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In the name of Allah, the beneficent and the merciful:

I bring you greetings in the words of Arabic: These words are also the same in many of Liberian Languages to include the Vai language and the Mandingo. AL-SALAAM ALIKUM! Vai Language: (WAKUNEH)!

Topic: Myth, Proud and Greatness of the Vai People, The Language, The Culture, and The traditional Value Systems: A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Perspective of Post Civil Conflict Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Ethnic Diversity and Liberian Nationalism through Ground Cape Mount County Leadership

As we aspired good will and common understanding for one another, our nation and its Black/African people, one destiny, one excruciating universal pain and human suffering, one human kind, one human type, and one voice crying in the wilderness; I can not over emphasize the degree of happiness, respect, and admiration that I have for you for inviting me as your key note speaker on this unique and dynamic major endeavors of its kind so far yet in the Americas, and on behalf of our people in Ground Cape Mount County, with specific objective of rebuilding, re-equipping, revitalizing, and re-engineering of St Timothy Hospital Clinic.

Fellow Brothers and friends of Liberia and Ground Cape Mount County; I considerer myself fortunate as one of the sons of the soil to be given the opportunity to be a productive team player of serving our people and humanity in general. On this note, I am happy to reaffirm that visiting your beautiful and historic city, Philadelphia as the Key Note Speaker during this dynamic and philanthropic, benevolence and selfless initiative is a total part of the essence of the people of Ground Cape Mount County. I thank the almighty God for allowing my parents to have hailed from this unique and humanitarian region of Liberia.

Fellow Liberians and Friends of Liberia and Ground Cape Mountainers , I wish to commence my presentation with this historic hypothesis: That, the first popular idea about Africa from Euro-logical and Euro-Centric Historic Perspectives, are also the first major misconceptions about Africa and its original occupants. Also, the first popular idea about the founding of Liberia by the American Colonization Society (ACS) in the 1800s, is also the first major misconceptions and marginalization of its original occupants from Western-European American Colonization Society's perspectives.

These misconceptions had been pre-historically generated among other occurrences, from Euro-Christians perspectives. For instance, the prejudicial notion of Africa as a "Dark Continent and its savage occupants" are a parochial Euro-imperialists idea, which, somehow, gained currency and popular consensus as a part of our Euro-Colonial Cultural conditioning processes of our people.

It is significant to acknowledge that at the beginning of the so-called modern periods of history in view of Europeans; however, the land now called Africa was previously called "The Akibu-Land" (The Land of The Nubians) (The Land of the Black Race of Human beginning). These people, according to Europeans, were considered backward. In contrast, black/African people specifically the Vai ethnic groups were considered far from the most back ward of the continents on the planet earth. For instance, the European Australians, when they were discovered by their fellow Europeans, they were still living as primitive and archaic hunters and getters, and were using stone tools comparable with the Neo-lithic or middle stone age cultures abandoned by most "Nubians/Black-Indigenous African from three to six thousand years before.

In the context of the peripheral historic emergence and artificial development of Liberia by the American Colonization Society (ACS) in the 1800s, there were indigenous Black/Africans occupants of the land prior to the foundation of where is today's Liberia. It must be mentioned that the idea of founding (Liberia) was conceived in an attempt to find a solution to a critical problems of early American society.

However, the concepts of founding a nation within in nations on the continent of Africa for free Africa-Americans were as old as if not older than the American Revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, before Liberia, there were nations and occupied by its original ethnic groups that "Liberia landed" on and exactly like Plymouth Rock landed on Native-Americans. The original ethnic groups prior to Liberia were as follows: Kpelle (There were the Kpelle Nations), Gissi There the (Kissi) Nations, The Gola, (There the Gola Nations, The Grebo, There were the Grebo Nations, The Kru, (There were the Kru Nations, The Mandingo, (There were the Mandingo Nations, The Bassa, There were the Bassa Nations, The Belle, There were the Belle Nations, The Dey, There were the Dey's Nations, The Gbandi, There were the Gbandi Nations, The Gio, there were the Gio Nations, The Krahn, There were the Krahn Nations, The Loma, There the Loma Nations, The Mano, There were the Mano Nations, The Mendi, There were the Mendi Nations, The Vai, There were the Vai Nations, The Sapo, There were the Sapo Nations, The Kwa, there the Kwa Nations. As a matter of historic evidence, Anthropological investigation has revealed that the numbers of the Liberian ethnic categories may actually be as many as 28. And these 28 ethnic groups had their own nations before Liberia. As a matter of historic evidence, the definition of Liberia and who are considered Liberians are stipulated in our history: Liberia: (a place of asylum for free black people of color to seek refuge or Asylum) The 5000 original pioneers from the United States are considered Liberians are memorable history of separatism. Where is now Liberia, there were nations. For instance, Even in the Southern, two thirds of the continent, where is

Ground Cape mount County, most of the Nubian peoples were organized into states and communities along Black/African Traditional scientific Islamic lines, powerful enough to deter European-Christian Capitalist invaders. In the context of Ground Cape Mount County, It is however, significant to point out that the traditional people of the history of Ground Cape Mount County and their value systems and cultural sensitivity were some of the historic reasons why Europeans did not easily go inland and seize the Vai Human beings as captives. Because (1) the Black/Africans people of Johnndu Nation, Beendu Nation, Teah Neeh Nation, Teah Nemie Nation, VohnZuan Nation, Makporma Nation, Fahndu Nation, Leevuomah Nation, Fai Nation, and other nations in the hinterland or inland regions were already well enough organized through Black-African Traditional and scientific techniques on Islamic lines which was also compatible with African Tradition and philosophy, (2) the Black/African Nubians were skillful enough to exploit those resources for themselves and (3) to keep the overland trade in their own hands through abscritive, inscriptive, and Linguistic dexterities. (The Vai scrip of the centuries is a case in point. It was in large measure the progress already made by the Black/Africans Vai people in earlier centuries that enabled them to strategically resist the so-called modern age of imposition of alien cultures. Because of the advanced institutional frame works of Islamic-African traditional value system which entails communalism, and collectivities, the Vai ethnic groups have experienced alien relationships that insulated them from all fears of infiltration of their cultures, tradition, and ethical values.

The same is applicable to all of the regions of Liberia. For instance, where is called Bong County Today: There were nations: Such as the Kpakoloquata Nation, The Foahnmah Nation, Ngeyah Nation, Fahn Yeahma Nation, Degai Nation, Totota Nation, Gbarnga Nation, Konikawonhnga Nation, Mawoouyah Nation, Gangbehma Nation, Willie Nyahfoonhanta Nation.

The place called Capamals today, there were "The Nations of "Takeh", Eurocentrically called "Rocktown(because European people observed many rocks on the sea coast at this location in 1837 in Maryland In Africa or Maryland County in Liberia. Another instance, The Nation of "Wah" Eurocentrically called "Fishtown" in 1837. Because European observed many fish at this location. In where is also called Maryland County in Liberia as mentioned before, There were many nations such as "The Nyomowe Nation", "The "Kudemowe Nation", "The Wehboh Nation", "The Nation of Gedeh-Tahbo", and many indigenous nations within the regions before the artificial linked of transplantation of America's State of Maryland in Liberia. Maryland County or Maryland in Africa, and in fact, before "Liberia", are some of the same Eurocentric colonial experiences which are applicable to the entire region of where is Liberia today.

