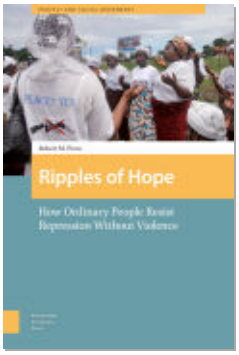
Appendix



Published by

Press, Robert.
Ripples of Hope: How Ordinary People Resist Repression Without Violence.
Amsterdam University Press, 2015.
Project MUSE. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/66323.

Appendix

Methodology

After completing initial interviews in Kenya, I looked for two other countries with even more repressive regimes to see if significant and contemporary nonviolent resistance had occurred there as well. Both Liberia and Sierra Leone had experienced more repressive regimes and civil wars. Usually the fighting was away from the capitals, where most of the resistance took place. Instead of looking for great variance, the study uses "sequential case selection," as methodologist Charles Ragin (2004) of the University of Arizona describes. "The key is that in much qualitative work, case selection is often sequential, based on what has been learned so far. The goal is to solve puzzles through careful [sequential] case selection," looking for similar cases to see if what happened in one country may have happened in others. The historic analysis included establishing timelines for key events. In Sierra Leone, most interviewees pointed to the precedent-setting student demonstrations against the government in 1977. In Liberia most analysts suggested the logical starting point for the study was the demonstrations in 1979 against government plans to make a major hike in the price of rice, a staple food there. In Kenya, overt, nonviolent resistance emerged prominently in 1987 with legal challenges to political detention. The interviews with activists and other knowledgeable observers were supplemented by archival research specific to the three countries and by an extensive literature review of social movements and nonviolent resistance.

Structural Issues

The study is an intentional look at the role activists played in the nonviolent resistance that occurred in all three countries and the repression of the regimes aimed at stopping them. This is a clear "agency" approach which some scholars might argue provides only a limited view of the forces at work during the repressive periods studied. The study does not argue that structural factors within the three countries or that international actions were not important; they were, and often they are noted. The reforms in the 1990s, for example, were part of a sweeping wave of democratic reforms that occurred in many parts of Africa in the post-Cold War period when the West was no longer in competition with the Communist bloc for allies. Human rights became a popular and internationally supported theme

in Africa from developed nations on both sides of the Atlantic. But this study argues, on the basis of deep research, that it was domestic resistance that in most cases started the move toward reform. International help and pressures followed and may well have tipped the scales in some cases. But without the activism on the ground, changes would not likely have come as soon as they did.

Quantitative studies based on available data sets or constructed ones based on economic and political features of societies in developing nations such as these can yield informative correlations. But this qualitative study yields insights not available through such studies. The details and motivations, fears and tactics and emotions of former activists, their relationships with each other, the hardships they faced and suffered, become clear through this kind of qualitative study and involve interviews.

Interviews

The book is based in large part on interviews with some 170 individuals (mostly activists but also people knowledgeable about the activism in the three countries) and with political analysts familiar with those countries. Key activists were located using a "snowball" method: asking early and well-known activists to name others. Building a list of prospective interviewees was not the problem. Finding people was the challenge. Despite the relatively confined geographical area where most activists still lived – the capital cities – activists from as long as twenty to thirty years ago were not always easy to trace. Eventually I was able to track down almost all persons I sought to interview.

Interviewees in all three countries recalled events and their activism with amazing detail, which I cross-checked by way of multiple interviews covering similar time periods and events and by matching the interviews with the historical record. On only a few occasions did someone get a date wrong. Fitting the various narratives together in a way that had not been done before in any of the three countries yielded a rich volume of evidence for theoretical interpretation.

