

Key Actors

Warring Factions

Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

The Armed Forces of Liberia actively entered Liberian politics in the military coup of 1980. Under Samuel Doe, the army was ethnicised through a recruitment policy which favoured the Krahn, Doe's own ethnic group. The AFL remained loyal to Doe until his death but has since been led by General Hezekiah Bowen, now defence secretary in the transitional government. Estimated to have about 9,000 troops, many of its members have joined or collaborated with ULIMO and LPC. Confined to barracks after the Bamako ceasefire, the AFL was re-activated to repel the NPFL offensive of late 1992. Although the official national army through most of the conflict, the professionalism of the AFL has been highly questionable and it has generally been treated as another warring faction. The Akosombo Agreement made provisions to reconstitute the AFL with combatants from other armed groups. It has been responsible for many of the worst massacres of the war, for widespread human rights abuses and systematic looting.

Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL)

A breakaway NPFL faction led by Prince Yormie Johnson, initially estimated at less than 500 troops. In the early stages of the war, the INPFL was a significant force, controlling a number of strategic points

within Monrovia and facilitating the deployment of ECOMOG. It was the INPFL which captured and murdered President Samuel Doe in September 1990. The faction disintegrated in the wake of internal wrangling over its level of co-operation with the interim government, ECOMOG and the NPFL. Through 1991, its role in the conflict substantially declined and the faction formally disbanded in late 1992. Johnson is presently residing in Lagos, Nigeria.

Liberia Peace Council (LPC)

Estimated to have 4,650 combatants, the LPC emerged in the wake of the 1993 Cotonou Accord, partly as a proxy force for the AFL. It has since made substantial gains from the NPFL in south eastern Liberia, vying for control of commercial operations in timber and rubber. A predominantly Krahn organization, it draws supporters from ULIMO and the AFL, but also from other ethnic groups who have suffered under NPFL occupation. The LPC is led by Dr. George Boley, and is implicated in widespread murder, torture and looting and in efforts to terrorise and depopulate rural areas held by the NPFL.

Lofa Defence Force (LDF)

A local group that crossed the northern border from Guinea to attack armed positions, mostly of ULIMO-K, in early 1994. Led by Francois Massaquoi, now Minister of Youth and Sports in the transitional government. The LDF is estimated to have 750 combatants, mainly

drawn from within Lofa County. Strong allegations of links with the NPFL.

National Patriotic Force of Liberia (NPFL)

Led by Charles Taylor, the NPFL sparked off the war, taking up arms against the Doe regime in December 1989. Most fighters were originally drawn from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups of Northern Liberia who were persecuted under the Doe regime. Has enjoyed the active backing of Libya, Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, especially in the early years of the war. Grew with popular support from an initial force numbering in the low hundreds to a large irregular army which occupied around 80 per cent of the country in less than a year. Thwarted by the arrival of ECOMOG, the NPFL did not capture Monrovia, but set up an alternative national administration (National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government - NPRAG) based in Gbarnga. Sponsored RUF subversion against the military government in Sierra Leone, partly as a strategy to gain control of local trade in diamonds. In late 1992, the NPFL launched 'Operation Octopus' which was repulsed by combined ECOMOG, AFL and ULIMO forces. The NPFL has since lost a lot of its territory to other factions, but remains dominant in the east and centre of the country. Controls the Police, the Ministry of Justice and other key ministries in the present transitional government. Large numbers of NPFL fighters have been inducted into the 'official' security forces which engaged with Krahn factions in Monrovia in April 1996. The NPFL is estimated to have around 25,000 combatants and has orchestrated a wide range of human rights abuses including massacres, torture, kidnapping and a number of political assassinations.

In recent years, the NPFL has become the most ethnically heterogeneous of the factions, although many of its leaders are Americo-Liberian.

National Patriotic Front of Liberia - Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC)

Breakaway group which emerged in mid-1994. Prominent in the faction are former key NPFL figures Sam Dokie and Tom Woewiyu. The latter was Defence Chief in Taylor's Gbarnga 'government'. Both men cited strategic and ideological differences as the cause of their defection. Woewiyu is now Labour Minister in the transitional government. The NPFL-CRC have engaged with the NPFL around Gbarnga and in the north of Liberia.

