A Brief History of Liberia

Peter Dennis
The International Center for Transitional Justice
May 2006

Early History

Liberia was founded in 1822 as an outpost for returning freed slaves from the Americas. It grew into a colony and eventually became a commonwealth, and achieved independence in 1847 with the help of the American Colonization Society (a private organization based in the United States). Descendants of the freed slaves, generally known as Americo-Liberians, remained in social and political control of the country until 1980.

The unequal distribution of power and wealth resulting from Liberia's social structure is largely at the center of the recent conflicts:

In 1923, Abayomi Karnga, a scholar and politician of recaptive parentage, noted that the status divisions among the Liberians eventually evolved into a hierarchical caste system with four distinct orders. At the top were the Americo-Liberian officials, consisting largely of light-complexioned people of mixed Black and White ancestry [also known as "Mulattos"]. They were followed by darker skinned Americo-Liberians, consisting mostly of laborers and small farmers. Then came the recaptives [also known as "Congos"¹], the Africans who had been rescued by the U.S. Navy while aboard U.S.-bound slave ships and brought to Liberia. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the indigenous African Liberians.²

As time passed, the separation between the Mulattos and other freed slaves became less pronounced, and all became known as "Congos" or "Americo-Liberians." This group of individuals, comprising less than 3 percent of the population, maintained economic, social, and political control of the country until a coup d'etat in 1980.

1980: End of Americo-Liberian rule

Liberia began to change during the 1970s. In 1971, William Tubman, Liberia's president of 27 years, died while in office. Tubman's "Open Door" economic policy brought a great deal of foreign investment at heavy price, as the divide widened between the prospering Americo-Liberians (benefiting from such investment) and the rest of the population. Following Tubman's death, his long-serving vice president, William Tolbert, assumed the presidency. Because Tolbert was a member of one the most influential and affluent Americo-Liberian families, everything from cabinet appointments to economic policy was tainted with allegations of nepotism.

¹ Because many the "recaptives" were originally from the Congo River region of Africa, they were called "Congos." For much of Liberia's early history, the Congos were classed below the Americo-Liberians. However, over the years the two groups joined and the terms "Americo-Liberian" and "Congo" were used interchangeably.

² Robin Dunn-Marcos et al., "Liberians: An Introduction to Their History Culture," Culture Profile No. 19, The Center for Applied Linguistics, April 2005.

However, Tolbert was also the first president to speak an indigenous language, and he promoted a program to bring more indigenous persons into the government. Unfortunately, this initiative lacked support within Tolbert's own administration, and while the majority felt the change was occurring too slowly, many Americo-Liberians felt it was too rapid. In April 1979, a proposal to raise the price of rice (which the Tolbert administration subsidized) met with violent opposition. The government claimed that the price increase was meant to promote more local farming, slow the rate of urban migration, and reduce dependence on imported rice. However, opposition leaders also pointed out that the Tolbert family controlled the rice monopoly in Liberia and therefore stood to prosper. The ensuing "rice riots" severely damaged Tolbert's credibility and increased the administration's vulnerability. In April 1980, Army Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, an ethnic Krahn, led a coup d'etat that resulted in Tolbert's murder and the public execution of 13 of his cabinet members. Among the many Liberians that fled the country was then–Minister of Finance, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf.

1980–1984: The People's Redemption Council

After the coup, the People's Redemption Council (PRC), headed by Doe, assumed power and suspended the Constitution. Doe lacked formal education; by many accounts he was illiterate at the time he took over the presidency. He also had no political or leadership experience. After only one year, Doe—concerned that his leadership was being threatened from within the PRC—executed his vice dead of state and comrade in the 1980 coup, Thomas Weh-Syen, along with four other PRC members, claiming they had plotted against him. From this point on, Doe appeared increasingly paranoid regarding threats to his leadership and, as a result, his government became dominated by members of his own Krahn ethnic group. Much of the population that initially supported the transition from Americo-Liberian rule became increasingly disenfranchised as the government returned to monopolized control. In November 1983, three of Doe's influential colleagues in the PRC left Liberia: Thomas Quiwonkpa (Commanding General of the Armed forced of Liberia), Charles Taylor (Head of the General Service Agency), and Prince Yormie Johnson (aide to Quiwonkpa). All would eventually challenge Doe for control of the country.

Facing increasing pressure from international organizations and donors, Doe lifted the ban on political parties and called for elections in 1985.