I used a semi-structured interview method, preparing questions but remaining ready to divert temporarily from my questions when an unexpected comment indicated a new and fruitful path. At such points, just listening instead of rushing on with preconceived questions often unearthed very relevant information that would otherwise have been missed. At some reasonable point, I would return to my planned questions. All interviews were conducted by the author. All but a few interviews were conducted in person in one of the three countries; a few were conducted

in London or Washington, and a few by telephone. I have also used some comments sent to me by e-mail. Interviews typically lasted from one to two hours, sometimes longer. It was not unusual for a scheduled interview to be extended at the request of the interviewee. One Kenyan who had been tortured for his activism interrupted his legal work of the day to grant me "ten minutes," but he ended up allowing me more than an hour. In many cases it seemed the interview was the first opportunity the former activists had been given to detail their nonviolent resistance.

Whenever possible, I requested that the interview be conducted with no one else in the room. At times I politely asked others to leave. It is the author's conviction, based on years of journalistic reporting, that interviewees are more likely to speak candidly when they are not speaking in front of an "audience" of even one other person. One of the keys to successful interviews was being patient, not rushed, out of respect and because personal narratives generally are not quick, yet can yield rich material. Sometimes I learned nothing new in terms of events since I soon become familiar with the key events of the study period. But I learned something about the individual, their motivation, and their own views of what happened. Also, in a general way, especially in African cultures I am familiar with, it is considered impolite to push aside comments others are making to get to your preconceived questions. Often some of the best material emerged slowly toward the end of a long interview after some level of trust had been established.

In all but a very few cases, the individuals granted permission to be quoted by name; two of the exceptions were government officials, one in Britain and one in the US. In almost all cases, the interviews were taped with their written consent for later publication. The activists had been public, often at risk, and they had no need to hide their identity. Knowing their names may be used strengthens the chances of credibility since their words might be seen by fellow activists and others from the study period. And in many cases it also gives them credit for their courage.

Accuracy of Interviews and other Findings

Because this book covers several decades of political history in each country, to verify my findings, I sent the chapters to experts to review in advance, including a historian in each country, plus political analysts and other scholars. It is encouraging that these experts all welcomed the analyses as unique and accurate except for minor suggested corrections which I have made. Some added additional nuances of interpretation which I have included. By cross-checking between multiple interviewees and archival

material, I was able to arrive at narratives that made sense. Occasionally there was a discrepancy between the memories of activists regarding an event. The differences, when they appeared, seldom involved historical facts, but generally interpretations of them. Where the differences were significant, I have provided the conflicting versions.

The research used a form of "triangulation" to assess the credibility of information, drawing from (1) a wide range of interviews; (2) an extensive literature review (human rights reports and other documents, including ten years of the Nairobi-based *Weekly Review*, considered to be one of the most reliable and consistent sources of political news during much of the study period); and (3) my own assessment as the information gathering continued. In Kenya, the first country examined, I had the advantage of working as a foreign correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor* based in Nairobi for eight years covering East and West African countries.

Limits of the Interviews

The "snowball" method of locating interviewees has its limitations. For example, men generally named other men as good contacts. I made intentional efforts to find women activists. Only the best-known male or female activists tend to be the ones named by others. But I also intentionally followed up on some names suggested by only a few persons, and I tried to find interviewees from a range of backgrounds.

Another limitation in the methodology is that most of the interviews were with urban-based activists. While it is true that most of the resistance I was able to document occurred in the three capital cities, undoubtedly there are many other instances yet to be unearthed and analyzed in smaller cities and rural areas. It is possible that some of the resistance in those other areas may have been even more dangerous than in the urban areas due to the presence of either rebels, army personnel, or both. There was a degree of protection for known (mostly urban) activists in the form of appeals from international organizations and perhaps embassies in the case of their arrest or detention. Lesser-known activists did not have this benefit, though numerous well-known activists suffered at the hands of the regimes.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the three countries. This meant that most of those who were active in the resistance in the important diaspora were not contacted. It should also be noted that only a portion of the activities of activists are recorded in this book. Future researchers can find plenty of unused material for additional analyses. Kenyan historian Macharia Munene (2013), who reviewed the Kenya chapters and approved

their accuracy (with slight changes made that he suggested) noted this: "There is a danger of being absorbed so much in some 'activists' that other players are ignored while glorifying the select." That is true. Many people interviewed for this project do not appear in these pages or the book would be too long. And I am convinced there also are many other activists and others whom I never came across and who played a role in nonviolent efforts to bring about change in the countries studied. Even if I don't know their contributions, they do.

