ballot format is not prescribed in the 1986 electoral law. Great care should be paid to the design of the ballot paper. For the 1985 election, while the presidential ballots were well designed, the legislative ballots were not. Therefore, illiterate voters (75% of the

population) allegedly, required the help of poll workers in making their choices. This situation should be avoided to safeguard the secrecy, freedom of choice and the individuality of the vote.

Each electoral kit should contain indelible ink sufficient to mark 500 voters, UV lamp (battery operated), batteries, statement of poll form, polling station sign, ball point pens, pencils, erasers, pencil sharpeners, poll book, envelopes, plastic bags for unused ballot papers and for discarded ballot papers, ballot box receipt acknowledgement form, paper seals, stamp and stamp pad, ballot box padlock and seals and extra notebook. The unit price of the kits is estimated at US\$200 each.

**ELECTIONS**

ITEM	BUDGET AMOUNT	Proposed BUDGET GOVERNMENT	Proposed BUDGET DONORS
Local electoral Coordinator (2 months)	5 000		5 000
Polling station officers (2.400)	90 000	90 000	
Ballot boxes (2.400)	60 000		60 000
Presidential ballot paper (1.000.000, \$,30/ballot)	300 000		300 000
Legislative ballot paper (1.000.000, \$,50/ballot)	500 000		500 000
Electoral kits (1.200, \$250/kit)	300 000		300 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 260 000</b>	<b>90 000</b>	<b>1 170 000</b>

**ANNEX**

**ELECTIONS OVERALL TOTAL BUDGET  
(IN THOUSANDS OF US DOLLARS)**

COMPONENT/ BUDGET LINE	DESCRIPTION	MONTHS	BUDGET AMOUNT	ECOM	DONORS
<b>10</b>	<b>PROJECT PERSONNEL</b>				
	<u>International Consultants</u>				
11.01	Chief Technical Adviser	8	112		UNDP 112
11.04	Training Consultant	2	26		IFES 26
11.05	Voter Information Consultant	1	18		IFES 18
11.06	Social Communication Consultant	2	26		26
11.07	Logistic coordinator	7	91		IFES 91
11.08	Telecommunications Consultant	3	39		IFES 39
11.09	Computer Expert	2	30		30
15.00	Duty Travel of Project Personnel		40		40
16.12	Mission Costs		23		23
	<u>National Personnel</u>				
13.00	Administrative Support Personnel		16		16
17.01	Programmer	7	12		UNDP 12
17.02	Administrative Officer	7	10		UNDP 10
17.03	Inter-cultural Consultants	8	16		UNDP 16
17.04	Registration Coordinator	3	7		UNDP 7
17.05	Electoral Coordinator	2	5		UNDP 5
17.06	Local Consultants	8	13		UNDP 13
17.07	Voter information coordinator	8	16		IFES 16
17.10	Computer Programmers (Register)	16	27		27
17.20	Data Entry staff		350		350
17.30	ECOM Personnel	12	2 583	2583	
17.40	4800 Registration Officers	1	2 160	2 160	
17.50	2 400 Polling officers		90	90	
<b>19</b>	<u>Personnel Component Total</u>		<b>5 710</b>	<b>4 833</b>	<b>877</b>
<b>40</b>	<b>EQUIPMENT</b>				

COMPONENT/ BUDGET LINE	DESCRIPTION	MONTHS	BUDGET AMOUNT	ECOM	DONORS
	<u>ECOM</u>				
45.00	Supplies ECOM offices		2 100	2 100	
45.00	Machinery and Equipment		1 450	1 200	UNDP 250
45.00	Training ECOM Staff		150	150	
45.00	Maintenance of Equipment		30		30
47.00	Project office supplies		126		UNDP 126
	<u>Voters Registration</u>				
47.00	Registration Equipment and supplies (2700 kits)		540		UNDP 540
47.00	Transportation		25		25
47.00	Training material		30		30
47.00	Computer Equipment		200		200
	<u>Civic Education</u>				
47.00	Printed Material		300		300
47.00	Audio-visuals supplies		20		20
47.00	Public Information/Promotion		250	100	150
	<u>Logistic</u>				
47.00	Air Transportation		600		600
	<u>Land Transportation</u>				
47.00	13 Four Wheel Drive Vehicles		221		221
47.00	3 Four Wheel Drive Vehicles (UNDP)		51		UNDP 51
47.00	34 Motorcycles		85		85
47.00	Spare Parts		20		20
47.00	Fuel / Oil		80		80
45.00	Car Rental		39		39
	<u>Communications</u>				
47.00	Telecommunications equipment		265		265
	<u>Election</u>				
47.00	Ballot boxes (2.400)		60		60
47.00	Ballot paper (presidential)		300		300
47.00	Ballot paper (legislative)		500		500
47.00	Electoral kits		300		300

COMPONENT/ BUDGET LINE	DESCRIPTION	MONTHS	BUDGET AMOUNT	ECOM	DONORS
49	<u>Equipment Component Total</u>		7 742	3 550	4 192
			13 452	8 383	5 069
	Contingency		300	100	200
	TOTAL		13 752	8 483	5 269

"BUDGET AMOUNT" indicates total figures of estimated cost.

"ECOM" indicates the estimated cost of the Government contribution for the operation of the AD-Hoc Electoral Commission.

"DONORS" indicates the estimated need for donor contribution.

**ANNEX X**

**REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL  
TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL  
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UN OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA**

**(UNOMIL)**

**SEPTEMBER 9, 1993**



## Security Council

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## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON LIBERIA

## INTRODUCTION

1. In my report of 4 August (S/26200) I drew the attention of the Security Council to the main features of the Peace Agreement (S/26272) signed at Cotonou on 25 July 1993 by the three parties to the conflict in Liberia. The agreement called for the United Nations and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) to supervise and monitor the implementation of the Agreement. In the report, I also informed the Council of the dispatch of a planning mission to Liberia to gather data relevant to the proposed establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), and of my intention to commence planning for the dispatch to Liberia as soon as possible of an advance team of United Nations military observers. On 10 August the Security Council adopted resolution 856 (1993), by which it approved the dispatch of an advance team of 30 military observers to Liberia to participate in the work of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee which, according to the agreement, is to be chaired by the United Nations.

2. The present report is submitted pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 856 (1993), by which the Security Council requested a report on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL including, in particular, a detailed estimate of the cost and scope of the operation, an explanation of how coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG would be ensured and the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Agreement. These issues received the special attention of the planning mission during its visit to Liberia and are elaborated upon below.

## I. PLANNING MISSION TO LIBERIA

3. The planning mission to Liberia, headed by Brigadier-General (retired) Ian Douglas of Canada, arrived in Monrovia on 6 August and remained in the country until 13 August. It met with the three Liberian parties - the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) - and had several extensive meetings with ECOMOG. The mission gathered all relevant data required to prepare a plan for UNOMIL. I am pleased to inform the Council that the mission has reported the strong commitment of the parties to the Peace Agreement and the desire expressed by all Liberians they met for an end to hostilities and a lasting peace.

4. In travelling by road from Monrovia to Gbarnga, the mission was the first group to cross the front line since October 1992, thus establishing a precedent for opening up the road to normal traffic. Although not strictly within its mandate, the planning mission contributed to achieving a positive decision on the cross-line delivery of relief supplies from Monrovia to NPFL areas. Other avenues of access were actively explored, including cross-border routes from Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea. It has been agreed that, where necessary, humanitarian assistance will be allowed to move across borders with inspection, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, by United Nations personnel and ECOMOG. The planning mission also emphasized to all parties the importance of ensuring the security of all humanitarian relief workers.

