

# United Nations Arms Embargoes

## Their Impact on Arms Flows and Target Behaviour

### Case study: Liberia, 1992–2006

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This is one of a series of case studies on United Nations arms embargoes. Drawing on the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database and other open sources, these case studies analyse arms flows before, during and after a UN arms embargo has been established. These case studies were researched and written by members of the SIPRI Arms Transfers Project to inform a report by SIPRI and the Uppsala University Special Program on the Implementation of Targeted Sanctions (SPITS), *United Nations Arms Embargoes: Their Impact on Arms Flows and Target Behaviour* (SIPRI: Stockholm, 2007). This report and the case studies are available at <[http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=356](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=356)>.

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## I. Introduction

The first Liberian civil war began when Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) invaded in December 1989. The number of warring factions and casualties quickly multiplied, with an estimated 200 000 killed during the period 1989–1996. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 788 (1992) established a blanket coverage arms embargo on Liberia, supporting West African efforts to achieve peace in Liberia. The UN arms embargo was not lifted following the end of the first Liberian civil war and Taylor's 1997 presidential election victory. Taylor's government was accused of destabilising the West African sub-region, exacerbating cleavages within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and fomenting conflict in neighbouring states directly as a result of the second Liberian civil war (1999–2003). The arms embargo imposed by Resolution 788 (1992) was lifted by Resolution 1343 (2001). Resolution 1343 (2001) also re-imposed an UN arms embargo making Liberia the first state to be subjected to an UN arms embargo for secondary support in the supply of arms to the target of another UN arms embargo—in this case the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone. Taylor's forces struggled to defeat rebel forces in the second Liberian civil war and Taylor left office for exile in Nigeria in 2003. The UN arms embargo imposed by Resolution 1343 (2001) was renewed by Resolution 1521 (2003), with a new set of demands. Resolution 1683 (2006) partially lifted the arms embargo for arms transfers to the Liberian government.

Section II of this case study gives a brief overview of the first Liberian civil war's main actors and the role of ECOWAS members in prolonging and attempting to stop the conflict. Some of the main suspected arms transfer relationships between warring factions and neighbouring states are also discussed in this section. Section III considers the targets, scope, coverage and demands of the UN arms embargoes imposed on Liberia from 1992 onwards. Problems with monitoring and enforcing UN arms embargoes on Liberia are also discussed, along with suspected transfers to embargoed targets during the embargo period. The case study concludes with some thoughts on the obstacles to achieving the aims of the UN arms embargoes on Liberia and their impact on target behaviour.

## II. Background

The origins of the first Liberian civil war (1989–1996) have been widely discussed, with a range of historical, cultural/ethnic, political, social and economic factors cited as the underlying causes of a conflict that claimed an estimated 200 000 lives.<sup>1</sup> The roots of the conflict lie with the seizure of power by former Master Sergeant Samuel Doe in a military coup in April 1980, when President William Tolbert and a number of prominent Americo-Liberian political figures were assassinated. Although Doe's regime

<sup>1</sup> The background section of this paper has relied primarily upon the following sources: Adebajo, A., *Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG, and Regional Security in West Africa* (Lynn Rienner: London and Boulder, 2002); Alao, A., Macknlly, J. and Olonisakin, F., *Peacekeepers, Politicians and Warlords: The Liberian Peace Process* (United Nations University Press: Tokyo, New York, Paris, 1999); Klay Kieh Jr, G., 'Irregular warfare and Liberia's first civil war', *Journal of International and Area Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2004), pp. 57–77; and Klay Kieh Jr, G., 'Combatants, patrons, peacemakers, and the Liberian civil conflict', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 15 (1992), pp. 125–43. The estimate of 200 000 conflict-related deaths is taken from United Nations, Final Report of the Secretary General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, UN Document S/1997/712, 12 Sep. 1997, p. 5.

received economic and military assistance from the USA,<sup>2</sup> it was not well received by West African states such as Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso).<sup>3</sup> These states harboured refugees from the Tolbert regime, including dissident groups, such as the NPFL. Following Doe's victory in the rigged October 1985 elections, Brigadier General Thomas Quiwonkpa, founder of the NPFL, led a failed military coup against Doe from Sierra Leone. Doe responded by indiscriminately killing several thousand ethnic Gios and Manos, an episode which 'more than any other, set the stage for the exploitation of ethnic rivalries that would eventually culminate in Liberia's civil war'.<sup>4</sup>

On 24 December 1989, Charles Taylor and 168 NPFL fighters entered Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire with the aim of removing Doe from power. Taylor's forces quickly grew and by the time that Doe was executed in September 1990 the NPFL controlled an estimated 90 per cent of Liberia. One of the defining features of the first Liberian civil war was the rapid proliferation of rival factions, as the NPFL splintered and new warlords and rebel factions emerged. By 1991, five warring factions vied for control of large swathes of territory outside the Liberian capital Monrovia, using revenues from Liberia's mineral and timber resources to fund their acquisitions of arms, ammunition and other supplies—Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), Lofa Defence Force (LDF), Liberian Peace Council (LPC), National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO).<sup>5</sup>

ECOWAS used diplomatic means and military force in its efforts to achieve peace in Liberia, brokering 13 peace agreements throughout the course of the first Liberian civil war, including most significantly the Yamoussoukro (1991) and Abuja (1995–1996) peace agreements.<sup>6</sup> It also established its first ever 'peace-making mission', the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which arrived in Liberia to a hostile welcome from the NPFL in August 1990.<sup>7</sup> Both the diplomatic and military avenues pursued by ECOWAS to achieve peace and support transitional governments were undermined by the fact that ECOWAS member states supported different warring factions politically, financially and militarily throughout the conflict. The decision to establish ECOMOG was opposed by the leaders of Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, who supported Charles Taylor and assisted with NPFL arms acquisitions. In contrast, the political leadership of Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone staunchly opposed the possibility of a Charles Taylor government, sending troops and equipment to Liberia for ECOMOG and cooperating militarily with ULIMO and other anti-Taylor factions.

<sup>2</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Côte d'Ivoire's President Félix Houphouët-Boigny was particularly critical of Doe and his regime. Houphouët-Boigny's animosity apparently stemmed from the fact that Doe had murdered Benedict Tolbert, the son of President William Tolbert and husband of Houphouët-Boigny's adopted daughter. Another of Houphouët-Boigny's son-in-laws was Blaise Compaoré, who became leader of Burkina Faso in 1987 and was also an opponent of Doe's regime.

<sup>4</sup> Adebajo, A., *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau* (Lynne Rienner: London and Boulder, 2002), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> For more detailed discussions of these factions see: Klay Kieh Jr, 'Irregular warfare' (note 1), pp. 68–71; and Klay Kieh Jr, 'Combatants' (note 1), pp. 131–33.

<sup>6</sup> The main peace agreements can be found in the Chronology. For a more detailed discussion of the various peace-talks, conferences and agreements see: Adebajo (note 1).

<sup>7</sup> ECOMOG has received a considerable number of critical academic assessments, as well as having its acronym interpreted as standing for 'Every Car Or Moving Object Goes'. Adebajo (note 1); and Howe, H., 'Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping', *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1996/1997), pp. 145–76.

#### 4 UNITED NATIONS ARMS EMBARGOES

ECOWAS was instrumental in the imposition of UN sanctions on Liberia's warring factions. The threat of economic sanctions issued at the July 1992 ECOWAS annual summit (Dakar, Senegal) was not acted upon following the expiration of the 30 days given to the NPFL to disarm. On 20 October 1992 ECOWAS declared that sanctions would be imposed upon warring factions that did not comply with an immediate cease-fire and begin work towards implementing the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement. A week later, it requested the UN to assist with the imposition of an arms embargo and sanctions on the export of products from areas controlled by parties that did not comply with the provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement. On 19 November 1992, UN Resolution 788 (1992) imposed a blanket coverage arms embargo on Liberia, calling for an end to violence and implementation of the peace process outlined within the Yamoussoukro IV Agreement.