At the end, Many of the indigenous Black/African people in general and Liberia in particular, were able through out the American Colonial History, to put concepts of humanity and receptiveness into an ameliorating ideas of oneness and solidarity of the

communities of one nation creating where is Liberia today. Ground Cape Mount County stands today as a testament to the United States invincibility and victory of World War- I and World-War I.

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Case in point:Since Liberia was the only country where the United States and its allies could obtain their supply of natural rubber, and because Liberia had a special relationship with the United States, and since Liberia and the world faced a global menace from Adolf Hitler, President Barclay assured President Roosevelt that Liberia would supply all the natural rubber that the United States and its allies could use for their war efforts.

Case in point:In addition to supplying this strategic resource to the Allies, the Liberian Government also granted to the United States, use of its territory to store war supplies and to construct military bases in Montserrado County and Grand Cape Mount County at Fisherman's Lake.

#### The Paradigm of Conflict:

Conflict is an increasing threat to international security and a major challenge to development. Civil conflict has impoverished countries in every major region, and wiped out the achievements of decades of economic and social development. In the case of Liberia, civil conflict not only wiped out the achievements of decades of economic and social development, but destroyed thousands of lives, the physical assets of the country, and disrupted trade links which devastated the fabrics of the Liberian society.

The Liberian 25-years violent conflict leaves a legacy of militarized, divided societies, and skeptical rebel leaderships, and dogs eat dog's Liberian nationalism of survival of the fittest, widespread displacement, and decimated institutional capacity. For Liberians, dealing with the devastation of the Liberian civil conflict is a bitter experience that will never be forgotten. Fellow Liberians, there have been more conflicts in Africa in the last 35-40 years than at any time in the history of the twenty-century. Nearly 50 countries have been engaged in serious intra-state conflict since 1980s. In about 30 of these low and middle-income countries, conflicts are either in progress or have just subsided.

Many other countries are threatened by internal conflict. It is estimated that nearly 35 million people have been displaced by conflict. Of 40 countries, 30 have more than 1% of their population displaced while 10 countries in conflict have more than 40% of their population displaced. Liberia is in the latter category.

Economically, conflict is one of the most serious impediments to poverty alleviation or reduction. It has stopped whatever little progress there was and set countries backwards. Liberia is a case in point and exemplifies the very serious economic and social situation

of almost all-African countries emerging from conflict. In Africa to day, almost every country has gone through serious conflict or shares borders with a country in conflict.

For this reason, external development assistance for Africa is increasingly being devoted to emergency and humanitarian aid or to peacekeeping. In the American Socio-Political system, Africa has been the 21<sup>st</sup> century greatest U.S. Western Warfare recipients. In the case of Liberia, although the international community provided emergency humanitarian assistance and some United Nations observers, the entire conflict mediation and peacekeeping burden was shouldered by African mediators of (OAU) Now (AU) and by ECOWAS/ECOMOG respectively, thus making, for instance, the Liberian crisis a unique Black African conflict management and conflict resolution experience.

#### What has happened to us in the context of Leadership and great humanitarianism As Black African people? A Contemporary Historic Analysis:

Fellow Liberians, One of the peculiar ironies of Post Independence African Historic Leadership is that there are no limits to the misunderstanding and distortion of theories and practices concerning Black/Africa's Historic Leadership and its people. Even in an age of unlimited access to the 21<sup>st</sup> century information age, there is no more dramatic example of this distortion than what is happening today on the continent of Africa. This assuredly was due in part to the fact that Africa's post-independence era was masterminded by, among other occurrences, domestic coups, and their attendant political, economic and social disorganization. (Rupesinghe, Kumar, 1989, p. 1).

#### RESEARCH FACTORS

There were many factors, which accounted for this, among them:

A. (1) the desire of many African leaders after the so-called independence from imperialistic regime and hegemonies, to maintain their imperialistic colonial hegemonies. For instance, the pre and post-historic desires for the Anglophone-Francophone struggle for Post Independence Political domination; (2) the gradualists or functionalist struggle with the pro-Pan Africanists on the issues of African unity and solidarity. The Pro-PanAfricanists were Cheik Anta Diop, Modibo Keita, Kwame N'Krumah, Sekou Toure of Guinea, The Gradualists or The Functionalists, or The Integrationists were: Felix Houphet Boigny of the Ivory Coast, Jomo Kenyata of Kenya, and Leopard Seda Senghar of Senghor.

B. (2) The role of the military in African politics during the second half of the 20th century as it relates to the contextual analysis of this subject, is an empirical evidence and imperative to study, as history seems to repeat itself in contemporary African society of post-baby booming political, social, and culturally diversified generation of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Because of the many coup d'etats throughout the African continent, the military,

in many instances, has been perceived by many, as the source of the disorganization among African nations.

Some Factors for Militarism or militarism as perceived by others:

(a) To other, militarism is the only process of Liberation,

(b) For some, militarism is a rise to revolutionary transformation,

(c) To the rest, militarism is Just An emulation of social events, social relations, and social consciousness. And finally, other conclude that :( d) the only means by which some times vengeance of past wrong doing to the under privileged people can be restituted through militarism.

Based upon these analyses, it is significant to reflect your recollection on some important past and present historic events in Africa as evidence to validate, substantiate, and justify this presentation.

Post Independence Historic Factors

In 1952, Colonel Gamel Abdul Nasser and his Free Officers overthrew the Egyptian monarch. He himself died from stress emanated from several attempted assassinations in October 28, 1970. In 1965, Colonel Boumedienne also overthrew Ben Bella of Algeria. Several months later, the Government of Alhaji Abubakar Tafwa Balewa of Nigeria was ousted in a military coup. Seven months after the Algerian episode, Dr. Kwame N'krumah of Ghana, one of Africa's champions of unity and solidarity was overthrown on February 24, 1966, while on a peace mission to North Vietnam (Hanoi). (Mike Ouaye, 1980).

In April 12, 1980, President William Richard Tolbert of Liberia, Chair of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU) and an architect of founding of ECOWAS and the Mano River Union, was overthrown in a military coup by Samuel K. Doe. Doe himself was captured and killed by rebel leader, Prince Johnson in 1990. Mr. Johnson himself is in exile in Nigeria along with Charles Taylor whose causes and effects have found all of us in a composury exile in foreign lands.

Certainly, a political commentator needed no prophetic vision to predict that Africa, when granted so-called independence, would be subject to one tyranny of her military dictators and the violence aspirations of master sergeants, captains, colonels, and generals, Warlords to political offices, as well as, the often unchallenged supremacy of the Armed Forces. Such has been the 20th and the 21<sup>st</sup> century power struggle phenomenon, which continues to be reflected throughout Africa in general and Liberia in particular. Indeed, this situation along with other political developments, which are attributable to Africa's inability to create a democratic environment, requires our unequivocal attention.

It is therefore imperative and save to say that The Historic conflict within the Liberian Leadership and its indigenous relations was an adaptive violence Leadership strategy emulated from past experiences. This situation is applicable to Post independence African Leadership of yesterday and today?

What can we as Liberians and people of Ground Cape Mount County do about this painful state of affairs?

The greatest challenge to Africa and the international community and to the Liberian people in general and the people of Ground Cape Mount County in particular, however, is the post-conflict reconstruction, Democracy, Governance, and Reconciliation, Recovery of Liberia and indeed of other neighboring countries emerging from prolonged violent conflict.

Why is it necessary that the people of Ground Cape Mount County must be vigilant in the Post-Conflict Liberia Development?