5. The planning mission facilitated the first meeting of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, which was held at Monrovia on 13 August. All parties and ECOMOG attended the meeting which, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, was chaired by the United Nations. The parties met in a friendly atmosphere and discussed the working procedures of the Committee. This first meeting of the Joint Committee and the opening of cross-line delivery of relief supplies are important steps forward in the confidence-building process.

## II. INITIATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS

6. Following the adoption of resolution 856 (1993) authorizing the deployment of an advance team of United Nations military observers to Liberia, a senior military officer present in Liberia with the planning mission remained in Monrovia as the Chief of the advance team. The rest of the advance team started arriving in Monrovia on 20 August and the full complement is expected in the country in the coming days. At that point, ECOMOG troops and United Nations military observers will be deployed to various parts of Liberia to monitor the cease-fire. In consultation with the parties, the advance team and ECOMOG will draw up the schedule of implementation of the Peace Agreement. In accordance with the Peace Agreement, the Liberia National Transitional Government is to establish itself in Monrovia concomitant with the start of the disarmament process. The members of the Council of State of the Liberia National Transitional Government were selected in Cotonou on 17 August. In accordance with the Agreement, once the Transitional Government is established, both IGNU, as a Government, and the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government of NPFL will cease to exist.

7. As provided in the Peace Agreement, a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee composed of representatives of the three parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations has been established and, as mentioned above, met for the first time on 13 August. Cease-fire violations are reported to the Chairman of the Committee. Should the Committee deem an on-site investigation of an incident necessary, subgroups of the Committee, comprising representatives of all members of the Committee, will investigate the incident. The subgroups will report to the Committee for its further deliberation.

8. To date, eight alleged violations of the cease-fire have been reported and have been addressed by the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee so that all parties fully understand their responsibilities under the Peace Agreement. These reported violations include the movement of troops and obstruction of



delivery of humanitarian assistance. The Joint Committee will, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, terminate upon the full deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL and will be replaced by a Violations Committee.

9. The Violations Committee would consist of one person from each of the parties, ECOMOG and UNOMIL and would be chaired by UNOMIL. All violations of the cease-fire would, in the first instance, be reported directly to UNOMIL, which would investigate the incident. If the violation cannot be corrected, UNOMIL would report its findings to the Violations Committee for resolution. After determination by the Violations Committee, should the parties not correct the violation, ECOMOG would be informed and could thereupon, under the authority of ECOWAS and in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement, resort to the use of its peace enforcement powers to correct the violation.

### III. STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA (UNOMIL)

10. The concept of the peace process as envisaged in the Cotonou Agreement is a continuum from the cease-fire through disarmament and demobilization to the holding of national elections. In accordance with the Agreement, "ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission shall supervise and monitor the implementation of the Agreement" (sect. B, art. 3, para. 1). As noted in my report of 4 August (S/26200), the Agreement assigns ECOMOG the primary responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement and envisages that UNOMIL will monitor the various implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application.

11. Should the Security Council authorize the establishment of the Observer Mission, UNOMIL would be under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council. The mission would be led in the field by my Special Representative, Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers, and would be composed of military and civilian components. Command of the military component would be entrusted to a Chief Military Observer reporting to me through my Special Representative. The civilian components of UNOMIL would include humanitarian and development assistance, electoral assistance, as well as necessary political and administrative staff. The UNOMIL military component would be composed of personnel made available by Member States, while the civilian components would be, as far as possible, made up of United Nations staff members, with supplementary external recruitment as required.

### IV. CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

12. ECOMOG, which has been on the ground since 1990, has worked out a detailed concept of operations covering all the provisions of the Peace Agreement and under which ECOMOG troops would be stationed at entry points, airports and seaports to ensure compliance with the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment to Liberia imposed by the Security Council in its resolution 788 (1992). As called for in the Agreement, ECOMOG would create buffer zones along the Liberian borders and supervise the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants. For operational purposes, ECOMOG has divided the

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country into four sectors: Eastern, Northern, Western and Greater Monrovia. These sectors are shown on the map which is contained in annex I to the present report. ECOMOG will station troops throughout the four sectors. These troops will, inter alia, undertake the recovery of arms and will patrol areas where ECOMOG does not have stationary troops. In order to fulfil the requirements of the Peace Agreement, ECOMOG is planning to expand its forces in Liberia by 4,000 troops to be deployed throughout the country, complying with an understanding reached in the course of the negotiations on the Agreement.

13. Since the role foreseen for UNOMIL is to monitor and verify the implementation of the Agreement, its concept of operation necessarily must be parallel to that of ECOMOG. For UNOMIL's purposes, ECOMOG's four sectors would be referred to as "regions". UNOMIL would thus have four regional headquarters co-located with ECOMOG's four sector headquarters. UNOMIL would deploy observer teams in concert with ECOMOG deployment, including border crossings, airports and seaports. As UNOMIL would monitor and verify cantonment, disarmament, the storage of recovered arms, ammunition and explosives, and demobilization, UNOMIL would also locate teams at cantonment sites and armouries. UNOMIL and ECOMOG would collaborate closely in their operations. This would not, however, impede UNOMIL's ability to operate independently as required. UNOMIL would have mobile investigation teams to accompany ECOMOG patrols. The investigation teams would be stationed at the four regional headquarters (with two teams at the northern regional headquarters). Since UNOMIL would have monitoring functions, its teams would be far smaller than ECOMOG's, which have the task of implementing the Agreement.

14. As UNOMIL would be the first instance where the United Nations would undertake a major peace-keeping operation with another organization, in this case a subregional organization, the planning mission paid special attention in its discussions with the ECOMOG Field Commander to the respective roles and relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in implementing the Agreement. It was agreed that the following elements would underlie the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG: (a) UNOMIL and ECOMOG would have separate chains of command; (b) decisions affecting both UNOMIL and ECOMOG would be made through consultation both formally (Violations Committee) and informally; (c) neither UNOMIL nor ECOMOG could direct the other in its actions; (d) should ECOMOG enter into planned peace enforcement involving combat operations, UNOMIL observers would not participate in such actions and would, along with other United Nations staff, be temporarily withdrawn from the area; (e) should ECOMOG find itself constrained to enter into unplanned, self-defensive military actions, ECOMOG would have the obligation to ensure the security of UNOMIL observers and other United Nations staff present in the area.

15. The planning mission has recommended that, as agreed with ECOMOG, daily coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG, as well as decision-making, should be at the field level and only passed up to the next level in each party's chain of command if necessary. However, major decision- and policy-making would be initiated at the appropriate level. The points of consultation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG respectively (which are illustrated in the chart attached as annex II to the present report), would be between UNOMIL site teams and ECOMOG peace-keeping troops; UNOMIL regional headquarters and ECOMOG sector headquarters; the Field Commander of ECOMOG and the Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL; the Field Commander of ECOMOG and my Special Representative; and, finally, between the

United Nations and ECOWAS. I shall also maintain regular contacts with the Chairman of ECOWAS in regard to developments in the Liberian peace process. Furthermore, it would be my intention, following the establishment of UNOMIL, to conclude with ECOWAS an agreement defining the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG.