**Table 1.** Summary of possible/suspected sources and secondary support for arms transfers to warring factions in Liberia before the arms embargo

Recipient	Source of arms	Secondary support	Non-state actors
AFL	Israel, Nigeria, Romania, South Korea, Switzerland, USA	Israel, USA	Logging and mineral extraction companies
INPFL	ECOMOG	USA	
LDF	ECOMOG		
LPC	ECOMOG, Europe	Nigeria	
NPFL	Europe, former Warsaw Pact and Soviet states	Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Libya	Logging and mineral extraction companies; brokers; Liberians in the USA
ULIMO	ECOMOG, Europe	Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone	Liberians in the USA

#### Arms transfers before the arms embargo

There is scant information on the exact quantities and types of arms entering Liberia during the period between the beginning of the Liberian civil war in December 1989 and the imposition of the UN arms embargo in November 1992. Based upon the data available it would be reasonable to assume that Kalashnikov rifles, Rocket Propelled Grenade (RPG) launchers, mortars, heavy machine guns and associated ammunition from former Warsaw Pact and Soviet arsenals formed the bulk of the arms shipments being transferred into Liberia at this time. According to an expert witness at a US House of Representatives' hearing on Liberia, Liberian factions purchased most of their arms and ammunition 'on the grey market through private dealers in various countries, primarily Europe' with 'almost all weapons reaching Liberia transit countries in the region'.<sup>8</sup> It was also noted that 'none of the factions keep large inventories' of arms,

<sup>8</sup> 'Statement of William Twaddell, Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Department of State', Markup of H. Con. Res. 42, *Bloody Hands: Foreign Support for Liberian Warlords*, Markup and Hearing Before the

instead relying on a ‘steady supply of arms’. Therefore, in theory, an effective arms embargo would have been able to significantly disrupt the fighting capabilities of the Liberian warring factions.

#### *Arms transfers to the Doe regime*

By the late 1980s the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) were estimated to be 5,800 strong.<sup>9</sup> During the early 1980s, Liberia had received almost \$500 million in US economic and military aid, ‘making it the largest recipient of US assistance in sub-Saharan Africa’.<sup>10</sup> In addition to US assistance, Doe’s AFL, and in particular his paramilitary Executive Mansion Guard and Special Anti-Terrorist Unit troops, allegedly received arms and training from Israeli, UK and US companies in exchange for logging and mineral extraction rights.<sup>11</sup> By the mid-1980s, the AFL inventory reportedly consisted of mortars, towed guns, light aircraft, rifles from the US, transport aircraft from Israel and armoured personnel carriers (APCs) from Switzerland.<sup>12</sup>

In 1985, \$14 million worth of US military assistance was granted to Liberia. However, following Doe’s 1985 election, military aid dropped to \$4.7 million in 1986 and fell again in 1988.<sup>13</sup> Although the USA was initially supportive of Doe’s regime, AFL atrocities committed in June 1990 proved to be the final excuse for cutting off all support for Doe’s regime.<sup>14</sup> As a result of declining support from its traditional benefactor and perceived threats in the region, Doe turned to Israel, Romania, Nigeria and South Korea to meet his military equipment needs.<sup>15</sup> Despite this injection of new military equipment, ‘the majority of the soldiers were ill-equipped’.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Arms transfers to the NPFL*

NPFL forces received arms and training from Libya and Burkina Faso in exchange for removing Doe’s US-client regime from power.<sup>17</sup> Libya was reportedly ‘the NPFL’s principal arms supplier’, while Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire served as transit points for arms as well as offering advisors and fighters.<sup>18</sup> According to one report, three shipments of Kalashnikov rifles, RPG launchers and ammunition were transported from Bulgaria to Côte d’Ivoire by air in November 1989.<sup>19</sup> The arms and ammunition were allegedly purchased by Libya through a German arms dealer and Swiss fiduciary company. This support helped make the NPFL the best-equipped rebel faction during the first Liberian civil war.<sup>20</sup>

Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 104th Congress, Second Session, (27-320 CC), 26 Jun. 1996, pp. 10–11.

<sup>9</sup> *The Military Balance 1988–1989* (Brassey’s: London, 1988), p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> Cortright, D. and Lopez, G. A., *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s* (Lynne Rienner: Boulder and London, 2000), p. 189.

<sup>11</sup> Reno, W., *Warlord Politics and African States* (Lynne Rienner: Boulder and London, 1999), pp. 88–89.

<sup>12</sup> SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, <<http://armstrade.sipri.org/>>.

<sup>13</sup> Adebajo (note 1), pp. 35–36; Curtis, P. K. and Branaman, B., *Liberia’s Civil War* (Congressional Research Service Report for Congress: Washington D.C., 95-883 F, 10 Aug. 1995), p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, ‘Combatants’ (note 1), pp. 132–33.

<sup>15</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, ‘Irregular warfare’ (note 1), 2004, p. 71.

<sup>17</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, ‘Irregular warfare’ (note 1), pp. 68–69.

<sup>18</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, ‘Combatants’ (note 1), pp. 132–33.

<sup>19</sup> ‘Libya Arming Liberian Rebels’, *Mednews*, 28 May 1990, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, ‘Irregular warfare’ (note 1), pp. 68–69.



The leaders of Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Libya were motivated by a mixture of political and personal reasons for removing Doe from power, but they also benefited financially from supplying Taylor's forces with arms and ammunition. Although wealthy Americo-Liberian émigrés helped to fund military campaigns,<sup>21</sup> revenues received from the illegal sales of, and extraction rights for, Liberian diamond, gold, iron ore, rubber and timber resources enabled Taylor to pay his supporters and arms dealers. In this regard, Taylor simply replaced Doe in the chain-linking international resource and extraction companies, arms dealers and Liberia.<sup>22</sup> For example, it was known that Ivorian and French extraction companies established commercial ties with Taylor in the early 1990s, while former British soldiers were apparently involved in arranging 'arms-for-logs swaps' on Taylor's behalf.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Arms transfers to other rebel factions*

There have been accusations that the USA assisted 'Prince' Yeduo Johnson's INPFL with arms, intelligence and transportation, but these have been denied by US officials.<sup>24</sup> However, a strategic decision was made by the Nigerian leadership of ECOMOG to supply the INPFL with arms and ammunition.<sup>25</sup> Guinea also allegedly used its ECOMOG contingent to funnel arms and ammunition to the ULIMO and LDF anti-Taylor rebel factions.<sup>26</sup> Individual ECOMOG unit commanders and troops were also accused of selling weapons to different factions. Rebel factions also seized ECOMOG heavy weapons and military equipment following the capture of ECOMOG peacekeepers,<sup>27</sup> and in one case the INPFL ransomed a platoon of Nigerians for two 105-mm howitzers.<sup>28</sup>

### III. The arms embargo

Resolution 788 (1992) decided that all States shall:

immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia until the Security Council decides otherwise.<sup>29</sup>

Exceptions were explicitly made for the 'weapons and military equipment for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia'.<sup>30</sup> The justification for the arms embargo included violations of the 28 November 1990 ceasefire, attacks on ECOMOG and ECOWAS requests for UN involvement. The primary aim of the arms embargo was

<sup>21</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, 'Irregular warfare' (note 1), pp. 68–70.

<sup>22</sup> Reno (note 11), p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 54; *Bloody Hands: Foreign Support for Liberian Warlords*, Markup and Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 104th Congress, Second Session, (27-320 CC), 26 Jun. 1996, p. 6; Global Witness (GW), *The Usual Suspects: Liberia's weapons and mercenaries in Cote d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone* (GW: London, 31 Mar. 2003), p. 7; Hubbard, M., 'Britain helps to turn logs into Liberian rebel arms', *The Guardian*, 25 Jun. 1991; and Reno (note 11), p. 97.

<sup>24</sup> Klay Kieh Jr, 'Combatants' (note 1), p. 134; and Klay Kieh Jr, 'Irregular warfare' (note 1), p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> Howe (note 7), pp. 156–57; and 'Statement of William Twaddell', 26 Jun. 1996, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 137; and Klay Kieh Jr, 'Irregular warfare' (note 1), p. 70.

<sup>27</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> Howe (note 7), p. 155.

<sup>29</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 788, 19 Nov. 1992.

<sup>30</sup> United Nations (note 29).

to compel the warring factions to reach a peaceful political settlement to the conflict. No mention was made of sanctions against products exported from areas controlled by warring parties or for a specific monitoring mechanism.