Finally, the book is not intended as a complete period history of the three countries studied. For example, the book does not include a detailed analysis of the civil wars that occurred during the study periods in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nor does it include details of the ethnic conflicts that occurred in Kenya during the study period.

Availability of Interview Transcriptions

The author made transcripts of almost all the interviews, a slow process but one that helps bring out details that might otherwise be overlooked in simply listening to the taped recordings and making notes. Weaving excerpts from the transcripts into a narrative was like working on giant puzzles. For the benefit of future scholars, interviews with Kenyans who gave permission for publication of their remarks have been posted on the Library of Congress as part of their Africa collection at: http://www.loc.gov/rr/amed/afs/kenyanhumanrightsinterviews.html. The author plans to do the same thing at some point for the Sierra Leone and Liberia interviews if there is continued interest on the part of the Library of Congress. In the meantime, I have listed in this Appendix the names of my interviewees except for the few who requested anonymity. Most of them were still alive at the time of this writing and can be located by other scholars who may arrive at different interpretations of events based on accounts of these activists and others. In other words, the conclusions in this study are falsifiable; they can be challenged.

Interviews

Those interviewed by the author for this book included (mostly) activists who were operating during the study periods, and others familiar with their resistance and/or the countries. NGO refers to nongovernment organization. For activists, Profession indicates their profession at the time of their activism; for others it reflects their profession at the time of the interview.

Sierra Leone

Name	Profession
Anonymous	Lebanese businessman
Bah, Ibrahim	journalist
Bah, Sheikh Mohammed	Moslem imam
Bangura, Alimamy Pallo	academic
Bangura, Zainab	insurance
Bassie, Gibril	NGO
Bayraytay, Abdulai	university student leader
Bob-Kandeh, Marie	market sales
Conteh, Max	labor union
Davies, Beresford	academic
Davies, Shellac	NGO
Ellis, Stephen	academic
Foday-Musa, Gibril	university student leader
Fofanah, Alusine	member of Parliament
Foray, John	journalist
Foray, Pios	journalist
Foullah, Hanna	bank employee
Fyle, C. Magbaily	historian
Gbujama, Shirley	educator
Gordon, Olu	journalist
Grant, Emmanuel	member of Parliament
Hull, Tom	former US ambassador to Sierra Leone
Humper, Rt. Rev. Joseph	clergy
James, Ambrose	NGO
Johnbull, Patrick	clergy
Jusu-Sheriff, Yasmin	human rights attorney
Kabba, Alie	university student leader
Kamara, Ayesha	NGO
Kamara, Paul	journalist
Kamara, Sallieu	journalist
Kandeh, Jimmy	university student activist
Kargbo, Ibrahim	university student activist
Karim-Sei, Ibrahim	journalist
Kassim, Tejan	labor union organizer
King, Jamesina	human rights attorney
Kposowa, Abdul Dimoh	high school activist; journalist
Kposowa, Frank	journalist
Leigh, Jonathan	journalist
Lewis, Kelvin	journalist
Mambu, Charles	NGO
Minah, Festus	teachers union organizer
Momoh, Hindowa	university student activist
Munchi, Kiki S. (Harris)	former US Embassy official

Name	Profession
Neville, Philip	journalist
Pratt, Nana	NGO
Samu, Marian	university student activist
Sesay, Mustapha,	journalist
Sheriff, Brima	NGO
Smythe, Amy	NGO
Spencer, Julius	journalist; Kabbah cabinet
Tejan-Cole, Abdul	attorney
Thomas, Abator	NGO
Thorlu-Gbla, Abdul	university student activist
Timbo, Alpha	union organizer
Totangi, Kalilu	university student activist
Touray, A. Marie	market women leader
Trye, Hindolo	university student activist; journalist
Wai, Abdulai	university student activist