16. In accordance with established practice, UNOMIL would need to have freedom of movement, communications and inspection, and to enjoy the other rights that would be necessary for the performance of its tasks in Liberia. UNOMIL and its personnel would also have to be granted all relevant privileges and immunities provided for by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. Should the Security Council decide to establish UNOMIL, it would therefore be my intention to initiate consultations with the Liberian National Transitional Government with a view to concluding a status-of-mission agreement along the usual lines.

17. In the fielding of UNOMIL military observers and civilian staff, the issue of personnel security must be addressed. Security threats include armed banditry, easy availability of weapons, mines and the inability of local authorities to respond adequately to security problems. I welcome ECOMOG's stated commitment to ensuring the safety of UNOMIL observers and civilian staff. I shall also appoint a Security Officer to coordinate security requirements of the entire United Nations presence in the country.

18. It is estimated that 303 military observers will be required for the UNOMIL operation. This number includes 41 teams composed of 6 observers per team (investigation teams, airport teams, seaport teams, border crossing teams and cantonment site teams), 25 military observers stationed at UNOMIL headquarters in Monrovia and 8 observers stationed at each of the four regional headquarters, reporting to the Chief Military Observer. The military observers will be supported by necessary administrative staff.

19. Since UNOMIL observers will be widely dispersed throughout the entire Liberian territory, they will need to be supported by a communications unit of about 25 people to establish a communications network and to staff radios at UNOMIL's headquarters in Monrovia and at regional headquarters on a 24-hour, 7-days-a-week basis. This unit would be composed of civilian personnel under civilian contract, with equipment provided by the United Nations. UNOMIL would also require a military medical unit of at least some 20 staff.

20. The planning mission assessed the infrastructure of the country and drew up two options under which the infrastructure required to support the deployment of observers could be provided. One option would be to import entire housing and office units and set them up at team sites. The second option would be to deploy engineering units to conduct reconnaissance of the locations of regional headquarters and team sites and initiate required infrastructure repairs based on local procurement of materials to the extent possible and using local manpower. Under the second option, which the planning mission recommended, it is estimated that the physical infrastructure required for the mission could be more quickly constructed and, in the long term, would benefit the Liberian people. The engineering units would also work with ECOMOG engineers in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of cantonment sites and in the repair of bridges necessary for peace-keeping and humanitarian assistance activities. The

units could, at a later stage, also assist with the repair of roads, airports and public works as a confidence-building measure and to normalize the situation in the country. It is estimated that 45 experts would be required to make up 5 engineering units, each composed of 1 civil engineer, 3 supervisors and 5 specialists such as electricians and mechanics. Given the very tight timetable of the operation, it is crucial that the engineering units be fielded expeditiously. It is therefore recommended that these units be made up of military personnel.

21. In view of the wide dispersal of the military observers and of the extremely difficult terrain in which they will have to operate, it is recommended that a minimum of six utility helicopters be provided to the Mission. It is considered, given medical evacuation requirements and the poor conditions of available airfields, that the Mission will also require a short take-off/landing, bush type aircraft.

22. In view of the importance of providing UNOMIL with the resources necessary to start up the operation quickly, it is deemed essential that equipment, particularly vehicles, office furnishings and supplies, be transferred to the mission area from UNTAC as soon as possible. This may require airlifting resources to Liberia, at least in the initial stages.

23. As mentioned above, in order to fulfil the requirements of the Peace Agreement, ECOMOG is planning to expand its forces in Liberia by another 4,000 troops. While some of the new ECOMOG troop-contributing countries may not be members of ECOWAS, they would be members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and their troops would be under the command and control of the ECOMOG Field Commander. At the time of the present report, it is not clear which African countries would contribute the additional troops for ECOMOG. An important aspect is the question of logistic support for ECOMOG, especially for the additional troops. It is understood that assistance in this domain would have to come from outside Africa. Then there is the question of finances for ECOMOG's operations. While clearly this is not the responsibility of the United Nations, we cannot afford to ignore the realities of the situation. One of the proposals is to establish a voluntary fund under the auspices of the United Nations, as referred to in paragraph 24 below.

24. ECOWAS has informed me that ECOMOG troop-contributing countries would require financial support for the present and expanded forces of ECOMOG. In my previous report (S/26200), I informed the Security Council of the request from ECOWAS to the United Nations to establish a trust fund which could be utilized, inter alia, to enable African countries to send reinforcements to ECOMOG and to provide necessary assistance to countries already participating in ECOMOG. On 27 August, I received a letter from the President of the Security Council (S/26376) strongly endorsing the establishment of such a voluntary trust fund. Accordingly, I have initiated the necessary administrative steps to set up the fund.

## V. HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

25. The United Nations system initiated emergency relief activities in Liberia in December 1990 when the United Nations Special Coordinator's Office in Liberia (UNSCOL) was established, focusing initially on the desperate situation in the Monrovia area. Later, in 1991, the operation was expanded to address the needs of Liberians throughout the country. Regional arrangements were also made to respond to the problems of the estimated 750,000 Liberians who had fled to neighbouring countries, primarily Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

26. The emergency assistance programme, supported by voluntary contributions of donor countries in response to appeals launched by the United Nations, covers food and nutrition; health and medical care; water, power and sanitation; education; children in difficult circumstances; and agriculture. In spite of continuing difficulties in access and security, the programme has been relatively successful. However, as a result of events in October 1992, there has been a major increase in the number of internally displaced persons requiring assistance, and access to some areas has been severely constrained.

27. The Cotonou Agreement provides that convoys of humanitarian assistance should travel to all areas of Liberia through the most direct routes. Since the signing of the Agreement, cross-line routes have been opened from Monrovia and Buchanan into NPFL areas to bring needed food and medical supplies to the people there. Cross-border shipments have also been initiated through Côte d'Ivoire. Some logistic difficulties have been faced, particularly due to heavy rainfall and deteriorated road conditions. In order to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance, cross-border operations, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, may be required for some time, at least until the country is unified.

28. While the problem of land mines has emerged as a significant factor, it is not as great a problem in Liberia as it is in other war-torn countries. However, the presence of mines and unexploded bombs poses a threat to the cease-fire agreement and to the population at large. They can also impede the freedom of movement of peace-keeping troops, military observers and relief workers. The mine problem in Liberia seems to be of recent origin and to be confined to anti-vehicle mines to deny road movement. No incidence has been reported, to date, of the use of anti-personnel mines. The presence of unexploded bombs has been reported and represents a hazard to the population. At present the capacity for mine clearance and bomb disposal in Liberia is limited. The planning mission reviewed various options for mine clearance. One option would be to involve civilian contractors. A less expensive and preferable option would be for at least two international mine clearance instructors to train ECOMOG engineers in mine clearance. UNOMIL and ECOMOG would coordinate the identification of mines and would assist in mine clearance. UNOMIL would ensure coordination with humanitarian agencies, ECOMOG and United Nations military observers in order to prioritize mine-clearance activities. The Liberian parties and ECOMOG agreed in principle with the planning mission to participate in this mine-clearance plan. The mine-clearance instructors would be attached to the military component of UNOMIL. ECOMOG would provide security to mine-clearance activities.

