



A House with Two Rooms:
Final Report of the
Truth & Reconciliation Commission of Liberia
Diaspora Project

Executive Summary and
Priority Recommendations

Submitted by The Advocates for Human Rights

to the
Truth & Reconciliation Commission of Liberia
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This report is dedicated to the people of Liberia.

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Due to space constraints, only the executive summary and priority recommendations from A House with Two Rooms are printed here. Copies of the full report are available at www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org or by contacting:

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The Advocates for Human Rights

The Advocates for Human Rights is a nongovernmental, 501(c)(3) organization dedicated to the promotion and protection of internationally recognized human rights. The Advocates works with volunteers to document human rights abuses, advocate on behalf of individual victims, educate on human rights issues, and provide training and technical assistance to address and prevent human rights violations.

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The mission of The Advocates for Human Rights is to implement international human rights standards in order to promote civil society and reinforce the rule of law. By involving volunteers in research, education, and advocacy, we build broad constituencies in the United States and select global communities.

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The success of The Advocates for Human Rights is based upon:

- A commitment to work impartially and independently to promote and protect international human rights;
- Innovative and flexible programs that include investigation, representation, training and education, to offer concrete opportunities to promote international human rights;
- Dedicated volunteers who devote their skills and energy to projects that support human rights;
- Cooperative relationships with the United Nations as well as other non-governmental organizations working to protect human rights;
- Strategic alliances with local, national and international agencies whose work complements and supports our mission;
- Partnership building with local groups to build relationships in order to educate the community about and protect human rights;
- A generous and receptive community that is the basis of the organization's volunteer and financial support;
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Chapter One



Executive Summary

All my family started to flee to different places. One brother fled to neighboring Guinea...My brother who stayed in Bomi County saw people in my brother's house and told them to leave and they just shot him. I had nine siblings. One brother was a diplomat in Sierra Leone. Another brother lived in New York. Another brother fled to Guinea – I think he is still there. My oldest brother has not been heard from up to today. He just disappeared from the face of the earth. We believe he is most likely dead. One brother fled to Ghana. He is still there today. My sister came here too...I have two siblings still in Liberia.¹

The West African nation of Liberia is recovering from years of conflict characterized by egregious violations of human rights that dramatically increased the Liberian diaspora. From 1979 until 2003, the Liberian people survived a bloody coup d'état, years of military rule, and two violent civil wars. The atrocities were the result of complex historical and geopolitical factors. The slave trade, U.S. efforts to return slaves and free African Americans to Africa, the abuse of the indigenous population by a ruling oligarchy, the looting of the country's natural resources by its own corrupt government and by foreign interests, and the political ambitions of other African leaders all contributed to the conflict. Using inhuman tactics, key individuals and their supporters seized upon the chaos and strife in Liberia to gain power and to amass wealth. The international community, including the United States, failed to take effective action to limit the bloodshed.

Out of a prewar population of three million, an estimated 250,000 people were killed, and as many as 1.5 million people were displaced. A mass exodus fleeing the fighting created Liberian diaspora communities in many countries around the world, including the United States. Tens of thousands of Liberians live in the United States (reportedly more than 30,000 in Minnesota alone), in the United Kingdom, and in refugee settlements in the West African subregion.

The violence finally ended in 2003, but the peace remains fragile. The conflict's impact is evident in the streets of Monrovia, the homes of villagers in the Liberian countryside, and Liberian gathering places in London, Philadelphia, Staten Island, and elsewhere. Many Liberians were forced from their homes and deprived of their education and livelihood. They are suffering from physical and psychological trauma and are separated from their families by death or distance. Deeply felt conflicts continue to divide the Liberian people at home and abroad. Corruption, both real and perceived, continues to pervade the society. Liberia's infrastructure was destroyed and remains badly damaged; security is a very real concern. The many Liberians who

lack the most basic means of subsistence seek food, work, health care, education, and a future. Increasingly, Liberians also are calling for justice. These demands are made to a government that struggles with few resources and an unstable security situation.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia (TRC) was originally agreed upon in the August 2003 Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement and was established by legislative act in 2005. The TRC was created to “promote national peace, security, unity and reconciliation,” and at the same time make it possible to hold perpetrators accountable for the gross human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law that occurred in Liberia between January 1979 and October 2003.

While more than 30 countries have implemented some form of truth commission process, the Liberian TRC is the first such body to involve diaspora² Liberians in every aspect of the truth seeking process. Diaspora Liberians provided advisory input on the operation of the project, participated in outreach, gave statements, and testified in public hearings held in the diaspora. This groundbreaking effort gave Liberians in the diaspora a voice in the truthseeking, accountability, and reconciliation processes in Liberia.

At the request of the TRC, The Advocates for Human Rights (The Advocates) coordinated the work of the TRC in the diaspora. Since January 2007, The Advocates has documented statements from Liberians in the United States, the United Kingdom, and in the Buduburam Refugee Settlement in Ghana, West Africa. The TRC held public hearings in St. Paul, Minnesota, USA in June 2008 to gather public testimony from Liberians in the U.S. diaspora. This work could not have been undertaken without the more than \$10 million in inkind contributions and pro bono hours donated over two years to the TRC Diaspora Project by individuals, partner law firms, and institutions around the United States and in the United Kingdom. This report presents an analysis of TRC statements and public hearing testimony as well as extensive background interviews and secondary source research by The Advocates and its pro bono partners.

BACKGROUND

Liberia is located on the Atlantic coast of West Africa and encompasses a territory of 43,000 square miles. The country shares borders with Sierra Leone to the northwest, Guinea to the northeast, and Côte d’Ivoire to the southeast. Liberia’s 15 counties generally correspond to territories historically claimed by particular Liberian indigenous ethnic groups. English is the official language of Liberia, although more than 20 indigenous languages and a form of English known as Liberian English are also spoken.

Liberia was partly shaped by the transatlantic slave trade. In the early eighteenth century, a group of prominent white Americans developed a plan to return freed blacks to Africa. Beginning in 1822, freeborn black Americans, freed slaves of African descent, and Africans freed from captured slave ships were settled by the American Colonization Society on lands that later became Liberia. This group of a few thousand settlers, never more than 5 percent of the Liberian population, became known as Americo-Liberians.