Because #1. The geographical and geo-politication location and vulnerability of the people of Ground Cape Mount County is one of the precipitating factors that labels Ground Cape Mount County as one of Africa's most heinous atrocities in the 25-years Liberian Civil Conflict, second to 1994 Rwanda situation of Hutus and Tutsis. Ground Cape Mount County lies between Monsterrado County, (Monrovia) and Sierra Leone. Where could the people of Ground Cape Mount County flee for their lives during the intensification of the Liberian Civil Conflict?

Our people could not flee to Monrovia where the warring factions were struggling to capture. In Sierra Leone, the Forday Sankor factions were on the various borders adjacent to Ground Cape Mount County. At the final analysis, those people who were able to go across to Sierra Leone, many were massacred by the Sierra Leone warring factions. Those who decided to go by the way of Monrovia; many were massacred by all of the warring factions in Monrovia. Those who decided to stay, some became rebels and died defending themselves and for survival.

Fellow Liberians, I believe that one of the fundamental and far-reaching developments of the people of Liberia especially the people of Cape Mount County during these present post-conflict situations is to remain restless but positive in our emerging efforts to assist our under-developed nation and its people specifically the people of Ground Cape Mount County as casualties of 25 years of useless civil conflict, with unremitting demand for self defense, equal justice, Safety and Security and opportunity to achieve their own economic security in post conflict Liberia.

Ladies and Gentlemen, fellow Liberians and friends of Liberia, A Post Conflict Peace Building and Reconstruction of Liberia with Significance participation of African-American in this development in one of the first steps. Because one of the clearest

attestations of our struggles can be drawn from our contemporary common understanding of one another's sufferings.

Foresightedness in any organizational setting is the most important aspects of pragmatism, and one can not repudiate the many generality of many of our African-American brothers and sisters in the affairs of the Liberian people during these 25 years of human created Liberian Tsunami . This is necessary because, we are now on the thread hole of post conflict development that could become a major sea change in Liberia since the departure of warlord leader Charles Taylor to exile in Nigeria. Therefore, there is tab in the affairs of man, which, taken, in the flood, leads to fortune; omitted, in all the voyage of their life, is bounds to shallows and miseries...therefore this is a great opportunity for The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), The African Union (AU), HBCU, African-Americans, and the international community in general, and Liberians in particular to use the present peace by virtue of the U.S. and the international attention on the Liberian situation, for the first time since the Reagan Administration support to the Military regime of Samuel K. Doe Military in 1980.

Liberians and African-Americans Leadership must make every effort to address constructively, the political, economic, and social stabilization in the first place, and develop a consensus through a national and conference like the two that we have already had in Washington, DC. And Columbia, Maryland. This conference must be held on the soil of Liberia, and must involved Liberians of all economic groups, ethnic groups, cultural groups, women movement, and religious groups on keys elements of meaningful post conflict rehabilitation, reconstruction, reconciliation and peace building programs. Ground Cape Mount County must be at the vanguard of this development along with our African-American brothers and sisters and friends of Liberia.

It must be pointed out that the study of the Liberian civil conflict, however, cannot be complete without reference to post-conflict peace building and reconstruction. This is because the post-conflict peace building and reconstruction provides opportunities measures to be taken to consolidate the peace and to ensure that the root causes of the conflict are properly addressed in order to prevent a recurrence.

We can not afford to try to make every effort in putting the fragile lives of our people back together with our solid desires to return home just to be caught in another foolishness.

I am adamantly optimistic that the people of Ground Cape Mount County home and in the Diaspora, stand convinced that our initial historic assumptions of dignity of the individual and of his or her inherent right to govern him or herself, defend life and liberty while being free from fear and having an equal opportunity to pursue and find happiness in repentance and closures, must be therapeutically sustained in every new communities in Ground Cape Mount County. This must be a grounded faith worthy of noble achievement and Post conflict Ground Cape Mount County preservation. African-American and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) will be significant key players in the Post-Conflict Peace Building, Reconstruction, and Capacity Building process with specific concentration on Ground Cape Mount County. This, of course, is a proactive and strategic and workable technique that is intended to motivate Liberians and friends of Liberia to bring some mutually beneficial awareness to Liberia's official position or strategy on post-conflict management at the political, military, economic, and social levels. This is important in our consideration as people of Ground Cape Mount County, of the necessary conditions for the restoration of peace building, stability, security, development, and democracy in Liberia, which are essential conditions for the prevention of further new civil conflict.

Fellow Cape Mountanians, Fellow Liberians, Friends of Liberia, Ladies and Gentlemen, I personally believe and consider this approach to be more pro-active and relevant to conflict management in Liberia in general and Ground Cape Mount County in particular, since it attacks the roots of the problem and has the potential to unite both combatants (boys and girls rebel soldiers) in Liberia and friends of Liberia and the donor community, under an agreed priority program of resettlement, disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, reconstruction, reconciliation, peace building and recovery. There has to be an enabling environment for restoration of peace, civility, economic prosperity, and human resources development.

The mistakes and, or the reluctance of the ECOWAS/ECOMOG through the United Nations and the international community, to structurally and logistically analyze causes and effects of proliferation of weapons in Liberia from 1989-2003 must not be repeated in post Charles Taylor Peace Building and Reconstruction of Liberia. Because the demobilization of combatants, following their encampment at assembly points designated by ECOMOG prior to and after the so-called Charles Taylor 's 1997 elections, were never initiated nor completed or even started according to my personal visitation to Liberia as a Liberian, and my personal observation of the situation as a specialist on Africa and Liberia's political development.

At the final analysis, the impacts of proliferation of weapons in the hands of our baby boys and girl's rebel soldiers, and defunct rebel leaders in exile, have been one of the most marketable commodities and employment of baby rebel fighters during the Charles Taylor regime. Post Conflict Reconstruction, Rehabilitation, Reconciliation, Peace

building, and Recovery must go hand in hand with the demobilization of combatants as an essential prerequisite to the improvement of Liberia's security environment. This must be one of the major areas of concerns that African-African-Americans and HBCU must support and enforced with the overall humanitarian assistance of the international community. Ground Cape Mount County must champion this important cause.

The Great October Elections in Liberia 2005: The Doctrine of Free and Fair Elections are not the pre-conditions for Democracy in the absence of Ethnic Reconciliation and Unification: A Prospect for a Sustainable Post-Conflict Democratic Presidential Leadership for Reconciliation, Rehabilitation, Reconstruction, Recovery, and Women's Empowerment for Liberia's Redemption

As we see sweeping democratic changes around the world, the years 1990, 2000, 2001, and 2003, were particularly hard for former dictators of the world, including Liberia.

1. For instance, Slobodan Milosevic, the former President of Yugoslavia, was arrested months earlier by Serbian authorities and was put on trial at the United Nations International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, the (Netherlands). The father of Serbia, and his genocidal war and attacks against Bosnia and the Serbian province of Kosovo, Milosevic, the head of government, became the first and only European Eastern Bloc nation to face charges of human rights violations before an international court since World War II.
2. J. Batrand Aristeed of Haiti was alleged to have been democratically elected and was supported by the United States government under the Bush-I, and Clinton Administrations. Under Bush-II, Aristeed was forced to seek exile in an unknown Central African Nation.
3. Charles Taylor, a former rebel leader of Liberia, is another failed African leader, who again forced his way into office after the 1997 Liberian Elections, under the watchful eyes of President Jimmy Carter and those who advocated that Taylor was a democratically elected President of Liberia. This forced the Liberian people into tyranny under the ruler ship of Taylor until 2003, at which time, President George W. Bush II, forced Taylor in exile in Nigeria.
4. Indeed, the late Samuel K. Doe of Liberia, was also supported by Ronald Reagan Administration, having robbed the 1985 Elections and was declared a democratically elected leader.