1985–1989: The National Democratic Party of Liberia

The Liberian elections of October 1985 were problematic. Few international (or local) observers felt they were conducted fairly. However, the United States endorsed the results (although the current U.S. State Department position is that the elections were characterized by "by widespread fraud"). In the end, Samuel Doe was named victor over his closest opponent, Jackson F. Doe. However, many believed, and still maintain, that Jackson F. Doe won the election.

The following month, Samuel Doe's former second-in-command, Thomas Quiwonkpa, entered Liberia through Sierra Leone and attempted to topple Doe through another coup. Quiwonkpa failed, and his body was dragged through the streets of Monrovia. Doe's Krahn-dominated government retaliated against the ethnic groups in Quiwonkpa's native Nimba County, causing widespread loss of life within the Gio and Mano communities.

Even though elections were scheduled to take place in 1991, the growing abuse within Nimba County provided a fertile opportunity for Charles Taylor (related to Quiwonkpa by marriage) and Prince Johnson (an ethnic Gio) to begin planning to overthrow Doe.

1989–1996: Civil War

On December 24, 1989, Charles Taylor and a small group of Libyan-trained rebels entered Nimba County from neighboring Côte d'Ivoire. This group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), initially encountered plenty of support within Nimba County, which endured the majority of Samuel Doe's wrath after the 1985 attempted coup. The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) launched counterattacks against Taylor's forces. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, entered the conflict under the premise of a cease-fire and peace deal, albeit without the NPFL. The NPFL continued to make gains on the capital, Monrovia, and widespread atrocities were reported in Krahn and Mandingo areas. The Mandingoes were still largely victims of the NPFL onslaughts until 1991, when they, along with exiled Krahn, organized the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO). While reports vary, it appears that Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was affiliated with Charles Taylor's movement.

In July 1990, Prince Johnson split from Taylor and formed the Independent National Patriotic Front (INPFL). The INPFL and NPFL continued their siege on Monrovia, which the AFL defended. In September 1990, Doe visited the ECOMOG headquarters in Monrovia, where officials urged him to accept exile outside of Liberia. At the time, ECOMOG was barely established in the Free Port of Monrovia. At the port, Doe was captured and taken to the INPFL's Caldwell base. The circumstances that led to Doe's visit to the Free Port are still unclear; however, after Doe arrived, Prince Johnson's INPFL attacked the headquarters and captured, tortured, and killed him. Johnson's INPFL and Taylor's NPFL continued to struggle for control of Monrovia in the months that followed.

In November 1990, ECOWAS negotiated a settlement and established the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), led by Dr. Amos Sawyer, a former dean of political science at the University of Liberia. However, Charles Taylor did not recognize the IGNU, and the fighting continued. The Krahn and Mandingo groups, often targets of the NPFL, formed ULIMO in 1991. In 1994 ULIMO split into two factions, ULIMO-J (mostly Krahn, led by Roosevelt Johnson) and ULIMO-K (mostly Mandingo, led by Alhaji Kromah).

By 1995, Liberia's civil war had grown to include the following seven major factions:

- NPFL
- NPFL Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC)
- Lofa Defense Force (LDF)
- ULIMO-K

- ULIMO-J
- Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)
- Liberian Peace Council (LPC)

In September 1995, in accordance with the Abuja Peace Accords, the seven factions joined to form the Liberian Council of State. Despite this agreement, fighting continued and 1996 saw some of the war's deadliest battles. However, in accordance with the timetable laid out in a supplement to the accords (the "Abuja Supplement"), elections were conducted in July 1997 and Charles Taylor was declared winner, garnering nearly 75 percent of the vote. Some have speculated that Taylor won because many citizens believed that electing him was the only way to end the war.

1997–2003: Civil War

Peace in Liberia, if it ever really existed, was short lived. By the late 1990s it was clear from reports that Taylor was supporting the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in the civil war in neighboring Sierra Leone. As a result, the UN imposed sanctions on the Liberian government, including the following:

- An arms-importation ban
- A ban on foreign travel by high-ranking members of the government and their immediate families
- A ban on trading "blood diamonds"