While Liberia has often been hailed as one of the only African nations never to be colonized, the historical facts are more complex. Although Liberia was not colonized by a Western power, the Americo-Liberian dominated government administered the country in ways reminiscent of colonial governments across the continent. The settlements of repatriated Africans were in fact governed by white American agents of the American Colonization Society for the first several years of their existence. Although the U.S. government funded much of the American Colonization Society efforts, it never sought to formally establish itself as a colonial power in Liberia. Liberia became a sovereign nation under Americo-Liberian rule in 1847. The indigenous inhabitants of the territory claimed for Liberia were largely antagonistic to the establishment of the Liberian nation. In fact, the American Colonization Society and later the fledgling Liberian government were at war with various indigenous tribes over territory and trade routes throughout the 1800s.

Liberia developed into a relatively stable oligarchy under (an almost exclusive) Americo-Liberian government through the 1800s and early 1900s. By the 1970s, however, tensions within Liberia were escalating. Riots broke out in 1979 in the capital city of Monrovia. In 1980, a military coup took place, resulting in the murder of the president, the summary execution of 13 government ministers, and the installation of Samuel Doe, an army master sergeant, as the new national leader. Doe ruled the country for the next decade. In 1985, Thomas Quiwonkpa led a group of fighters in a failed coup attempt against Doe, launching the country into further turmoil. In 1989, Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) invaded Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire, setting off two civil wars that raged until 2003, involving more than 10 rebel factions, and impacting the entire West African subregion.

SETTING THE STAGE FOR CONFLICT

An important aspect of the TRC's mandate is the examination of the root causes of the conflict that engulfed Liberia. All individuals who agreed to be interviewed as part of the TRC process were asked their opinions about the roots of the conflict in Liberia. Several key themes emerged from the more than 1,500 statements documented in the United States, the United Kingdom, and in Ghana. Liberians identified the following as contributory elements in setting the stage for the conflict in Liberia as well as

exacerbating the conflict and leading to loss of life and the destruction of the Liberian nation:

- oppressive dominance of the Americo-Liberian oligarchy over the indigenous peoples of Liberia,
- greed and corruption at the international, national, corporate, and individual level,
- breakdown of the rule of law,
- interference of foreign governments in Liberian affairs,
- conflicts among indigenous groups, and
- failure of the United States to intervene to stop the fighting.

Americo-Liberian Dominance

As Liberia began to establish itself as a new nation, a small number of Americo-Liberian families and their patronage networks dominated all aspects of government, the security sector, commerce, and social advancement. Government in Liberia was the domain of the Americo-Liberian controlled True Whig Party. Although other political parties existed, opposition to True Whig Party dominance was systematically repressed. Control of the Liberian territory and the indigenous tribes that lived there was established by the Liberian Frontier Force, later named the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). Commerce with the outside world was centrally controlled by the Monrovia based government to the detriment of those who lived outside the city. TRC statements reflect the opinion that this oligarchic governance structure led to an excessive concentration of power in the presidency, lack of education and other opportunities for those of non Americo-Liberian origin, and impunity for corruption and systematic human rights abuses.

The administrations of Presidents William Tubman and William Tolbert sought to reach out to the indigenous tribes and increase their involvement in government and society. Their efforts, however, were perceived by many to be insufficient, and their administrations were perceived to be corrupt. In 1979, rumors and widespread belief that President Tolbert planned to raise the price of rice to economically benefit him and his family led to protests and demonstrations known as the Rice Riots. The Tolbert administration's brutal suppression of the Rice Riots and the administration's use of foreign troops further entrenched the socioeconomic and ethnic divides in Liberian society and heightened popular grievances. Many who provided TRC statements perceived the Rice Riots to have been the beginning of Liberia's civil crisis.

Corruption

Liberia has significant natural resources, including timber, gold, diamonds, and rubber. Historically, the majority of Liberians have not benefited significantly from the exploitation of these natural resources.

The concentration of state power among a few influential families meant that the government served the financial interests of those families and their networks. Special deals were reached with a multitude of foreign business interests. Most notably, the 1925 lease of one million acres of land on highly favorable terms to the Firestone Rubber Company led to the creation of the world's largest rubber plantation. In the late 1920s the True Whig Party forcibly recruited workers for the Firestone plantation and other projects through its Labor Bureau and the Liberian Frontier Force, which meted out harsh punishments to indigenous leaders unable or unwilling to supply workers. A League of Nations investigation of the practices led to the resignation of one Liberian president. Labor practices at Firestone remain the subject of ongoing litigation in U.S. federal court.

With the concentration of power and lack of economic opportunity, corruption and abuse of power spread to virtually all sectors of Liberian government. Corruption became endemic across ministries, the security forces, civil service, and the judiciary.

Liberians have had little faith in judicial institutions to protect their interests or fundamental rights. Inadequate compensation for judicial officers and the influence of Liberian patrimonial governance structures subjected the judiciary to political, social, familial, and financial pressures. In addition, corruption and abuse of power in the security forces went unchecked by the judiciary and the state, leading to further deterioration of the rule of law. The breakdown in the rule of law and a history of pervasive illicit enrichment frustrated those seeking true democratic change in Liberia and led some to advocate the use of force to attain change. These entrenched aspects of life in Liberia exacerbated behavior during the civil conflict. Vigilantism became widespread, with multiple statement givers reporting that combatants used their newfound power to seek revenge for past losses. Wartime looting and theft of property from those perceived as having benefited from the system of illicit enrichment were also commonly reported to the TRC.

The Role of the United States

The United States played an important role in Liberia's founding and the development of its governing structures. Many of the patterns of governance that became established in Liberia, including overcentralization of power, were imported by members of the American Colonization Society. American Colonization Society members initially

governed the colonies that later became Liberia, and they modeled government institutions on those of the United States. The authoritarian and paternalistic management style of the American Colonization Society played a role in establishing the systems from which the conflicts arose. The United States also played a role in exacerbating the conflict itself, most notably through its silence and inaction. The U.S. government failed to act at critical times throughout the conflict. During the height of the civil war, the United States stood by and watched, limiting its efforts to the evacuation of Americans. Many Liberian statement givers expressed the view that the United States had a special duty to assist a nation it founded and that the United States' failure to do so led to thousands of deaths. The former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who was in Liberia in 1991, testified before the TRC that he believed U.S. intervention could have potentially reduced the violence and saved the country's infrastructure, but that plans to intervene were never implemented.

