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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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.

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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 II

Reporting relationship of
UNOMIL and ECOMOG

