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660336

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
DOCUMENT MANAGEMENT AND TRACKING  
WORKSHEET**



**DATE RECEIVED:** 5/3/2005

**CASE ID:** 660336

**NAME OF CORRESPONDENT:** THE HONORABLE FRANK WOLF

00097

**SUBJECT:** EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT CHARLES TAYLOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND CORRUPTION IN LIBERIA AND REQUEST THAT THE U.S. DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO IMMEDIATELY HAND HIM OVER TO THE SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE TO FACE JUSTICE

ROUTE TO: AGENCY/OFFICE	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION		
		CODE	DATE	TYPE RESPONSE	CODE	COMPLETED
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS	CANDI WOLFF	ORG	5/4/2005	CW	A	5/17/05 CJ
<b>ACTION COMMENTS:</b>						
✓ DOS	CJ	A	5/23/05	A		5/24/05 AA
<b>ACTION COMMENTS:</b>						
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**COMMENTS:**  
ENCLOSURES

**MEDIA:** LETTER

**USER CODE:**

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ACTION CODES:	DISPOSITION		
A - APPROPRIATE ACTION B - RESEARCH AND REPORT BACK D - DRAFT RESPONSE I - INFO COPY/NO ACT NECESSARY R - DIRECT REPLY W/ COPY	<b>TYPE RESPONSE:</b> TYPE RESPONSE = INITIALS OF SIGNER NRN = NO RESPONSE NEEDED	<b>DISPOSITION CODES:</b> A - ANSWERED/ACKNOWLEDGED C - CLOSED X - INTERIM REPLY	<b>COMPLETED DATE:</b> COMPLETED = DATE OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OR CLOSE-OUT DATE (MM/DD/YY)

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ORIG LETTER + COURTESY COPY RECEIPTED TO STAFF  
ASSISTANT H FOR DELIVERY TO THE HILL

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COPIES TO

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

April 4, 2005

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Dear Mr. Wolf:

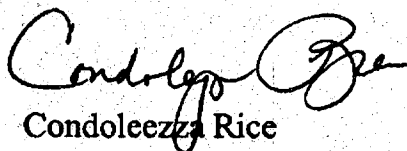
Thank you for your recent letter regarding former Liberian President Charles Taylor. I understand that you recently met with Deputy Secretary Zoellick to discuss this matter.

The Administration and the Congress share a common goal of seeing Taylor appear before the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL). As you know, the Administration's strategy for realizing that result is to engage with Nigeria, Liberia, the United Nations, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and others to seek the best means of effecting Taylor's transfer to the SCSL sooner rather than later. President Obasanjo has said that Nigeria will respond to the request of a democratically elected government in Liberia regarding the disposition of Taylor. The United States is in frequent contact with President Obasanjo on this issue, including in meetings with President Bush and former Secretary Powell, and we have made clear that our mutual goal must be for Taylor to be answerable to the SCSL's charges. However, we share your concern that these efforts have not yet resulted in Taylor's transfer to the SCSL.

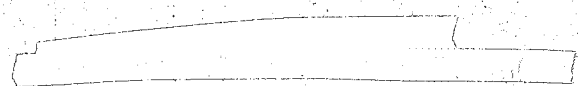
I, therefore, recently wrote to President Obasanjo and other leaders of ECOWAS to urge that action be taken now to bring Taylor to justice. Following up on these letters, we are intensifying our efforts. Senior U.S. officials raised this at the just-concluded Liberia Contact Group Meeting in Stockholm.

In the meantime, we continue to remain alert to threats to Liberia's hard-won stability and that of its neighbors, and are keeping a close watch on Taylor's activities so that he can neither subvert that stability nor return to Liberia. We are urging Nigeria to do the same, and indications are that the Government of Nigeria is doing so.

Sincerely,

  
Condoleezza Rice

The Honorable  
Frank R. Wolf,  
House of Representatives.



**THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE  
REFERRAL**

**May 23, 2005**

**TO:** DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**ACTION REQUESTED:** APPROPRIATE ACTION

**DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:**

**ID:** 660336

**MEDIA:** LETTER

**DOCUMENT DATE:** APRIL 19, 2005

**TO:** PRESIDENT BUSH

**FROM:** FRANK WOLF  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

**SUBJECT:** EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT CHARLES TAYLOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS  
ABUSES AND CORRUPTION IN LIBERIA AND REQUEST THAT THE U.S.  
DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO IMMEDIATELY HAND HIM OVER TO THE  
SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE TO FACE JUSTICE

**COMMENTS:**

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May 17, 2005

Dear Representative Wolf:

Thank you for your May 17, 2005, letter to the President regarding Charles Taylor and the situation in Sierra Leone.