Other International Actors

Statement givers identified other international actors who contributed to Liberia's chaos. The politics of the Cold War and longstanding relations among African nations also served to exacerbate and probably to lengthen the conflict in Liberia.

Libya, in particular, was an important source of arms, training, and money throughout the conflict period. Muammar al Qadhafi of Libya reportedly hoped to unite African nations in an alliance against the United States. Libya was one of the first nations to establish ties to the Doe regime, and Libyans invested money in Liberia during the early 1980s. When Doe developed strong relations with the United States and Israel, Qadhafi recruited Liberian dissidents and trained them in Libyan camps. Most notable among the trainees was Charles Taylor. Qadhafi's support of, and ongoing relations with, Taylor continued after Taylor came to power. Libya served as a major source of weapons for the war.

Taylor also received important support from the governments of Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, which served as places of refuge for the fighters and provided training and other means of support. Other subregional actors, including Guinea and Sierra Leone, contributed support to various fighting factions as they emerged to contest Taylor's regime. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), led by Nigeria, became involved in the Liberian conflict as peacekeepers. The ECOWAS peacekeeping force, known as ECOMOG, was a lifeline for many Liberians, but at times contributed to human rights abuses rather than preventing them.

Tribalism

Statement givers identified the growing prominence of tribalism as a factor that became entrenched during the years of Samuel Doe's rule in Liberia. The Americo-Liberian oligarchy had established its dominance in Liberia by marginalizing all indigenous groups and establishing patrimonial networks based on fidelity to the True Whig Party, an ostensibly nontribal entity but an effectively Americo-Liberian institution. In attempting to establish his own system of patrimony distinct from the traditional Americo-Liberian system, Doe relied on family and tribal affiliation to ensure loyalty. Statement givers perceived Doe to have favored his own small tribe, the Krahn, as well as the Mandingo. During Liberia's two civil wars, fighting factions established themselves along tribal lines, and because language and dress were often easy indicators, tribe became an easy – but far from accurate – method for identifying perceived enemies. Overcoming tribalism was an oft repeated refrain amongst statement givers, who identified it as one of the continuing problems in the Liberian homeland and diaspora.

A HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN CRISIS: LIBERIA 1979-2003

Starting with the government response to the Rice Riots of 1979 and continuing through the Doe administration (1980-1989), the First Liberian Civil War (1989-1997), and the administration of Charles Taylor and the Second Liberian Civil War (1997-2003), severe human rights and humanitarian abuses were pervasive in Liberia.

Liberia is a signatory to key international instruments protecting fundamental human rights, including the African Convention on Human and Peoples' Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Geneva Conventions, and numerous other instruments that protect the rights of specific groups, such as women and children. During both the Doe and Taylor regimes, the government refused to take responsibility for the actions of its functionaries in carrying out abuses. Moreover, Doe, Taylor, and their close associates were directly implicated by statement givers in personally perpetrating human rights abuses. The perpetuation of human rights abuses with complete impunity was a defining feature of the TRC mandate period, and numerous statement givers narrated their futile attempts to obtain justice for abuses committed against them.

From the bloody coup that led to his assumption of power until his death, Samuel Doe was reportedly responsible for massacres, disappearances, summary executions, imprisonments without trial, and systematic suppression of perceived opposition. Although Charles Taylor was initially welcomed by many Liberians as a liberator who would bring an end to the tyrannical rule of Samuel Doe, it soon became clear that the

Taylor era would be as oppressive, if not worse, than anything experienced under Doe.

Taylor's NPFL forces invaded Liberia in December 1989, touching off a full scale civil war. During the early 1990s, as Taylor's NPFL marched through the country and then laid siege to Monrovia, hundreds of thousands of Liberians fled in the face of abuses against the civilian population. Additional warring factions soon emerged, including the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), and Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). Each was itself responsible for human rights and humanitarian law violations.

During the Liberian civil wars, fighters committed wide ranging violations of international humanitarian law. Statement givers reported massacres, rape as a weapon of war, torture, summary executions, collective punishments, violence to life, health, and mental wellbeing, as well as innumerable threats and outrages upon personal dignity. Fighting factions were implicated by statement givers in carrying out attacks on civilian populations and other noncombatants, such as medical personnel, humanitarian workers, and peacekeepers. Moreover, statement givers reported that fighting factions targeted refugee populations in cross border raids. In many instances, statement givers who were victimized could not identify which faction was perpetrating the abuses because of the general chaos created, and the fact that fighters rarely wore identifiable uniforms.

One statement giver's account of violence is representative of the scope of the human rights abuses and level of brutality many Liberians suffered:

At the initial stages of the war, I moved to 9th Street in Sinkor, Monrovia...The children were outside cleaning the yard. Suddenly they ran inside and said that they saw armed men coming. Moments later, Taylor's men busted in. One of them said, "This is the dog I'm looking for." He told us to come outside. Myself, my ten children, and my wife obeyed.

The NPFL [commander] knew me...He had run against me in an election...before the war. He said to me, "You cheated me during the election, but now I am in power. I will teach you a lesson you will never forget."

He told his NPFL boys to take my eldest daughter into the

house. She was thirteen years old. They dragged her inside and dragged me in after her. [The commander] raped my daughter in front of me. My father (my daughter's grandfather) was still in the house. He rushed at the NPFL men, trying to stop the rape. One of the men – I don't know his name – shot and killed my [father] right there.

[The commander] then brought me and my daughter back outside. He said, "I'm going to show you what I came here for." He beat the children with the butt of his gun. He made two of my sons, who were seventeen and twenty, drink dirty water with the urine of one of the NPFL men in it. When the twenty year old refused, he shot him in the foot. [The commander] stabbed my other son, who was eighteen, in the elbow with his bayonet.

He then began to beat my wife. He told her to lay on her back and stare at the sun. [The commander] said, "You will eat your husband's heart very soon." He took the daughter who had been raped. [The commander] held her and said, "I want you to know how you all will die." He ordered one of his men to cut off my daughter's head. She was beheaded in front of our eyes.

They dragged me over to lay beside her body. [The commander] said, "You will be the next one."