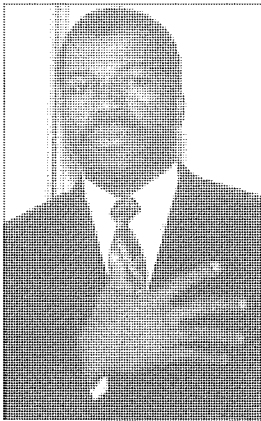
United Liberation Movement(s) of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMOs K and J)

Originally led by Raleigh Seekie, ULIMO was formed in June 1991 by former AFL fighters and other supporters of the late President Doe who had taken refuge in Guinea and Sierra Leone. From the outset, it has had substantive connections with ECOMOG personnel. After fighting alongside the Sierra Leonean army against RUF insurgency, ULIMO forces entered western Liberia in September 1991. Scored significant gains over the NPFL, notably around the diamond mining areas of Lofa and Bomi Counties. Riven from the outset by internal divisions, ULIMO effectively broke into two competing wings in 1994. ULIMO-J, is a Krahn faction led by General Roosevelt Johnson, while ULIMO-K, is more Moslem/Mandingo-based, under Alhaji Kromah. ULIMO-K is relatively united under Kromah who has forged for it a strong presence in the

transitional government, linked to his increasing collaboration with Taylor. In contrast, ULIMO-J has been sidelined in and by the emerging authorities and remains fractious. It was discontent within ULIMO-J, largely articulated by Johnson and his supporters, which precipitated the worst violence of late 1995-96. ULIMO-J has around 8,000 combatants and ULIMO-K around 12,000. Members of both factions have committed a catalogue of atrocities, including the burning of villages, widespread murder, rape, mutilation, and looting.

Liberian Political Figures

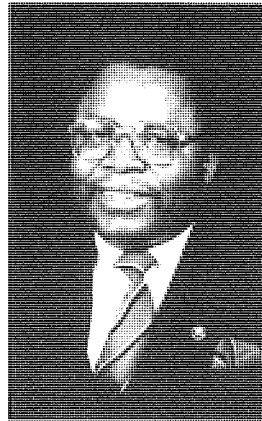
George Boley



Leader of the Liberian Peace Council, Boley is a member of the Krahn ethnic group. He was a junior minister in the administration of President William Tolbert (1971-80), but was briefly jailed for his associations

with opposition groups. Released on the morning of the 1980 coup, he rose to become Minister of Presidential Affairs and Minister of Education under President Doe. After Doe's murder in September 1990, Boley went into exile in the US, but returned in 1993 to take over the leadership of the LPC. Member of the Council of State in the present transitional government.

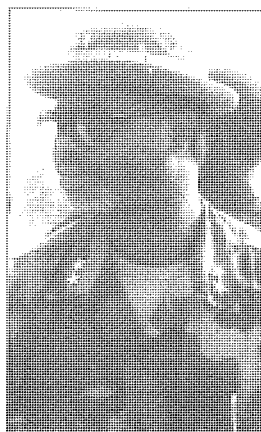
Samuel Doe



Former Master Sergeant in the Liberian Army. A largely uneducated Krahn, Doe led a military coup against the Americo-Liberian government in 1980 at the age of 28. Executed President William Tolbert and most of the key figures

in his administration. Repressed opposition within and outside his People's Redemption Council (PRC) government. Won rigged elections in 1985 and installed the 'civilian' administration of his National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL). Continued purges of political opponents, centralising control of the state and the army among the Krahn. Viciously put down an alleged coup by former ally Thomas Quiwonkpa in late 1985, and subsequently persecuted his main supporters among the Gio and Mano ethnic groups. Doe's fate was effectively sealed when US aid dried up in 1989. Abducted while under ECOMOG protection in September 1990, and subsequently tortured to death by INPFL leaders.