Liberia

Name	Profession	Activism period*
		Doe/Taylor
Anonymous	Liberian attorney	
Anonymous	Western diplomat	
Best, Kenneth	newspaper publisher	Doe
Bility, Hassan	journalist	Taylor
Bowier, Emmanuel	Doe cabinet	
Brown, Dempster	attorney	Taylor
Brownell, Mary N.	educator	Taylor
Butty, James	journalist	Doe
Cee, Esther Seton	attorney	Taylor
Cooper, Etweda	activist	Taylor
Danweli, Cecelie	NGO	Taylor
Delaney, Thomas	clergy	
Draper, Richmond	commercial	
Dunn, Elwood	political scientist	
Gongloe, Tiawan	attorney	Taylor
Guannu, Joseph Saye	historian	
Howard-Diawara, Lindora	sociologist; NGO	Taylor
Jallah, Rev. Tolbert Thomas	clergy	
Johnson-Morris, Frances	attorney	Taylor
Karku, Sampson	student leader	Taylor
Karnley, Father Andrew Jagaye	clergy	Taylor
Konneh, Sheikh Kafumba F.	Moslem leader	Taylor

Name	Profession	Activism period*
Korto, Joseph	educator	
Kulah, Bishop (Ret.) Arthur F.	clergy	Doe
Rennie, Ledgerhood	radio journalist	Taylor
Matthews, Baccus	politician	*
Moore, Sando	photojournalist	Doe, Taylor
Mulbah, Elizabeth	nursing	Taylor
Pajibo, Ezekiel	student	Doe
Parker, Marie	economist	Taylor
Porte, Bertha (Mrs. Albert Porte)	retired	
Roberts, James	educator	
Sainworla, Frank	radio journalist	Taylor
Sawyer, Amos	politician/academic	*Doe, Taylor
Stewart, John	student; journalist	*Doe, Taylor
Tikpor, Monsignor Father Robert	clergy	Doe, Taylor
Tipoteh, Togba-Nah	politician/economist	*
Toe, J. Aloysisus	activist	Doe, Taylor
Toe, J. Augustine	attorney	Taylor
Tokpa, Alaric	student; academic	Doe, Taylor
Verdier, Jerome	attorney	
Waines, David	missionary	
Wesseh, Conmany B.	student; NGO	*Doe, Taylor
Williams, Gabriel I.H.	journalist	Doe
Woewiyu, Tom	Taylor cabinet	
Woods, Kofi	attorney	Doe, Taylor

Student means university student. The * indicates those who were active in reform-seeking civil society organizations in the 1970s leading up to the 1980 coup by Doe. Individuals shown may have been active in additional periods than those indicated.

Kenya

Rank*	Name	profession	Phase 1 1987-'91	Phase 2 1991-2002	Interviewed
1	Muite, Paul	attorney	I/O	O	√
2	Imanyara, Gitobu	attorney	I	O	unavailable
3	Orengo, James	attorney	I	O	√
4	Kuria, Gibson	attorney	I	I/O	√
5	Mutunga, Willy	attorney	activist earlier	O	√
6	Njoya, Timothy	clergy	I/O	I/O	√
7	Murungi, Kiraitu	attorney	I	O	√
8	Kariuki, Mirugi	attorney	I	O	√
9	Maathai, Wangari	biologist	O	O	√