Due to mail screening procedures, your letter has only recently been received. My staff is reviewing your correspondence for appropriate response, and we thank you for your patience. Please be assured your letter is receiving our close and careful attention.

Sincerely,



Candida P. Wolff  
Assistant to the President  
for Legislative Affairs

The Honorable Frank R. Wolf  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Bcc for appropriate action: DOS  
Information: NSC

MAY 23 2005

**FRANK R. WOLF**  
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA



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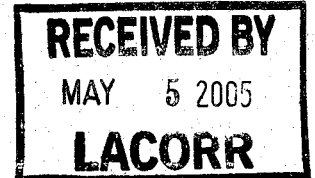
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www.house.gov/wolf

660336



The Honorable George W. Bush  
The President  
The White House  
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I call your attention to the enclosed article from The New Republic regarding Charles Taylor. The legacy of Charles Taylor's human rights abuses and corruption in Liberia is deplorable. As you know, he sponsored a 10-year civil war in Sierra Leone that inflicted terrible suffering on innocent men, women and children by murdering and hacking off the limbs of the people of Sierra Leone.

It is clear from the article that Charles Taylor continues to pose a serious threat to West Africa. It is time that he be handed over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone to face justice. The United States government should be doing everything possible to see that this is immediately done.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf  
Member of Congress

FRW:ses

Flow 5-7-05

Please do all you can do  
so that Charles Taylor is handed  
over to the Special Court. He has  
caused terrible suffering. Thank you

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# THE NEWREPUBLIC ONLINE

## WHITE HOUSE WATCH

### Charles at Large

by Ryan Lizza

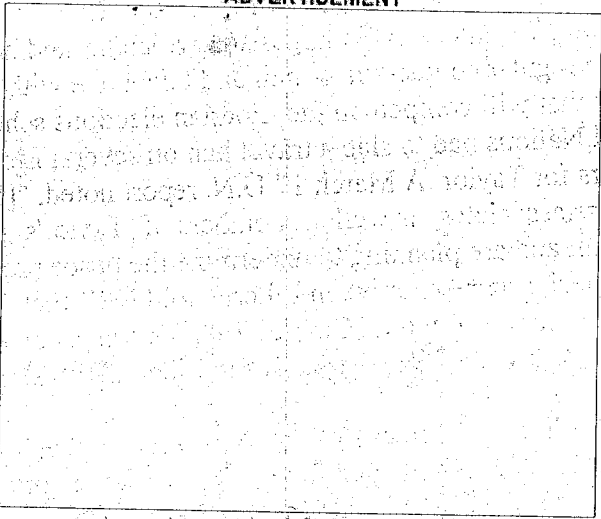
Post date: 04.14.05

Issue date: 04.25.05

Imagine for a moment that, in 2003, Saddam Hussein had accepted one of those offers of exile floated by Middle Eastern leaders to avert war. Imagine further that, rather than retiring in anonymous luxury to some oil emirate, Saddam immediately began to violate the terms of his expulsion by meddling in Iraqi politics, setting the stage for his eventual return. Then imagine that he was found to have orchestrated an assassination attempt on, say, the leader of Qatar. Imagine that all of this was happening while a U.N. court backed and funded by the United States indicted Saddam on 17 counts of crimes against humanity. Imagine that the court investigators had credibly established Saddam's links to Al Qaeda. Finally, imagine that, when a bipartisan coalition in Congress demanded Saddam be turned over to that war crimes court, the Bush administration simply ignored them, choosing instead to protect Saddam.

Yes, this all sounds insane. The Bush administration doesn't let Al Qaeda-linked dictators slink off into cushy exile where they can set up shop and destabilize whole regions of the world. But this is exactly what is happening in West Africa. Substitute Liberia for Iraq and Charles Taylor for Saddam Hussein, and this nightmare is reality.