Fellow Liberians, fellow Cape Mountains, and friends of Liberia, your Donors' initiative on behalf of our people specifically in Ground Cape Mount County and Timothy Hospital Clinics is remarkably and exquisitely invincible. Like many progressive Liberians organizations with similar goals and aspirations, however, these invincible aspirations must be geared towards the admonishment of our people concerning the anticipated

euphoric of the Liberian so-called Democratic Elections. Let us be aware that the doctrine of free and fair elections are not the pre-conditions for democratic leadership. Why? Because I have not forgotten the Elections of 1985. Because I have not forgotten about the Elections of 1997. Because I have forgotten about the 1990 Elections of J. Batran Aristeed of Haiti. Because I have not forgotten about the 2000 Elections and the effect on the democratically conscious African American people in Florida. Finally, because I have not forgotten the phrase from former Vice President Al Gore, all votes must be counted. Based on these experiences, it must be articulated that a genuine democratic leadership entails a building of a nation based on justice, all votes must be counted, equality, freedom, equal opportunity for women, and the full participation of all, in the nations' affairs.

In my personal opinion, some (if not all), democratically elected leaders, particularly the African leaders, have failed to perform these democratically elected obligations, thus subjecting the masses of the African people to further humiliation. Obviously, the demise and abuse of Africa's post independence and democratic process are attributable to the failure of many African leaders including Charles Taylor and Samuel K. Doe of Liberia in particular.

These events capped decades of transitions from authoritarian rule to democratically elected governments throughout the world in general and Africa in particular. Of course, in the context of the doctrine of free and fair elections, a democratically elected president must not be viewed as a pre-condition for a democratically minded and all inclusive policy oriented human beings. However, the post-Charles Taylor Liberia's conflict management and resolution dimensions, must redefine "democracy" from the 21<sup>st</sup> Century perspective, so as to reflect on the "2005 Great October Elections in Liberia", as we look back to reflect our recollections at the starving and hopeless faces and the emaciated bodies of our Liberian brothers and sisters, while the world sat back and watched. As we strive put our resources together in an effort to rebuild our nation and help our people in Liberia in general and Ground Cape Mount in particular, our collective experience of 25 years of genocidal civil conflict that has displaced the Liberian people, marginalized the integrity of the Liberian people, labeled the Liberian people as the largest displaced Black African people, the largest 21<sup>st</sup> century refugee population in the world, and the most undetermined Black African returnees, as the Jews articulated: Never Again.. Never Again.

#### Liberia - The Lost and Found Nation in the Post-Cold War Global Dynamics:

As Liberia was clearly in a state of anarchy, which led to the massive destruction of property, the massacre by all the rebel factions of thousands of innocent civilians including foreign nationals, women and children, some of whom had sought sanctuary in churches, mosques, diplomatic missions, hospitals and under the Red Cross protection.

The television screens in the western hemisphere, particularly, in the United States of America, took a cautious or constructive engagement approach to enthusiastically expose the emaciated bodies of starving, dying, and hopeless faces of Liberian children and parents.

This had been similarly for other non-black and non-African people, like Iraq, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Kuwait, Israel, Indonesian (Tsunami Disaster-2004). Interestingly so, television screens enthusiastically expose images of tragedies in a matter of seconds if and only if they are interested in doing so.

#### The Image of Liberia during the Civil Conflict:

Certainly, in the days and times, and particularly during the intensification of the Liberian civil conflict, the tragedy in Liberia could have been brought to the attention of the international community in a matter of seconds if the western hemisphere was interested in the affairs of Liberia. To the contrary, there were some who viewed the image of Liberia as one of clans, tribes, and ethnic groups viciously fighting each other for political powers and control over the already devastating country, while others saw the horrors and the chaos as something natural and inherent amongst the African people in general. The Case Study of Rwanda in 1994.

Indeed, each conflict in Africa tends to be taken out of context and describes as an incident or as a business as usual. These views, whether deliberate or based on ignorance, fail to recognize the inter-relationship between internal conflicts in various African countries and external forces. In the context of Liberian decade of genocidal civil conflict, there were both temporal and spatial relationships between what was happening in Liberia, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Zaire, Togo, Nigeria, and the vestiges of racist conflict in South Africa, as well as those taking place in other parts of the world like Iraq and Palestine. Whatever the circumstance, 'Lives Lost in all fronts, and in any way, can never be equal to lives gained in all fronts and in any way'.

#### Liberia Political Regimes:

Certainly, it would not be far from the truth to give the impression that external and internal colonial state formation are not some of the potential pre-conditions for the civil conflict in Liberia. Therefore, this presentation intends to urge the Liberian people to take stock of their political leaderships from 1847 to 1980, and from 1980 to 1990, and from 1990 to 2005 presidential candidates, in order to judge for themselves as to which one of these regimes had been either a devastating blow in their lives, or some how alleviation or minimization of their sufferings and tolerance of their humanity, or who are the prospective Post 2005 Liberian Political Leadership that can heal or alleviate the painful memories of the Liberian past?

These analyses could be a necessary pre-condition in determining a fruitful role of appealing for ethnic reconciliation and national unification as a prospect for anticipated good governance and transparency in Liberia from a post-civil conflict perspective. Quite frankly, my historical analysis, personal observations and experience have revealed that there were some prospects of hope for longer lives for all Liberians, and political inclusion of indigenous Liberians under the Americo-Liberian leadership, specifically under the Tolbert's Administration. Indeed, there is much evidence to substantial and justify these hypotheses:

- a. Historically, Liberia was one of the few politically stable countries on the African Continent in general, and West Africa in particular prior to the civil conflict.
- b. There were prospects of hope for political inclusion and economic development for indigenous Liberians. Jobs and political participation were on the rise for many scholars of indigenous children.
- c. Voices of militant political organizations in schools, towns, from within the indigenous market women, vendors and Liberian churches, were being echoed throughout the nation. These, of course, gave rise to many political developments in the country.

Notwithstanding, the regimes of 1847-1980 were very successful in psychologically making the population submit to the prevailing repressive political, social, and economic developments.

The indigenous population was politically and socially apathetic due to pseudo-integration and was not psychologically strong to resist. Interestingly, the psychology of indigenous representation within the Americo-Liberian administration, specifically under President Tubman and Tolbert's administrations, created a sense of participation and partnership inside and outside of the government. For instance:

- a. The choice of indigenous parents sending their children to school to compete with others was obvious.
- b. in many instances, indigenous parents would send their children to live with Americo-Liberian philanthropies or benevolence. These developments encouraged many Liberians to at least acquire some western education to a minimum or a maximum level. Hence, there was no cause for massive demonstrations against the government from 1944 to 1977, until in 1979 when the manipulation showed an obvious cracks when citizens took to the streets of Monrovia leading to the April 12, 1980, military coup.

Of course, the same was not true under the so-called indigenous military leadership from 1980 to 1990. Under these regimes, there was "Decree 88A" which forbade political organizations, student government, freedom of expression and speech. Jubilation of

hopes over the coming to power of our own was soon to become disillusioned and this can be justifiable on the basis of the following:

- a. The Leadership of April 12, 1980, was inexperienced, unaccustomed to political power and were highly unfamiliar with economic matters, thus, plunging Liberia into serious economic disaster.
- b. There existed a deeper separation and much distrust between the leadership and the Liberian people. People were killed just for gathering together for mutual discussion.
- c. This was an era of the greatest involuntary and forcible Liberian exodus, population reduction, and intellectual migration in the history of the country, leading to many contradictions as regards the principal objective of the coup, and the initial willingness and wild enthusiasm of the Liberian people to give an indigenous a chance after more than a century of minority rule.