29. The signing of the Cotonou Agreement offers the promise of a permanent solution to the political and military crisis in Liberia and thus of the

resumption of normal economic and social life. Under the Agreement, the parties agree that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance to all Liberians and to create conditions that will allow refugees and displaced persons to return to their places of origin.

30. It will take some time before the Agreement is translated into real improvements in the welfare of the Liberian people, and thus it will be necessary to maintain the current range of humanitarian assistance activities for the immediate future. In addition, the programme must expand to respond to certain requirements arising from the Agreement, in particular the return of refugees, the resettlement of displaced persons and the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. A particular concern in this regard is establishing incentives and conditions needed to support the disarmament and demobilization process. Finally, the programme should reflect a shift in emphasis from relief activities towards reconstruction and rehabilitation. I intend to issue an appeal encompassing the above in the near future.

31. As there is an established United Nations humanitarian assistance operation in Liberia, the planning mission recommended that this operation be supplemented by two additional Professionals and six United Nations volunteers to be stationed in Monrovia and in the field to assist in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities. Once the plans for demobilization are more fully developed, additional personnel may be required to provide assistance to cantonment sites.

## VI. ELECTIONS

32. In accordance with the Peace Agreement, general and presidential elections are to take place approximately seven months after the signing of the Agreement. The Liberian National Transitional Government, through the Liberian Elections Commission, which consists of representatives of the three parties, will be responsible for organizing and holding elections.

33. Several problems present potential bottlenecks to the holding of elections in accordance with the schedule set down in the Agreement. To date, not all representatives of the Elections Commission have been nominated, the Executive Director of the Commission has not yet been chosen and the Elections Commission is not operational. A functioning Elections Commission is, of course, a prerequisite for any preparatory work in the electoral process to begin. As there are no electoral rolls, a registration process will have to take place before elections can be held. The electoral population is estimated to be between 1 million and 1.2 million voters. Even considering that this is a relatively small number, the normal difficulties of a registration process will be compounded in Liberia by the fact that there are refugees living outside the country who should have the opportunity to return before elections to exercise their right to vote. There are also thousands of internally displaced persons who are likely to be on the move. The movement of refugees and internally displaced persons will affect the definition of constituencies. Furthermore, the process of demobilization would have to be completed. In addition, freedom of movement would have to be guaranteed, implying that the present checkpoints between areas held by the parties would have to be eliminated, the country would have to be unified and roads would have to be opened. Even considering the

small size of the country and the relatively small population of voters, with internal movement of persons and little preparation so far begun, a timetable of elections in February/March 1994 will be very tight, although not impossible.

34. As I informed the Council in my previous report (S/26200), in February 1992, the Liberian parties had requested the United Nations to observe and verify the elections process. The ECOWAS summit, held in July 1992, also invited the Secretary-General to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process by the United Nations. With this in mind, the planning mission included an electoral advisor to assess the situation on the ground. Subject to Security Council approval, it is estimated that UNOMIL would require an electoral component composed of 13 Professionals, 40 United Nations volunteers and necessary support staff to observe and verify the elections process. The Electoral Component would be headed by a Chief Electoral Officer supported by a deputy and three other Professionals based at UNOMIL headquarters. The component would also consist of electoral units located at the four regional headquarters. Each unit would comprise a Regional Electoral Coordinator, supported by an assistant and electoral teams each consisting of two United Nations volunteers. In total, there would be 20 such teams operating out of the regional headquarters. During the voting period, electoral observers numbering around 200 would be required for a two-week period in order to monitor and verify the elections.

35. Several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have expressed interest in providing technical electoral assistance to the Liberian National Transitional Government in such areas as civic education, computerized procedures and poll officers training. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has also expressed interest in providing technical electoral assistance. I consider it essential that technical assistance in this area be coordinated with United Nations observation and verification activities. A joint mission composed of specialists from interested NGOs and a United Nations electoral specialist will, therefore, visit Liberia around mid-September to work with the Elections Commission in assessing the needs for assistance in this area and in ensuring that proposed activities are coordinated.

#### VII. OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

36. The peace process in Liberia poses a special opportunity to the United Nations in that UNOMIL would be the first peace-keeping operation undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization, in this case a subregional organization. As stated above, each mission would have its own command structure. In order for this cooperation to be successful, good communications and a clear understanding of the respective roles and the demarcation of responsibilities, as well as frequent consultation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG, will be crucial. The terms of the Peace Agreement are such that in effect UNOMIL will be expected to monitor all aspects of their implementation. This relationship could potentially present some challenges, but I am confident that with the good will of all concerned, especially the Liberian parties, this relationship will be successful and may even set a precedent for future peace-keeping missions.

37. The peace process in Liberia will face the usual problems of reintegrating demobilized soldiers into a society with little economic activity. It will also face the special problems of demobilization and reintegration into society of "child soldiers", ranging in age from 7 to 15. I consider it essential that efforts of the Liberian National Transitional Government, ECOMOG, UNOMIL, the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations be well coordinated in order to facilitate the demobilization process and to assist the reintegration of former soldiers into civilian life through programmes in community development, especially agriculture, vocational training and public works programmes. In this regard, incentives for disarmament and other measures may need to be considered. Child soldiers should receive special attention. In this connection, a senior adviser will join my Special Representative in mid-September to work with the Liberian National Transitional Government, UNOMIL, ECOMOG, the United Nations agencies and interested non-governmental organizations to develop a comprehensive cantonment, disarmament and demobilization programme. While great attention has to be paid to ex-combatants, the problems of refugees, displaced persons and other war-affected Liberians will equally need to be addressed. It is my expectation that once the existing checkpoints are eliminated and the country is unified, humanitarian assistance will be delivered to those in need in the most direct and cost-effective manner.

38. As noted in paragraph 24 above, the Security Council endorsed the proposal that the United Nations set up a trust fund which would assist in supporting the troops of participating ECOMOG countries and in the deployment of necessary additional troops. The trust fund would also, inter alia, cover demobilization and elections (S/26376). Activities such as the rehabilitation of cantonment sites, food and medical care for soldiers while at the cantonment sites, as well as support for their return to civilian life would also be assisted by the fund. In addition, the fund would provide assistance to the Liberian National Transitional Government in meeting the costs of actually holding the elections. As it is crucial for the successful implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement that sufficient resources be made available to the trust fund, I urge Member States to support the peace process in Liberia by contributing to this fund.

39. The role foreseen for the United Nations in the implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement is predicated on the assumption that the ECOMOG force will be in a position to perform the wide-ranging tasks entrusted to it by the Liberian parties. The United Nations has received the necessary assurances in this regard from ECOMOG. None the less, I must stress that should the additional troops not be deployed or should some of ECOMOG's troops be withdrawn prematurely, the successful implementation of the Peace Agreement would be in jeopardy. Obviously, without the necessary support and cooperation of ECOMOG, UNOMIL will not be able to successfully carry out its responsibilities in the peace process. In such an event, I shall immediately bring the situation to the attention of the Security Council; depending on the prevalent circumstances, I might be obliged to recommend the withdrawal of UNOMIL.