It has been argued that the UNSC's reluctance to enact stronger sanctions 'reflected scepticism over ECOMOG's role in the conflict, Western antipathy toward Nigeria's military government and French commercial connections to the NPFL'.<sup>31</sup> Other factors cited include the fact that the Liberian civil war occurred in a geopolitically insignificant part of the post-cold war world during the conflict in the Gulf and also that Côte d'Ivoire managed to effectively use its time in the UNSC to argue that the issue should be dealt with by ECOWAS alone.<sup>32</sup> This combination of factors gave the impression that the UNSC was willing to support ECOWAS initiatives, but unwilling to make a significant contribution.<sup>33</sup>

The arms embargo remained in place after the implementation of a number of key elements of the Abuja II Peace Accord (August 1996) and Taylor's landslide victory in the July 1997 presidential elections. Taylor and his government appealed to the international community to lift the arms embargo, basing their appeals upon the fact that they represented a legitimately elected government and could not defend themselves against attacks from a new rebel movement, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD).<sup>34</sup> It is ironic that the arms embargo was probably not lifted due to allegations that Taylor was involved in funding and arming rebel groups in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire,<sup>35</sup> while Guinea and Sierra Leone were allegedly supporting rebel movements, such as LURD, in Liberia. However, the arms embargo imposed by Resolution 788 (1992) was finally terminated by Resolution 1343 (2001), which noted that 'the conflict in Liberia has been resolved'. Resolution 1343 (2001) also introduced a new arms embargo on Liberia.<sup>36</sup>

Resolution 1343 (2001) demanded that 'the Government of Liberia immediately cease its support for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone and for other armed groups in the region', outlining measures to be undertaken by the Liberian

<sup>31</sup> Cortright and Lopez (note 10), p. 189. Others have noted that France was not the only member of the UNSC to have commercial connections to the NPFL and its natural resource exports. For example, see: 'Statement of James Bishop, Former US Ambassador to Liberia', *Bloody Hands* (note 23), pp. 21–23.

<sup>32</sup> Sesay, M.A., 'Civil War and Collective Intervention in Liberia', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 67 (1996), pp. 40–41.

<sup>33</sup> See for example, United Nations, Note by the President of the Security Council on 'The Situation in Liberia', UN Document S/22133, 22 Jan. 1991; and United Nations, Note by the President of the Security Council on 'The Situation in Liberia', UN Document S/23886, 7 May . 1992.

<sup>34</sup> Liberian Deputy Information Minister Milton Teahjay and Foreign Minister Monie Captan visited London and New York respectively in the summer of 1999, against a backdrop of rebel incursions into Liberia from Guinea and Sierra Leone. ('Liberia launches offensive against UN arms embargo', *Monrovia Star Radio*, 23 Aug. 1999; and Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 'Armed attack on Liberian border town', *IRIN News Online*, 22 Apr. 1999, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>). In February and May of 2001, Taylor wrote to the UNSC asking for the arms embargo to be lifted, stating that this was necessary in order to enable Liberia to defend itself against attacks by LURD. For more information on LURD see: Brabazon, J., *Liberia: Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)*, RIIA Non-State Actors Project Briefing Paper no. 1 (The Royal Institute of International Affairs: London, Feb. 2003); Human Rights Watch (HRW), *Weapons Sanctions, Military Supplies, and Human Suffering: Illegal Arms Flows to Liberia and the June–July 2003 Shelling of Monrovia*, A Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper (HRW: New York, 3 Nov. 2003); International Crisis Group (ICG), *Liberia: Security Challenges*, Africa Report no. 71 (ICG: Brussels, 3 Nov. 2003); and Itano, N., *Liberating Liberia: Charles Taylor and the Rebels Who Unseated Him*, Occasional Paper no. 82 (Institute for Security Studies: Praetoria, Nov. 2003).

<sup>35</sup> Holtom, P., 'United Nations arms embargoes: their impact on arms flows and target behaviour—Case study: Sierra Leone, 1997–present', SIPRI, Stockholm, 2007, <[http://books.sipri.org/product\\_info?c\\_product\\_id=356](http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=356)>.

<sup>36</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1343, 7 Mar. 2001.

government to demonstrate compliance.<sup>37</sup> The arms embargo was accompanied by an annual review mechanism and a range of sanctions, including a ban on the transfer of rough diamonds from or through Liberia and a travel ban on senior members, and their spouses, of the Liberian government and armed forces as well as other individuals linked to the rebel groups.<sup>38</sup> Resolution 1343 (2001) represented the first instance of a UN arms embargo being placed upon a state for secondary support in the supply of arms to the target of another UN arms embargo. Resolution 1343 (2001) explicitly referred to the findings of the UN Panel of Experts on Sierra Leone as a justification for the imposition of the arms embargo and other sanctions measures on Liberia.<sup>39</sup> Resolution 1478 (2003) added a ban on the import of Liberian timber by UN member states.<sup>40</sup>

Charles Taylor finally left office in August 2003 as a result of intense fighting in the summer of 2003, which saw the rebel movements LURD and the newly-established Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) reach Monrovia; the loss of several prominent sponsors in neighbouring states; and the promise of exile in Nigeria.<sup>41</sup> By October 2003, the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) had been established. This change in circumstances led to the adoption of Resolution 1521 (2003), under which the legal basis for the arms embargo and other sanctions were re-established.<sup>42</sup> The lifting of the arms embargo would only take place when the ceasefire was ‘fully respected and maintained’; Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) and Security Sector Reform (SSR) had been completed; and ‘significant progress had been made in establishing and maintaining stability in Liberia and the subregion’.<sup>43</sup>

The arms embargo has been renewed on an annual basis, with the following reasons cited the ceasefire was not being universally observed; the NTGL was not in control of areas where the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) had not been deployed; and that the infrastructure for arms trafficking remained.<sup>44</sup> Although the UNSC welcomed the peaceful conduct of the 2005 presidential elections and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf’s victory,<sup>45</sup> the arms embargo has remained in place.<sup>46</sup> The arms embargo was partially lifted in June 2006 in recognition of the ‘significant progress’ made towards meeting the demands of UN resolutions and in support Liberia’s SSR programme.<sup>47</sup> In reality, UNSCR 1683 (2006) merely recognized the sanctions committee’s practice of

<sup>37</sup> United Nations (note 36).

<sup>38</sup> These measures were renewed by: UN Security Council Resolution 1408, 6 May 2002; and UN Security Council Resolution 1478, 6 May 2003.

<sup>39</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts Appointed Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1306 (2000), Paragraph 19, in Relation to Sierra Leone, UN Document, S/2000/1195, 20 Dec. 2000.

<sup>40</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1478 (note 38).

<sup>41</sup> These events are discussed in more detail in: Human Rights Watch (note 34); and Itano (note 34).

<sup>42</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1521, 22 Dec. 2003.

<sup>43</sup> United Nations (note 42).

<sup>44</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to paragraph 22 of Security Council resolution 1521 (2003), concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2004/396, 1 Jun. 2004, pp. 10–11.

<sup>45</sup> In the first round of the presidential elections (11 Oct. 2005), George Weah received 28.3 per cent of the vote, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf 19.8 per cent and Charls Brumskine 13.9 per cent. In the second round of the presidential elections (8 Nov. 2005), Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf received 59.4 per cent of the vote against Weah’s 40.6 per cent. International Crisis Group (ICG), *Liberia: Staying Focused*, Africa Briefing no. 36 (ICG: Brussels, 13 Jan. 2006), pp. 2–3.

<sup>46</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1647, 20 Dec. 2005.

<sup>47</sup> The SSR programme began in earnest in with UN police training in 2004. At the beginning of 2005, it was announced that the US had hired a private contractor to undertake the formation of a 4,000-strong army, which was revised downwards to 2,000 due to funding problems.



considering case-by-case applications by the Liberian government and exporting states for permission to transfer arms and ammunition to Liberia for use by members of the Liberian government's police and military forces.<sup>48</sup> It has been recommended that any lifting of the arms embargo should not be extended to non-state actors.<sup>49</sup>

### Monitoring and enforcement mechanisms

It has been argued that the UN 'did little to monitor and enforce sanctions against Liberia'.<sup>50</sup> For example, a sanctions committee was established two years after the 1992 UN arms embargo was imposed.<sup>51</sup> During its five-year term, the sanctions committee received communications on only two alleged violations of the arms embargo.<sup>52</sup> The sanctions committee also commented upon the lack of a specific monitoring mechanism.<sup>53</sup> Although the United Nations Observer Mission on Liberia (UNOMIL), as well as ECOMOG and Organization of African Unity (OAU) peacekeepers, was tasked with enforcing the arms embargo and monitoring entry points and the border, these were not UNOMIL's primary responsibilities.<sup>54</sup>

ECOMOG forces sought to block supplies of arms and ammunition to the NPFL immediately after deployment in August 1990. The Ghanaian and Nigerian vessels that constituted the ECOMOG Naval Task Force (ENTF) were tasked with preventing arms from reaching the NPFL before the introduction of Resolution 788 (1992).<sup>55</sup> ECOMOG forces also captured Robertsfield and Spriggs Payne airports as part of their efforts to halt the flow of arms and ammunition to the NPFL and recorded a number of seizures of trucks carrying arms and ammunition at the Liberian-Ivorian border.<sup>56</sup> ECOMOG's initial efforts have been regarded as 'fairly significant' in making it more difficult for Taylor to raise revenues and purchase arms, which in turn appears to have played a role in hampering the NPFL's ability to wage war on ECOMOG and other rebel factions.<sup>57</sup> However, as noted above, divisions within ECOWAS undermined ECOMOG's efforts. The leadership of Burkina Faso and elements within Côte d'Ivoire's state structures allegedly supported and financially benefited from involvement with the NPFL. Allegations were also voiced against ECOMOG forces supplying arms and military equipment to anti-Taylor rebel factions.

