

WARID: Liberia (NFPL) 1989-1996
STARDATE: 29 December 1989
ENDDATE: 17 August 1996¹
Related cases: Liberia (LURD, MODEL) 2000-2003
Sierra Leone (RUF, AFRC) 1991-2000
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Conflict overview

The state of Liberia was founded by liberated slaves who were sent to a supposed ‘homeland’ by US-American organizations. Africa’s oldest republic modeled its political system on the example of the USA. The state has been dominated by Americo-Liberians who have marginalized the indigenous population. One-party rule was overthrown in a military coup led by Master-Sergeant Samuel Doe in 1980, who installed an ethnic dictatorship based on the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups and appointed himself president. A rebellion formed as repression increased and public support for his rule dwindled. Eventually, on Christmas Eve of 1989, Charles Taylor invaded Nimba County with his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), leading to the First Liberian Civil War. This war was essentially a struggle for political and military power as well as opportunities for personal enrichment. The NPFL aimed to overthrow the Doe regime but did not propose any national projects for Liberia’s future.²

Initially, the war pitted the NPFL against Doe’s Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL); however, due to splits and new actors joining the conflict, the situation soon became nebulous.³ The

1 As the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) only considers battle-related deaths for setting a war’s end date, it suggests that the first Liberian civil war ended on 10 September 1990 (see the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset, http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/124/124924_ucdp_conflict_termination_2010_dyad.xls). However, as one-sided violence by and non-state conflict between rival factions involved in the war continued until 1996 – according to UCDP fatality estimates (see http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdata/gpcountry.php?id=94®ionSelect=2-Southern_Africa) –, it would be counter-intuitive to proceed on the assumption that the war ended in 1990; violence from 1991 to 1996 was clearly connected to the hostilities. We therefore assume, in accordance with case-specific literature, that the war ended with the signature of the Abuja II Peace Agreement on 17 August 1996.

2 Consequently, the whole of Liberia is considered the disputed territory.

3 As early as January 1990, the Independent National Patriotic Front (INPFL) split from the NPFL, yet its autonomous existence was only made known in June. Led by Prince Yormie Johnson, the INPFL united a sizeable number of former AFL soldiers. With a total strength of approximately 2,000 troops, it was one of the smallest factions in the war. After initial fighting against Doe and establishing control over Monrovia’s Bushrod Island from 1990 to 1992, the rebel faction switched allegiances several times. In September 1990, INPFL troops captured and killed Samuel Doe. Following heavy battles in late 1992, the INPFL ceased to exist and many of its fighters rejoined the ranks of the NPFL (Gerdes 2013: 39-40, 115-116).

ranks of the pro-Doe faction swelled most notably with the appearance of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO)⁴, which, in turn, split into Krahn (ULIMO-J) and Mandingo (ULIMO-K) dominated factions in 1994.⁵ In 1990, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) mandated the, purportedly neutral, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to oversee compliance with the (non-existent) ceasefire.⁶ However, the intervention's largest backer, Nigeria, intended it to be an operation aimed at stopping Taylor from seizing power.⁷ Thus, ECOMOG can be considered a warring party in the anti-Taylor faction, fighting the NPFL directly and by proxy.⁸ From October 1993 until September 1997, an unarmed United Nations (UN) military observer mission, the United Nations Observation Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) was also present.⁹

After entering Liberia from Ivorian territory, the NPFL and INPFL quickly advanced on Monrovia, laying siege to the capital. Taylor occupied large parts of the Liberian hinterland but was prevented from taking Monrovia mainly due to the ECOMOG intervention. Several ceasefires were unable to put an end to the fighting. On 19 August 1995, the first Abuja Agreement was signed, stipulating the creation of a new power-sharing transitional government. This was reiterated in the Abuja II accords of 17 August 1996, which finally put an end to the war [WARENDUC=1, WARENDOS=1].¹⁰ In total, the First Liberian Civil War lasted for 80 months [WARDUR=80].

When calculating the war's death toll, casualties caused by battles, one-sided violence and infighting between the AFL, the NPFL and other factions must be taken into account. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), battles between the rebels and the AFL claimed 1,370 lives in 1989 and 1990. Whereas one-sided violence by government forces and the INPFL is only recorded for 1990, the NPFL engaged in violence against

4 ULIMO was made up of the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), the Movement for the Redemption of Muslims (MRM) and the Liberian United Defense Force (LUDF) (Gerdes 2013: 123).