40. The successful holding of elections, which in accordance with the Peace Agreement are to take place seven months from the signing of the agreement and are scheduled for February/March 1994, would signal the end of the proposed UNOMIL operation. The Cotonou agreement provides a very tight timetable for the

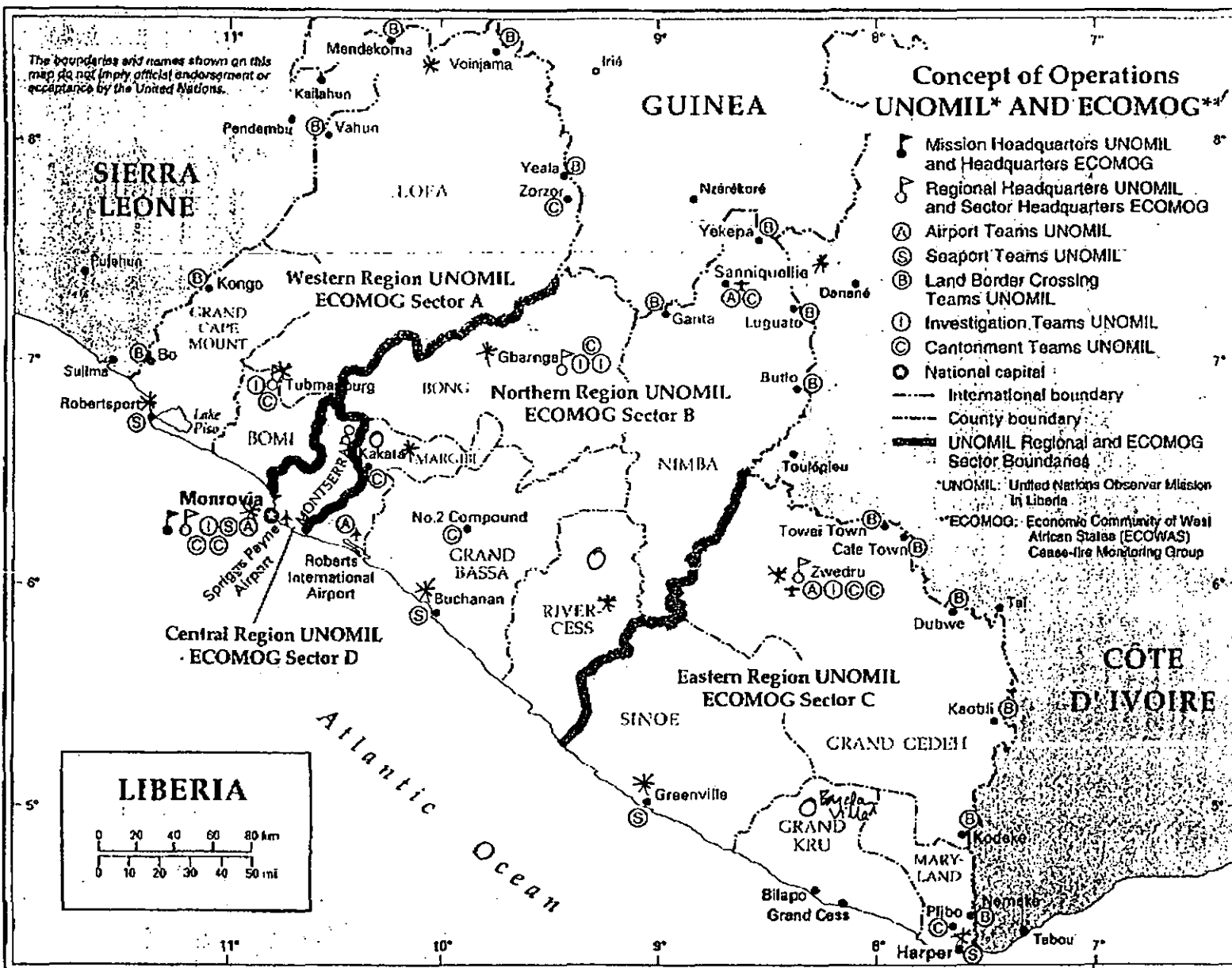


peace process leading up to elections. The Agreement forecasts that the transitional government would be established approximately one month after the signing of the agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process. While this process is already somewhat behind schedule, the establishment of the transitional government is crucial to reinforcing national reconciliation. I therefore urge ECOMOG to move quickly in commencing the disarmament process, with monitoring provided by the advance team of UNOMIL, even before full deployment of the expanded ECOMOG and UNOMIL. In this regard, it is encouraging to note that NPFL expressed to the planning mission its readiness to accept troops from among the present ECOMOG contingent to be deployed in NPFL areas. With the expected full deployment of the advance team of United Nations military observers in the coming days, the disarmament process could possibly begin immediately thereafter.

41. While all efforts are being made by the United Nations, ECOMOG and the Liberian parties to push the peace process ahead, the planning mission reported its concern over whether the process could be completed in time to permit the holding of elections in February/March 1994. This timetable, which the Liberian parties themselves agreed to in Cotonou, must be seen as a signal of their strong commitment to see the peace process through without impediment. I will therefore expect the Liberian parties to cooperate fully with ECOMOG and UNOMIL and to work together in a spirit of national reconciliation. Only under these conditions will it be possible to hold the elections on schedule in February/March 1994 and to enable the people of Liberia to begin the arduous task of rebuilding their ravaged country and to look forward to a future of peace, stability and well-being.

42. The most fundamental prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of lasting peace and stability in Liberia is that the leaders and people of Liberia should adhere to and implement faithfully the Cotonou Peace Agreement. As I have mentioned in the present report, certain difficulties and uncertainties are likely to arise as the process unfolds in the weeks and months ahead. The United Nations would be treading on fresh ground. None the less, I am satisfied that the United Nations must supplement the efforts of the people of Liberia to establish peace in their country. I therefore recommend to the Security Council that it approve the establishment and deployment of UNOMIL as set out in the present report. My recommendations for the deployment of UNOMIL have been developed with a view to ensuring that the operation is cost-effective. Preliminary cost estimates for the Mission are contained in an addendum to the present report which is being circulated separately.