Then I heard heavy shooting. ECOMOG was coming. The NPFL scattered. Before [the commander] left, he made a remark. He said, "Anywhere in Liberia I meet you or your family, I will kill you."³

One of the most harmful aspects of the conflict was the recruitment and use of child soldiers, a tactic employed by Taylor's forces, but also used by other factions. Children, sometimes as young as six or seven, were taken from their families, given drugs and guns, and forced to kill. Psychological techniques used to ensure their loyalty and fanaticism, such as forcing them to rape or kill their own family members, had the additional effect of preventing their return home. Thousands of former child soldiers now live in Liberia as well as in neighboring countries and the diaspora. With little or no education, they have few useful skills and are dealing with the trauma of violence and war. Providing appropriate care and services to former child

soldiers remains one of the most difficult challenges for Liberia.

While men, women, and children all experienced the violence and trauma of the war, women and girls also were targets of gender-based violence. Already vulnerable due to a patriarchal culture and discrimination that existed before the conflict, women were subjected to widespread sexual abuse during and after the fighting. Many of these acts were public and brutal.

THE DIASPORA EXPERIENCE

The Advocates' staff and volunteers met with hundreds of Liberians in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Buduburam Refugee Settlement in Ghana. Although not all diaspora Liberians who gave statements fled as a result of the conflict, the general impression is that there is not a single Liberian anywhere who has not been affected in some way by the Liberian conflict.

The Liberian diaspora before 1980 was composed mostly of students and individuals with diplomatic and business connections in the international community. The Liberian conflict fundamentally altered the nature of the Liberian diaspora, however, both by increasing the diaspora's size and by changing its composition to reflect the political, economic, and social divides in Liberia during the conflict. Liberians who were outside of Liberia at the time of the Doe coup, and later when the civil wars erupted through the 1990s, found themselves trapped with neither support nor the means to return home. Liberians describe their desperation in attempting to learn news of family members and events in Liberia. Many lost touch with their parents, children, spouses, and extended families for years, and many are still seeking to learn what happened to loved ones.

In the mid to late 1990s, as refugees began to be resettled from camps in the West African subregion, the scale of the atrocities became clear to both Liberians and non-Liberians around the world. The pattern of abuses described in TRC statements reflects a well known concept among refugee service providers – the “triple trauma” paradigm. First, Liberians in the diaspora were traumatized within Liberia to the extent that they decided to flee. Second, Liberians were traumatized during their flight through Liberia and in their attempts to cross international borders. Third, Liberians experienced trauma living as refugees.

Flight

TRC statements reflect that, at the beginning of the war in 1990, many Liberians hoped they could hide for a period of time until the conflict abated. Accordingly, many initially fled their homes in Monrovia to seek refuge in the rural areas. Others hid

within Monrovia, moving from place to place to avoid being targeted. Statement givers consistently described a triggering event after which they decided they had to get out of the country. This trigger very often was the violent murder, torture, or abduction of family members by one of the fighting factions. Others described being threatened or coming home one day to find everyone gone or their homes destroyed. This level of violence and fear forced many Liberians to flee by any means necessary.

Those Liberians who fled by land described walking for weeks and sometimes months, often wounded or guiding children and others who were unable to travel alone. Food, water, medical care, and safety were virtually impossible to find. Many died from starvation and otherwise minor ailments en route. Others were abducted or killed during encounters with fighting factions along the few open escape routes. Those Liberians who escaped by sea describe fighting their fellow Liberians, and sometimes international peacekeepers, for hours to enter the Freeport of Monrovia and to board any ship not already overrun with refugees.

Border crossing was another high risk endeavor. Liberians tell of loved ones drowning in the Cavalla River between Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire or traversing the seas in small fishing boats or dugout canoes to get to Sierra Leone. They describe being assaulted, jailed, and fined. They were subject to extortion at border checkpoints set up by Liberian fighters on one side of the border and then again at checkpoints set up by authorities in neighboring countries. Those on large transport vessels coming out of the port often fared no better, as other African nations turned away several ships full of refugees, leaving them to languish at sea for days with little food, water, or medical care.

Refugee

Once in refugee camps, the trauma for many Liberians did not end. The plight of Liberians in the West African subregion demonstrates the failures in the international refugee protection system. Hundreds of thousands of refugees arrived in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire, with some staying in formal camps and others integrating into the local population as best they could. As the war dragged on and spread to Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, huge intraregional refugee flows were created. Many Liberians report having moved through more than one country, and sometimes as many as four or five, as they tried to escape cross border raids or impending civil war in their country of refuge. Often, those in camps were targeted by host country nationals or by cross border attacks from warring factions in Liberia.

Liberians who could do so fled to Ghana, which offered relative safety because of its stable political situation and because it does not share a border with Liberia. A refugee settlement was established at Buduburam, outside the Ghanaian capital of Accra. The

Advocates interviewed Liberians in Buduburam during the spring and fall of 2007, at which point there were more than 35,000 Liberians living in the settlement.

Liberians in Buduburam narrated the same horrific stories of war trauma as Liberians in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Liberia. The distinguishing feature was that many of these statement givers had been in Buduburam for up to 18 “wasted years.” During this time, Liberians in Buduburam have experienced the effects of “donor fatigue” many times over, as programs and nongovernmental organizations have come and gone, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has changed, and Ghanaian policies have fluctuated. Although conditions in the settlement have certainly improved over the years – tents have disappeared and permanent structures have been erected, for example – the settlement still lacks many basic services almost two decades after the first refugees arrived. Running water remains unavailable 18 years after the camp was established. Instead, water is trucked in for purchase. Access to food remains a problem for thousands in the camp. There are two part time doctors working in a single clinic that serves the entire population. Sanitation is a major challenge. Limited toilet facilities are available for a fee; many residents must use the open fields surrounding the camps as toilets. Many children are not attending school because their caregivers cannot afford to pay the fees. Security also remains a concern, and sexual assault is an acute problem.

Despite these problems, Liberians in the camp have been ingenious in meeting their own needs by starting businesses, schools, communitybased organizations, and faith-based institutions. Generally, Liberians who are doing well receive remittance payments from relatives who have managed to resettle elsewhere. Although remittance support assists many, the population remains vulnerable. Education beyond the elementary level and employment opportunities are available only to the very few. Liberian professionals find themselves with little to do because they have been unable to obtain work in Ghana. Those young Liberians who are able to get vocational training or a Ghanaian degree find themselves in a similar situation. Many make ends meet by engaging in petty trading, braiding hair, or relying on the generosity of friends. Others, especially young women desperate to feed their families, turn to prostitution.