5 Other factions fighting against the NPFL included the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), which asserted independence from ULIMO in 1993, as well as the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), founded at the end of the same year (Gerdes 2013: 36).

6 The ECOMOG was a multilateral intervention force created on initiative from Nigeria. Troops also came from Gambia, Ghana, Sierra Leone and, temporarily, Senegal, Mali and Tanzania (Gerdes 2013: 117).

7 Its mandate was highly confusing and it mainly set out the implementation and monitoring of the cease-fire. However, as "there was nothing remotely resembling a cease-fire by then, the purported objective of the intervention was testimony to considerable political creativity". Additionally, the force was poorly prepared and equipped and thus became closely linked with the AFL, INPFL and ULIMO; at the outset, it heavily relied on INPFL support and intelligence. The LPC was used as an auxiliary force in eastern Liberia; the ECOMOG was generally unable to effectively control the irregular forces it supported as proxies (Gerdes 2013: 117-119).

8 Charles Taylor's NPFL, in turn, received economic support as well as weapons and safe havens from francophone west African states, most notably Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire (Gerdes 2013:35).

9 <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unomilM.htm> (22 Nov 2014).

10 http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdata/gpcountry.php?id=94®ionSelect=2-Southern_Africa# (21 Nov 2014).

civilians from 1990 until 1995. Additionally, the LPC committed one-sided violence from 1993 through 1995. Abusive actions against civilians led to a total of 13,362 fatalities. Moreover, in-fighting between the NPFL and numerous rebel groups claimed an additional 2,962 lives throughout the war (1990-1996). Adding these figures together, we can conclude that a total of 17,694 people died in the war [**FATALUC=18000**].¹¹ Other sources maintain that the precise figure of deaths may never be established. Consequentially, many highly inflated figures as well as clear underestimations have widely been circulated. For instance, Charles Taylor – with a clear interest in minimizing the war’s brutality – claimed in 1998 that it had resulted in 20-50,000 fatalities. On the other hand, widely used estimates of 150,000 to 200,000 deaths are exaggerated and likely stem from a misunderstanding of the UN’s casualty figures (i.e. not only fatalities). Reviewing these numbers along with the course of the war, Ellis (1999: 312-316) arrives at his own estimation of 60,000-80,000 deaths caused by the war. This estimate is confirmed by Felix Gerdes (2013: 1). Thus, we settle for coding 70,000 deaths [**FATALOS=70000**]. World Bank estimates put Liberia’s population in 1989 at 2,137,000 [**PREWARPO=2100000**].¹² Thus, the war’s intensity amounts to 0.86% or 3.33% of the pre-war population [**INTENSUC=0.86, INTENSOS=3.33**].

The military balance at the end of the war

The Liberian civil war was characterized by factional strife. As the war went on, an increasingly number of factions emerged. This dynamic was exacerbated by ECOMOG supporting and arming rebel groups to fight against the NPFL as proxies (Ellis 1999: 104). By 1994, it must have become clear to Taylor that he would not attain his goal of becoming president of Liberia by military means only but that he needed to reach an agreement with Nigeria, ECOMOG’s largest backer.¹³ This was achieved in Abuja in the summer of 1995 and Taylor triumphantly entered the city of Monrovia. In the capital, however, Taylor depended on ECOMOG for his security, something that became apparent when he needed rescue during an attempt on his life on 31 October 1996 (Ellis 1999: 105-106). In a last attempt at military victory, Taylor cheated the ULIMO-J into attacking ECOMOG as a pretext to attack ULIMO-J in Monrovia with the support of ULIMO-K. Fearful that Taylor would secure a military victory, both the US embassy and ECOMOG rushed to the ULIMO-J’s aid. In August 1996,

11 http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdata/gpcountry.php?id=94®ionSelect=2-Southern_Africa# (17 Oct 2014).

12 See api.worldbank.org/v2/en/country/lbr?downloadformat=excel (17 Oct 2014).

13 Taylor not only faced the opposition of ECOMOG, the strongest actor in the civil war, and therefore made an agreement with its largest supplier, Nigeria, crucial for ending the war on Taylor’s terms. His other main rivals, the ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K, had decisively grown in strength, with the latter commanding 5,000 to 6,000 troops and ULIMO-J being estimated at 3,000 combatants in the mid 1990s (Gerdes 2013: 125).

the Abuja II Agreement reestablished a fragile peace, recalling the provisions for an interim government of Abuja I but providing a new timeline for disarmament and elections. Even though Taylor won these elections on 19 July 1997 in a landslide victory and thus attained his war aim of becoming president of Liberia, one cannot say that he secured a military victory **[VICTORY=0]**.¹⁴ As the last battle for Monrovia in April 1996 indicates, both the NPFL and its rival factions, including the ECOMOG, could have continued fighting at the end of the war **[CONFIGHT=0]**.