It's hard to remember now, but the conflict in Liberia seized the Bush White House for several weeks in the summer of 2003. A civil war threatened to destroy the country's capital and kill many civilians, and President Bush was under intense international pressure to do something about it. In the end, the administration helped broker a deal whereby Liberian president Charles Taylor, a war criminal indicted by a U.S.-funded international tribunal known as the Special Court for Sierra Leone, was allowed to flee to Nigeria, provided he promise to stay out of Liberian politics. (At the time, the Bush administration was cagey about its role in the asylum deal, but, last year, Howard Jeter, the American ambassador to Nigeria during the crisis, told Congress that Nigeria "acted with our full knowledge and concurrence.") In Liberia, American soldiers and eventually a U.N. peacekeeping mission stabilized the country and set it on a fragile path to peace and democracy. Taylor settled into a seaside villa in Calabar, Nigeria.



During some 14 years in Liberia, as warlord and then as president, Taylor fueled wars across four countries, which cost hundreds of thousands of lives and introduced the world to horrors like "the small boys unit" and the widespread dismemberment of innocents. His rebels pillaged Sierra Leone and raided its diamond fields. He turned Liberia into a vast criminal enterprise and helped Al-Qaeda convert its cash into diamonds in the months before September 11. Today, he is the only indicted mass murderer in the world who lives freely and openly. The *genocidaires* of Rwanda are, in fits and starts, being brought to justice. Slobodan Milosevic sits in a cell at The Hague. Saddam Hussein is jailed in Iraq. It is only in West Africa that the international community, with the approval of the Bush administration, has allowed a war criminal of such scale to live untouched by the law.

When Bush acquiesced to Taylor's asylum deal in 2003, State Department officials promised critics of the agreement that Taylor's exile was simply a temporary step in bringing him to justice, insisting that the soft landing for Taylor was the only way to avert catastrophe in Liberia. "First we'll get him out of Liberia, then we'll get him to the Court," an official in the Department's African Affairs Bureau told me at the time. But it has been almost two years, and--according to sources at the war crimes tribunal in Sierra Leone, human rights groups, and Republicans and Democrats in Congress who monitor the issue--the Bush administration has made no effort whatsoever to get Taylor out of Nigeria.



Meanwhile, Taylor has brazenly flouted the terms of his exile. Last April, he gave an hour-long TV interview in Nigeria in which he said he would like to return to Liberia. He has been in regular contact via e-mail and telephone with his former aides. He is helping several parties that will compete in the Liberian elections scheduled for October. Last August, the United Nations had to slap a travel ban on several Liberians because they were acting as couriers for Taylor. A March 17 U.N. report noted, "[F]ormer military commanders and business associates, as well as members of [Taylor's] political party, maintain regular contact with him and are planning to undermine the peace process." Last month, Jacques Klein, the U.N. special representative in Liberia, told NPR that Taylor's former allies are simply awaiting his return to the country. "Charles Taylor's a psychopath and a killer," Klein added. "He's still very much involved. He's intrusive in Liberian politics."

Now intelligence sources in West Africa report that Taylor's meddling has turned violent. On January 19, gunmen opened fire on the motorcade of President Lansana Conte of Guinea, a neighboring country that backed the rebel movement that forced Taylor from power. Conte is an ailing dictator with no obvious successor, and his death could plunge Guinea into the sort of chaos that has consumed the region. According to a detailed, 30-page intelligence report written by investigators at the Special Court and obtained by The New Republic, Taylor was behind the failed assassination plot. The report concludes that "the credible information we have received clearly validates the allegations that Charles Taylor was directly involved in the assassination attempt of President Lansana Conte." According to the report, the Guinean intelligence service and the Gambian government have both confirmed Taylor's role.

The report alleges that Taylor is trying to destabilize one or more countries in the region as a first step toward leaving Nigeria and once again taking up arms. In fact, it says that "[c]urrent credible information indicates Taylor is planning another assassination attempt against President Conte," an accusation worth taking seriously, considering that these same sources warned investigators about the first Taylor-backed assassination plot weeks before it happened. In an April 7 letter to Republican Representative Frank Wolf, a supporter of bringing Taylor to justice, Alan White, the Court's chief investigator, wrote, "The assassination attempt and coup plot occurred precisely as reported to us, including the date.... Taylor has expanded his plan to destabilize the region by recruiting dissidents from The Gambia, Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Burkina-Faso, and Ivory Coast."