For Liberians still in Buduburam, life has become a waiting game. They wait to see if Liberia might be safe enough for a return; they wait for UNHCR or Ghana to decide they must leave; or most of all, they wait to leave the camp on a family reunification visa or through luck in one of the resettlement/visa lottery programs to the United States or the United Kingdom.

Resettlement

Of the more than 1,600 statements collected in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ghana, more than 230 statements came from Liberians who had settled in the United States or the United Kingdom. These statement givers' experiences, coupling resettlement in a new country with retained ties to a homeland, depicted their lives in "a house with two rooms."⁴ Expectations for life in the west are extremely high, but the realities of life do not always meet these expectations. TRC statement givers generally express gratitude for the opportunities, safety, and freedoms they find in their countries of resettlement. Statement givers also discussed the challenges they faced in adapting to new countries. Some challenges may be found in any immigrant population, but Liberians noted that they faced unique challenges for a variety of reasons, including the legacy of war trauma. Initially, many Liberians described feeling isolated without the strong social support systems of Liberian communities. Liberians, particularly those in the United States, described difficulty adapting to different cultural expectations and laws regarding gender roles and raising children. Many Liberians with professional training are not able to work in their chosen profession in the United States – credentials from Liberia often are not recognized, and work experience from outside the United States is not valued. In addition, Liberians report discrimination because of their accents and describe challenges related to racism.

The legacy of the Liberian conflict also weighs heavily on the resettled Liberian diaspora. Liberians describe immense pressure and often guilt about providing financial support to family and others back in Liberia or in refugee camps. The pressure to supply remittances impacts all aspects of life, causing many to limit their own opportunities or education so they can provide immediate support to those at home. Many Liberians in the diaspora still suffer from physical and mental health problems resulting from the conflict. Liberians report a general lack of recognition of these problems in the community – mental health issues, in particular, – and report that Liberians often do not seek out needed services.

The war has left deeprooted resentments and divisions along ethnic and political lines in the resettled diaspora. Liberians exchange accusations of human rights violations and allow anger over real or perceived wartime abuses to inhibit effective community action. Meetings of tribal associations are said to be more popular and draw better attendance than meetings of pan Liberian associations. Memories of the war are exacerbated for those individuals who see their perpetrators walking freely in their communities. Yet fear of retribution, either in the diaspora or against relatives back home, deters many people from making open accusations.

Twenty years of war have devastated Liberia. Even though important steps have been taken since 2003 to make improvements in governance, infrastructure, education, and

health care, much remains to be done in all those sectors. Many people in Liberia lost everything they had – possessions, homes, families, security, and employment. Nevertheless many Liberians repeatedly told the TRC of their desire to return home and aid their country in its recovery.

OVERVIEW OF RECOMMENDATIONS FROM DIASPORA TRC STATEMENTS

Statement givers in the diaspora had strong opinions about the measures that should be put into place in Liberia to help the nation recover and move forward. While there was not clear agreement on every issue, major themes emerged.

Statement givers in the diaspora identified a reexamination of the very foundations of Liberia’s national image as a critical piece of moving into the future. Many felt that the history of their own nation should be rewritten and that longstanding national symbols should be remade to create a new, more inclusive image for Liberia. Underpinning this theme was a sense of falsity within the current national narrative and symbols, as well as a desire to reflect the “truth” of Liberia’s national identity. Part of establishing the truth of Liberia’s national identity for some statement givers focused on national symbols, from the national seal to street signs and place names.

The role of ethnic identity and the relationships between tribes were mentioned by many Liberians as an important component of any recommendations that the TRC issues. Statement givers saw the issue of “tribe” as critical to building a united Liberia. Statement givers had some very specific ideas about how to involve the tribes in reconciliation efforts, including forming intertribal reconciliation committees, using sports, culture, and food to bring people of different tribes together, engaging tribal elders, and ensuring that people are educated to communicate in a common language. To build a unified Liberia, the importance of religious tolerance also was raised by many statement givers, particularly Muslims. Developing wide ranging non-discrimination policies across government and the public sector also was an important theme.

Addressing the legacy of conflict through reparations was raised by many. Suggestions for reparations took many different forms. For many in the United States and the United Kingdom, the return of or compensation for lost property is an important component of reparation.⁵ Throughout the diaspora, but especially in Ghana, many wanted assistance with finding family members who had scattered and disappeared.⁶ Several statement givers recognized the need to assist children orphaned by the war.⁷ Most statement givers who made specific recommendations about orphans stressed the need for education and vocational training.⁸ Addressing the needs of victims of sexual violence was also an important theme. Statement givers focused on the need for accountability for crimes of sexual violence. The

recommendations ranged from identifying or confronting their rapists⁹ to bringing perpetrators to justice.¹⁰ In addition to dealing with the consequences of sexual violence from the conflict, prevailing cultural, historical, political, legal, and economic forces render gender inequality an ongoing concern for many Liberian women who expressed their desire to see gender roles reevaluated.¹¹ Reasserting the role of elders in communities and ensuring their protection going forward was also an important recommendation.

Meeting the needs of war affected persons such as refugees, internally displaced persons, and former child combatants was also an important component of reparations for many statement givers. Refugees remaining in the West African subregion noted that their basic needs for food and water, safety and security, physical and mental health care, education, sanitation, and employment were not being met. Internally displaced people face many of the same challenges to basic health and safety in their daily lives. Improving communication to these groups from UNHCR, non-governmental organizations, and the government of Liberia was identified as a critical need. Primary among the suggestions for reparations, however, was support for war-affected persons. One top concern was ensuring that former combatants be rehabilitated. For example, one statement giver said that “I want the TRC people to help all the children that fought the war so that they can stop doing wicked things again.”¹² Many suggested increased vocational training and other educational programs directed specifically at these individuals.¹³ Another recommendation was to provide direct assistance to victims. “The people of Liberia who were harmed throughout wartime need to be compensated and...the government of Liberia needs to look into how to accomplish this.”¹⁴

Changes to the system of Liberian government were a major theme amongst statement givers’ recommendations. As described earlier, corruption was seen by many as a major root cause of the Liberian civil crisis. Accordingly, many statement givers identified ending corruption as the first item on an important agenda of necessary governmental reform. Ending corruption was often linked with other important reforms, such as a fair pay scale for civil servants,¹⁵ reform of the national judiciary, and decentralization of power.¹⁶ The theme of equality and nondiscrimination also ran through comments about governmental reform. Putting an end to nepotism was an important recommendation for many statement givers.¹⁷ Finally, many statement givers discussed reestablishing the rule of law,¹⁸ creating respect for human rights,¹⁹ and developing a true democracy in Liberia.²⁰ Several expatriate journalists discussed the importance of guaranteeing freedom of the press as a check on the government and a support to democracy.²¹ Statement givers stressed the importance of the protection of a free and independent media to Liberia’s future. Throughout Liberia’s history, the Liberian government has exerted significant ownership over the media, and achieving a sustainable private media has been a struggle. Political influence and ties must be

broken before the media can truly achieve independence.