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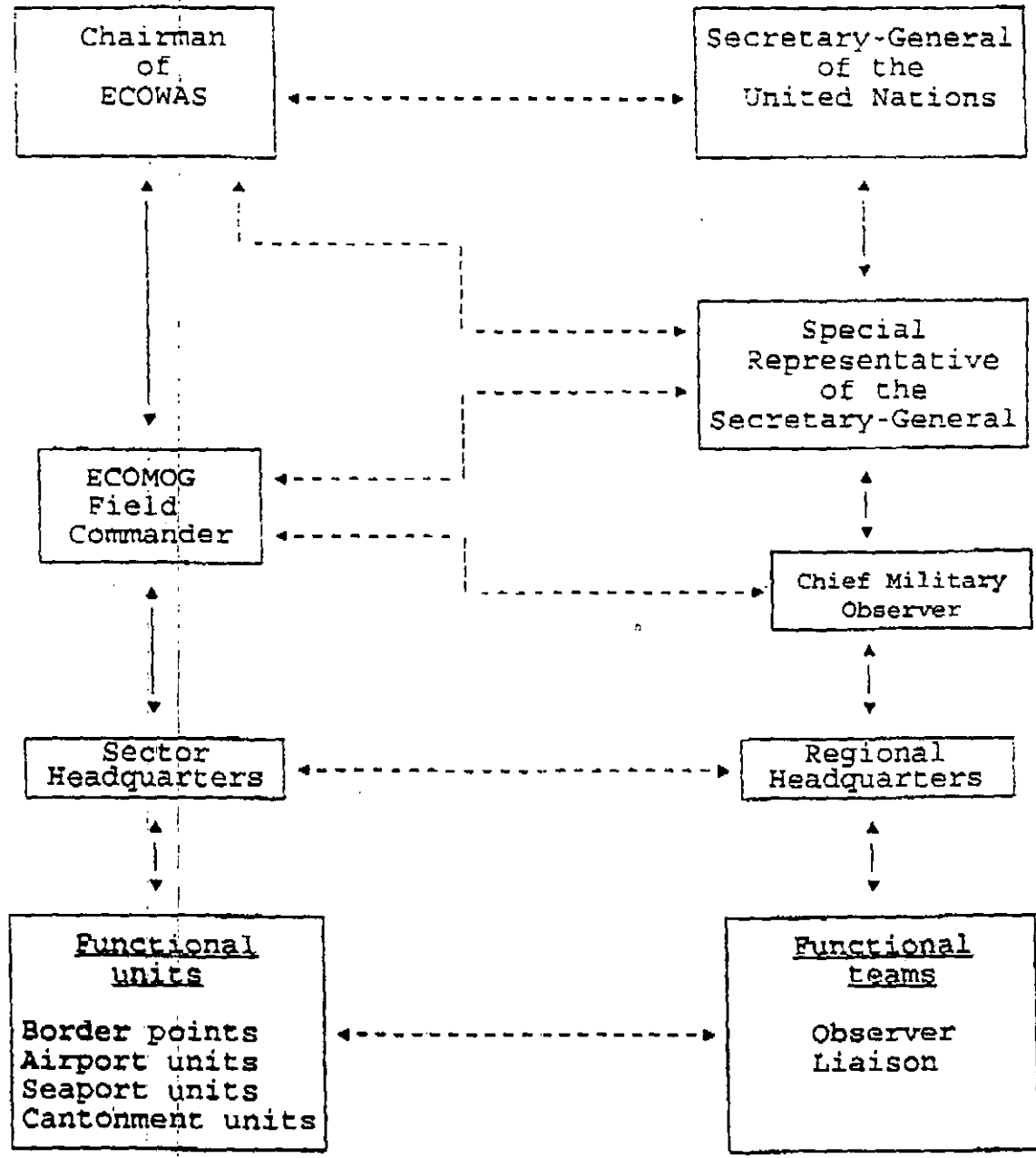
Annex I

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○ New COUNTIES  
\* COUNTY Headquarters

Annex II

Reporting relationship of  
UNOMIL and ECOMOG



**ANNEX XI**

**COTONOU PEACE AGREEMENT**

# A G R E E M E N T

THIS AGREEMENT is made this Twenty-Fifth day of July One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-Three -

BETWEEN THE Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU) of the first part AND the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) of the second part AND the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) of the third part.

## PART I

### MILITARY ISSUES

#### SECTION A

#### ARTICLE I

#### DECLARATION

1. The Parties to this Agreement hereby agree and declare a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities - to become effective at the date and time and on the conditions stipulated in Article 2 and Section C below.
2. The Parties further declare that all parties or groups within and without the perimeter of Liberia shall refrain from act(s) or activity (ies) that may violate or facilitate the violation of the ceasefire.

#### ARTICLE 2

#### EFFECTIVE DATE

The Parties also agree that the ceasefire stated hereinabove and the cessation of hostilities shall take effect seven days from the date of signing of this Agreement, commencing at 12 midnight.

#### SECTION 3

#### ARTICLE 3

#### SUPERVISORY AND MONITORING AUTHORITY

1. The ECOMOG and the UN Observer Mission shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement. The Parties hereby expressly recognize the neutrality and authority of the ECOMOG and the UN Observer Mission in respect of the foregoing. Accordingly, the ECOMOG and UN Observers shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.
2. By "ECOMOG" Peace-keeping Force is meant an expanded ECOMOG which includes the forces of ECOWAS Member States and African troops from outside the West African region.
3. The Parties agree further that in order to monitor and ensure against any violation of the ceasefire between the period of the effective date of the ceasefire and the arrival of the ECOMOG and full contingent of the UN Observer Mission, a Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee is

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hereby established which shall have the authority to monitor, investigate and report all ceasefire violations. The Committee shall comprise an equal number of representatives from each of the parties hereto, ECOMOG and an advance team of the UN Observer Mission. Each group of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee shall be chaired by the UN Observer in the group. It shall freely travel throughout the country. This Committee shall automatically be dissolved and deemed to be dissolved upon the arrival and deployment of the ECOMOG and the full contingent of the UN Observer Mission.

SECTION C  
ARTICLE 4

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The Parties hereby state further that they have agreed to the ceasefire stipulated above on the following terms and conditions:

1. Prohibitions upon the Parties:

The parties agree not to:




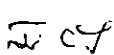
- a) import any weapons and war-like materials by any means into Liberia;
- b) use the period of the ceasefire to engage in any military build-up whether in manpower or armaments; or
- c) engage in any other activity that would violate or result in the violation of the ceasefire.

2. Adherence to Stipulations on Military Embargo

The Parties recognize and accept that the military embargo imposed on and upon all warring parties by ECOWAS and the United Nations Security Council shall remain in full force and effect.

3. Creation of Buffer Zones

The ECOMOG shall create buffer zones or otherwise seal the borders, whichever is militarily feasible, of Liberia-Guinea, Liberia-Sierra Leone and Liberia-Côte d'Ivoire to prevent cross-border attacks, infiltration or importation of arms. There shall be deployed UN Observers in all of such zones to monitor, verify and report on any and all of the foregoing and the implementation thereof.

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4. Monitoring and Supervision of Entry Points

All points of entry including, sea ports, airfields and roads shall be monitored and supervised by the ECOMOG. There shall be deployed UN Observers to monitor, verify and report on the implementation of the foregoing activities.

5. Position of Warring Parties at Declaration of Ceasefire

The warring parties shall remain and maintain their positions held as at the effective date of this ceasefire, until the commencement of encampment.

SECTION D  
ARTICLE 5.

ACTS OF VIOLATION

1. The Parties hereto hereby agree to honour every and all provisions of this Agreement, and stipulate that any party committing any acts of violations shall be held liable for such violations.
2. The following acts shall constitute violation of the ceasefire:
  - a) importation of arms and ammunition, incendiary devices and other war-related items;
  - b) changing or improvement of existing positions or fortification or alteration of existing positions;
  - c) attack (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the position of any warring faction by another, or firing at an individual of a warring faction established to have been carried out at the instance of the authority of the warring party to which he/she belongs;
  - d) the systematic use of conventional or unconventional weapons (i.e. knives, cutlasses, bows and arrows, etc);
  - e) recruitment and training of combatants and/or groups of persons after the effective date of this Agreement;
  - f) any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties;
  - g) planting of mines and incendiary devices subsequent to the effective date of the ceasefire; refusal to disclose the existence of or places where such devices

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or mines have been planted; and deliberate failure to cooperate or furnish maps (where available) where such devices have been planted;

- h) obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party or its authorized agent;
- i) harassments or attacks upon the ECOMOG, the UN Observer Mission or the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee.
- j) obstructions of the activities of the ECOMOG, UN Observers and the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee.