Now, my fellow Liberians and friends of Liberia let me say this, many times when conflict erupts, policy makers, scholars, and organizations, ponder the nature and origins of the conflict to find solutions. How can we, as Liberians, analyze and correct the past to ensure that the root causes of the conflict are properly addressed in order to prevent their recurrence in the “new Liberia?” In so doing, let me admonish us that our future as Liberians in general, is always shaped by the way we choose to act in the present, because we are the architects of our fate. In addition, let us also be aware that tomorrow for Liberia/Africa must include yesterday if it is to be successful.

Yesterday in the context of studying causes and effects of our painful history. Because, it is obvious that created phenomenon, be it physical, mental, animate, or inanimate, has roots, and that the key to correctly understanding a particular phenomenon is thus, to investigate its origin and the evolutionary path it has trodden to reach a specific state of development. Such is the case of Liberia in terms of living in the past conflict of indigenous, i.e., tribalism vs. Americo-Liberalism, leading to the “Congos” phenomenon. These, of course, have historically permeated the fabric of the Liberian society. These sentiments among other things have left us with numerous unanswered questions.

Questions such as:

1. What has Liberia accomplished after 158 years of so-called independence?
2. Could Liberia have been better off today and at peace with itself if the Regimes of 1847 to 1980 had not been disrupted by a bloody military coup?

3. What did Liberia accomplish from 1980 to 1990 under the so-called indigenous Liberian Regime of Samuel K. Doe to the present?
3. What can we, as Liberians tell our children the causes of the bloody civil conflict that led us to massacre one another, los our love ones, destroyed everything we ever worked for, displaced our human population and making Liberia one of Africa's most homeless population, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, knowing that Liberia, as I know it, was never one of those so-called successful colonial African colonial countries because Liberia's colonial Leadership was manster minded by free Black/African Leaderships.

#### The Quest for National Reconciliation and Unification:

In this context, I would say that I am conscientiously motivated in my expression to you today, my beloved fellow Liberians, just like when I went to the October 16, 1995, Million Man March in Washington, DC, to say that, this is a day of atonement for me and an empowerment to express to you frankly, freely, openly and respectfully, that a unified commitment of alliance for ethnic reconciliation and unification, is based on Liberia's geo-political evolution of its ethnic diversified history. Since its inception, and despite its many historic complexities of issues in our one country from yesterday and today, Liberians of various ethnic backgrounds, have once lived together in relatively peaceable factions as brothers and sisters. I lived, I saw, and I know that it is truth. As matter of fact, I am a member and belong to all of the Liberian ethnic factions, and Liberian social, political, cultural, ethnic, and historic realities.

If I were fortunate to have come from an intra-ethnic marriage situation with 9 wives, and 29 children it was wonderful. As we know it, many Liberians were very fortunate to have had inter-ethnic marriages, with many children from among various Liberian ethnic factions. This, of course, meant Liberian solidarity. To the contrary, this great solidarity was destroyed and ethnic differences became intensified in the interim. Yet, the indigenous leadership became defaulted of its promises to the indigenous Liberian populace, creating the situation in Liberia today.

Interestingly, as we watched the sweeping changes of democracy unfold in the world today, we hear echoes and thundering voices permeating the air ways of western technological super highways, in the corners of the American cities, in particular, emanating from many overnight Liberian politicians, foot ball players, and scholars, aspiring to direct the destiny of the vulnerable Liberian people at home, and on the ground, toward post conflict democratic presidential Liberian leadership. These initiatives are enthusiastically and overwhelmingly a first step forward, and are good moves.

But it must also be acknowledged that as we aspired for great nationalistic ambitions, along with anticipated goals and aspirations for an ameliorating Liberia tomorrow, let us strive to articulate national reconciliation, and national unification as the best way forward in the absence of our painful experience as we proceed to the polls to cast our votes in the 2005 Elections. For I believe that, the truth, and only the truth, shall and will set us free, and will produce a permanent peace, reconciliation, rehabilitation, and ethnic solidarity, and good democratic Liberian Leadership.

While I feel, like many Liberians who are greatly disturbed, and worried about the future of our country, one can only hope to put forward these questions to our people, that, despite the origin of our problems, can Liberians transform or transcend their ethnic divisions, specifically from the Doe regime, which was transparently and conspicuously activated during the Liberian civil conflict? The answer is “yes” we can, and we will, and we must.

Because, this was never the major cause of the discontent in the Liberian society. Further more, there is no problem that is incapable of settlement if only, we as Liberians recognize and cognizably acknowledge that these problems, in many ways, are our own creation. Then, of course, we will be on our way for resolution. Upon this end, Liberians must never confine their political leadership to an exclusive act of nativity nor a paradigm of Americo-Liberianism.

### C. Post-Conflict Economic and Monetary Policies:

This is a difficult and complex area since most of the trained human resources such as economists, financial experts; statisticians and policy analysts would have been lost or killed during the civil conflict. Most of the economic, social, and administrative infrastructure in Liberia had been destroyed or severely damaged.<sup>1</sup>Therefore, the Post-conflict Liberia Economy must be guided by the following principles; configuration and reorientation of the political, social and economic system of Liberia to aim at:

- (a) The creation of a state political order under good governance;
- (b) Social cohesion and stability;
- (c) A civil culture based on equality and participation in government and development of all citizens;

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<sup>1</sup>For details, see the Back-To-Office report on Liberia by Nils Tallroth, Op. CT. PP 4-7. For the elements and role of Post-Conflict Monetary Policy, see The International Monetary Fund. A Macroeconomic Framework For Assistance To Post-Conflict Countries, (a paper prepared for Task Force on OECD-DAC on Conflict, Peace, and Development Co-operation) January 1996.

- (d) A "New Deal" based on a social contract whose main elements should be the result of a national consensus agreed within the framework of a national conference. A suggested theme for such a conference, in which all ethnic groups will participate, is "Vision 2020: Liberia, the Liberians want to see."

It is imperative to address post-conflict issues, especially the reconstitution or re-ordering of the political and social system in Liberia in order to ensure that the domestic sources of conflict are properly addressed, particularly the governance, civil-culture and economic growth and development dimensions serious differences of which created the conditions for political instability and genocidal civil conflict, which covered the period 1980 to 1997.

Any study of the post-conflict situation in Liberia should also address the important question of regional or sub regional security cooperation. In the study of the Liberian civil conflict, it is believed that the role of ECOWAS and ECOMOG stands out as a good model on which African countries can build a regional security system to ensure the stability of the sub region without which national economic development and the development of ECOWAS stability will not be possible. The Secretary General of The Organization of African Unity (OAU) Dr. Salim Salim articulated during his interview in The Pan-African Weekly, that "Without Stability and Security, Africa cannot achieve economic prosperity and social development."<sup>2</sup>

As articulated by the late General Sani Abacha, the Nigeria's military leader and the current Chairman of ECOWAS in the Pan African News Agency May 21, 1991, "ECOMOG To Transform Into Permanent West African Peacekeeping Force." General Sani Abacha told an emergency summit of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, that ECOMOG's experience in Liberia has opened up new fields of cooperation and has laid a foundation for what could evolve as a permanent framework and model of greater security cooperation within our sub region. Therefore, after Liberia, ECOMOG could be transformed into the nucleus of a sub regional permanent peacekeeping force."