At the peak of its power in June 1991, the NPFL's presence was unchallenged in 95% of the Liberian territory (Gerdes 2013: 42). Although Taylor soon lost parts of the border areas with Sierra Leone – including some diamond territory to ULIMO – and front lines were rather fluid, the territory Taylor and his NPFL controlled, dubbed 'Greater Liberia', had the characteristics of an alternative state, with its own capital, police organization, administration and currency (Alao et al. 1999: 42). Formal state institutions were established: The National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG), featuring the legislative body National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly, consisting of 24 handpicked 'representatives', as well as specialized ministries. In general, the structures of Liberian formal administration were maintained though they were staffed by those loyal to Taylor. While the administration answered to the NPRAG's Minister of Internal Affairs, the military chain of command was kept strictly separate from the civilian one (Gerdes 2013: 64). The NPFL was also able to extract large war economy profits from the territories it controlled, mainly by exploiting and trading iron ore, rubber, timber and diamonds (Gerdes 2013: 81-97). Despite territorial losses in the course of the war, by mid 1996, the NPFL once again controlled most of Liberia (Gerdes 2013: 56). Thus, it still controlled a greater part of the territory it had controlled during wartime, considerably more than the side governing at the beginning of the war controlled **[REBTERR=1; MORETERR=1]**.

Cunningham et al. (2009) assess the rebels' fighting capacity as 'moderate' **[REBFIGHT=0]**. This assessment seems reasonable in light of case-specific literature as the NPFL's capacities must be judged in relation to the crumbling AFL, the ULIMO and, most importantly, the ECOMOG, which was undoubtedly the strongest actor in the First Liberian Civil War (Gerdes 2013: 35).

In September 1990, the INPFL managed to capture and kill President Samuel Doe. After this incident, however, the war continued for a further five years and other people emerged as the main military and political leaders of the proliferating factions. None of these leaders were

14 Ellis 1999: 107-109.

killed or captured. Thus, none of the warring parties managed to kill or capture its opponent's political leader shortly before or at the end of the war [LEADER=0].

In total, the military balance at the end of the war amounted to 0.33, indicating a slight advantage for the NPFL [WARBAL=0.33].

The post-war military balance

The Abuja II Agreement of August 1996, which finally halted the major fighting, reiterated the agreement that had been reached in Abuja in 1995. In terms of demobilization, disarmament, reintegration and rehabilitation (DDRR), both agreements largely recalled the measures previously stipulated in the 1993 Cotonou Agreement (Alao et al. 1999: 77). This accord mandated that the ECOMOG conduct the disarmament of all factions under the supervision of the UN mission UNOMIL.¹⁵ According to the revised schedule agreed upon in the Abuja II Agreement, disarmament started on 22 November 1996 (United Nations 1996a: 4, para. 18). In the first four days of the process, 2,000 fighters were disarmed; however, the process subsequently slowed. The estimate of combatants to be disarmed, which had first been put at 60,000, was later reduced to 33,000. When the disarmament was concluded in February 1997, some 62% of the fighters had been disarmed (Gerdes 2013: 56-57). However, most of the weapons handed in during disarmament turned out to be unserviceable, indicating that the serviceable ones were presumably held back by the factions in case of a renewed outbreak of hostilities (Alao et al. 1999: 96). As the DDRR program's efforts were aimed at the civil reintegration of former combatants (UN 1996b: 6, para. 26), there is no indication that fighters were integrated into the national army. Taylor was wary of the Krahn-dominated AFL, which, according to a Human Rights Watch Report (1997), remained rather hostile towards Taylor's presidency.¹⁶ Taylor thus preferred to marginalize the AFL to the advantage of several paramilitary units staffed with former NPFL-fighters.¹⁷ The 'Anti-Terrorist Unit' (ATU) was commanded by his son Charles 'Chuckie' Taylor Jr. It was a highly personalized

15 ECOMOG was given the authority to disarm any combatant and non-combatant and to conduct searches for hidden weapons, all under the monitoring of UNOMIL (Cotonou Agreement 1993: Part I, sect. E, art. 6) With orientation from a complete listing of combatants and weapons provided by the warring parties, all combatants were to be encamped for the purpose of disarmament and demobilization as well as further education, training and rehabilitation (Part I, sect. F, art. 7). All non-Liberian fighters were supposed to be repatriated (Part I, sect. H, art. 9).