Statement givers from Rhode Island to London to Ghana were in agreement that rebuilding both physical and human capital must be a top priority in Liberia. Those items that topped the priority list included roads (specifically those between the rural areas and Monrovia),²² the health system (specifically more facilities equally distributed through the counties),²³ and the education system (specifically free education)²⁴ Electricity was also mentioned consistently, although somewhat less often than the other three.²⁵ Finally, sanitation, including clean drinking water and available toilets, was also mentioned by statement givers, as was rebuilding the agricultural sector.²⁶ Statement givers highlighted the close links between education, infrastructure, and development in their recommendations. One statement giver remarked that “if you increase human capital in Liberia by improving the minds of the people there, infrastructure and all else will come as a result.”²⁷

Statement givers were clear in their desire for an end to impunity for human rights and humanitarian violations that took place in Liberia. No consensus emerged, however, on what type of punitive measures should be put into place. Statement givers’ opinions covered the full range, from apologies to lustration to a war crimes court. Statement givers were, nevertheless, acutely aware of the complexities of trying to apply these measures on a large scale. Many in the diaspora, especially those in the United States, feel that effective prosecutions are a critical antiimpunity measure.²⁸ Opinions about who should be prosecuted and under whose authority varied. Other statement givers told the TRC they had concerns that prosecutions were impractical and would “open old wounds.”²⁹ This view was more prevalent in Ghana than in the United States or the United Kingdom. For example, one statement giver in Ghana noted that there “can’t be prosecutions because everyone participated.”³⁰ Regardless of the statement giver’s opinion on prosecutions, one consistent theme was that perpetrators should tell the truth of what they did, apologize, and ask for forgiveness.³¹

Whether through prosecution, reparation, or apology and forgiveness, Liberians across the diaspora recognized the need for reconciliation and healing the wounds of the Liberian nation. Based on the emergent themes in TRC statements from the diaspora, The Advocates has compiled a comprehensive list of recommendations based on international human rights standards. The Advocates envisions that these will provide a foundation from which the TRC can draw insight for its own recommendations to the government of Liberia.

Chapter Two



Priority Recommendations

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia (TRC) requested that The Advocates for Human Rights (The Advocates) address the full scope of Liberia's international legal obligations in The Advocates' report. We have presented that information, in consideration of the Liberian context, in Chapter 14 at the end of this report.

Priority Recommendations at a Glance

- Addressing the Immediate Needs of Victims
- Addressing the Immediate Needs of Refugees and the Displaced
- Addressing the Immediate Needs of Special Populations
- Ensuring Civil and Political Rights Are Guaranteed Immediately
- Ensuring Justice and Ending Impunity
- Addressing Corruption
- Ensuring Economic and Social Rights and Development
- Implementation of TRC Recommendations
- Taking Steps toward Reconciliation
- United States & International Community Action

The current chapter contains priority areas that The Advocates suggest should be highlighted and addressed immediately. Prioritizing recommendations in the context of a truth and reconciliation commission is a task that borders on the impossible. The priority areas set forth here reflect a struggle between the many competing needs and rightful demands of the Liberians with whom The Advocates interacted in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ghana. It also reflects the framework of international human rights that The Advocates seeks to promote and protect.

The Advocates recognizes that all of the following recommendations are important. Many measures, such as combating corruption and ensuring education, are integral to healing, justice, and non-repetition. The Advocates ultimately decided, however, to present recommendations in a sequence that

acknowledges the need to address the most urgent rehabilitative needs of victims and other vulnerable populations. Truth and reconciliation commissions are designed in large measure to be victim-centered processes. They cannot make victims whole, but unlike prosecutions and many other measures that focus on perpetrators, truth and reconciliation commissions document and validate the experiences of victims. Accordingly, victims' needs should be at the center of the TRC process. The sequences of priorities here is also consistent with the TRC's mandate to heed the experiences of women, children, and vulnerable groups. Providing some remediation for the violations they suffered should register at the top of any post-TRC action plan.

ADDRESSING THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF VICTIMS

The government of Liberia should adopt measures to address the immediate needs of war affected persons. The ongoing physical and mental health effects of war trauma negatively impact the quality of life of innumerable Liberians and impede their ability

to productively contribute to Liberia's development. Although related to the economic, social, and cultural rights to which all Liberians are entitled, the needs of victims of war trauma are distinct and merit special inclusion and high priority.

- The government of Liberia should ensure that victims' critical physical and mental health needs are addressed. For example, victims of sexual violence have an immediate need for medical services such as diagnosis and treatment of sexually transmitted infections, as well as other reproductive health concerns. Victims of other types of trauma have an immediate need for medical treatment to alleviate chronic pain and other ailments. Many former child soldiers require access to drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs.
- The government should ensure that victims have access to basic necessities, such as food, potable water, clothing, and shelter.
- The government should support the reintegration and rehabilitation of victims into their community and society, which requires public sensitization, as well as educational programs.
- Literacy programs, skills training, vocational and technical programs, and other education should be made available free of charge to victims. The government of Liberia should work with other organizations to create jobs, employment programs, microcredit schemes, and business training opportunities.
- The government should facilitate family tracing and reunification through cooperation, legal measures, the issuance of documents, and provision of information.
- The government of Liberia should dedicate adequate resources, financial support, and political will to implementing the TRC's recommendations concerning a reparations program, ensuring that the public is informed and has the opportunity to present and to receive collective claims.