SECTION E  
ARTICLE 6

DISARMAMENT

Disarmament being the ultimate objective of the ceasefire, the Parties hereto agree and express their intent and willingness to disarm to and under the supervision of the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the UN Observer Mission. In conformity therewith, the parties agree that:

1. All weapons and warlike materials collected shall be stored by the ECOMOG in armouries designated by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers.
2. All weapons and warlike materials in the possession of the parties shall be given to the ECOMOG, monitored by UN Observers, upon appropriate recording and inventory, and placed in designated armouries.
3. Said armouries shall be secured by the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers, upon proper documentation or inventory of all weapons and warlike materials received.
4. Each of the warring factions shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers, upon proper inventory. Such weapons and warlike materials, upon inventory, shall be taken to the designated armouries by ECOMOG, under the monitoring and verification of UN Observers.
5. All non-combatants who are in possession of weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after the elections.

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*Enforcement will be the final step after the violation - 5 -*

- 6. The ECOMOG shall have the authority to disarm any combatant or non-combatant in possession of weapons and warlike materials. The UN Observers shall monitor all such activities.
- 7. For the sole purpose of maintaining the ceasefire, the ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and monitored by the UN Observers.

*use of force sanctions by UN*

SECTION F  
ARTICLE 7

ENCAMPMENT

1. Purpose

- a) The Parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants in encampment centers established by the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers, the purpose of which shall be, in addition to the disarmament and demobilization, to serve as a transit point for the further education, training and rehabilitation of said combatants; and
- b) Consistent with the above, the parties agree to submit to the ECOMOG and the UN Observers, a complete listing of their combatants and weapons and warlike materials and their locations to the nearest encampment centers.

2. Commencement of Encampment

The Parties agree that encampment shall commence immediately upon the deployment of the ECOMOG and UN Observer Mission. Copies of the schedule of encampment shall be furnished to all the parties hereto.

3. Identification and Security of Encampment Sites

In consultation with the Parties, the ECOMOG and the UN Observer Mission shall identify locations for encampment. Security of encampment sites shall be provided by the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers.

SECTION G  
ARTICLE 8

PEACE ENFORCEMENT POWERS

- 1. It is also agreed upon that the ECOMOG shall have the right to self-defence where it has been physically attacked by any warring faction hereto.
- 2. There shall be established, upon deployment of the ECOMOG and the full contingent of the UN Observer Mission, a Violation Committee consisting of one person from each of

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the parties hereto and the ECOMOG and UN Observer Mission, chaired by a member of the UN Observer Mission.

- 3. All violations of the ceasefire shall be reported to the UN Observer Mission/Observers who shall, immediately upon receipt of the information of violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violations can be cured by the UN Observers, they shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, the UN Observers shall submit their findings to the Violation Committee. The Violation Committee shall invite the violating party/(ies) for the purpose of having such party/(ies) take corrective measures to cure the violations within such time frame as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating party not take the required corrective measures, the ECOMOG shall be informed thereof and shall thereupon resort to the use of its peace enforcement powers against the violator.

*How does one  
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positive difference  
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to ensure compliance  
of UN/ECOMOG  
through disarmament  
- disarmament  
use of force will  
be authorized by ECOMOG*

*to determine  
making  
etc.*

**SECTION H**  
**ARTICLE 9**

**DEMOBILIZATION**

- 1. The Parties hereby agree that any warring faction or factions that may have non-Liberian fighters or mercenaries shall repatriate such persons, or when found, upon evidence, shall be expelled by the Government of the Republic of Liberia.
- 2. Further, the parties hereby call upon the United Nations, other international organisations and countries, to programme and finance the process of demobilization, retraining, rehabilitation and re-absorption of all former combatants to normal social and community life.
- 3. It is agreed by the Parties hereto that each party shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of ceasefire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

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SECTION I  
ARTICLE 10

PRISONERS OF WAR

The Parties hereby agree that upon signing of this Agreement all prisoners of war and detainees shall be immediately released to the Red Cross authority in an area where such prisoners or detainees are detained, for onward transmission to encampment sites or the authority of the prisoner of war or detainee. Common criminals are not covered by this provision.

SECTION J  
ARTICLE 11

SUBMISSION BY PARTIES TO AUTHORITY OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

Consistent with the provisions of paragraph (5) of Article 14 of this Agreement, all Parties agree to submit themselves to the authority of the Transitional Government.

SECTION K  
ARTICLE 12

SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

Schedules of implementation of this Agreement, including a schedule for disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, shall be drawn by the ECOMOG and the UN Observers. This schedule of implementation shall be given to each of the warring parties prior to implementation. The parties undertake that they will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

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PART II  
POLITICAL ISSUES  
SECTION A  
ARTICLE 13

REVIEW AND REAFFIRMATION OF THE YAMO USSOUKRO ACCORDS

The Parties to this Agreement reaffirm that the Yamoussoukro Accords provide the best framework for peace in Liberia, noting the links between the ECOWAS Peace Plan and the Yamoussoukro Accords.

SECTION B  
ARTICLE 14  
STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

1. The Parties observe that Liberia is a unitary state and as such agree to form a single transitional government, styled THE LIBERIA NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. The authority of the transitional government shall extend throughout the territorial limits of the Republic of Liberia.
2. The mandate of the transitional government is to provide essential government services during the transitional period and to also hold and supervise general and presidential elections in accordance with the ECOWAS Peace Plan. The Transitional Legislature Assembly or the Council of State shall have power to enact or cause to be enacted any rule(s), regulation(s) or laws or take any action(s) which may facilitate the holding of free and fair democratic elections.
3. Formal installation of the Council of State shall take place in Monrovia, the Capital City of the Republic of Liberia, and the Council of State shall also be permanently headquartered there.
4. The Parties further agree that the aforesaid transitional government shall be selected in accordance with the below listed provisions and installed in approximately thirty (30) days of the date of signature of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process. Upon the installation of the transitional government, both IGNU and NPRAG shall cease to exist and shall be deemed dissolved.
5. The Parties further agree that the transitional government shall operate as closely as practicable under the Constitution and laws of Liberia.
6. The Parties further agree, warrant and promise that from the date of signature of this Agreement, no loans shall be negotiated or contracted in the name of or on behalf of the Liberian Government except to ensure the carrying out of the operations and activities of governmental and other public services. All financial transactions entered into

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by the Transitional Government shall be formally submitted to the Transitional Legislative Assembly for ratification.



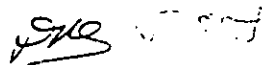
7. The Parties also agree that the transitional government shall have three branches: Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

Executive

- i) The Parties further agree that during the transitional period, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five (5) member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties shall appoint one (1) member to the Council, whilst the remaining two (2) shall be selected in accordance with the following procedure:

Each of the Parties shall nominate three (3) eminent Liberians who together shall select two (2) of their number to be additional members of the Council.

- ii) Each Party shall submit the name of its appointee to the Council and also the names of its three (3) nominees in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph to the office of the current Chairman of ECOWAS within a period of 7 (seven) days from the date of signature of this Agreement. Copies of the list of these names shall also be forwarded to each of the Parties.
- iii) The Parties shall, not later than 3 (three) days from submission of the aforesaid names, jointly and mutually determine the time and venue for the selection of the two (2) additional members of the Council. This entire selection process shall not exceed 10 (ten) days after the determination of the time and place of the meeting. If at the appointed place and time, any of the nominees fail to appear, the nominating party shall forfeit its right to renominate any other person(s), and the selection process shall proceed.
- iv) Proof of the selection of the two additional Council members shall be made by a written statement signed by all the nominees (excluding the two nominees selected) who participated in the selection process confirming same. The statement shall be forwarded to the current Chairman of ECOWAS with copy to each of the Parties.
- v) The Council shall select from amongst its members a Chairman and two (2) Vice-Chairmen.