16 AFL commander General Hezekiah Bowen demanded the AFL's retirement with full pensions for all soldiers, compensation packages, death or disability benefits for AFL families, a three-month reintegration/training program, and the resettlement of retired soldiers in their home area (HRW 1997).

17 In 1998, he demobilized some 2,600 of the alleged 7,000 AFL troops. As the official number of demobilized AFL fighters after the second civil war in 2003 was 12,240, Taylor must have embarked on a massive recruitment campaign at some point (Gerdes 2013: 140). However, we lack information on how the ethnic composition of the national army changed after 1998.

force not reporting to the Ministry of Defense but only to its commander and the president himself. Moreover, the unit was not provided for in the national budget though its members were among the few who were paid regularly. Apart from the ATU, the Special Security Service (SSS) acted as Taylor's personal security force, among others guarding the Executive Mansion. It was also charged with surveillance duties. Otherwise, the paramilitary units mostly acted as company and port security guards (Gerdes 2013: 139-140; Waugh 2011: 250–251). However, the ATU and the SSS, which together consisted of at least 2,600 troops, have to be regarded as Taylor's separate armed forces and not a part of Liberia's national army.¹⁸ By all accounts, the AFL was so marginalized that, in the immediate years after Taylor's election to the presidency in July 1997, it cannot be counted as a military asset. A considerable number of soldiers were even demobilized (Gerdes 2013: 140). Moreover, it seems unclear whether the army would have responded to Taylor's orders, which would indicate that the AFL should also be considered a separate force. It is thus highly questionable whether Liberia effectively disposed of an army in 1998 [**STATEFOR 1996-1997= -1, STATEFOR 1998=n.r.**]. Yet, the AFL also experienced recruitment campaigns under Taylor and, in the second civil war, it was deployed as a government army (Gerdes 2013: 140). Even though it was surely considered much less reliable than the paramilitaries by Taylor, he could nevertheless make use of the AFL's capabilities [**STATEFOR 1999-2000=1**].

As pointed out above, only about 62% of all fighters had been disarmed by the closure of disarmament in February 1997. Despite resulting in a noticeable demilitarization of society, most weapons handed in were unserviceable and the chains of command within the factions remained largely intact (HRW 1997). Apart from the AFL and Taylor's paramilitaries, Roosevelt Johnson, who was appointed Minister of Rural Development in Taylor's cabinet, maintained ULIMO-J fighters as his personal guard. In September 1998, however, they were annihilated in fights with Taylor's men, with the ULIMO-J elite fleeing to Côte d'Ivoire. Likewise, a considerable number of ULIMO-K fighters hid in safe havens in Guinea where they regrouped, merged with the ULIMO-J and eventually resurfaced as the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), launching a new civil war in 2000 (Gerdes 2013: 156-157). As mentioned above, Taylor himself maintained several paramilitary groups. Thus, both sides had separate forces at their disposal throughout the postwar years [**SEPFORCE 1996-2000=0**].

Taylor demobilized 2,600 of the alleged 7,000 AFL troops in 1998 and at the end of the second Liberian civil war in 2003, 12,240 AFL troops were demobilized. ULIMO-K/LURD-

18 <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/liberia/sss.htm> (17 Dec 2014); UN 2000: 33, Para 187.

forces in Guinea numbered at least 500 in 2000 (ICG 2002: 5). However, we lack information on an annual base on the troop strength of the army, Taylor's paramilitaries and the exiled rebels [**TROOPS 1996-2000=n.d., ARMS 1996-2000=n.d.**].¹⁹

Throughout the disarmament process, the rebel factions continued to occupy and exploit their various fiefs. The two ULIMO factions occupied diamond territory at the Sierra-Leonean border in Western Liberia while the LPC controlled territory in the southeast (Gerdes 2013: 126; UN 1996b: 3, Para. 12-13). Although the NPFL controlled almost all of Liberia from mid-1996 onwards, the ULIMO-K retreated into Guinean refugee camps, close to the Liberian border. The Guinean Government did tolerate the ULIMO-K rebels in its territory and supported them financially and definitely had a hand in the founding of the LURD in 2000 (Gerdes 2006: 83-84). The ULIMO-K recruited mostly among refugees in the towns and the camps. They possessed military bases and training centers that were effectively considered as their territory.²⁰ The Guinean Government had already supported the ULIMO-K during the war and the refugee camps had been established before the end of the war. We assume therefore that the ULIMO-K had these possibilities of retreating and recruiting during the complete post-war period. This territory is considered as important, as it paved the way for the founding of the LURD [**TERRCON 1996-2000=0**].²¹