Rank*	Name	profession	Phase 1 1987-'91	Phase 2 1991-2002	Interviewed
10	Nowrojee, Pheroze	attorney	I	O	√
11	Kinyatti, Maina wa	academic	activist earlier	√	√
12	Nyong'o, Peter A.	academic	I/O	O	√
13	Mbugua, Bedan	journalist	O	O	√
14	Khaminwa, John	attorney	I	I	√
15	Odinga, Raila	activist	I	O	√
16	Wamwere, Koigi	activist	I	I/O	√
17	Karua, Martha	attorney	I	O	√
18	Muge, Alexander	clergy	O		deceased
19	Kibwana, Kivutha	academic	I/O	O	√
20	Oginga Odinga	politician	I	O	deceased
21	Kababere, Njeri	business	I	O	√
22	Matiba, Kenneth	business	I	O	√
23	Rubia, Charles	business	I	O	√
24	Kariuki, G.B.M.	attorney	I	O	√
25	Kiai, Maina	attorney		O	√
26	Buke, Wafula	youth activist	I	O	√
27	Gitari, David	clergy	O	O	√
28	Lamba, Davinder	architect		O	√
29	Nzeki, Ndingi	clergy		O	√
30	M'Inoti, Kathurima	attorney	I	O	√

Additional interviews of Kenyan activists and others

Anonymous	former British diplomat
Anonymous	US congressional staffer
Balala, Sheikh	Moslem activist
Duko, James	human rights researcher
Fisher, Hillary	human rights researcher
Harper, Malcolm	former NGO official
Hart, Christopher	former British government researcher
Hill, Martin	human rights researcher
Kamau, Muthoni	youth activist
Kathangu, Njeru	attorney
Kihoro, Wanjiru	diaspora NGO
Kihoro, Wanyiri	attorney
Kinuthia, Margaret	youth activist
Kinuthia, Milcah	mother; housewife
Kinuthia, Rumba	attorney
Kiplagat, Bethuel	former Moi senior official
Koome, Martha	attorney
Makali, David	journalist
Muthoni, Kamau	youth activist

Mugenda, Abel	academic
Munene, Macharia	historian
Mute, Lawrence	NGO
Muthoga, Lee	attorney
Ndegwa, Stephen	academic
Nyamwamu, Cyprien	youth activist
O'Brien, Stephen	World Bank
Ombati, Kepta	youth activist
Ong'wen, James	NGO
Oyugi, Edward	psychologist
Ruteere, Mutuma	human rights researcher
Shikuku, Martin	politician
Shinn, David	former US State Department official
Shitemi, Simeon	former Moi government official
Waithera, Njoroge	youth activist
Wainaina, Ndung'u	youth activist
Wanyande, Peter	academic
West, Tina	former US Embassy official

Notes: **Rank* reflects the frequency with which the top thirty Kenyans were mentioned by other interviewees as key players in the nonviolent resistance during the study period, 1987-2002 (Press 2006, 193). Additional non-ranked interviews are included after that. *Profession* refers to their primary activity during the study period. Phase 1 was primarily individual activism; Phase 2 was primarily organizational: I = individual activist; O = organizational activist. Some were both. Many individual activists later became organizational activists as more organizations, including opposition parties, started up. "Unavailable:" After a brief initial interview, Imanyara was not available despite repeated attempts to make an appointment, but with archival materials I was able to document his contributions to the resistance. Deceased indicates activists who had died before the interviews were conducted.

Comparative Levels of Repression

State Repression in Kenya, Sierra Leone, Liberia: 1981-2003

(*Lower scores = more repression/less respect for human rights*)

	Kenya	S.L.	Liberia
1981	6	8	5
1982	6	6	5
1983	6	6	6
1984	6	6	5
1985	5	7	2
1986	6	7	5
1987	5	6	5
1988	3	6	4
1989	4	6	3

	Kenya	S.L.	Liberia
1990	5	5	0*
1991	3	3	0*
1992	2	0	0*
1993	5	1	0*
1994	4	0	0*
1995	4	0	0*
1996	4	3	0
1997	4	0*	2
1998	2	0*	0
1999	1	0*	1
2000	2	0*	0
2001	3	4	1
2002	2	8	1
2003	3	5	1
Total	91	87	46

Source: Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Set. www.humanrightsdata.org which began in 1981