At the same time there was a growing opposition movement to Taylor's government within Liberia, based largely in northern Lofa County. This opposition group, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), headed by Sekou Conneh (a businessman married to the daughter of Guinean President Lansana Conté), began to engage in sporadic fighting with the AFL in 1999. By 2000, it was believed that LURD controlled nearly 80 percent of the countryside. Fighting between the government forces and LURD continued through 2002, but Taylor maintained control of Monrovia. Throughout the fighting both the AFL and LURD were accused of widespread human rights violations against innocent civilians, as well as child soldier recruitment. In 2003, an offshoot of LURD, the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), was formed in Côte d'Ivoire. MODEL was reported to have support in the southeastern counties of Grand Gedeh, Sinoe, and Grand Kru. With fighting intensifying, Charles Taylor agreed to participate in an ECOWAS-sponsored peace summit in Ghana. In the hope that Taylor would be arrested by his Ghanaian hosts, the Office of the Prosecutor of the Special Court for Sierra Leone unsealed an indictment against him. Reportedly caught by surprise and unwilling to arrest Taylor, Ghana refused to detain him. Within hours Taylor returned to Monrovia. In the following months, fighting intensified in and around Monrovia.

Finally, in August 2003, Taylor accepted an ECOWAS-brokered peace deal that offered him asylum in Nigeria and proposed an ECOWAS vanguard intervention force. Taylor's vice president, Moses Blah, finished the remaining term and was followed by a transition interim government headed by Liberian businessman Gyude Bryant. In October 2003, the UN took over peacekeeping operations from ECOWAS and established the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). In the years that followed, active disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration and rebuilding efforts unfolded.

2005: Elections

Most local and international observers considered the Liberian elections in 2005 to be free and fair. The elections were for both parliamentary and presidential candidates. The presidential election took place in two rounds. The two first-round frontrunners, Liberian football star and former UNICEF goodwill ambassador George Weah and former World Bank official and economist Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, squared off for runoff elections in November. Johnson-Sirleaf won and set off on a challenging reconstruction agenda. In March 2006, she surprised many by contradicting earlier statements and requesting that Charles Taylor be turned over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone. After some initial bungling, Nigeria handed over Taylor, who is currently being held in The Hague. His trial is expected to begin in April 2007.

The parliamentary elections were also seen as free and fair. However, a number of individuals who gained parliamentary seats also possessed questionable human rights records:

- Prince Johnson, former leader of the INPFL
- Jewel Taylor, former wife of Charles Taylor
- Adolpho Dolo ("General Peanut Butter"), former general in the NPFL
- Edwin Snowe, former son-in-law of Charles Taylor and currently under a UN travel ban
- Kai Farley, former general in MODEL
- Saah Gbollie, former NPFL commander and former Liberian Police officer
- Edward Slanger, former AFL general accused of atrocities in the Doe regime
- Zoe Pennue, former top official of MODEL and son of one of Doe's henchmen, Harrison Pennue

Appendix I: Noteworthy Individuals

Government

• *President* Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf: While three of President Johnson-Sirleaf's grandparents were indigenous, the fourth was a German businessman who left Liberia during World War I. However, Johnson-Sirleaf's parents moved into the Americo-Liberian class through work and education, thus making her a product of both worlds. After attending the University of Colorado and Harvard University, where she received a degree in public administration, Johnson-Sirleaf returned to

Liberia to work in the Tolbert Administration as the Assistant Minister of Finance. In 1985 as a candidate for the Senate, Johnson-Sirleaf made public remarks that criticized the Doe regime. As a result, she was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released a short time later. After her release, Johnson-Sirleaf fled to Kenya, where she served as Vice President for the African Regional Office of Citibank. Johnson-Sirleaf reportedly supported Charles Taylor's rebel movement to oust Samuel Doe; however, she attempted to distance herself from what became a Taylor-fueled humanitarian nightmare. On November 8, 2006, in a runoff election with George Weah, Johnson-Sirleaf won the presidency of Liberia. She is currently the first elected female to sit as president of an African country and the 24th president of Liberia.