Roosevelt Johnson



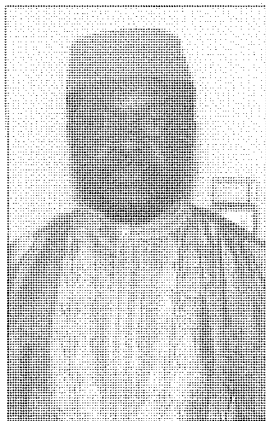
Former teacher and leader of ULIMO-J who broke with other ULIMO leaders to seek a greater stake in the transitional government for himself and supporters among his fellow ethnic Krahn. Fighters loyal to Johnson triggered the

first major violation of the Abuja Accord in December 1995, resisting ECOMOG deployment around the diamond mines near Tubmanburg. Dismissed from the ULIMO-J leadership in early 1996 and subsequently suspended from his post as Minister of Rural Development in the transitional government. Engaged in clashes with ULIMO-J rivals which led to charges of murder being brought against him by his enemies in the Council of State. Attempts to arrest Johnson sparked the violence of April/May 1996 which severely undermined the Abuja Accord.

David Kpomakpor

Chairman of the Council of State of the transitional government between March 1994 and September 1995. Lawyer and academic from Bomi County. A prominent member of the Liberian Bar Association and lecturer at the University of Liberia with little political background or constituency. Appointed as one of two IGNU representatives on the Council of State and elected Chairman as a compromise candidate acceptable to ULIMO and the NPFL.

Alhaji Kromah



Chairman of ULIMO-K, Kromah is a Moslem of the Mandingo ethnic group and a member of the Council of State of the present transitional government. Special Assistant to the Vice President during the

Tolbert era, he rose to become managing

director of the Liberian Broadcasting System and Minister of Information under Doe. Went into exile in June 1990 following the NPFL rebellion and spent much of the war in Conakry, Guinea. Since the emergence of ULIMO, his power base has been in the north-west of the country, in and around Lofa County. While harbouring in the past a deep personal animosity for Charles Taylor, the two leaders have been increasingly linked in Council of State manoeuvrings.

Ruth Perry

A senator between 1986-1990 during the rule of President Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL). Previously worked for fourteen years for the Chase Manhattan Bank in Monrovia. The widow of a prominent Liberian lawyer and mother of seven children, Mrs Perry is from Grand Cape Mount County in the west of Liberia. She has been active in the Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI) and was appointed to the chair of the Council of State of the transitional government in August 1996.

Oscar Quiah

Representative of the civilian Liberia National Conference (LNC) on the Council of State of the present transitional government. He comes from Sinoe County in the south-east and belongs to the Sarpo ethnic group. Involved in opposition politics in the Tolbert era and temporarily jailed for his activities in 1979. He was appointed Minister of the Interior following the coup of 1980 and later became managing director of the Liberia Telecommunications Corporation. Also jailed by Doe after being implicated in an alleged coup, but was soon released for

lack of evidence. At the height of the civil war in 1992, he fled Monrovia for his homeland, returning to the capital in 1994 after the LPC won back Sinoe County from the NPFL. The only civilian-elected member of the Council of State.

Wilton Sankawulo

From Bong County in central Liberia, Sankawulo taught English literature at the University of Liberia. He is the author of a number of novels and essays and is famous for his short stories inspired by national folklore. Like many other 'progressive' academics and politicians, he was involved in the early years of the Doe administration, serving briefly as Director of the Cabinet. Has taught, written text books and run radio programmes with the Catholic Education Secretariat. His Chairmanship of the Council of State in the transitional government was agreed during the secretive negotiations which led to the Abuja Accord. He is reported to have heard of his appointment on the radio in Monrovia. Sankawulo's lack of political background hampered his ability to exert effective authority within the Council of State.