#### TOWARDS A NEW DEAL FOR LIBERIA:

Political development is an essential a component of modernization as is economic development. Throughout its history, Liberia's political structure and system has done little to promote the country's development which seems to be reflecting on its post-conflict domestic policies, foreign policy, and post-conflict external assistance for

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<sup>2</sup>For detailed information, see West Africa, An interview with Dr. Salim Salim, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), The Pan-African Weekly, published February 24th-March 2nd. 1997.

rehabilitation development or to act as a catalyst of social mobilization and change. After over a century of underdevelopment and seven years of bloody civil conflict, the ending of the civil conflict and the election of a new government should provide a unique opportunity for the Liberian people and their government to work out and agree on a New Deal for the economic and social rehabilitation, recovery, and development of Liberia. The Liberian people deserve no less.

The proposed New Deal should be based on the following principles and policies: (1) Democracy; (2) The rule of Law; (3) Accountability of those in elective or appointive office for their official actions and for the use of public funds; (4) Decentralization aimed at bringing government closer to the people and promoting popular participation in local political and economic development; (5) Total (modernization) of Liberia's human resources, beginning with universal, compulsory primary education; (6) Food security in the medium term, with a view to achieving food self-sufficiency in the long term; (7) National self-reliance aimed at reducing foreign dependency through greater mobilization of Liberia's human, natural, and financial resources, since one nation cannot be developed through dependence on others; (8) Social Mobilization to promote popular participation; mass literacy. Public health and sanitation; rural and community development.

As Karl Deutsch has cogently argued, political mobilization must parallel economic modernization, which in turn imposes new burdens on national governments, as political demands for the satisfaction of economic and social needs complicate the administration of the economic development. Both Deutsch and Lerner identify political modernization with access to the mass media (and hence to elements of Western culture) and with norms and participation in national institutions.<sup>3</sup> A New Deal for Liberia requires social mobilization as a fundamental basis for social engineering, national integration, and social cohesion. The concept of A New Deal for Liberia must entail economic, social, political, and technological mobilization, which must also move parallel to decentralization and democratization.

This implies a distinct break with past theories of political, social, economic, and educational alienation of indigenous population especially the women of Liberia. The uprooting or breaking away from old bad settings, habits, norms, and the old boy networks, and the induction of the ethically, nationalistically, and moral-culturally mobilized Liberian populace into some relatively stable new patterns of group

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<sup>3</sup>See Deutsch, opacity; Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Clencoe, III: The Free Press, 1958) and "Towards a Communication Theory of Modernization" in L. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development (Princeton University Press, 1963).

membership and commitment, should be served as one of the important elements of the New Deal principles for post-conflict Liberia in this study.

### 1. Poverty, Illiteracy and Economic Development: A Post 2005, 21<sup>st</sup> century Liberian Political Leadership Dynamic.

People who live in poverty are often hostile or at best indifferent to government. They are passive most of the time but when aroused, resort to riots and demonstrations against authority before retreating into apathy. Poor and illiterate people are also gullible, often desperate and easily swayed by unfulfilled promises of a better life. In a situation of rising expectations characterized by society of even the most basic food items, deep poverty can be breeding grounds for violence and political instability. Liberia is a case in point. There must therefore be a serious attempt to provide access to all inclusive basic education for all and health services for all and enable the poor to improve their material conditions by actively participating in local development. This is my personal version of the role national participation and political empowerment for all Liberians. At least Liberians are becoming to be a part of their national government. Their voices are becoming to be heard from their historic forgotten wildness, their villages, towns, and districts.

### 2. Post Conflict 2005 Leadership Social Issues:

It was the immortal Aristotle who said "the price that the wise pay, who does not want to partake in government, is to live under a government of fools." "When you teach the people, you will reap a hundred harvests". (K'uan-Tzu, 479-551 BC). Therefore, a new education policy must be developed in Liberia. This policy must strive to eliminate illiteracy and to create an educated Liberian populace. An enlightened and informed public is the foundation of a democratic society and must be embraced as part of the reconstruction program for a 21st Century New Deal for Liberia. This implies that during the post-civil conflict reconstruction and development of Liberia, national resources and international aid must give priority to a national survey of human resources needs on the basis of which Liberia can plan its educational and training system more rationally and organize its national curriculum, primary, secondary, and university educational strategy. Liberian history, languages, and culture should be strongly interwoven into a new or reformed educational and training system in Post-conflict 2005 Liberian Political Leadership.

### 3. National Service: A post Conflict 2005 Liberian Leadership Perspective.

Since the Liberian society was been traumatized by a decade of civil conflict and bitter ethnic conflict in which a generation of young people has been involved in or seriously affected by conflict, an organization like a national service scheme is necessary to

provide discipline, unity shared values, and cooperative behavior among all Liberians and any individual who was traumatized by the 25-years Liberian conflict. Under this scheme, all high school and University graduates should serve at least twelve months as part-time or full-time teachers in their villages or other Liberian villages, towns, cities or districts and counties. This should be part of their civil duties and should be made mandatory in a new constitution. The service should come under the Ministry of Education and be financed from taxes and private donations. Initially, bilateral assistance for training and training of trainers will be necessary.

#### 4. A Post Conflict 2005 Liberian Leadership Security Issues

After independence, every emergent African nation began to build up an army or expand the colonial army as a symbol of the new nation. Once an army was in existence, it became very difficult for soldiers to maintain a passive profile politically when serious weaknesses developed in the civilian government or when civilian authority was threatened and weakened by corruption, factional strife or subversion. Furthermore the armies in Africa, specifically Liberia, apart from being unsuitable relative to our defense needs and resources have been idle most of the time; and it should not have surprised anyone that they got involved in politics or civil conflict. Considering the historic background of the Liberian military from 1847 to 1990, one would deduce that Liberia does not deserve an army based on the experience of the military regime under Samuel K. Doe. It should be pointed out that the Liberian 25-years genocidal civil conflict has been subsided through an African peacekeeping force. For various reasons, including border security, internal security and possible participation in future regional peacekeeping, Liberia will found it necessary to maintain a small military. In this case, it would be necessary to retain the military and to examine ways of keeping the Army to a reasonable size consistent with the country's security needs and its budget, and involving the army as far possible in public works and national service programs.

#### Towards Gender Equality in Liberia: A Post Conflict 2005 Liberian Leadership Perspective.

The ultimate redemption of Black/African people specifically the Liberian people, their cultures, and their institutions can never be securely possible without the total manageable ingenuity of the Black/African woman. Because it is from the Black/African woman that a nation emerges. Because it is from the Black/African woman that the Black/African king emerges. Because it is from the Black/African woman that a compromising solution emerges. Therefore, the Black/African woman must not be

viewed as a patronizing philanthropist, but as a full frontline architect of Black/African nation's redemption from the evils of the universe.

When the physical differences between men and women are used to justify the "woman's place just as a house wife, mother, homemaker, and then to allow all of society's institutions together to keep her in that place whatever her own choice, this is sexual oppression.<sup>4</sup> Women in Africa, specifically Liberia must be encouraged and supported to vigilantly participate in the political, social, economic, education and developmental arenas and be part of the new political and social order in the country. All Liberian women must be protected from harassment and discrimination and must be guaranteed basic employment and health care as constitutionally done by other nations of the world. In the rural areas particularly, Liberian women who produce most of the food, should by law be given access and recognized title to land, agricultural extension services and technology, and maternal and child care services. Measurable indicators should also be provided for involving more Liberian girls in school a cultural education campaign must be launched to instill a sense of African identity and an appreciation of the richness of Liberian and African culture and central role of women in the various ethnic cultures that constitutes Liberian society.