- *Vice President* Joseph Nyumah Boakai: Like Johnson-Sirleaf, Vice President Boakai is a member of the Unity Party. Boaki's previous experience in the government includes serving as Minister of Agriculture from 1983 to 1985 (under then-President Samuel Doe) and chairman of the Transitional Steering Committee. Boakai attended the College of West Africa, the University of Liberia, and Kansas State University.
- Minister of Agriculture J. Christopher Toe: Before assuming his role as Minister of Agriculture, Minister Toe served as President of Strayer University. In the mid-1980s, Toe served as the Chief Agricultural Economist on the Liberia Produce Marketing Board. After leaving for the United States, he served on the economics faculty at Texas Tech University. He holds Masters and Doctorate degrees from Texas Tech University and a Bachelors degree in economics from the University of Liberia.
- *Minister of Commerce and Industry* Bankie King Akerele: Before assuming her role as Minister of Commerce and Industry, Minister Akerele served as a resident representative of the UN in Senegal. Ms. Akerele is the granddaughter of the 17th President of Liberia, Charles D.B. King (1920–1930).
- *Minister of Education* Joseph Korto: Minister Korto was a presidential candidate in the first-round presidential elections, finishing seventh of 22 and endorsing Johnson-Sirleaf in the second round. Korto served as supervisor of schools in his hometown Sanniquellie, in Nimba County, during the 1980s. At one time, Korto was president of the Union of Liberian Associations in the Americas.
- Minister of Finance Antoinette Sayeh: Minister Sayeh holds a Doctor of Philosophy degree in International and Development Economics from the Fletcher School, Tufts University. She obtained her Bachelor of Arts degree from Swarthmore College and an Academic Diploma at College du Leman in Versoix. Most recently, Sayeh served as a Country Director at the World Bank and briefly served as technical staff in the Ministry of Finance during Samuel Doe's presidency.
- *Minister of Internal Affairs* Ambullai Johnson: Minister Johnson previously served in the Tolbert administration on the Liberian Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC) and was a professor at the University of Liberia. He is also President Johnson-Sirleaf's cousin.

- *Minister of Justice* Frances Johnson-Morris: Most recently, Minister Johnson-Morris (no relation to Johnson-Sirleaf) served as the Chair of the National Elections Commission of Liberia. Johnson-Morris's appointment as Minister of Justice agitated some supporters of George Weah, who alleged voter fraud (even though most observers considered the vote to be fair and free). According to one BBC report, "A senior official of Mr. Weah's CDC party said Frances Johnson-Morris' nomination was a 'reward for her role' during the election." Minister Johnson-Morris previously served as a Chief Justice in Liberia (1996–1997) and the National Director for the Liberian Justice and Peace Commission.
- *Minister of Labor* Samuel Kofi Woods: Minister Woods is a prominent Liberian human rights activist. An outspoken critic of the Taylor regime, Woods spent several years in exile, mainly in neighboring Sierra Leone. Woods founded the Foundation for International Dignity (FIND), an organization that works with refugees and internally displaced persons in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. Prior to his appointment, Woods and the International Labor Rights Fund filed a class action lawsuit against Firestone, along with several adult plaintiffs who worked as child laborers—as well as their children, who are currently working as child laborers—on the Firestone rubber plantation in Liberia. After his appointment, Woods continued to call for improved working conditions and pay, comparing working conditions at the Firestone Plantation to "slave labor." He attended the University of Liberia, the University of Lieden, and Columbia University.
- *Minister of Land, Mines, and Energy* Eugene Shannon: Previously, Minister Shannon was a senior executive in the African Development Bank's sustainable development department. Shannon has extensive experience in this field within Liberia, at one time serving as the Director of the Liberian Geological Survey.
- Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Jackson E. Doe (not to be confused with 1985 Presidential candidate Jackson F. Doe): Minister Doe previously served as deputy director of the Presidential Security Service under his cousin, former President Samuel Doe, and as deputy director-general of the government insurance agency. The International Crisis Group reported that Doe played a significant role under Sekou Conneh in most of LURD military matters, including appointments of commanders and decisions on what targets to attack, before becoming a senior figure in MODEL.³
- *Minister of Transport* Jeremiah Sulunteh: Presidential candidate Winston Tubman chose Jeremiah Sulunteh as his running mate, but after their first-round defeat he supported Johnson-Sirleaf. Minister Sulunteh's previous work experience includes acting as Associate Vice President, Planning and Development, Cuttington University, Account Service Representative for the Royal Bank of Canada, and as a Field Financial Analyst, Bong County Agricultural Development Project. Sulunteh attended the University of Liberia, American University in Cairo, and York University.

_

³ International Crisis Group, "Tackling Liberia: The Eye of the Regional Storm," Africa Report No. 62, April 30, 2003.