Amos Sawyer

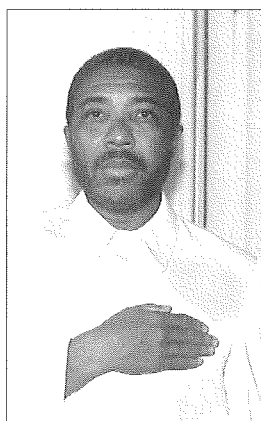


Formerly Chair of the Department of Political Science and Dean of the College of Social Science and Humanities at the University of Liberia. Also Constitutional Commission Chair in the early years of

the Doe administration. Left Liberia after being implicated in a coup attempt and, while in the US, lobbied the government to halt aid to Doe's regime. Appointed by an ECOWAS-sponsored national conference to be head of the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) in August 1990. Officially Head of State from November of that year until the dissolution of IGNU in 1994. Founding member of the pan-Africanist Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), and of its off-shoot the Liberia People's Party (LPP), which together dominated the IGNU. Formed and trained a small militia ('The Black Berets') as his elite presidential force. Allegations of corruption tainted his personal reputation and that of IGNU. Sawyer is also a founding member of Susukuu, and of the Centre for Democratic Empowerment (CEDE), a peace and conflict think-tank, based in Monrovia.

Chief Tamba Tailor

A member of the Kissi ethnic group from Lofa country in north-west Liberia. A great landowner and perhaps the oldest paramount chief in the country. He is well known for having a number of wives and some 60 children, and also for his generosity. Appointed to the current Council of State by consensus of the armed factions, especially the NPFL and ULIMO-K.



Charles Taylor

Leader of the NPFL, Taylor was born in 1948 of an American father and Liberian mother. Educated in the US, he became prominent in the Liberian student's movement and

returned to Liberia shortly before the 1980 coup. Ingratiated himself with the new administration partly through family links with Doe's then close ally, Thomas Quiwonkpa. Assumed the position of General Services Administration Director, which gave him control of lucrative government procurement activities. He was dismissed from the civil service in 1984 on embezzlement charges and fled to the US. After arrest under an extradition treaty, Taylor escaped from a high security prison in Massachusetts and travelled to Accra, Ghana via Mexico, Spain and France. Organising with other opponents of Doe, he established links at the highest levels of government in Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Libya. He later moved to Burkina Faso and secured residence and Libyan military training for a number of Liberian exiles, most of whom had fled from the repression in Nimba County following Quiwonkpa's 1985 coup attempt. Taylor led the invasion into Liberia in December 1989 which precipitated the civil war. He is presently the most powerful member of the Council of State. Taylor is a man of boundless ambition and ruthless determination. His personal quest for power in Liberia has been a major dynamic of the war ever since.

Togba-Nah Tipoteh

Chairman of the Interest Groups of Liberia, Director General of Susukuu and one-time advisor to the US government's anti-poverty programme. Tipoteh rose to national prominence in the 1970s struggle for social change in Liberia, when he was dismissed by the Tolbert regime, first as Director of the Budget, and then as Chair of the Department of Economics at the University of Liberia. At the time of the 1980 coup, he was Chair of the African Group of Governors of the World Bank

and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Tipoteh briefly served as Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs under Doe, but was forced to resign after being implicated in a 1981 coup attempt. Currently he is a member of the UN International Advisory Board on Structural Adjustment in Africa and is involved in disarmament efforts through initiatives such as the school-for-guns program. He is also President of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) and Chair of the Liberian People's Party (LPP), which dominated the interim administrations between 1990 and 1995.

International Intervenorors

Benin

Nicophore Soglo, President of Benin and then-Chairman of ECOWAS was a witness signatory to the Cotonou accord, and was subsequently involved in organising consultations on the allocation of posts in the new transitional government. Earlier, in October 1992, Soglo and his representatives were instrumental in launching the 'Committee of nine' which initiated a harmonisation of ECOWAS policy on Liberia.

Cote d'Ivoire

Origin of NPFL's launch into Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire has since been a major conduit for Taylor's arms and supplies, and a staging post for his commercial operations. It has also been the site of persistent border clashes and refugee settlements. The late President Houphouet-Boigny's son-in-law Aldophus Tolbert, son of Liberian President William Tolbert (1971-80), was killed with his father in the 1980 coup led