ADDRESSING THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF REFUGEES AND THE DISPLACED

- The governments of Ghana and other host countries should immediately cease any activities that seek to pressure persons with refugee status to return to Liberia. The host governments should recognize the continuation of refugee status for certain individuals, including those with valid asylum claims, humanitarian needs, and established familial, social, or economic links in the host country. The host governments should adopt measures to give effect to the rights of refugees, paying attention to the right to work, right to health, right to property, and the right to education.
- Host countries, the government of Liberia, and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) should ensure that any repatriation process is carried out in accordance with international guidelines on safe, voluntary, and dignified repatriation.
- The government of Liberia should provide internally displaced people with safe

access to food, potable water, shelter, clothing, sanitation, and health care, taking into account the special needs of particularly vulnerable populations within this group.

- The government of Liberia should ensure that returning refugees and displaced persons have access to vocational and/or agricultural training and other services to enable them to provide support for themselves and their families.

ADDRESSING THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF SPECIAL POPULATIONS

- The government of Liberia should adopt measures to protect the rights of children to enjoy an adequate standard of living and the highest attainable standard of health. The government should strive to give effect to these rights, paying particular attention to needs of children formerly associated with fighting forces, children separated from their families, and orphans. Prime among recommendations is ensuring that children enjoy the right to education without discrimination, which includes eliminating user fees and increasing girls' enrollment. In addition, the government should ensure that all children are protected against economic exploitation, including child labor, and it should adopt measures to eliminate harmful traditional practices. Harmful traditional practices include practices that are rooted in traditional cultural beliefs but which violate internationally accepted human rights norms, such as female genital mutilation.
- The government of Liberia should adopt measures to eliminate discrimination against women in both law and practice, paying attention to the particular needs of rural, disabled and elderly women. This includes ending violence against women, social and cultural patterns that harm women (including traditional practices), early or forced marriage, and female genital mutilation. The government should strive to ensure that women enjoy the protection of, and equal access to, the law as do men, which includes measures to increase availability of free legal aid, gender-sensitive trainings for legal, court, and law enforcement personnel, and appropriate legislative reform.
- The government of Liberia should adopt measures to meet older persons' needs, including their access to health care and food, water, shelter, and clothing paying particular attention to elderly women.

ENSURING CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS ARE GUARANTEED IMMEDIATELY

- The government of Liberia should ensure that the inherent integrity and dignity of the person is respected. The government should immediately repeal legislation that authorizes capital punishment and commute the death sentences of any inmates. It should take measures to prevent and to punish acts of torture,

slavery and involuntary servitude, and forced labor within its jurisdiction.

- The government of Liberia should ensure that its administration of justice, police and penal system, and press freedoms comply with international legal standards. Liberia's history of abusive arrest and detention practices necessitates adherence to principles of international law relative to arrest and detention of prisoners, for which the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides the guiding framework. The government should prioritize guaranteeing a fair and impartial judiciary through the development and dissemination of a judicial code of conduct, trainings, the codification of employment terms, and appropriate disciplinary measures as needed, for which the U.N. Principles on the Judiciary provide a guiding framework.
- The government of Liberia should prioritize improving the security situation in Liberia. Also, the government should ensure that its policies and procedures of the Liberian National Police and armed forces conform to international human rights standards and respect the basic rights enshrined in the Constitution of Liberia. The government should provide adequate support to the Liberian National Police in the areas it has identified as critical challenges, including training, infrastructure development, logistics, and information technology. The government should work closely with UNMIL and civil society to ensure law enforcement is trained to respect human rights, to facilitate effective civilian oversight of the police, and to provide procedures for Liberians to make complaints about police misconduct to an independent investigatory body. Recommendations related to ensuring justice and ending impunity are relevant to the promotion of security.

ENSURING JUSTICE AND ENDING IMPUNITY

- The government of Liberia must ensure that individuals responsible for serious crimes under international law are prosecuted. The government should consider both new and existing prosecution mechanisms to give effect to this obligation. The government should consider authorizing a special court, in consultation with civil society and the international community, to prosecute serious violations of law. Alternatively, or in addition, the government may consider pursuing international and regional mechanisms, as well as national courts in other jurisdictions, for prosecution.
- At all times, the government of Liberia should guarantee to anyone accused of a crime competent legal counsel and due process in accordance with international legal standards. All prosecutions should be carried out in a fair and impartial manner that protects the due process rights of the accused.
- The government of Liberia must ensure that any grants of amnesty do not benefit perpetrators of serious crimes under international law or prejudice victims' right to reparation or right to the truth.

- The government of Liberia should adopt measures for lustration and vetting to ensure that individuals personally responsible for violations of human rights do not serve as state officials or employees. Such measures must include due process protections for those individuals.

ADDRESSING CORRUPTION

- The government of should take measures to combat corruption across all sectors. The U.N. Convention against Corruption and the AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption provide a guiding framework. The government should criminalize and prosecute acts of bribery, embezzlement and misappropriation, abuse of functions, laundering criminal proceeds, and obstruction of justice. The government should provide adequate resources, financial support, and political will to the Anti-Corruption Commission.
- The government of Liberia should adopt and affirmatively implement and enforce hiring policies based on merit and not influenced by nepotism based on family, tribal or personal connections. The government should likewise develop and fund an independent complaint and enforcement mechanism to ensure compliance with such policies.

ENSURING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT

Meeting the needs of victims and ensuring that the nation moves forward requires the government to undertake longterm reforms of the education and health care sectors, as well as to undertake work on the right to development. The Advocates recognizes that, while many of the recommendations underpin recommendations related to victims, the government of Liberia must address the economic and social rights of all people.

- The government of Liberia should take measures to increase access to education. Such measures include working toward increased school enrollment of girls; taking steps to eliminate user fees imposed by schools; prioritizing the recruitment, training, retention of, and salary structures for teachers; and developing strategies for providing technical and vocational education to young people and adults.
- The government of Liberia should take measures to ensure access to timely and appropriate health care as envisaged by the right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health. Health care should be: available (in sufficient quantity); accessible (nondiscriminatory in physical, economic, and informational terms); acceptable (ethical and culturally and gender sensitive); and of good quality (in terms of goods, facilities, and personnel). Importantly, the right to health also includes sanitation, potable water, sufficient food,

nutrition, shelter and information, and a healthy environment.

- The government of Liberia should devote adequate resources and financial support to implementing the Poverty Reduction Strategy.
- The government of Liberia should work with other organizations to create jobs, employment programs, microcredit schemes, and business training opportunities.