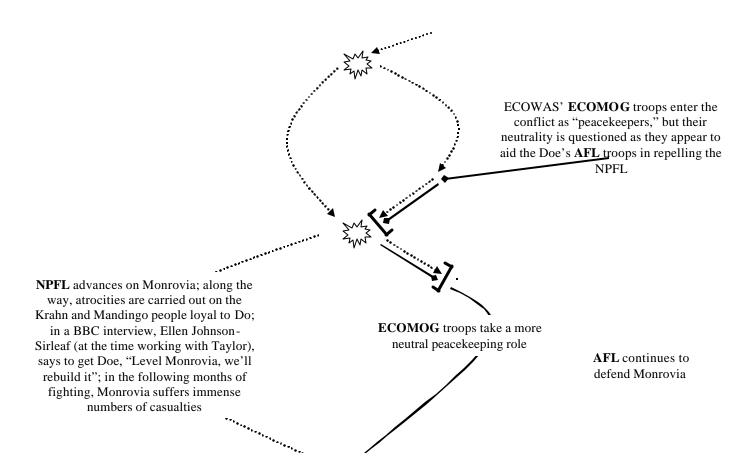
- Minister of National Defense Brownie Samukai: Minister Samukai comes to the
 Liberian government from a posting with the UN in the security field in Dar El
 Salem, Tanzania, and Timor-Leste. Samukai served as police director under
 Amos Sawyer and as Deputy Minister of Defense and Deputy Minister of State
 for Presidential Affairs during the 1990s. After receiving military training in
 Israel and Liberia, he attended American University, where he received a Masters
 Degree in Economics.
- *Minister of Gender Development* Varbah Gayflor: Minister Gayflor held this position under the Bryant transitional administration. Gayflor attended the University of Liberia and the Institute for Social Sciences, where she earned a Masters Degree in Gender and Development.
- *Minister of Public Works* Willis Knuckles: Most recently, Minister Knuckles served as Chairman of the National Oil Company of Liberia. Knuckles' previous government experience includes serving as Assistant Minister of Sports under the Tolbert Administration. Known to be a sports enthusiast, Knuckles also ran a newspaper in the 1980s called *Sports World*. Reports indicate that the Liberian Senate initially narrowly rejected his appointment.
- *Minister of Foreign Affairs* George Wallace: Minister Wallace is one of the longest-serving diplomats in the Liberian government. A career diplomat, Wallace has continuously held a post in the government since 1990. Prior to his appointment, he served as an ambassador in various postings.
- *Minister of Health and Social Welfare* Walter Gwenigale: Minister Gwenigale is the former head of Phebe Hospital in Liberia. Gwenigale, born in the 1930s in the village of Kpotoloma, Bong County, attended the University of Puerto Rico Medical School. He remained the Medical Director of Phebe Hospital, a 150-bed facility, until 2003. Minister Gwenigale was a candidate in the first-round presidential elections.
- *Minister of Information, Culture, and Tourism* Johnny McClain: Minister McClain previously held this position under President Tolbert for five months before the coup. McClain previously served as the Permanent Representative of UNESCO in the republics of The Cameroon and Namibia.
- *Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs* Togah McIntosh: Prior to assuming her post, Minister McIntosh was a member of the Governance Reform Commission, where Johnson-Sirleaf served as Chairlady before she embarked on her presidential run.
- Minister of Youth and Sport Jamesetta Wolokollie: No information available.
- *Minister of Rural Development* Ermat C.B. Jones: No information available.