#### A Case Study of the LIBERIAN WOMEN BREAK SILENCE!!!!

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; 1/12/05: Liberian women in Pennsylvania invoke critical thinking among Liberians and raise the bar as the country prepares for its presidential elections in October. The women grouped as the Association of Liberian Women in Pennsylvania, ALWPA, held an insightful debate with three of Liberia's "40" presidential aspirants in attendance. The forum focused on crucial issues of political, social and economic reforms in Liberia and was held at the Grace Presbyterian Church in South-West Philadelphia on January 8, 2005.

ALWPA president, Mrs. Edith Gongloe-Weh, speaking to reporters, says the event provides a medium for Liberians, especially women, to constructively engage individuals who seek to govern the country. Mrs. Gongloe-Weh stated that Liberian women have witnessed and experienced the damaging effect of passivity in the last 14 years, and they have vowed to no more remain silent on national issues in Liberia. The ardent advocate for social justice and good governance pointed that Liberian women are the militants for peace and accountability in the new Liberia." She added, "ALWPA members, in partnership with our men counterpart, are now prepared to bear the torch for transparency in our troubled country". Mrs. Gongloe-Weh hopes that the event and subsequent ones would help Liberians make informed decisions in the coming elections.

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For a detailed analysis, see Joan Ariel, Ellen Brody, and Susan Searing, Women's Rights in the United States, A Selective Bibliography, American Library Association, Chicago and London, 1995.

ALWPA was formed in 2003 to call international attention to the spiraling destruction of lives in Monrovia caused by Taylor and other war Lords during the final and most brutal phase of the civil war. Since its formation, ALWPA has been instrumental in focusing international attention on Liberia through a series of rallies held in Washington D.C. and Philadelphia.

Now that the killing has subsided, ALWPA focuses on maintaining women's involvement in the search for lasting peace in Liberia. The symposium, held under the banner "PALAVA HUT TALK" is the first of a series of civic awareness forums the organization is scheduled to host before the elections.

The ALWPA leader, however, identified the need to provide in-depth awareness programs to members in their capacity building agenda.

The Association invited 14 presidential aspirants to participate in the forum. Those invited included, Mr. Milton Teahjay, Dr Margaret Thompson, Cllr. Varney Sherman, Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Dr. J. Kollie Barclay, and Cllr. Charles Brumskine. Others included Dr. Joseph Korto, Dr. George Kieh, Mr. Scott G. Toweh, Dr Edwin Zoduah, T.Q. Harris, Samuel Divine, George Opong Weah, and Mr. Winston Tubman.

However, in attendance were Mr. Samuel Divine, Dr. Joseph Korto, and Dr. George Kieh. Cllr. Sherman and others did not attend due to other engagements. For his part in response, Cllr. Sherman thanked the women for their efforts and contributed two hundred fifty (\$250) dollars to the organization..

Mrs. Satta Carlon-Taylor, member and Gurly Gibson, Secretary General of the Association served as moderators, while Mrs. Edith Wolo Smith, member served as the Mistress of Ceremony (MC). The moderators set the rules and asked the aspirants a series of questions followed by questions from the audience.

Participants and observers expressed satisfaction with the structure and content of the debate. Many encouraged the Association to repeat such forum in various parts of the U.S. and later in Liberia before the October elections.

The question and answer period was followed by a lavish reception. D.J David Zubah later entertained the elated crowd with several great contemporary African hits.

Leadership as a factor in policy reform and growth: A Post Conflict 2005 Liberian Political Leadership Dynamic.

*Applying variants of the Great Man Theory of History to policy reform*

An extreme variant of the view that national leadership is instrumental in improving policy and accelerating economic growth is the "Great Man Theory of History". In the Liberian context, this would require the emergence of leaders who (a) are motivated to launch Liberia onto an acceptable growth path—sustained increase in per capita GDP of, say, at least 4 percent per annum—and (b) have the charisma and other qualities required to impose their development agenda in the face of vested interests and voter inertia. Yet, according to this Theory, such leaders emerge as random events over which the outside

world, including the international financial institutions (IFIs) and others, can have little influence. (Like Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf).

In its most simplistic form, this Theory asserts that the course of the Liberian history (or at least major segments of it) is determined by the random appearance of charismatic leaders, who rally as much political support as they require from interest groups and a population at large to move the economy forward. President Tolbert Administration is a Case in point.

Before adapting the Great Man or The Iron Woman theory to the question of policy reform and growth in Liberia, it is imperative to (a) examine post conflict alternative hypotheses about the factors underlying adoption and no adoption of previous reforms, (ie,) the U.S. dollars, the international market economic systems of adoption, and the anticipated strategic engagements dynamic with the EURO, leading to post-conflict Liberia accelerated growth, and (b) consider what role of Great Man like president Tolbert and other great men and women who worked him to make our nation competitive but were assassinated before their plans were realized. Perhaps the most systematic effort to analyze the implementation of policy reforms representative of the "Washington consensus" is the Institute for International Economics' conference volume, The Political Economy of Policy Reform (Williamson 1994). In a summary chapter, Williamson and Haggard (WH) review 15 hypotheses about pre-conditions for sustained reform, of which three relate to this discussion: namely, that economic reform requires (1) a "visionary" leader, (2) a coherent economic team, and/or (3) a "techno pool" (economist-politician) as leader of the team.

A post conflict Liberia Political Leadership requires Three Hypotheses as receiving sufficient corroboration to merit being "borne in mind by any reform-minded leader." These assert that chances of sustained reform are enhanced by (1) an environment of economic crisis, (2) a new administration's "honeymoon" *vis-à-vis* public opinion, and (3) presentation of a "comprehensive program" of reform (ie) a comprehensive road map. The post conflict Liberian Political Leadership question is: When do Post conflict Liberian Political Leaders merit the characterization "visionary"? According to my hypothesis, Post-Conflict Liberian Political Leaders must be "executives with strong commitment, a vision of where they would like Liberia to stand in the global political, and socio-economic democratic competitive dynamics. (even if this [is] not always combined with any clear sense of how to get there), and a willingness to take risks by any Post Conflict Liberian Political Leaders," somewhat apologetically, they might cite President Tolbert of Liberia as an example, describing his "vision of a Liberia fundamentally transformed [which he] was willing to pursue regardless of the costs, but was uselessly without any prudent reasons, assassinated before these great plans were totally realized." A Liberian like me realizes the lost.

Presently, All of the factors in an effort to bring Liberia to modern democratic human standards again are identified as keys to the success of economic reform. However, it depends on effective Post Conflict Liberian political leadership. These include the post conflict Liberian government's level of understanding of economic issues, its commitment to reform, the insulation of key technocrats, and its ability to build coalitions on behalf of decentralization of reform. In a companion with other advanced developed and highlights institutional issues, notably the weak implementation of reform by national bureaucracies, this development offers little hope of rapid improvement. In this development as per our political experiences in government, leaders and followers, are ensnared by the politics of patronage. The Leaders rule through "patrimonial ties rather than rational-legal norms...Rapid expansion, frequent 'shuffling' of personnel, and political instability have...thwarted efforts to develop a bureaucratic culture..." Therefore, committed leaders can work within the kind of state-society linkages found in patrimonial governance systems, if they concentrate first on reforming a small number of critical agencies," e.g. the central bank, tax service, and/or judiciary..