by Samuel Doe. In the early stages of the war, Houphouet-Boigny's government, like that of his other son-in-law, President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso, actively supported the NPFL invasion. It also obstructed discussion of the Liberian crisis in the UN Security Council. Initially opposed to the deployment of ECOMOG, the Ivorians and most of their francophone allies have still not contributed troops to the force. Instead, they became increasingly associated with the ECOWAS diplomatic process. As a leading force in the ECOWAS 'Committee of Five' formed in June 1991, Houphouet-Boigny secured the four Yamoussoukro Accords which reconciled the NPFL and interim government authorities and set out modalities for a ceasefire, disarmament and elections. Ivorian diplomatic input receded sharply after the NPFL attack on Monrovia in October 1992 effectively scuppered the Yamoussoukro process. Nonetheless, it is believed to have played a role in facilitating the discussions between Taylor and Nigeria's President Abacha which led to the signing of the Abuja Accord in August 1995. Houphouet-Boigny died in December 1993.

ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)

Regional military force in Liberia fluctuating between 4-15,000 troops and mandated variously for both peace-keeping and 'peace enforcement' activities. Despite its substantial successes, ECOMOG forces have been persistently dogged by allegations of partiality, looting and commercial adventurism. Created in August 1990 by the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Reflecting the Committee, ECOMOG was (and remains) dominated by

anglophone West Africans, with Nigeria contributing the bulk of finance, personnel and materials. The US has met around 10% of expenses, footing the bill for the deployment of Senegalese, Ugandan and Tanzanian troops. In October 1990, together with elements of the AFL and INPFL, ECOMOG launched an armed offensive against the NPFL to secure Monrovia for the accession of the civilian interim government. Its success created a semblance of order in the capital which allowed political, civic and humanitarian organisations to pursue their operations. ECOMOG forces were deployed outside Monrovia to supervise the implementation of the various peace accords of 1991, but were withdrawn to Monrovia after six Senegalese soldiers were captured and executed by the NPFL. In October 1992, ECOMOG switched back to a peace enforcement strategy, launching an all-out offensive to repel a major NPFL advance on Monrovia. They also provided support to AFL and ULIMO fighters, who made large inroads into NPFL territory and severely undercut the commercial underpinnings of its unofficial regime. Since 1993, the force has resumed a predominantly peace-keeping role, sporadically deploying outside Monrovia to oversee the fitful implementation of the Cotonou Accord and its antecedents. Nigeria's dominance of ECOMOG was partly reduced after Cotonou, but has re-emerged since the shrinkage of UNOMIL and the departure of Ugandan and Tanzanian troops deployed during 1994-95. Due to a lack of international assistance, the added responsibilities recently ceded to the transitional administration, and the escalating costs to its contributing governments, the profile of ECOMOG has fallen slightly in recent months. The force did not intervene to halt the violence in April 1996.

France

Details on the French role in the Liberian war remain elusive. France appears however to have played a significant part in facilitating discussions leading to the Yamoussoukro Accords in 1991. It is also believed to have had a role in discussions leading to the Abuja Accord four years later which ensured that Taylor could not be marginalised in the peace process. There is evidence of significant links between the NPFL and French commercial interests, including those of Christophe Mitterrand, son of the late French President. France remains active in defence of its profile throughout Africa, and is thought to have been suspicious of Nigerian regional hegemony.

The Gambia

As Chair of ECOWAS and of its Standing Mediation Committee, President Dawda Jawara of The Gambia was a driving force in the early stages of the peace process between May 1990 and March 1991. During this period, a comprehensive ceasefire was established, modalities were expressed for the encampment and disarmament of combatants and two national conferences were convened to constitute a civilian-led interim government. These efforts floundered due to disagreements on the role of the NPFL in the interim government and on the perceived partiality of ECOMOG. Jawara was deposed by the Gambian military in July 1994. Allegations remain linking this coup to discontent among soldiers in The Gambia's ECOMOG contingent.

Ghana

President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana acceded to the Chairmanship of ECOWAS

during an impasse in the peace process in mid-1994. Seizing the diplomatic initiative, he quickly established links with Taylor and facilitated the signing of the Akosombo Agreement and the Accra Clarification. These agreements brought all armed factions into the peace process and provided for their increased role in the transitional government. In 1995, he continued to co-ordinate ECOWAS diplomatic initiatives, orchestrating a rapprochement between Taylor and the Nigerians. This produced the Abuja Accord which brought armed faction leaders into government for the first time. Ghana is presently playing host to General Roosevelt Johnson, the Krahn faction leader whose disputed status was the trigger for renewed violence in Monrovia in April-May 1996. It has also contributed around ten per cent of ECOMOG troops, the second largest contingent after Nigeria.