Resolution 1343 (2001) re-established the sanctions committee and called for the formation of a Panel of Experts to be convened to assess compliance with the UN demands, the results of which were to be used to determine the termination or

<sup>48</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1683, 13 Jun. 2006.

<sup>49</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 9 (e) of Security Council resolution 1647 (2005) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2006/379, 25 May 2006, p. 45.

<sup>50</sup> Cortright and Lopez (note 10), p. 189.

<sup>51</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 985, 12 Apr. 1995.

<sup>52</sup> United Nations, Letter dated 31 December 1999 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/1999/1301, 31 Dec. 1999.

<sup>53</sup> For example, see: United Nations, Report of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/1996/1077, 31 Dec. 1996, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> UNOMIL was established in September 1993, with 368 UNOMIL observers deployed in March 1994. Six months after deployment, following kidnappings and harassment by NPFL fighters, the number of UNOMIL observers was reduced to ninety and they were confined to Monrovia.

<sup>55</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 110; Appiah-Mensah, S., 'Lessons from Liberia', *Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 126, no. 3 (2000).

<sup>56</sup> Adebajo (note 1), pp. 120–24, 144.

<sup>57</sup> Adebajo (note 1), pp. 120–24; Cortright and Lopez (note 10), p. 191.

continuation of the arms embargo and sanctions.<sup>58</sup> These bodies relied upon submissions from states, regional organizations and NGOs for information on alleged violations, as the ECOWAS and UN peacekeepers had departed following the presidential elections of July 1997. Neither the sanctions committee nor the Panel of Experts found grounds for the arms embargo to be terminated, and a Panel of Experts has been reconvened on annual basis since 2001.

In response to the advances of the rebel movements towards Monrovia in the summer of 2003, ECOWAS dispatched Nigerian peacekeepers to Liberia in August 2003. Within days of deployment they had seized a shipment of arms and ammunition reportedly destined for Taylor's forces.<sup>59</sup> Some of these troops subsequently became part of the UNMIL peacekeeping force deployed in the autumn of 2003. UNMIL thus became another source of information for the sanctions committee and Panels of Experts on Liberia as it assisted the NTGL's customs and police by maintaining checkpoints, along with air and ground patrols to enforce UN sanctions.<sup>60</sup>

### **Arms transfers during the arms embargo**

Knowledge of the extent of the arms transfers that circumvented the various arms embargoes imposed on Liberia since 1992 remains limited. Some data on the origins of the arms and ammunition held by Taylor's forces and rebel factions can be discerned from the findings of the disarmament programmes that took place in Liberia between 22 November 1996 and 29 January 1997 and from December 2003–March 2005.<sup>61</sup>

The collection process undertaken in 1996–97 only recovered a fraction of the arms and ammunition transferred to Liberia's warring factions during the period between 1989 and 1996. The weapons surrendered were on the whole small arms and light weapons (SALW), with more than half of the assault rifles collected western-rifles and only a quarter being Kalashnikov rifles.<sup>62</sup> Arms and ammunition from China, Czechoslovakia and the UK were also collected. UNMIL's DDR programme had collected 28 314 weapons, 33 604 pieces of heavy munitions and 6 486 136 rounds of small arms ammunition by March 2005.<sup>63</sup> More than three-quarters of all weapons recovered were rifles, with Kalashnikov rifles representing the overwhelming majority

<sup>58</sup> United Nations (note 36).

<sup>59</sup> Human Rights Watch declared that the shipment consisted of 22 tonnes of weapons, including 2 new mortars, rounds, 11 tonnes of 7.62mm ammunition and RPGs. An IRIN report stated that it contained 10 tonnes of SALW ammunition. Human Rights Watch (note 34); and Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 'Nigerian Peacekeepers Intercept Arms Shipment for Taylor', *IRIN News Online*, 7 Aug. 2003, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>.

<sup>60</sup> United Nations, Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council resolution 1579 (2004) regarding Liberia, UN Document S/2005/376, 7 Jun. 2005, p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> For more information on the results of the 1996–97 process see: United Nations, 'Annex II', Twenty-First Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, UN Document S/1997/90, 29 Jan. 1997, p. 13; and United Nations, Twenty-Second Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, UN Document S/1997/237, 19 Mar. 1997, pp. 3–4. For more information on the 2003–2005 process see Paes, W. C., 'The challenges of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration in Liberia', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2005), pp. 253–61.

<sup>62</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 1549 (2004) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2004/955, 6 Dec. 2004, p. 19.

<sup>63</sup> United Nations, Sixth Progress Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Mission in Liberia, UN Document S/2005/177, 17 Mar. 2005, p. 5; and National Commission on Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (NCDDRR), *DDRR Consolidated Report Phase 1, 2 & 3, Status of Disarmament and Demobilisation Activities as of 16 Jan. 2005*, <<http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/liberia/coordination/sectoral/DDR/doc/forthnightly%20report%207%20november%202004.pdf>>

of the arms collected during this collection process.<sup>64</sup> UNMIL reportedly attempted to trace the origins of some weapons and also to calculate the return rate of weapons supplied from Iran and Yugoslavia in the period 2002–2003.<sup>65</sup> UNMIL estimated that around half of Taylor’s arsenal had been collected, in comparison with 38 per cent of LURD’s arsenal. Estimates for MODEL were not made.

**Table 2.** Summary of possible/suspected sources and secondary support for arms transfers to warring factions in Liberia during the arms embargo

Recipient	Source of arms	Secondary support	Non-state actors
LDF	ECOMOG		
LPC	ECOMOG, Europe	Nigeria	
LURD	Belgium, China, Europe, Iran, UAE, UK, Ukraine, USA, Yugoslavia	Guinea, Sierra Leone	Societe Katex Mine Guinee, Lviv Airlines
MODEL	Ukraine	Côte d’Ivoire, USA	
NPFL	Europe, former Warsaw Pact and Soviet States	Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Libya	Logging and mineral extraction companies; brokers; Liberians in the USA
Taylor Government	Bulgaria, China, Europe, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Slovakia, Uganda, Ukraine, Yugoslavia	Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, DRC, Gambia, Libya, Nigeria, Senegal	Logging and mineral extraction companies; brokers;
ULIMO-J			Liberians in the USA
ULIMO-K	Europe	Guinea, Sierra Leone	

The ratio of weapons collected to fighters processed through demobilization centres was 1:3,<sup>66</sup> a ratio that contrasted to estimates by UN officials that there were three weapons for every former combatant.<sup>67</sup> The leaders of LURD, MODEL and Taylor’s forces promised that all of their weapons would be surrendered to UNMIL.<sup>68</sup> However,

<sup>64</sup> United Nations (note 62), p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 1689 (2006) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2006/976, 15 Dec. 2006, p. 45.

<sup>66</sup> Fewer than 27 000 weapons were reportedly collected from 102 193 DDR registrants. See: International Crisis Group (ICG), *Liberia and Sierra Leone: Rebuilding Failed States*, Africa Report no. 87 (ICG: Brussels, 8 Dec. 2004), p. 11; and Paes (note 61), p. 255.

<sup>67</sup> Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), ‘Where are the weapons? Is disarmament really working?’, *IRIN News Online*, 28 Jul. 2004, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>.