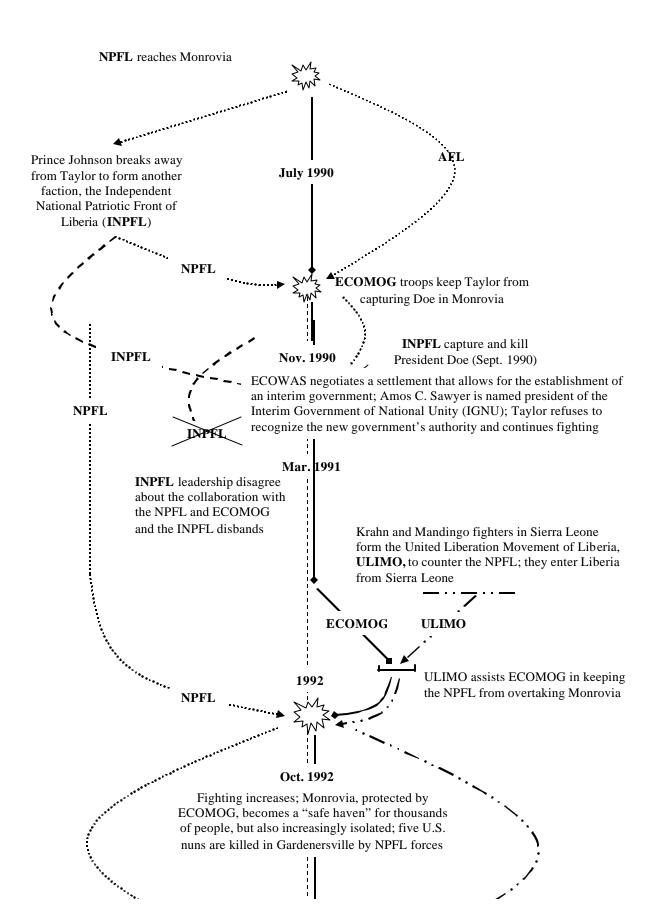
Others

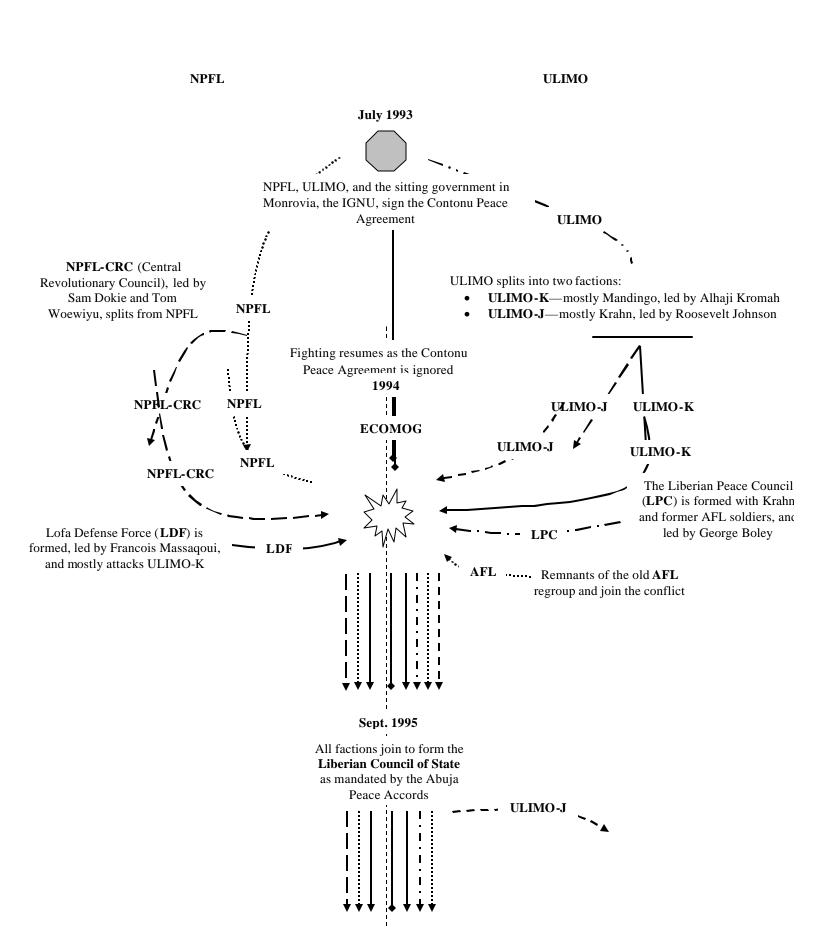
• Sekou Conneh: Originally active in the United People's Party, which President Tolbert banned, Conneh worked as a revenue agent for the Ministry of Finance during the Doe administration. He later became a trader based in Guinea and married the daughter of Guinean President Lansana Conté. Conneh was appointed chairman of LURD in 1999. In 2003, after LURD disbanded, he ran for president, but received less than 1 percent of the vote.