Nigeria

Under President Ibrahim Babangida, the Nigerian government was a close ally of Samuel Doe. It was instrumental in setting up ECOMOG and has been the leading supporter of the force, contributing substantially more money and troops than the other participants combined. The Nigerian strategy in Liberia in the early stages of the war appears to have been to contain the NPFL and to put a damper on Taylor's obvious presidential ambitions. Since the accession of General Sani Abacha, Nigeria is seen as less partisan and relations have gradually improved with the NPFL. Abacha's representative Chief Tom Ikimi was among the signed witnesses of the Abuja Accord. President Abacha himself became chair of ECOWAS in August 1996 and is assuming a prominent role in continuing regional initiatives. He was instrumental in the August 1996

ECOWAS summit which set out a revised timetable for the implementation of the Abuja Accord, together with a list of sanctions to be imposed on violating factions. Commentators now speculate that the Abacha regime is keen to allay the high financial and political costs of ECOMOG, but is wary of recalling thousands of military personnel into its fraught domestic milieu. The ideal scenario is for a large increase in international assistance which would resolve ECOMOG's financial crisis, while rescuing what could be packaged as a bold and noble foreign policy initiative.

Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

The OAU has exercised low-key participation in ECOWAS diplomatic initiatives. Its Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim, was a witness to the original ECOWAS Peace Plan in 1990. Its Eminent Person for Liberia, the Reverend Canaan Banana, was involved in negotiations leading to the Cotonou and Abuja Accords, and acted as witness to both these agreements. The OAU has also assisted co-ordination between the UN and ECOWAS. The regional response to the Liberian crisis facilitated the recent loosening of the OAU's cardinal principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. In 1993, a 'Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution' was approved at the OAU Summit in Cairo. Since then, the organisation has despatched peacekeepers to Rwanda and expressed support for a proposed East African military presence in Burundi. An OAU resolution tabled in July 1996 called for the imposition of severe sanctions on Liberian faction leaders, and supported calls to consider setting up a war crimes tribunal to deal with human rights violations arising from the conflict.

United Nations

In the early stages of the war, the UN Security Council commended ECOWAS peace initiatives and urged the factions to respect accords. In response to renewed hostilities in late 1992, it imposed an arms embargo on all combatants except ECOMOG. At the same time, Trevor Gordon-Somers was despatched to Liberia as the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General (SRSG). Following discussions between Gordon-Somers and local and regional leaders, the Security Council reiterated its support for ECOMOG, but called for a revival of the peace process, offering increased UN involvement. Working closely with the OAU, UN personnel were instrumental in convening peace talks between the factions in Geneva. These talks led to the signing of the Cotonou Accord, by far the most thorough and well-drafted of all the Liberian agreements. The United Nations Observer Mission In Liberia (UNOMIL) was established in September 1993 to oversee the implementation procedures of the Cotonou Accord and to ensure the neutrality of ECOMOG operations. Its mandate was re-specified in November 1995. Under this re-specification, UNOMIL was empowered to monitor and verify compliance with the ceasefire, the arms embargo, and the encampment, disarmament and demobilisation of armed factions, to assist in the co-ordination of humanitarian activities, to observe and verify elections, and to report on any violations of humanitarian law. There have been consistent reports of poor communication between UNOMIL and ECOMOG who have occasionally accused the mission of high-handedness. UNOMIL was originally authorised to employ 368 military observers. It reached full strength four months after formation and was deployed throughout the country, but severely cut back its operations after 43 of its personnel were detained and terrorised by

NPFL fighters in September 1994. Around this time, Gordon-Somers also played a role in facilitating the signing of the Akosombo Agreement which ceded a greater role in the transitional government to the armed factions. Soon after, Anthony Nyakyi became SRSG, and subsequently participated in the signing of the Abuja Accord. Originally established for a seven month stay, UNOMIL's mandate has now been renewed eight times. However, its 80-90 strong observer force is seen by many as a token presence, reflecting the general indifference of the international community to the Liberian crisis. From the beginning of the conflict, a range of UN agencies have provided humanitarian assistance to Liberia.