<sup>68</sup> Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), ‘All weapons will be turned over, warlords promise’, *IRIN News Online*, 28 Apr. 2004, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>.

it has been alleged that on the eve of the disarmament period most of LURD's and MODEL's mortars and heavy weapons had been returned to Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire respectively.<sup>69</sup> Reports also emerged stating that weapons were being smuggled into neighbouring states in exchange for consumer goods.<sup>70</sup>

#### *Arms transfers to rebel factions (1992–97)*

As far as can be discerned from the available data, patterns of arms transfers to rebel factions continued during the first years of the arms embargo in much the same way that they had before. Individuals, companies and supporters of Liberia's warring factions continued to source arms from Europe, in particular former Warsaw Pact and Soviet arsenals, to be exchanged for the natural resources extracted from territory held by Liberian warlords. For example, ULIMO-J used revenues from Bomi county's diamond mines to supply its forces, while the LPC relied upon exports of rubber. Neither of these factions could match the revenue streams of Taylor's NPFL, which were estimated to be worth \$75 million per year.<sup>71</sup>

There was one important change with regard to NPFL support following the introduction of the arms embargo. Ivorian support at the highest levels appeared to be waning by mid-1993, as President Félix Houphouët-Boigny and his successor Konan Bédié became more preoccupied with domestic problems.<sup>72</sup> However, conflict goods and arms continued to cross the Liberian-Ivorian border.<sup>73</sup>

#### *Arms transfers to the Taylor regime (1997–2001)*

Although published after Resolution 1343 (2001), the report of the first Panel of Experts on Liberia discussed a number of transfers to Taylor's regime in contravention of Resolution 788 (1992). It noted that there were 'persistent reports of ships to Harper, Greenville, Buchanan and Monrovia unloading weapons' and numerous eyewitness accounts of trucks bringing weapons from San Pedro and Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), originating from Burkina Faso.<sup>74</sup> However, because the Panel were unable to find 'irrefutable evidence' the report focused solely upon shipments delivered by air for which documentation was available. Thus, the Panel documented a number of cases in which the Guinean-registered arms brokering firm Pecos, Victor Bout's air transport companies,<sup>75</sup> owners of Liberian logging companies, Leonid Minin and Gus van

<sup>69</sup> ICG (note 66), p. 11; and United Nations (note 65), p. 46.

<sup>70</sup> Global Witness (GW), *Dangerous Liaisons: The Continued Relationship between Liberia's Natural Resource Industries, Arms Trafficking and Regional Insecurity*, A Briefing Document Submitted by Global Witness to the UN Security Council (GW: London, 8 Dec. 2004), p. 11; and Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 'UN probes cross-border arms smuggling', *IRIN News Online*, 21 Jul. 2004, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>.

<sup>71</sup> Adebajo (note 4), p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> Félix Houphouët-Boigny died on 7 December 1993.

<sup>73</sup> 'Statement of William Twaddell' (note 8), pp.13–14.

<sup>74</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to Security Council resolution 1343 (2001), paragraph 19, concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2001/1015, 26 Oct. 2001, p. 65.

<sup>75</sup> Victor Bout is a former Soviet military officer who is suspected of involvement in a number of illegal arms transfers to regimes and groups subject to UN embargoes. It is thought that he has broken UN arms embargoes by supplying arms to the Taliban and Northern Alliance forces in Afghanistan, UNITA in Angola, Charles Taylor in Liberia and RUF forces in Sierra Leone. His exploits have been described in a variety of articles and other publications, including: Brunswasser, M., 'Victor Anatoliyevich Bout—The Embargo Buster: Fuelling Bloody Civil Wars', *Frontline/World*, May 2002, <<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/sierraleone/bout.html>>; and Wood, B. and Peleman, J., *The Arms Fixers: Controlling the Brokers and Shipping Agents* (Norwegian Initiative on Small Arms Transfers: Oslo, 1999), <[http://www.nisat.org/default.asp?page=publications/pub\\_videos.htm](http://www.nisat.org/default.asp?page=publications/pub_videos.htm)>. San Air,

Kouwenhoven, and forged End-Use Certifications (EUCs) were all involved in the transfer of arms and ammunition to Taylor in contravention of the arms embargo.

The first alleged violation submitted to the sanctions committee related to 68 tonnes of military equipment, which had been purchased from Ukraine's state's export company, Ukretsexport, using an EUC for Burkina Faso's National Defence Department.<sup>76</sup> Major-General Felix Mujakperuo, ECOMOG's commander in Sierra Leone, accused Burkina Faso's President Compaoré of complicity in the diversion of the shipment to Liberia, and its subsequent transfer to the RUF in Sierra Leone, in spring 1999.<sup>77</sup> Suspicions were aroused due to the fact that the Burkinabé armed forces used NATO-standard weaponry and not the former Soviet equipment delivered from Ukraine.

This shipment was reportedly the first of several destined for Taylor's forces in Liberia and the RUF in Sierra Leone, which were arranged by Leonid Minin. Minin was the co-owner of Exotic Tropical Timber Enterprise (ETTE)—a logging company operating out of Liberia, which received preferential extraction rights in exchange for assisting with arms procurement for Taylor.<sup>78</sup> When he was arrested in Monza, Italy on 5 August 2000, Minin was in the process of overseeing a considerable delivery of small arms and ammunition, which had been ordered from the Ukrainian state-owned company Spetstehnoexport using a photocopy of an EUC signed by Côte d'Ivoire's President General Robert Gueï.<sup>79</sup> On 18 December 2002, Monza court judges ruled that they could not prosecute Minin for these deals due to the fact that they lacked jurisdiction to prosecute in arms trafficking cases in which the arms did not pass through Italian territory.<sup>80</sup> The prosecution appealed, but on 9 January 2004 the Corte di Cassazione declared that it was unable to prosecute.

Minin led the Panel of Experts to a number of associates also involved in supplying Taylor with arms and military equipment during the arms embargo. A Finnish national, Erkki Tammivuori, apparently helped with the delivery of Konkurs, Strela and Iгла launchers and missiles in May 2000. These items had apparently not been used, as training had not been provided. The Panel also received a document, which had been in Minin's possession, indicating that a payment of US\$500 000 had been made to one of Victor Bout's transport companies by Singapore-registered Borneo Jaya Pte. Ltd—the mother company of the Liberian-based Oriental Timber Company (OTC). The activities of OTC and its Dutch chairman Gus van Kouwenhoven will be described in more detail below.

Taylor's government had reportedly been trying to acquire Mi-8/Mi-17 transport helicopters and Mi-24/Mi-35 combat helicopters from former Soviet and Warsaw Pact

Centrafrican Airlines, MoldTransavia and West Africa Air Services are some of the transport companies connected to Victor Bout that are known to have been involved in the attempts to transfer military helicopters to Liberia.

<sup>76</sup> United Nations (note 52).

<sup>77</sup> Human Rights, Watch (HRW), *HRW Letter to President Compaoré* (HRW: New York, 28 Mar. 2000), <<http://www.hrw.org/press/2000/03/burkina0330letter.htm>>.

<sup>78</sup> Amnesty International (AI), *Dead on Time: Arms Transportation, Brokering and the Threat to Human Rights* (AI: London, 10 May 2006), pp. 25, 61.

<sup>79</sup> For the full list of equipment ordered see: United Nations, 'Appendix VI: Copy of an Ivorian End-User Certificate with the List of Weapons Identical to the One Used by Leonid Minin and Aviatrend for Shipments to Liberia in 2000', Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to Security Council resolution 1408 (2002) paragraph 16, concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2002/1115, 25 Oct. 2002, pp. 58–59.

<sup>80</sup> Amnesty International (note 78), pp. 62–63.



inventories.<sup>81</sup> The Panel of Experts saw two Mi-8/Mi-17s during their visits to Liberia in 2001, but their origins were not revealed. It was revealed that Pecos had used Guinean EUCs to acquire two Mi-24s from Kyrgyzstan in May 2000, which were bound for Taylor's forces. One of these Mi-24s was detained in Slovakia in February 2001, where it had been sent for repairs. The other Mi-24 left Slovakia in August 2000, following minor repairs. Although Liberian officials stated that they did not possess any combat helicopters, Guinean officials claimed to have shot down a Liberian helicopter gunship in 2000.<sup>82</sup> The Guinean claims remains uncorroborated. Pecos also attempted to arrange for the transfer of two Mi-8s from Moldova to Liberia without an EUC, before Moldovan security services prevented the Mi-8s from leaving Moldova in March 2001.

*Arms transfers to rebel factions (1997–2003)*

In July 1999, LURD was formed in Freetown, Sierra Leone. It claimed to rely upon weapons and ammunition captured from Liberian government forces.<sup>83</sup> While independent experts have confirmed that LURD's armoury contained weapons captured from Taylor's forces,<sup>84</sup> it has been argued that Guinea used refugees, trucks and United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) peacekeepers to supply arms to LURD forces.<sup>85</sup> Evidence of this relationship appeared in 2002, when Taylor's forces captured 81-mm mortar rounds that bore markings from the United Arab Emirates (UAE).<sup>86</sup> The UAE had reportedly sent 81-mm mortar rounds as part of an aid package to Guinean in December 1998. The Guinean Ministry of Defence (MOD) claimed that these mortar rounds had been lost in an arms depot fire in 2001.