IMPLEMENTATION OF TRC RECOMMENDATIONS

- The government of Liberia should dedicate adequate resources, financial support, and political will to implement the TRC's recommendations. To this end, the government should act promptly to expedite the establishment of the Independent National Commission on Human Rights, including making presidential appointments to the Commission, directing all relevant government entities to provide full support to the Commission, and widely and timely disseminating the TRC report and recommendations.
- Civil society should play an active role in monitoring and advocacy regarding the implementation of the TRC recommendations.

TAKING STEPS TOWARD RECONCILIATION

- The government of Liberia should adopt measures to regain national unity. In particular, this recommendation includes adopting measures to combat discrimination and to protect linguistic rights, land rights, and cultural rights, paying particular attention to disabled persons and minorities. Such efforts should cut across all sectors and levels, including constitutional and other legal reforms, changes to educational policies and curricula, and the development of national strategies to protect against discrimination and to promote social and cultural rights.
- The government of Liberia should take measures toward national reconciliation. Many of these steps are low cost or free and should be given priority:
 - The government of Liberia should amend the constitution to protect against discrimination and ensure that such protections are fully enforced through implementing legislation and practices.
 - The government of Liberia should take steps to modify its national image to fully reflect its history and people. Such steps may include renaming streets, public buildings and institutions; changing the national seal; changing or creating national days and holidays; and ensuring historical accounts more accurately reflect the contributions of all people.
 - The government of Liberia should take steps to facilitate intertribal reconciliation through activities that bring different tribes together, such as

social and sporting events.

UNITED STATES & INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ACTION

- The U.S. government should take immediate steps to allow Liberians registered under Deferred Enforced Departure status to apply for lawful permanent resident status.
- The U.S. government should take legislative and administrative steps to facilitate family reunification and respect the right to a family by revisiting denials of refugee resettlement applications and other family reunification petitions based on DNA evidence and by passing the Child Citizen Protection Act. The U.S. government should ensure that its definition of a “child” includes those children adopted under traditional, nonformal laws in Liberia.
- The U.S. government should ensure that Liberians in the United States can access health care that is culturally appropriate. Such services should take into account the specific Liberian context. For example, the government should expand federal funding for torture treatment and support programs that offer health services to former combatants and others who may be excluded because of their fighting status. Addressing mental health needs is a priority, and such efforts should include public education to overcome any stigmatization and the training of Liberian mental health workers.
- The U.S. government should take steps to ensure that Liberians have access to education that is age and language appropriate, paying particular attention to the literacy needs of Liberian women. This will require school systems to assess and to develop policies to accommodate native speakers of nonAmerican English and students whose age or educational progress may not match grade level structures.
- The U.S. government should support policies that integrate Liberian professionals into careers matching their skills and training. Employment services should seek to pair Liberians with jobs that match their training and background and to support peer mentoring programs.
- The U.S. government, and/or other appropriate organizations, should work in consultation with Liberian community leaders to develop a longterm strategy to facilitate reconciliation among Liberians in the diaspora, as well as support the creation of memorials.
- The U.S. government should cooperate with any prosecutions and act promptly to respond to requests for extradition. The U.S. government should explore prosecutions of foreign nationals for crimes committed outside of the United States, including those under the Genocide Accountability Act, Child Soldiers Accountability Act, War Crimes Act of 1996, and the Extraterritorial Torture Statute.
- The U.S. government should make foreign aid and technical assistance to Liberia

a priority, using the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness as a guiding framework. Such foreign aid should prioritize the redevelopment of Liberia and include recognition of the U.S. role in the conflict.

- The international community should act in accordance with its legal obligations to prosecute and to cooperate in prosecutions of serious crimes under international law. The international community should cooperate in any extradition requests for persons accused of crimes.
- The international community should intensify its cooperation regarding financial aid and technical assistance to Liberia, using the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness as a guiding framework.

Notes

¹ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 493.

² Liberians use the term “diaspora” to describe those living outside of Liberia who still consider themselves to be Liberians.

³ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 366.

⁴ Stephen C. Lubkemann, *Remittance Relief and NotJustforProfit Entrepreneurship: The Case of Liberia*, in *Diasporas & Development: Exploring the Potential 4566* (Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff ed. 2008).

⁵ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 16, 1598.

⁶ E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1419.

⁷ See, e.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 396, 618.

⁸ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 138, 411, 1556, 396.

⁹ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1412; TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 980.

¹⁰ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 921; TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1680.

¹¹ See U.N. Country Team, *Common Country Assessment for Liberia: Consolidating Peace and National Recovery for Sustainable Development*, at 19 (June 2006), <http://www.lr.undp.org/CCA%2028%20July%20FINAL%20FULL%20SMALL.pdf>.

¹² TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1294.

¹³ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 40, 64, 222, 230, 440, 1017, 1302, 1452, 1461, 1467, 1482, 1529.

¹⁴ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1559; see also TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 166, 1098.

¹⁵ See, e.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 118, 435. ¹⁶ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 119.

¹⁷ E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 23, 180, 520, 1473.

¹⁸ E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 119, 199, 284, 369, 60, 509, 747, 823, 983, 1352, 1556, 1604, 1685.

¹⁹ E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 86, 119, 1461, 1647, 1743

²⁰ E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1646.

²¹ See generally, e.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 902, 904.

²² E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 44, 47, 123, 208, 209, 215, 217, 386, 389, 404, 588, 741, 781, 834, 1366, 1369, 1435, 1476, 1702, 1028, 1137.

²³ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 123, 781, 1028, 119.

²⁴ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 44, 123, 1028, 119.

²⁵ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 32, 221, 363, 404, 415, 505, 544, 588, 594, 741, 784, 909, 1028, 1135, 1137, 1293, 1303, 1341, 1346, 1366, 1478, 1510, 1530, 1736.

²⁶ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 263, 541, 733, 781, 813, 909, 1039, 1081, 1135, 1137, 1268, 1346, 1510.

²⁷ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 448.

²⁸ E.g., TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 63, 106, 114, 117, 228, 393, 790, 781, 798, 865, 908, 1297, 1403, 1436, 1479, 1555, 1598, 1681.

²⁹ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 1218; see also TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 1535, 329, 356, 403, 474.

³⁰ TRC Diaspora Statement Rec. 259.

³¹ TRC Diaspora Statement Recs. 16, 25, 41, 322, 327, 527, 919, 995, 1116, 1172, 1203, 1241, 1287, 1514, 1525, 1551.