United States

Considering strong historical ties between the two countries, US input to help end the Liberian crisis has been markedly scarce. US officials have intermittently played a role in facilitating negotiations, but involvement has been low-key and circumspect. The US has provided a measure of backing to ECOMOG, notably underwriting the deployment of Senegalese and East African troops in 1991-93 and 1994-95 respectively. More recent pledges of support have as yet failed to materialise, pending improvements in the professionalism of ECOMOG. The arms-length relationship between the US and ECOWAS peace efforts is largely a function of shifting strategic priorities in the wake of the Cold War, but strained relations between the Clinton administration and the military regime in Nigeria are also a factor. In recent months, the National Black Caucus and a range of Liberian interest groups have lobbied the US government for larger-scale intervention. Partly in response to this, the Clinton administration helped set up the

International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL), a body bringing together representatives of a range of donor governments concerned with promoting peace in Liberia. A special envoy of the President has also travelled to West Africa to meet with Rawlings and other ECOWAS dignitaries, but few envisage a substantial shift in US policy. The US has channelled large quantities of emergency relief to Liberia through the UN and various NGOs, and has twice evacuated westerners from Monrovia, in 1990 and 1996.

Non-Governmental Peace-Makers

National

Inter-Faith Mediation Committee (IFMC)

The IFMC brings together the National Muslim Council and the Liberian Council of Churches in a joint movement for peace and justice in Liberia. In June 1990, before ECOWAS intervention, the IFMC had already established its mediation efforts, convening week-long talks between the factions in the US Embassy in Freetown, Sierra Leone. After these talks broke down, IFMC proposals were adopted as the first ECOWAS Peace Plan. The Committee subsequently chaired the national conferences of August 1990 and March 1991 which determined the composition of the initial interim government. It has also engaged in shuttle diplomacy throughout West Africa and held observer status at many ECOWAS meetings. As the armed factions have been drawn into government, the IFMC has expressed growing unease with ECOWAS diplomacy. In response, it has concentrated its efforts on co-ordinating pressure for disarmament, galvanising

civic institutions, and organising non-violent protests at the militarisation of Liberian society. These culminated in the 'stay-home' strikes of 1995-96 and the formation of a Civic Disarmament Campaign (CDC) to co-ordinate the struggle for demilitarisation. IFMC attempts to mediate the stand-off between Roosevelt Johnson and elements of the transitional government in March-April 1996 led to accusations of impartiality from the latter. Fighters believed to be loyal to Taylor and Kromah hounded IFMC leaders out of Monrovia soon after. Though undermined by these developments, the Committee remains active in lobbying ECOWAS and co-ordinating civic peace and relief initiatives.

Interest Groups of Liberia (IGL)

Led by Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh, the IGL is a consortium of more than 25 national organisations. It emerged from the All-Liberia Conferences of 1990-91. Concerned with bringing about a peaceful end to the conflict, the IGL have adopted a Declaration of Peace and Progress in Liberia and have engaged in signature campaigns and peace marches. It also planned wide-scale strikes in protest at the perceived diplomatic capitulation to armed faction leaders.

Justice and Peace Commission (JPC)

The JPC is the human rights and peace-initiating component of the Catholic Church in Liberia. Founded in November 1991, it has been involved in human rights monitoring, reporting, documentation and training, and in legal aid programs. Its reporting has been vital for information on the abuses and violations of human rights in Liberia, but has often been attacked by

faction leaders. The JPC has been involved with the IFMC in a series of negotiations regarding the peace process.

Liberia National Conference (LNC)

This association of political parties, religious bodies and prominent Liberians first convened in late 1994 to deliberate on the many aspects of the peace process. Like the roughly coterminous Akosombo Agreement, the Conference reaffirmed the Cotonou Accord and called for a more central role in its implementation for the transitional government. Where it differed from the mainstream peace process was in recommending the retention of the existing, civilian-dominated Council of State. This proposal was rejected. The LNC is represented in the present Council of State by Oscar Quiah.