One of the report's most shocking allegations is that Taylor is not even confined to Nigeria. A senior Court official says he has confirmed that Taylor traveled to Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in late February and stayed for two days at a home he keeps there in his wife's name. According to the official, Taylor used the trip to meet with associates about the upcoming Liberian elections and to pick up cash from an account at the Central Bank of West African States. According to the same Court official, the Nigerian security officer who is responsible for Taylor recently told the Court that Taylor's e-mail and phone calls are not monitored, that he receives visitors, and that, contrary to popular belief, he is not under house arrest.

**W**hy has the Bush administration not acted to bring Taylor to the Court? In part because of familiar divisions within its foreign policy team. On the one hand are the career officers who dominate the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs and have a Nigeria-centric view of West Africa. Nigeria is an increasing source of oil for the United States, and Nigerian forces are needed throughout the continent for key peacekeeping missions, including the one in Darfur. This camp still argues--despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary--that Taylor's asylum is an effective method of containment and that the Bush administration has too many other regional priorities to waste its time pressuring Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, who takes a dim view of the Court and is loath to break his deal with Taylor. The Africa bureau and its allies at the CIA and FBI have routinely downplayed Taylor's regional ambitions and his links to Al Qaeda, which have been confirmed by the Court as well as by an investigative report that will soon air on NBC. The alleged Bush doctrine of eschewing stability for democratic change has not yet arrived in this corner of the State Department. "I think part of the problem is that the people in there are a jaded set of Africanists," says a Court official. "They are too cynical to believe the rule of law could apply in Africa, and [to them], anyone who believes the opposite is naïve."

To the extent that there is a countervailing force to the Africanists, it is represented by Pierre-Richard Prosper, the ambassador-at-large in the State Department's Office of War Crimes Issues. He told Congress last June that "it is U.S. policy that Taylor must be held accountable and must appear before the Court." But, since those words were uttered, there has been no action on the issue.

Beneath differing views on Africa policy within the bureaucracy may lie a more sinister reason for the administration's intransigence. One of the most persistent rumors in the circle of policy wonks, reporters, and government officials who follow the issue is that the Bushies are gun-shy about a trial, because Taylor would reveal some unsavory details about his relationship with the United States. It has been widely alleged but never confirmed that Taylor was a source of U.S. intelligence on Libya. Douglas Farah, the former West Africa correspondent for *The Washington Post* and the author of a recent book documenting Taylor's ties to Al Qaeda, says he has now unambiguously confirmed that Taylor was indeed on the U.S. payroll. Farah told me, "Taylor was a paid informant of the U.S. Defense Department intelligence service and reported regularly on his trips to Libya from at least 1992 to 1995. Debriefings took place in Ouagadougou. It was at a time when the United States had very little access to Muammar Qaddafi, and Taylor was traveling to Libya twice a month and meeting regularly with Qaddafi and Qaddafi's senior people ... I know this from folks on the U.S. side and people on the ground in Africa. They delivered attache cases of cash [to Taylor] in return. It was clearly a paid relationship. This was the period when the worst abuses were being committed by Taylor's child soldiers in the war in Liberia."

If in fact fears about such revelations are preventing the Bush administration from forcing Taylor to the Court, perhaps it shouldn't worry. Subsidizing and encouraging Taylor's relationship with Qaddafi--who was in turn funding Taylor's guerrilla movement and is almost as responsible as Taylor for the past 15 years of West African violence--would undoubtedly rank as one of the more appalling U.S. foreign policy operations in recent years. But previous U.S. relationships with Manuel Noriega, Slobodan Milosevic, and Saddam Hussein did not stop us from confronting them when the time came. And, as some Bush supporters argued during the run-up to the war with Iraq, past complicity with a war criminal makes the United States *more* responsible to bring the outlaw to justice, not less.

This week, Ed Royce, a California representative and longtime leader of the anti-Taylor forces in Congress, introduced a resolution calling on Nigeria to send Taylor to the Court. Recently, the European Parliament passed a similar motion. Senate Democrats like Patrick Leahy, as well as officials at the Court in Sierra Leone, want Bush to take the issue to the Security Council and force Nigeria to hand over Taylor or face sanctions. Bush should be commended for getting Taylor out of Liberia. Now he should get Taylor to the Court.

**RYAN LIZZA is a senior editor at TNR.**

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