Notes: The numbers measure Physical Integrity, which includes torture, extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment, and disappearance. "It ranges from 0 (no government respect for these four rights) to 8 (full government respect for these four rights." The data is based primarily on analyses of the United States Department of State annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and on Amnesty International's annual reports. "If there are discrepancies between the two sources, coders are instructed to treat the Amnesty International evaluation as authoritative … to remove a potential bias in favor of US allies" (CIRI 2008). * Indicates "Chaos" (civil war); no data available; coded in this article as 0, indicating no government respect for human rights given the atrocities that occurred. Most nonviolent resistance examined in this book took place in the capitals, outside the war zones, though at times in both Liberia and Sierra Leone, the conflict swept into the capitals. The coding shown is national, not limited to the capital.

Chronologies

To help readers keep key political and resistance events clear, a chronology for each is provided below for the three case-study countries. In some cases, especially Sierra Leone where there were three distinct periods of resistance, inclusion of some details not in the previous chapters offers additional insights on the rich and multifaceted, nonviolent resistance that took place. The political chronology is drawn from the BBC timeline offered online for each country and is fully referenced in the bibliography. The resistance chronology is drawn from the author's interviews and other research for this book.

Sierra Leone

Political Chronology

1898 Hut tax "war" against colonial British administration.
1961 Sierra Leone becomes independent from Britain.
1968 Siaka Stevens returns to power as civilian president following a military coup.
1985 Major-General Joseph Saidu Momoh becomes president following retirement of Siaka Stevens.
1991 Start of civil war by Revolutionary United Front (RUF).
1991 New constitution provides for multiparty elections.
1992 President Momoh ousted in military coup by National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC); Captain Valentine Strasser becomes head of state.
1996 February. NPRC steps down after major civil society pressure. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah elected president; signs peace accord with RUF rebels.
1997 May. President Kabbah ousted in a military coup by Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) headed by Major Johnny Paul Koroma. Kabbah flees to Guinea.
1998 Nigerian-led West African intervention force drives rebels out of Freetown; President Kabbah returns from Guinea.
1999 January. Elements of army and rebels seize parts of Freetown in an orgy of violence before being driven out again. United Nations troops arrive to police peace agreement.
2000 British troops arrive.
2002 January. War declared over.

Resistance and Repression Chronology

Except where their names start the sentence, names of interviewees cited as sources are shown in parentheses.

Early resistance (examples)

– 1898 Hut tax "war" against colonial British administration
– 1947 mine workers strike

The Siaka Stevens years

– Students were active in the opposition, including in a 1968 demonstration. "Right from independence, whenever we have a repressive government in this country, one of the voices, one of the pressure groups that always comes out, that always speaks [is] the students" (Beresford Davis).

- There was a "climate of fear" from 1980s onward (Julius Spencer).
- Resistance in the 1960s. Lawyers were the most vocal critics of government until Siaka Stevens began repressing them: then "lawyers went into their shells" (Frank Kposowa). With few exceptions, the country's bar association remained quiet throughout the rest of the Stevens era and even during the NPRC and AFRC military juntas. But some *individual* lawyers did challenge the government, including Charles Margai and others, for example, in the defense of those charged with treason and later executed under Stevens (Jamesina King).
- Churches in the 70s: "not vibrant" (Frank Kposowa)

1977 student demonstrations

- Stevens government and student politics. From the 1970s, the Stevens government got involved in student politics – a government/campus relationship that continues today (Brima Sherriff). Alie (2006, 98) notes there were government-paid student spies on campus in those years, which meant planning a demonstration had to be done in secret. The 1977 demonstration surprised President Stevens just as he stood up to deliver a speech at a graduation ceremony.
- The 1977 demonstration lacked labor support. The demonstrations, which spread to secondary schools and colleges across the country, might have toppled the government with the help of labor, according to various interviewees.
- Students staged mass demonstrations at State House (the president's office) during talks with student leaders.

1977 Parliamentary election violence: voting as resistance

In the wake of the 1977 student demonstrations, the shaken Stevens regime conceded to elections that year and lowered the voting age to eighteen. But there was a highly rigged nomination process and the campaign was marred by government thuggery and other violence (Alie 2006, 86.)