Liberian Alternative at Work for Peace and Democracy (LAW)

A group of prominent Liberian civilians temporarily located in Freetown, Sierra Leone in the immediate aftermath of the renewal of hostilities in April 1996. Led by Mrs. Mary Brownell, its position statement calls for the repudiation of the armed factions and the present transitional government, and the convening of a Sovereign National Conference to establish a civilian-led provisional administration. It also calls for the revival of ECOMOG's peace enforcement mandate, for the expansion of ECOMOG to include African forces from outside the region, and for resolute steps to enforce the UN arms embargo and to bring war criminals to justice. To underwrite these moves, it urges substantial and resolute support from the international community, led by the US.

Liberian Initiative for Peace and Conflict Resolution (LIPCORE)

LIPCORE was established in 1994 under the auspices of the US-based Consortium for Peace-Building in Liberia. It is a group of Liberians from many different ethnic and political backgrounds who have banded together to work for peace. They have held two workshops, one in Akosombo, Ghana (April 1994) and one in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire (February 1995). The purpose of these workshops was to provide an opportunity for informal, unofficial dialogue between members of the various parties, organisations and movements in the Liberian conflict. Participants were encouraged to consider the sources and history of societal, political, and economic problems encountered by Liberians, and to begin to assess strategies for overcoming these problems.

Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI)

The LWI is a non-partisan movement of women founded in January 1994 under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Brownell. Through meetings with various leaders and numerous public statements, it has sought to impact on the peace process, particularly focusing on the need for disarmament. LWI representatives were present at the talks which led to the Accra Clarification of the Akosombo Agreement in December 1994. It has also formulated a plan for enhancing the provision of incentives for disarmament, but complains that neither the UN nor ECOWAS appears to have studied their plan or considered incorporating it into their own programmes of action. The LWI has co-sponsored a range of civic peace initiatives with the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee.

Susukuu

Development NGO formed in 1971 to pursue projects in a range of fields including community development, employment promotion and legal assistance. During the war, Susukuu has focused on stimulating the flow of international assistance to Liberia, advocacy for refugees and displaced persons, reconstruction of social infrastructure, and rehabilitation of former combatants through training, counselling and education.

International

Consortium for Peace-Building in Liberia

Initiated in 1993 by the Conflict Resolution Programme of the Carter Center in Atlanta. Involves a range of NGOs based in the US, including the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD), the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), and the Friends of Liberia (FOL). Has carried out needs assessments, identified Liberians interested in peace-building, and convened conflict resolution training programs to develop their skills.

Friends of Liberia (FOL)

Established as a group of former Peace Corps volunteers who have served in Liberia. Have been prominent in recent efforts within the US to lobby for resolute and appropriate international involvement in the Liberian peace process.

International Alert (IA) / International Training Institute for Peace (ITIP)

IA in London and ITIP in Lagos facilitated discussions between the NPFL and the Government of Nigeria which led indirectly to the Abuja Accord of 1995. They also drafted seemingly influential proposals which recommended state representation for all armed factions controlling one or more Liberian counties, the assignment of peace enforcement powers to ECOMOG and UNOMIL to maintain the territorial status quo in lieu of elections, and the establishment of proportional electoral procedures to guarantee that all parties could secure a significant stake in post-conflict governance.

International Negotiations Network (INN)

An organisation headed by former US President Jimmy Carter. Became involved in Liberia in 1991 to assist in the Yamoussoukro negotiations between the NPFL and the interim government. Established the Carter Centre in Monrovia

to provide logistical support for the then-scheduled 1992 elections. Due to the failure of various accords, the centre has subsequently been involved in conflict resolution and reconciliation initiatives. On one level, Jimmy Carter himself has taken an active role in communicating with parties to overcome diplomatic log-jams. He was involved with President Rawlings and the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative in facilitating the Akosombo Agreement in September 1994. On another level, the centre has assisted LIPCORE and other NGOs in conflict resolution seminars for faction deputies. It has also created a grant structure to support small pro-peace projects and has disbursed over forty grants since 1993.