By winning the presidential and parliamentary elections in 1997 with 75% of the votes cast, Taylor could expand and secure his control over the entire country [**TERRWIN 1996=0, TERRWIN 1997-2000=1**]. Considering that Taylor controlled the state apparatus after 1997, his enemies must be considered strategically more vulnerable [**VULNERAB 1996=0, VULNERAB 1997-2000=1**].

Fortna (2008) indicates that peacekeepers were present in post-war Liberia. As the UNOMIL was merely an unarmed military observer mission, this assessment can only refer to ECOMOG, which was present in Liberia from 1990 to 1999. Even though ECOMOG should be considered a warring party in the Liberian civil war, it assumed peacekeeping duties after the signing of the Abuja II Agreement. Under the supervision of UNOMIL, it conducted the disarmament process and supervised the peace in a seemingly impartial manner. We therefore support Fortna's assessment that armed peacekeepers were present in Liberia. ECOMOG's mission ended in October 1999²² [**PEACKEEP 1996-1999=0, PEACKEEP 2000=n.r.**].

19 Gerdes 2013: 140; Gerdes 2006: 88.

20 More precisely, „two quarters of Macenta [...] were considered ULIMO-K/LURD territory“ and after a relocation of the refugee camps, they were allowed to establish a training center in Kankan, again close to the camps (Gerdes 2006: 86-87).

21 Gerdes 2013: 56.

22 Tuck 2000: 1.

Due to its unique history, Liberia had always enjoyed a special bond with the United States, hosting US-army and intelligence outposts. In the years of Samuel Doe's rule from 1980-1989, Liberia received US aid totaling 500 million USD. By the outbreak of the war however, this bond had substantially weakened, mainly due to the new strategic interests held by the USA after the end of the Cold War. Consequently, the country neither intervened in the civil war, nor in the post-war period, apart from providing financial aid to ECOMOG and for humanitarian purposes [P5ALLY 1996-2000=n.r.].²³

Overall, the military balance shifted to the advantage of Charles Taylor and his NPFL throughout the post-war period [POSTBAL 1996= -0.17, POSTBAL 1997=0.4, POSTBAL 1998=0.4, POSTBAL 1999=0.5, POSTBAL 2000=0.6]. The same is true for the combined military balance [BALANCE 1996=0.08, BALANCE 1997=0.25, POSTBAL 1998=0.37, BALANCE 1999=0.42, BALANCE 2000=0.47].

Economy

Liberia's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita roughly doubled within five years. Nevertheless, it remained at a very low level.

Table 1: GDP per capita in Liberia in current USD²⁴

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>GDP per capita</i>
1996	2,197,801	73
1997	2,365,290	125
1998	2,558,085	141
1999	2,741,755	161
2000	2,891,968	183

The scale of compromise after the war

When it came to designing a transitional authority for governing Liberia until national elections could be held, the two Abuja agreements largely reiterated the stipulations of the Cotonou accords. Therein, the parties had agreed to form the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG), consisting of the Council of State and the Transitional Legislative Assembly, which were given authority over the entire unitary state of Liberia. The council was to comprise of five representatives, three of which were to be appointed by the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), the NPFL and ULIMO, respectively, while the remaining two were to be elected among eminent Liberians. The unicameral assembly was to consist of 35 members, 13 each for the IGNU and the NPFL and nine for the ULIMO

23 Ahmadu Sesay 1996: 16.

24 <http://api.worldbank.org/v2/en/country/idn?downloadformat=excel> (12 May 2014).