- Roosevelt Johnson (deceased): Roosevelt Johnson was a former teacher and was active in the ULIMO rebel movement. In 1994, when ULIMO split into two factions, Johnson led ULIMO-J (mainly comprising persons of Krahn ethnicity). Johnson was appointed as Minister of Rural Development early in the Taylor regime, but after some internal friction was reassigned as Ambassador to India. The relationship between Taylor and Johnson continued to deteriorate when, in 1998, Taylor accused Roosevelt Johnson of being behind a coup attempt. Johnson took refuge in the U.S. Embassy and was eventually transported to Sierra Leone and Nigeria. He was tried and convicted for treason *in absentia*.
- Alhaji Kromah: Mr. Kromah served as the Assistant Minister of Education in the Tolbert administration, and as the Minister of Information and Director General of the Liberian Broadcasting System during the Doe administration. In 1990, after Doe was killed, Mr. Kromah went into exile, but returned and was active in the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO). In 1994, ULIMO split into two factions, one of which, ULIMO-K (mainly comprising persons of Mandingo ethnicity) was led by Kromah and based in Northwestern Lofa County. Kromah ran for president in 2005, but garnered only 2.8 percent of the vote.
- Prince Yedu Johnson: Recently elected as a senator in Liberia, Prince Johnson is perhaps best known for his role in the torture and death of former president Samuel Doe. Johnson's INPFL forces (an offshoot of Charles Taylor's NPFL) ultimately captured, tortured, and killed Doe. In a video that has been widely circulated among Liberians in the diaspora, Prince Johnson is seen drinking a beer as his soldiers mutilate Doe, who begs for his life before being killed. After his relationship with Charles Taylor deteriorated, Johnson fled to Nigeria. In March 2004, Johnson returned to Liberia and was subsequently elected to the Senate.
- Amos Sawyer: Dr. Sawyer served as the president of the Interim Government of National Unity (INGU) from 1990 to 1994. In 1994 he stepped down under the peace process agreement, which eliminated the presidency and instead vested the powers in the Chairmen of the Council of State, who were appointed annually until the 1997 elections. Dr. Sawyer is currently Associate Director and Research Scholar, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis in the Department of Political Science at Indiana University.
- Speaker of the Parliament Edwin Snowe: Snowe is Charles Taylor's former sonin-law and was recently elected as speaker of the House of Representatives, which is commonly seen as the third most powerful position in the government. He is currently under a UN-imposed travel ban because of his previous association with Taylor.
- Charles Taylor: Born in 1948 to Americo-Liberian parents, Taylor attended college in the United States. After the 1980 coup Taylor returned to Liberia to work in the Doe administration as head of the General Services Agency. Accused of stealing nearly \$1 million, Taylor fled to the United States. In 1984, he was arrested in Massachusetts under an extradition warrant and, while being held and awaiting deportation, escaped from custody and eventually made his way to Libya, where he was trained in guerrilla warfare. Since the civil war began in

- 1989, Taylor has played an infamous role as rebel leader, president, and, most recently, indicted war criminal.
- George Weah: Also known as "Ambassador Weah" for his role as UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador, George Weah was recently defeated in the runoff election for the presidency. Weah's talents at soccer earned him the opportunity to play for a number of European teams, even winning the European Player of the Year Award in 1995. His humanitarian activities in Liberia attracted widespread praise and popularity. He long shunned politics but announced in 2004 that he would run for president. Weah won the first round of the elections, but his lack of experience and education led many to fear that he would be easily manipulated. After being defeated by Johnson-Sirleaf, Weah refused to concede his defeat for nearly a month. Recently Weah has publicly expressed displeasure that the former head of the Elections Commission, Frances Johnson-Morris, was named Minister of Justice.
- Tom Woewiyu: Woewiyu was an NPFL and Taylor ally until he and Sam Dokie created the NPFL offshoot, the Central Revolutionary Council. The NPFL-CRC was mainly active Northern Liberia. Woewiyu ran against Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in the 2005 elections. According to local media reports, Johnson-Sirleaf is suing him for \$5 million for defamation. The case, filed in Civil Law Court on February 9, 2006, stems from an open letter to then-candidate Johnson-Sirleaf from Woewiyu published in the *Liberian Times* on September 10, 2005. In this letter, Woewiyu outlined the role that Johnson-Sirleaf allegedly played in the civil war.





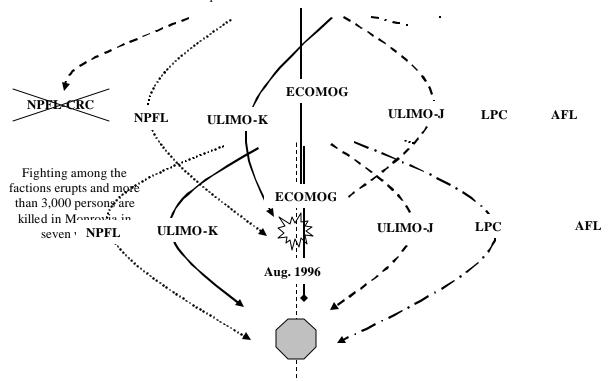


Roosevelt Johnson is replaced as leader of ULIMO-J; shortly afterward, the new leader is killed; Roosevelt Johnson is rumored to have been involved