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- vi) The Council shall conduct and be responsible for the day-to-day operation of government. All decisions shall be made by consensus of all the members.
- vii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate procedural rules in respect of its operation.
- viii) The Parties shall, in consultation with each other, determine the allocation of cabinet posts.

Judicial

- 8. The Parties further agree that for purposes of continuity, there shall be no change in the existing structure of the Supreme Court. ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the fifth member of the Court to fill the vacancy which currently exists. The nominee by ULIMO to the Supreme court shall meet the established criteria and successfully undergo a screening by his or her peers in the Court.

Legislature

- 9. The Parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall be a unicameral body composed of thirty five (35) members. Both IGNU and NPFL shall each be entitled to thirteen (13) members, and ULIMO, nine (9) members. The Parties agree that ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the Speaker from one of its members in the Assembly.

SECTION C  
ARTICLE 15  
ELECTIONS MODALITIES

- 1. The Parties agree that in order to enhance the inclusive nature of the transitional government, ULIMO shall have the right to nominate two members to the Elections Commission, thus expanding the existing Elections Commission to seven members. For the purpose of continuity the present structure shall remain the same.
- 2. Supreme Court: The Supreme Court shall adjudicate all matters arising out of the elections during the transition, in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the country;
- 3. Voters Registration: Voters Registration shall commence as soon as possible having due regard for the need to expedite repatriation;
- 4. Observers and Monitors: The transitional government and the Elections Commission will work out the modalities for the participation of Observers and Monitors in the electoral process.

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5. Financing : Financing will be sought from the national and international communities.
6. The Parties agree that the elections to be conducted shall conform to the several United Nations and internationally accepted code of conduct and the Elections Commission shall, accordingly be guided thereby.

SECTION D  
ARTICLE 16

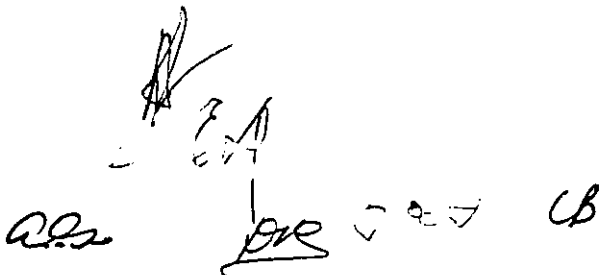
TENURE AND MANDATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

- 1) The transitional government shall be installed approximately one month after the signing of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process.
- 2) The transitional government shall have a life span of approximately six (6) months commencing from the date of its installation.
- 3) General and presidential elections shall take place approximately seven (7) months from the signature of this Agreement.
- 4) Holders of positions of leadership within the Transitional Government (i.e. Members of the Council of State, Supreme Court Justices, Members of the Elections Commission, Cabinet Ministers, Members of the Transitional Legislative Assembly, Managing Directors or Heads of Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies) shall be ineligible to contest the election provided for in paragraph 3 of this Article.

SECTION E  
ARTICLE 17

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

The Parties agree that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance to all Liberians, particularly children, who are malnourished and suffering from related diseases. Convoys of humanitarian assistance should travel to all areas of Liberia through the most direct routes, under inspection to ensure compliance with the sanctions and embargo provisions of this Agreement.

  
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SECTION F  
ARTICLE 18  
REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

1. The Parties hereby commit themselves to immediately and permanently bring to an end any further external or internal displacement of Liberians and to create the conditions that will allow all refugees and displaced persons to, respectively, voluntarily repatriate and return to Liberia to their places of origin or habitual residence under conditions of safety and dignity.
2. The Parties further call upon Liberian refugees and displaced persons to return to Liberia and to their places of origin or habitual residence and declare that they shall not be jeopardized in any ethnic, political, religious, regional or geographical considerations.
3. The Parties also call upon the relevant organizations of the United Nations system, particularly the UNHCR and UNDP, other inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, to implement programmes for the voluntary repatriation, return and reintegration of the Liberian refugees and internally displaced persons.
4. The Parties proclaim that they shall, jointly or individually, cooperate in all necessary ways with themselves and with the above-mentioned organizations in order to facilitate the repatriation, return and reintegration of the refugees and displaced persons. Amongst others, they agree to:
  - a) establish all necessary mechanisms or arrangements, such as joint repatriation committees, which would facilitate contacts, communications and work with the relevant organizations for purposes of implementing the repatriation, return and reintegration operation and to enable effective decision-making and implementation of the relevant activities;
  - b) facilitate access by UNHCR and other organizations to the refugees and displaced persons who have returned so as to deliver the necessary humanitarian assistance and programmes and monitor their situation;
  - c) guarantee and provide security to UNHCR and the other relevant organizations, their staff, vehicles, equipment and resources necessary to carry out their work;

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- d) provide all other necessary facilities and support that will be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the return, voluntary repatriation and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons.

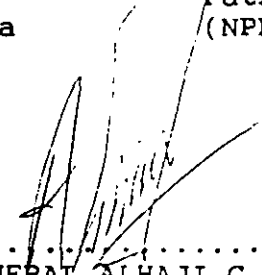
SECTION G  
ARTICLE 19  
GENERAL AMNESTY

The Parties hereby agree that upon the execution of this Agreement there shall be a general amnesty granted to all persons and parties involved in the Liberian civil conflict in the course of actual military engagements. Accordingly, acts committed by the parties or by their forces while in actual combat or on authority of any of the parties in the course of actual combat are hereby granted amnesty. Similarly, the Parties agree that business transactions legally carried out by any of the Parties hereto with private business institutions in accordance with the laws of Liberia shall in like manner be covered by the amnesty herein granted.

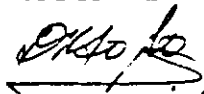
DONE AT COTONOU, REPUBLIC OF BENIN, IN SEVEN ORIGINAL COPIES  
THIS TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF JULY 1993

  
.....  
AMOS CLAUDIUS SAYWER  
President of the Interim  
Government of National  
Unity of Liberia  
for and on behalf of the  
Interim Government of  
National Unity of Liberia  
(IGNU)

  
.....  
ENOCH DOGOLEA  
Vice-President of the  
National Patriotic Front  
of Liberia for and on  
behalf of the National  
Patriotic Front of Liberia  
(NPFL/NPRAG)

  
.....  
MAJOR-GENERAL ALHAJI G.V. KROMAH  
Leader of the United Liberation  
Movement of Liberia for Democracy  
for and on behalf of the United  
Liberation Movement of Liberia for  
Democracy (ULIMO)

WITNESSED BY



.....  
HIS EXCELLENCY NICEPHORE DIEUDONNE SOGLO  
President of the Republic of Benin  
and Current Chairman of ECOWAS



.....  
DR. JAMES O.C. JONAH  
Under-Secretary-General,  
Department of Political Affairs, United Nations  
for and on behalf of the Secretary-General  
of the United Nations



.....  
Rev. Professor CANAAN BANANA  
OAU Eminent Person for Liberia  
for and on behalf of the Secretary-General  
of the Organization of African Unity