University student demonstrations: 1980s-'90s

- There were more student strikes, either local or national, including one for multiparty elections and another over the quality of water (Abdul Kposowa). By the time Momoh came to power, students knew how to make firebombs (Kalilu Totangi). In the face of student demonstrations, labor unrest, and international pressures for democracy, the Momoh government accepted multiparty shortly after the civil war began.

- 1980 – Campus strike against Organization of African Unity summit in Sierra Leone (*The Tablet*, Feb. 20, 1980, in Rashid 2004, 78).
- 1981 – students burn the official car of the Mayoress of Freetown, Dr. June Holst-Roness (Rashid, 2004, 78).
- 1984 – major demonstration: students and others reacted to ambiguity by Siaka Stevens about becoming a president for life: "Over 2,000 college students and urban youth took to the streets carrying placards which condemned the president's plans for life presidency. The demonstrators stormed the City Hall and disrupted the ongoing APC party congress" (Rashid 2004, 80).
- 1985 – Fourah Bay College students protested expulsion of student leaders; burned Mercedes Benz car of the vice-principal, Cyril Foray (Hindowa Momoh). The demonstration spread to the city. "Cars were smashed, government buildings ransacked, and shops looted." The University expelled forty-one students and three lecturers: Olu Gordon, Jimmy Kandeh and Cleo Hanciles. Kandeh later won a court ruling against his expulsion (Rashid 2004, 81, 89).
- 1990-91 – university students organize nationally; lobby Momoh directly.
- 1991 – students at Njala demonstrate peacefully at Taiama Junction (on road to Bo) for multiparty elections (Abdulai Wai & Marian Samu).
- 1991 – students at Fourah Bay march down from campus for multiparty; police beat and teargas students. Eight white American students used as a "shield" with their consent. Some students were jailed (Hindowa Momoh).
- 1997 (Aug 18) students march against the AFRC; met with violence.

Other resistance: 1980s
- 1981 labor strike without the help of students.
- 1981 "Ndogbowusi:" – A guerrilla movement formed in Pujehun District near Liberia "in the wake of the 1982 elections, to retaliate against what they perceived as "state-sponsored terrorism" (Alie 2006, 99).
- Mid to late 1980s: early indications of a gradual emergence of civil society. Kassim and King point to a real emergence in the mid-1990s in response to the excesses of the NPRC and their failure to bring peace.

RUF civil war begins: 1991 (mass killings and amputations)
- Hindowa Momoh argues that domestic pressures and frustration triggered the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) civil war. He argues that the RUF was not specifically a *lumpen* revolution as some scholars

have said (e.g., Ismail Rashid, 2004, 66-89). When you look at the RUF itself, it has a lot of intellectual backing. Rashid defines *lumpen* youth as (71): "used in its crude Marxist sense to represent those strata of the society that cannot fully employ or sell its labour power because of capitalist transformation, restructuring or retrenchment." In an endnote (87) he thanks Ibrahim Abdullah "for sharing his ideas/notes on his project on the *Lumpen* and unemployed in Freetown." Rashid (2004) does not deny the links between the so-called lumpen youth of Freetown and "student radicals" who "helped reshape the role and agency of these youth" (86). Alie Kabba was elected unopposed as president of the student union at Fourah Bay College. This was, as Abdullah (2004, 56) points out, after a number of students, including Kabba, had gone to either Ghana or Libya (or both) for training and planning in revolutionary concepts. Abdullah adds that only three of these people decided to pursue actual revolution, including Foday Sankoh, who was not an intellectual. In March 1991, the RUF rebels invaded Sierra Leone.