Asia. In a volume that otherwise accentuates interest group theory (Bates & Krueger, 1993), Haggard, Cooper & Moon (HCM) distinguish their explanation of Korea's economic success from "standard" accounts which, in their view, "account [neither] for the comprehensiveness of Korea's reforms, nor for their coherence and credibility." Instead, HCM "place particular weight on the political power of the executive under [Presidents Park and Chun], and their efforts to legitimate their rule through economic growth." They continue:

Executive power served several functions. First, it permitted the government to cut through previous patterns of rent-seeking both within and outside the bureaucracy. Second, it eliminated from the economic policy agenda contending policy platforms that have affected the nature of economic policy-making in a number of other developing countries, often through harsh repression of opposition that was justified by national security concerns. Finally, executive power infused government deliberations in general and the determination of economic actions in particular with an urgency and an authority that they might not otherwise have had, in part by concentrating decision-making authority within the government itself.

*Latin America.* Denying that "successful economic policy in developing countries is...the product of pure forces of history"—i.e. an outcome of interest group interplay—Harberger (1993) asserts: Far from it, in every case about which I have close knowledge, the policy would in all likelihood have failed (or never got started) but for the efforts of a key group of individuals, and within that group, one or two outstanding leaders.

Harberger's purpose is to "pay tribute to a small number of such leaders." The paper

...provide(s) some idea of the special traits that have made these particular people essential to the modernization processes of their nations' economies. Campos [*Brazil*—planning minister] the forthright "doer of his duty," oblivious to the personal cost to him. Vegh Williams [*Uruguay*—finance minister] the artful and imaginative sapper, who knew just where to set the explosive charge to demolish the old system, and who took charge of the construction and much later of the defense and perpetuation of a new, liberalized system. De Castro [*Chile*—finance minister], whose exclusive leadership traits defy description but remind me more than anything of some great athletic coaches, whose mere presence inspires team members to superhuman efforts and incredible sacrifices. Büchi [*Chile*—finance minister], the most "modern man" in the group, with the technical know-how to capture in his own mind the workings as well as the flaws of an entire system of national economic policy, whose motto could well be that one should look to intimate knowledge of a problem to find the key to its solution. Aspe [*Mexico*—finance minister], who presided over one of the most careful, most artful, most extensive, and to date most successful programs of privatization that the developing world has seen and who had the discipline and fortitude to ensure the prudent use of the proceeds. Gil Diaz [*Mexico*—undersecretary, revenue], who comes as close as anyone to being the architect of Mexico's reformed and modernized tax system, and who led a massive administrative reform, including the most concentrated fight against corruption that I have ever witnessed. But for each of these people, the history of his country would be different. (President Tolbert was trying to inculcate the Liberian political systems into the vast integrated systems mentioned above) Harberger pays a final tribute to "the great achievements and indomitable courage" of *Argentine* economics minister Domingo Cavallo, whose reforms were then (1993) still in process.

The question is how new political and economic values can be engendered among Liberian Politically, socially, humanistic ally, and nationalistically conscious Leadership? There is no clear answer..., since idiosyncratic national factors necessarily play a critical role in the career of any political leader...Perhaps creating and mobilizing individual Post conflict Liberian Leadership of the kind that social science cannot predict will be necessary to put Liberia on the path of rapid growth...Nonetheless, we should not expect more than slow progress towards the developmental state in the near future due to the 100 years backwards destructions sustained by 25-years of constant bomb aments of human catastrophes, infrastructural l demolition, human resources destruction, and the total lack of concerns and hereafter consequences. .

In other words, Post Conflict Liberia Leadership requires some Great Men (or Women), whose emergence cannot be predicted by the world community STOP!

LIBERIAN FOREIGN POLICY—LIBERIA U.S. RELATIONS: A 21ST CENTURY AFRICAN-AMERICAN DIMENSIONS:

The prospects for U.S./Liberia relations and cooperation in the 21st century and in the context of the proposed New Deal for Liberia should be examined in the general context of post Cold War United States foreign and aid policy, democracy, promotion of human rights, African-African-Americans partnership in market oriented development, the environment, women, and development, the development of basic education and health services, and the promotion of regional peace and conflict resolution through regional organizations like the Organization of African Unity and ECOWAS. The cooperation between countries should be reviewed in light of Post-Cold War changes and changes with Liberia and the sub-region. On the basis of this review, a new framework of political and economic relations can be mutually agreed. As perceived by many Liberians U.S./Liberia relations must be put on a different track, given the new post-Cold War relations and national interests and hopefully, the lessons learned by Liberians during their bitter civil conflict. Whatever form of future relations between the United States and Liberia will take, the thing is clear. The reconstruction of post-conflict Liberia politically, physically, and economically will be extremely difficult without the United States/African-Americans leadership and involvement, and the bilateral and international levels. As observed in the preceding section of this study on the principal elements of Post-Conflict Policies and Programs in Liberia, African-American support and leadership will be indispensable for the mobilization and coordination of international assistance to post-conflict Liberia.

Without genuine concerted efforts to solve Liberia's chronic political, socio-economic problems through what I called a reconciliation, restitution or reparation as a pre-condition for "Truth and Reconciliation", and a war crime tribunal. If this is not done, the prospect for opening old wounds is not only possible but also likely. Based upon this analysis, any post-civil conflict developmental initiatives in Liberia must address the root causes that led to the civil conflict in an open forum with African-Americans participation, to ensure that the likelihood of their recurrence is minimized or eliminated.

The progress made by Local African NGOs, in Civil Society in Angola in mediation, conflict resolution, and reconciliation of the thirty-five years civil conflict, and the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee (IFMC), a local NGO in Liberia's seven years civil conflict, many of these ideas if applied to other war-torn countries engaged in reconstruction and reconciliation such as Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Africa, and Uganda would have a profound implication on the African continent in particular and on the international community in general.

Concluding Sentiment:

Having said all of the above, let me now conclude by saying, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, and fellow Liberians, if we must seek for ethnic reconciliation, Liberia unification, and cultural diversity, then permit me to say, and to tell the true, and nothing

but the truth, that we, Liberians and our allies were wrong for killing President William R. Tolbert, and his followers yesterday, and after 25 years of President Tolbert’s death, we are still wrong today. Because, we have not been able to justify the cause of his assassination by virtue of Liberia’s political situation. Twenty-five years after the assassination of President Tolbert, Liberia has never been able to recover. Fellow Liberians, we must therefore set aside a week of national days of repentance, atonement, and reconciliation. We must extend our apologies to all of our brothers, and sisters for the historic mistakes made in the Liberian historic past, and present, with specific emphasis on the incidence of the families of April 12, 1980. We must apologize to the children and families of the late President Tolbert, and the children and families of members of his administration who were also assassinated. Indeed, we are not “bigger and greater” than submission to reality when we are wrong. Former President Clinton apologized for the enslavement of “Black People” when he went to Africa. He also apologized to Former President Nelson Mandela when they visited Robben Island, where Mandela was in prison for 27 years. F.W. de Klerk, Former President of South Africa, admitted for the evil of Apartheid. Therefore, we must apologize to the families of April 12, 1980, and beyond. This will positively lead to the question of what can we do ‘NEXT’ as Liberians, to put our nation and its vulnerable people back together under a sustainable democratic leadership. And my ANSWER will be: ‘New thinking, new attitude, and new Liberian nationalistic alliance towards more pluralistic and decentralized nation building behavior. This, of course, will help us put Liberia back on the map of international personality. This will also reflect a more comprehensive re-connection with brothers and sister in the Diaspora. I THANK YOU

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