The Guinean company Katex Mines has also been accused of supplying arms to LURD. The Panel of Experts suspected Katex of arranging flights carrying Iranian-produced arms and ammunition for LURD from Lviv (Ukraine) to Conakry (Guinea) via Tehran between February 2002 and August 2003,<sup>87</sup> a suggestion that others have supported.<sup>88</sup> The Iranian origins of mortar rounds used during the summer 2003 LURD offensive were confirmed by a number of experts, although these rounds could potentially have been taken from Taylor's forces, which are also thought to have received arms and ammunition from Iran (see table above).

<sup>81</sup> United Nations (note 74), pp. 49–58. This case has also been investigated by Human Rights Watch with the results of their investigation published in: Human Rights Watch, *Ripe for Reform: Stemming Slovakia's Arms Trade with Human Rights Abusers*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Feb. 2004), pp. 9–28, <<http://hrw.org/reports/2004/slovakia0204/slovakia0204.pdf>>.

<sup>82</sup> 'Liberia Refutes Guinean Claim of Shooting Down Helicopter', *PanAfrican News Agency (Dakar)*, 18 Oct. 2000, <<http://all.africa.com>>. Other sources have suggested that it could have been a case of mistaken identity, e.g. a Mi-8/ Mi-17 or an Mi-2 with a Multi-Purpose Machine Gun mounted. For example, see: Global Witness (note 23), p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> Brabazon (note 1); International Crisis Group (note 34), p. 14; Itano (note 34), p. 6; and Human Rights Watch (note 34), pp. 15–16.

<sup>84</sup> United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 1458 (2003), concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2003/498, 24 Apr. 2003, p. 30; and Brabazon (note 1), pp. 8–9.

<sup>85</sup> International Crisis Group (note 34), p. 5; and Human Rights Watch (note 34), pp. 16–17.

<sup>86</sup> Human Rights Watch (note 34), p. 18.

<sup>87</sup> The Panel of Experts noted that the Guinean government did not investigate these flights, and therefore the Panel's suspicions were not allayed. See United Nations, 'Annex II: Arms Shipments to Liberia in 2003' (note 44).

<sup>88</sup> Human Rights Watch alleged that these flights contained Iranian-produced 60-mm mortar rounds and 7.62-mm ammunition, which were used to re-supply LURD forces engaged in fighting around Monrovia. Human Rights Watch (note 34), pp. 14–15, 19–25.

With the election victory of Laurent Gbagbo in Côte d'Ivoire, one of Taylor's former sponsors allegedly began supplying the anti-Taylor movement MODEL 'with uniforms, weapons and money', including Ukrainian-produced arms with US assistance.<sup>89</sup>

*Arms transfers to the Taylor regime (2001–2003)*

The Panel of Experts' 2002 report documented six arms deliveries of surplus stocks from the Yugoslavia National Army to Liberia, via Libya, in the summer of 2002.<sup>90</sup> Yugoslav authorities claimed to have received an export licence from the Nigerian MOD for thousands of SALW units, grenades and millions of cartridges and assorted ammunition, which were diverted to Taylor's forces.

Libya was also reportedly involved in arranging for delivery of arms and ammunition from Iran via Benin, Libya and Sudan in the summer of 2003.<sup>91</sup> The exact cargo of only one of these flights is known, as the flight that arrived in Monrovia from Tehran on 7 August 2003 was seized by Nigerian peacekeepers. Preliminary investigations into the origin of the weapons seized revealed that the rifles were 'very similar' to China's Norinco 7.62-mm Type 56-1 rifles.<sup>92</sup>

It has been alleged that Liberian timber enterprises, in particular Gus van Kouwenhoven's Oriental Timber Company (OTC), played a central role in facilitating regular arms transfers to Taylor's forces from China National Aero-Technology Import and Export Corporation (CATIC) between 2001 and 2003. A number of OTC arms deliveries for Taylor arrived at Buchanan and Harper ports from/via Bulgaria, China, France, Hong Kong, Libya and Nigeria.<sup>93</sup> Kouwenhoven was arrested in Rotterdam on 18 March 2005 and charged with war crimes and breaking the UN arms embargo on Liberia in the period 2001–2003.<sup>94</sup> In June 2005, a Dutch court in the Hague found Kouwenhoven guilty of violating the UN arms embargo, because his OTC illegally imported weapons into Liberia by sea for use by Taylor's forces and OTC militias.<sup>95</sup> He was given an eight-year prison sentence, although not convicted on the war crimes count.

A French arms broker, who had been involved in transfers of arms from Bulgaria to Liberia between 1991 and 1998, allegedly re-activated his Bulgaria-Liberia arms pipeline in May 2002, supplying Kalashnikov rifles, RPG launchers and Glock pistols.<sup>96</sup> With Burkina Faso and Libya again apparently involved in transferring arms to Taylor's forces, it appeared as if the transfer patterns of the early 1990s were being repeated in the period after 2000. There were, however, significant changes in Taylor's suppliers

<sup>89</sup> Itano (note 34), p. 6; and International Crisis Group (note 34), pp. 10, 14.

<sup>90</sup> United Nations (note 79), pp. 18–19.

<sup>91</sup> United Nations, 'Annex II: Arms Shipments to Liberia in 2003' (note 44). It is interesting to note the stopovers in Libya, as reports alleged that Taylor had sought assistance in procuring Kalashnikov rifles, ammunition and RPG-7 grenades from his former mentor Muhammad al-Gaddafi in May 2001. There was no confirmation that any deals had been concluded on this count. Global Witness and International Transport Workers Federation, *Taylor-made: The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict* (GW: London, Sep. 2001), p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> United Nations (note 44), p. 19.

<sup>93</sup> Global Witness and International Transport Workers Federation (note 91), p. 7–8; Global Witness (note 23), pp. 26–27.

<sup>94</sup> Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 'Dutch Police Arrest National for War Crimes in Liberia', *IRIN News Online*, 22 Mar. 2005, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>. This case is also discussed in: Amnesty International *Dead on Time*, 2006, pp. 22–27.

<sup>95</sup> Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 'Dutch National Faces Eight Year Prison Sentence for Arms Trading in Liberia', *IRIN News Online*, 7 Jun. 2006, <<http://www.irinnews.org>>.

<sup>96</sup> Global Witness (note 23), p. 26.

and sponsors between these two periods. Chinese arms transfers reportedly increased dramatically at this time, and allegations were also made that Nigerian diplomats were involved in arranging for arms shipments to Liberia and Taylor-backed forces in Sierra Leone.<sup>97</sup>

#### *Arms transfers to Liberia (2003–2006)*

The [UN] Panel [of Experts on Liberia] has found no evidence of weapons trafficking into Liberia since August 2003. However, organised, international smuggling networks remain place and could be reactivated at any time.<sup>98</sup>

The 2004 Panel of Experts' report also concurred with views expressed by NGOs that arms and ammunition continued to be smuggled across Liberia's borders into neighbouring states. In 2005, the UN sanctions committee on Liberia received two requests for consignments of arms to be delivered to the NTGL. On 8 August 2005, the US Mission to the UN reportedly requested an exemption to the arms embargo to ship arms and training equipment for the new Liberian military.<sup>99</sup> An exemption was granted, although one item was not permitted. The second request was submitted on 2 September 2005 by the NTGL, requesting permission to import 300 side-arms for police officers being trained in Nigeria. The sanctions committee looked favourably upon the request, but sought more information on the proposed supplier. By the end of 2005, the committee had not received a request from an exporting state. It later transpired that Nigeria was to supply the Liberian police force with 50 Beretta pistols, 6,000 smoke cartridges and 3,000 hand grenades.<sup>100</sup> The Panel of Experts' 2006 report also revealed that Romania had supplied the AFL with 150 Kalashnikov rifles fitted with bayonets and 69,000 rounds of 7.62x39-mm ammunition.

## IV. Conclusion

It is difficult to find any positive results from the UN arms embargoes imposed against Somalia and Liberia in 1992 and Rwanda in 1994 ... The UN arms embargoes were completely ineffective. They did not alter the policies of the targeted regimes and were unable to prevent wars from continuing and spreading.<sup>101</sup>

David Cortright and George Lopez continued by arguing that the UN arms embargo played no role in the 1996 peace agreement or the end to the first Liberian civil war, but was rather a 'gesture of support for the ECOWAS mission'.<sup>102</sup> As with other cases of sanctions violations in Africa, inadequate checks on end-users and transportation routes enabled a host of international arms dealers to profit during the UN arms embargo on Liberia by shipping arms from China, Europe and the Middle East to Africa. It was evidently clear that as long as Liberia's warlords were able to earn revenues from the sale of extraction rights to foreign enterprises and the export of mineral resources and

<sup>97</sup> Global Witness (note 23), p. 22.