•

April 1996

The Liberian Council of State begins to experience severe internal struggle; distrust between Charles Taylor (NPFL), Alhaji Koromah (ULIMO-K), and Roosevelt Johnson (ULIMO-J) grows; eventually, the Liberian Council of State attempts to arrest Roosevelt Johnson for murder



A supplemental agreement to the Abuja Peace Accords, the "Abuja Supplement," is signed in August; the Supplement calls for a cease-fire, disarmament of the combatants, free elections and sanctions for any faction that does not comply

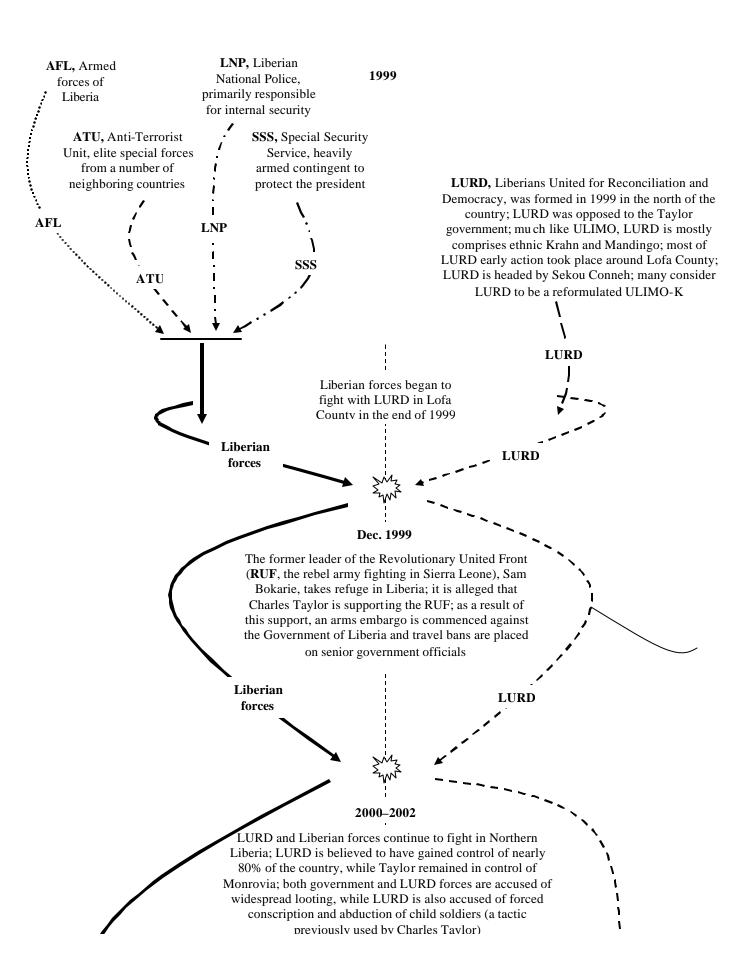
July 1997

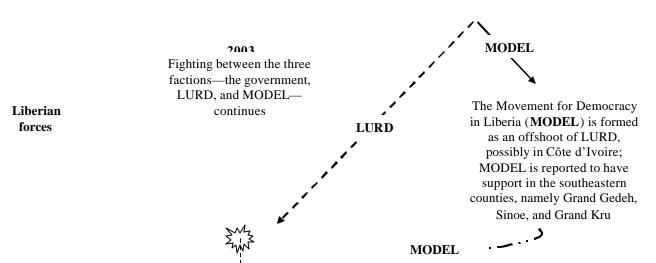
Charles Taylor wins the presidential election, garnering more than 75% of the vote; the nearest runner-up is Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf who claims only 9.58% of the vote

Sept. 1998

Roosevelt Johnson, former leader of ULIMO-J, takes refuge in the U.S. embassy while being pursued by government forces; Johnson is airlifted out of Liberia

After the election, the regular forces in Liberia comprised of the following groups:





Charles Taylor participates in multiparty peace negotiations organized by ECOWAS in Ghana; by the summer of 2003, LURD and MODEL control most of Liberia and are closing in on Monrovia; during the peace talks, the Special Court for Sierra Leone unseals the indictment against Charles Taylor for war crimes; Taylor returns to Monrovia and the ensuing fighting between the AFL, LURD, and MODEL leaves approximately 300 dead and more than 1,000 injured

Aug. 2003

Taylor accepts the offer of asylum in Nigeria negotiated by ECOWAS and leaves Liberia stating, "God willing, I will be back"; the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) begins peacekeeping and DDR operations