(Cotonou Agreement 1993: Part II, Sect. B, Art. 9). In contrast to the Cotonou Agreement, the Abuja Agreement also included ULIMO-J, the Liberia Peace Council, the Liberia National Conference, the AFL, the LDF and the NPFL-CRC, which had seceded from the NPFL following the Cotonou Agreement (Abuja Agreement 1995). Thus, the Council of State was reorganized so as to include more factions. It henceforth consisted of six members, one each for the NPFL, ULIMO-K, the LPC/Coalition and the Liberian National Conference and two traditional chiefs. The members as well as the chairman were named in the agreement which also stated that the other five members assume the roles of vice-chairmen with equal status (Abuja Agreement 1995: Part II, Sect. A). The LNTG's primary objective was to organize general elections for 1997 [**GOVERN 1996-1997=0; ELECT 1996-1997=0**]. All decisions in the Council of State had to be made by consensus (Cotonou Agreement 1993: Part II, Sect. B, Art. 7 (vi)). Thus, the parties could make use of a veto right [**VETO 1996-1997=0**]. There is no indication that this favored one of the factions over the others [**VETOSAT 1996-1997=0**]. 19 July 1997 saw the freest and fairest elections Liberia had ever experienced up to that point [**ELECT 1998-2000=0**].²⁵ With a voter turnout of 85%, Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Party (NPP), which had emerged from the NPFL, secured a landslide victory. Over 75% of the ballots cast supported him, while his closest competitor, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, only obtained 9.6% (Bøås 2005: 83; Gerdes 2013: 58-59). As the elections had been conducted through single ballot for both presidency and parliament, Taylor's NPP came to dominate the executive and the legislature. After his overwhelming victory, Taylor sought to build an inclusive cabinet under what he dubbed "National Reconciliation", allocating ministerial posts to leading members of the main rival factions and members of civil parties (Gerdes 2013: 134-135; Waugh 2011: 240). Despite this, he embarked on practices of patrimonial rule, leading a Human Rights Watch (1997) report to conclude: "The election has given a virtual monopoly over all branches of government to President Taylor: the executive branch, 75 percent of the legislature, and every judicial selection as the courts are reconstituted. For all practical purposes, Liberia is a one-party state" [**GOVERN 1998-2000=1; VETO 1998-2000=1; VETOSAT 1998-2000=n.r.**].

The NPFL had launched the civil war in 1989 with the aim of ending the dictatorship of Samuel Doe. His repressive and deeply unpopular regime had been based on ethnic discrimination: it rested upon the Krahn and Mandingo minorities while excluding all other ethnic groups. The war reflected these ethnic legacies which had bedeviled Liberia ever since its foundation; the NPFL heavily targeted Krahn and Mandingo civilians while its opponents

25 Bøås 2005: 83; Freedom House 2014.

committed excesses against the Gio and Mano. Taylor's movement was the most ethnically diverse of all Liberian factions, and his support came from a broader spectrum of ethnic groups than any of the other armed factions (Bøås 2005: 83). Upon taking office, Charles Taylor, himself an Americo-Liberian, pledged to build an inclusive government with the aim of national reconciliation, however, in ethnic terms, his rule only inversed Doe's discriminatory practices, which were now directed against the Krahn and Mandingo (Kieh 2012: 187-188). Yet, as the mere participation of these ethnic groups in the government has already been coded under the items GOVERN and ELECT and no other measures were taken for the promotion of ethnic groups, we abstain from coding this item [**SPECPRO 1996-2000=n.r.**].

Secession, intra-state borders, the distribution of competences and the economic system were not issues in the armed struggle [**EXBORDER 1996-2000=n.r.; INBORDER 1996-2000=n.r.; COMPETEN 1996-2000=n.r.; ECONOMY 1996-2000=n.r.**]. None of the groups fought over any further issues during the war or in the postwar years [**ISSUE 1996-2000=n.r.; ISSUE2 1996-2000=n.r.; NEWCON 1996-2000=n.r.; NEWCON2 1996-2000=n.r.**].

There were no implemented compromises [**BENEFIT 1996-2000=n.r.; BENEFIT2 1996-2000=n.r.**]. Overall, the post-war order tipped heavily to the advantage of the former rebels after Charles Taylor had been elected president in July 1997 [**COMPROM 1996-1997=0, COMPROM 1998-2000=0.67**].

Stability of peace

While Charles Taylor's regime increasingly faced financial constraints and antagonized both Liberians and international donors, the former contenders, the ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K – who had found refuge in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea –, regrouped and allied to form the new rebel faction, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). After small raids in 1999, LURD launched a new civil war against the Taylor government in 2000. This war is considered a renewed outbreak of the First Liberian Civil War since it largely pitted the same warring parties against one another and since these parties were fighting for the same objective: power in Liberia [**SAMEWAR=1; DATESAME=1 Aug 2000; ANYWAR=1; DATEANY=1 Aug 2000**]. The intermittent peace lasted for 47 months [**PEACMON1=47; PEACMON2=47**].

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