<sup>98</sup> United Nations (note 44), p. 7.

<sup>99</sup> United Nations, Report of the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2006/464, 30 Jun. 2006.

<sup>100</sup> United Nations (note 65), p. 46.

<sup>101</sup> Cortright and Lopez (note 10), p. 181.

<sup>102</sup> Cortright and Lopez (note 10), 2000, p. 181.

timber, they would have the means with which to pay arms brokers and transport agents to arrange shipments of military equipment in contravention of the UN arms embargo. Following the publication of the Panel of Experts' Report on Sierra Leone in December 2000, in which the connection between conflict diamonds and illicit arms trade in Sierra Leone and Liberia were clearly shown, steps were taken towards addressing this situation with Resolution 1343 (2001).<sup>103</sup> Eventual Chinese and French acquiescence on the introduction of sanctions against imports of Liberian timber only occurred in May 2003 in Resolution 1478 (2003), providing a very short time-frame in which to test the hypothesis that timber revenues and logging companies played an important role in arms trafficking to Taylor's Liberia.

There were, however, times during the first and second Liberian civil wars when it was arguably possible to note a correlation between seizures of arms shipments destined for Taylor's forces and their ability to mount significant military operations. For example, it has been noted that following ECOMOG's spring 1993 offensive, in which it captured Liberian ports and airports, Taylor was forced to return to guerrilla warfare tactics.<sup>104</sup> Others have argued that by the summer of 2003, the arms embargo was beginning to 'have a serious impact on Taylor's war machine'.<sup>105</sup> For example, as noted above, Taylor's attempts to acquire Mi-24 combat helicopters in 2000–2001 had been foiled. Conversely, the ability of LURD's supporters to re-supply LURD's forces with ammunition in the summer of 2003 appeared to play a decisive role in their offensive capabilities during the attack on Monrovia.<sup>106</sup> Researchers have argued that the embargo imposed by Resolution 1343 (2001) did make arms deliveries to Liberia more difficult to undertake and therefore more 'unpredictable'.<sup>107</sup>

This latter conclusion overlooks one of the most important factors in the ability of Liberia's warring factions to renege on commitments entered into at numerous peace talks and conferences—the role of ECOWAS member states, in particular neighbours. It has been noted that there was a 'common belief' in Liberia and the surrounding region that 'in order to really prevent the flow of arms more countries in the region should have been targeted with arms embargo measures'.<sup>108</sup> As this case study has demonstrated, at some point during Liberia's 14 years under arms embargo, allegations have been made against all of Liberia's neighbours, ECOWAS and other African states and ECOMOG forces regarding arms embargo violations. If these allegations are true, then ECOWAS states undermined the UN arms embargo that they appealed for in 1992, as one cannot monitor an arms embargo while at the same time supplying arms in contravention of its terms.

<sup>103</sup> United Nations, UN Document S/2000/1195, 20 Dec. 2000.

<sup>104</sup> Adebajo (note 1), p. 120–22.

<sup>105</sup> Aboagye, F.B. and Bah, A.M.S., *Liberia at the Crossroads: A Preliminary Look at the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the Protection of Civilians*, ISS Paper no. 95 (Institute for Security Studies: Praetoria, Nov. 2004), p. 2.

<sup>106</sup> Human Rights Watch (note 34).

<sup>107</sup> Wallensteen, P., Eriksson, M., and Strandow, D., *Sanctions for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building: Lessons Learned from Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia* (Uppsala University: Uppsala, Sweden, 2006), p. 18.

<sup>108</sup> Wallensteen, Eriksson and Strandow (note 107), p. 18.

## Chronology

Dates directly related to UNSC arms embargo decisions are highlighted in bold.

12 April 1980	Samuel Doe's military coup
15 October 1985	Samuel Doe wins presidential election
12 November 1985	Thomas Quiwonkpa's NPFL failed coup
6 January 1986	Samuel Doe inaugurated as President
24 December 1989	NPFL invasion from the Côte d'Ivoire
12 June 1990	Peace conference (Freetown, Sierra Leone)
12 July 1990	Peace conference (Freetown, Sierra Leone)
28 July 1990	Charles Taylor declares himself President of Liberia
7 August 1990	ECOWAS establishes ECOMOG
24 August 1990	ECOMOG peacekeepers deployed in Liberia
3 September 1990	Close of ECOWAS All-Liberia Peace Conference (Banjul, Gambia)
10 September 1990	Samuel Doe killed by INPFL
27 November 1990	Amos Sawyer becomes President of an Interim Government of National Unity
30 November 1990	Bamako Accord signed following ECOWAS summit (Mali)
21 December 1990	Banjul peace talks (Gambia)
January 1991	Taylor forms government in Gbarnga
22 January 1991	UNSC discusses the situation in Liberia
13 February 1991	Lome Agreement signed (Togo)
2 April 1991	Close of ECOWAS-sponsored All-Liberia Conference (Liberia)
30 June 1991	Close of First round of Yamoussoukro peace talks (Côte d'Ivoire)
30 October 1991	Yamoussoukro IV Accords signed (Côte d'Ivoire)
7 April 1992	Close of ECOWAS, OAU and UN peace conference (Switzerland)
7 May 1992	UNSC discusses the situation in Liberia
29 July 1992	ECOWAS threaten economic sanctions against the NPFL
15 October 1992	NPFL attack on Monrovia (Operation Octopus)
20 October 1992	ECOWAS threaten sanctions against all rebels in Liberia
28 October 1992	ECOWAS request UNSC arms embargo and sanctions
<b>19 November 1992</b>	The UNSC passes Resolution 788, establishing an arms embargo on Liberia
17 July 1993	Close of ECOWAS, OAU and UN peace conference (Switzerland)
25 July 1993	Cotonou Agreement signed (Benin)
22 September 1993	UNSC passes Resolution 866, establishing UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)
March 1994	National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) formed
7 March 1994	1,500 OAU troops and 368 UNOMIL observers deployed in Liberia
12 September 1994	Akosombo Agreement signed (Ghana)
21 December 1994	Accra Agreement signed (Ghana)



<b>13 April 1995</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 985, establishing a sanctions committee to monitor the arms embargo established by Resolution 788
19 August 1995	Abuja Agreement (I) signed (Nigeria)
30 November 1995	Warring factions agree to ceasefire
6 April 1996	Ceasefire broken
17 August 1996	Abuja Agreement (II) signed
19 July 1997	Taylor wins Liberian presidential elections.
2 August 1997	Charles Taylor is sworn in as President of Liberia
18 September 1998	Taylor's forces clash with rebels
January 1999	Ghana and Nigeria accuse Taylor of supporting RUF rebels in Sierra Leone
April 1999	Rebel attacks into Liberia from Guinea
July 1999	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) formed in Sierra Leone
13 June 2000	UK accuses Taylor of arming RUF; EU Foreign Ministers agree to suspend aid to Liberia
19 July 2000	Charles Taylor publicly admits links to RUF
September 2000	LURD incursions into Liberia from Guinea
21 December 2000	UNSC President calls for all West African states to cease 'military support for armed groups in neighbouring countries'
<b>7 March 2001</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1343, lifting the arms embargo established by Resolution 788 (1992) and imposing a new arms embargo and possible future implementation of a diamonds and selective travel ban on Liberia; establishes Panel of Experts
5 November 2001	Liberian Foreign Minister appeals to UN to lift the arms embargo
8 February 2002	Taylor declares a state of emergency following rebel attacks
<b>27 February 2002</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1395, re-establishing the Panel of Experts
<b>6 May 2002</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1408, extending the arms embargo, diamond embargo and travel ban
16 September 2002	Taylor declares end to the state of emergency
<b>28 January 2003</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1458, re-establishing the Panel of Experts
<b>6 May 2003</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1478, extending the arms embargo, diamond embargo and travel ban; also imposes a timber embargo; and re-establishes the Panel of Experts
4 June 2003	Taylor is indicted by a UN-backed war crimes tribunal in Sierra Leone during peace talks in Accra (Ghana)
4 June 2003	First LURD offensive on Monrovia (World War I)
24 June 2003	Second LURD offensive on Monrovia (World War II)
4 July 2003	ECOWAS agrees to send 3,000 regional peacekeepers to Liberia
6 July 2003	Taylor agrees to resign, accepting asylum in Nigeria
17 July 2003	Ceasefire signed in Accra (Ghana)
18 July 2003	Third LURD offensive on Monrovia (World War III)
1 August 2003	UNSC passes Resolution 1497, authorising the deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force to Liberia

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4 August 2003	First ECOWAS peacekeepers arrive
11 August 2003	Taylor resigns as President of Liberia
18 August 2003	Peace agreement concluded
19 September 2003	UNSC passes Resolution 1509, establishing UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)
1 October 2003	First UNMIL peacekeepers deployed
14 October 2003	National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) inaugurated
<b>22 December 2003</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1521, revising the legal basis of the embargoes on arms, diamonds and timber and the travel ban; re-establishes the Panel of Experts
12 March 2004	UNSC passes Resolution 1532, imposing an assets freeze on Taylor and associates
<b>17 June 2004</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1549, re-establishing the Panel of Experts
3 November 2004	Liberia's warring factions officially dissolved
<b>21 December 2004</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1579, renewing embargoes on arms, diamonds and timber and the travel ban; re-establishes the Panel of Experts
<b>21 June 2005</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1607, renewing the diamond embargo for six months; re-establishes the Panel of Experts
11 October 2005	First round of voting in presidential elections
8 November 2005	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf wins presidential elections
<b>20 December 2005</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1647, renewing embargoes on arms, diamonds and timber and the travel ban; re-establishes the Panel of Experts
16 January 2006	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf inaugurated as president of Liberia
February 2006	Truth and Reconciliation Commission established
April 2006	Taylor appears before UN-backed court in Sierra Leone on charges of crimes against humanity
<b>13 June 2006</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1683, granting exemptions to the arms embargo for Liberian government security forces; UNSC passes Resolution 1688, granting exemptions from the travel ban to Charles Taylor and witnesses to attend the UN-backed court in Sierra Leone
20 June 2006	UNSC passes Resolution 1689, lifting the timber embargo
<b>20 December 2006</b>	UNSC passes Resolution 1731, renewing embargoes on arms and diamonds and the travel ban; re-establishes the Panel of Experts
27 April 2007	UNSC passes Resolution 1753, terminating the diamonds embargo

## Glossary

AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
APC	Armoured Personnel Carriers
CATIC	China National Aero-Technology Import and Export Corporation
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ENTF	ECOMOG Naval Task Force
ETTE	Exotic Tropical Timber Enterprise
EUC	End-Use Certifications
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
LDF	Lofa Defence Force
LPC	Liberian Peace Council
LURD	Liberians United for Reconstruction and Democracy
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPRAG	National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government
NTGL	National Transitional Government of Liberia
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OTC	Oriental Timber Company
RPG	Rocket Propelled Grenade
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UAE	United Arab Emirates
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia
ULIMO-J	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia - Johnson
ULIMO-K	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia - Kromah
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

## Register of arms transfers

This register lists a selection of reported transfers of weapons, ammunition and other military equipment to Liberia between 1985 and 2006

**Table 3.** Known and suspected arms transfers prior to the UN arms embargo period, 1985–November 1992

Recipient/ supplier (S)	No. delivered	Weapon	Year(s) of deliveries	Comments	Source
<b>Doe regime</b>					
S: Nigeria	?	Small arms/ammunition	1990–91?		<i>Military Balance 1991–1992</i> (Brassey's: London, 1991), p. 136
Romania	6	APR-40 122mm	1987	Part of deal worth \$4 m	'Liberian Defence Forces boosted by influx of Romanian armament', <i>African Defence</i> , June 1987, p. 26
	8	BTR-50	1987		
	8	BTR-60PB	1987		
	6	M-1938/M-30 122mm	1987		
	8	M-1944	1987		
South Korea	1	Sea Dolphin	1989		
Switzerland	10	Piranha	1986		<i>Military Balance 1988–1989</i> (Brassey's: London, 1998), p. 133
UAE	1	DHC-4 Caribou	1990	Modernized in Malta before delivery	
USA	2	Cessna-208 Caravan	1986		
<b>NPFL</b>					
S: Bulgaria	?	small arms / ammunition	1989	Arranged by Libya using German and Swiss brokers via Côte d'Ivoire	'Libya Arming Liberian Rebels', <i>Mednews</i> , 28 May 1990, p. 5
	209	RPG-7			
	6,609	AKS-47			

**Table 4. Known and suspected arms transfers during the UN arms embargo period, November 1992–December 2006**

Recipient/ supplier (S)	No. delivered	Weapon	Year(s) of deliveries	Comments	Source
<b>Taylor regime (1997–2003)</b>					
S: Bulgaria	?	Arms/ammunition	2002	Shipped via Nice; arranged by French broker	Global Witness, <i>The Usual Suspects</i> (London, 31 Mar 2003), p. 26
China	?	Chinese assault rifles Machine guns RPG Ammunition	200–2003	Arms delivered by ship via Singapore	Global Witness and International Transport Workers' Federation, <i>Taylor-made: The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict</i> (London, Sep. 2001), p. 8; Global Witness, p. 21
China	?	Chinese assault rifles	2003	Part of shipment from Iran	United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to paragraph 22 of Security Council resolution 1521 (2003) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2004/396, 1 June 2004, p. 18
DRC	?	Arms/ammunition	2002		United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 1458 (2003) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2003/498, 24 Apr. 2003, pp. 26–27
Iran	?	Arms/ammunition	2003	Delivered via Benin, Libya	United Nations, UN Document S/2004/396, p. 18
Iran	?	RPG-7	2003	Flight from Belarus via Tehran to Liberia	Human Rights Watch, <i>Weapons Sanctions, Military Supplies, and Human Suffering: Illegal Arms Flows to Liberia and the June–July 2003 Shelling of Monrovia</i> , Briefing Paper, 3 Nov. 2003
Kyrgyzstan	?	Spare parts for military helicopters	2000	Brokered by Alexander Islamov and Pecos, using a forged Guinea EUC	United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1343 (2001) paragraph 19, concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2001/1015, 26 Oct. 2001, pp. 42–45
Kyrgyzstan	1	Mi-24	2000	Brokered by Alexander Islamov and Pecos, diverted following repair in Slovakia. Uncertain if reached Liberia	United Nations, UN Document S/2001/1015, pp. 50–53
Nigeria	?	Arms/ammunition	?		Global Witness, p. 22
Slovakia	1000	Rifles	2000	Uganda requested Sharif Al-Masri to send rifles back to Slovakia; he sold them to Pecos, who transferred them to Taylor	United Nations, UN Document S/2001/1015, pp. 39–41



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Recipient/ supplier (S)	No. delivered	Weapon	Year(s) of deliveries	Comments	Source
Serbia	?	Arms/ammunition	2002–2003	Flown via DRC, Ghana, Libya	United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 25 of Security Council resolution 1478 (2003), concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2003/937, 2 Oct. 2003, p. 25
Ukraine	3000	AKM assault rifles	1999	Brokered by Leonid Minin, using a Burkina Faso EUC, and transferred to RUF	United Nations, Letter dated 31 December 1999 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) concerning Liberia, UN Document S/1999/1301, 31 Dec. 1999
	50	Machine guns			Human Rights Watch, HRW Letter to President Compaoré, 28 Mar. 2000
	25	RPG			
	5	Strela-3			
	5	Metis ATGM systems			
	?	Ammunition			
Ukraine	5 million	7.62-mm ammunition	2000	Brokered by Leonid Minin, using a Côte d'Ivoire EUC	United Nations, UN Document S/2001/1015, pp 45–49
Yugoslavia	3500	Automatic rifles	2002	Acquired using a Nigerian MOD EUC	United Nations, Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1408 (2002) paragraph 16, concerning Liberia, UN Document S/2002/1115, 25 Oct. 2002, pp. 18–19;
	55	M-84 Zastava rifles			United Nations, UN Document S/2003/498, pp. 19–21
	10	Black Arrow Zastava rifles			
	352	RB-57 missile launchers			
	792	RPG-7			
	70	7.65-mm automatic pistols			
	37	CZ99 pistols			
	4496	Hand grenades			
	Millions	Assorted ammunition			
?	?	MANPADS	2000	Origins unknown; brokered by Erkki Tammivouri	United Nations, UN Document S/2001/1015, p. 50
?	2	Mi-2	1999	Origins unknown; brokered by Sanjivan Ruprah; flown by Libyans	United Nations, UN Document S/2001/1015, p. 50; 'Taking control in Sierra Leone', <i>Jane's International Defence Review</i> , Sep. 2000, p. 60
?	?	SALW/Ammunition	2001	Requested Libya to assist with acquisition	Global Witness and International Transport Workers' Federation, p. 7
?	?	Unknown arms	2001	Cargo vessel from Senegal	Global Witness and International Transport Workers' Federation, p. 7
?	2	Mi-17	?	Observed by Panel of Experts during visit	United Nations, UN Document S/2001/1015, p. 50