NPRC coup 1992

- The first resistance to the NPRC began soon after they seized power, but the resistance grew much stronger in 1994 and 1995 after the junta had failed to end the war, had compiled a record of corruption and abuse of civilians, especially in Freetown, and was seen stalling in the promised transition to democracy rule.
- NPRC attacks prominent woman (Paul Kamara's *For Di People* newspaper reported it).
- NPRC executes without trial head of police and some journalists.
- NPRC expels German Ambassador, Karl Prince; women, church leaders, and diplomatic community rally around him.
- Civilian politicians in NPRC and civil society: "Politicians had infiltrated" NPRC (Hindolo Trye). They were invited to join by the NPRC, which needed help running the government. But these civilian politicians were, according to Trye, also seeking power for themselves. Trye adds that these civilian politicians also had "penetrated" civil society, again seeking power.

Early push for peace and NPRC divisions

- Youth march in 1994 for peace: As members of the Youth Federation for World Peace, women organized rallies, meetings, and a march that attracted a "couple of hundred" participants (Marian Samu).

- Women marched in 1995 in Freetown, ending up at the national stadium.
- NPRC splits by 1994. There were divisions over governance issues. The aim stated early on by NPRC leader Strasser was to return the country to democracy. But they had moved away from that to "amassing wealth" (Brima Sheriff).
- Palace coup 1995: Bio replaces Strasser.
- There are several explanations for the coup. Bio accused Strasser of planning to delay the transition to democracy and Strasser late in the game decided to be a candidate for president himself. Bio and others in NPRC had already chosen another candidate (according to Julius Spencer); some former military cabinet ministers were upset with Strasser because he had sent them back to the barracks.

Resistance to NPRC

The NPRC failed to end the war or pay for it, instead collaborating with rebels to plunder resources in the field and raiding the treasury. Information was coming out that the NPRC was draining the Ministry of Finance, supposedly to pay for the war; much of it was a matter of misappropriation, which prolonged the war, adding to demands for constitutional government. The war was having a widespread economic impact on society, including, for example, market women and families; teachers were not paid in war zones (Festus Minah).While Strasser's own youth had appealed to youth early on, by 1994, student groups were criticizing the NPRC and some religious leaders began speaking out against continued NPRC rule (Brima Sheriff).

- Journalists mounted a steady resistance to the NPRC through independent reporting of their abuses.
- "All these groups shoot up. There was pressure [on the NPRC] from every corner." Some told them to their face, others 'spoke' through graffiti on walls or at community meetings. When NPRC leaders went to a public forum, they would be confronted "diplomatically" (Abdul Kposowa).

Women's resistance to NPRC

According to Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff, women were politically active as far back as the 1940s. In 1952 the Sierra Leone Women's Movement was formed. But during the repressive years of Siaka Stevens, women mostly retreated into social, educational, and development groups, only remerging to push for peace around 1994 and eventually for "elections before peace" to push the NPRC out of power.

- Background: Women felt left out of the World Conference on women, Nairobi, Kenya, July 1985 because it was mostly government officials that

attended (the official name was: "World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace"). Women in Sierra Leone began organizing for the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, September 1995 (Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff). The organizing, lobbying, and participation of women led to their participation in the important Bitumani I and II political conferences in 1995 and 1996 on the NPRC role and war.

- Women's Forum – According to Marian Samu, women meeting under Amy Smyth at the YWCA in 1993 formed a special group for peace, which "later developed into the Women's Forum. Smythe says the Women's Forum started in the 1994 after the women's conference in Dakar, which was a preparatory meeting for the 1995 women's conference in Beijing (Amy Smyth); it was most active 1994-'96 (Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff). It was a coalition of women's organizations and the key movement of women during this period of a push for *elections before peace*. Dr. Nana Pratt spoke against the NPRC; Zainab Bangura and others came later, according to Ibrahim Kargbo.
- SLANGO (Sierra Leone Association of Non-Government Organizations) started in 1994.
- Women staged a massive peace march "20,000-strong women's peace rally" in Freetown in February 1995 (Bradbury 1995, 49, cited in Keen 2005, 154).
- Sierra Leone Women" Movement for Peace formed (Jusu-Sheriff).
- Formation of Women for a Morally Enlightened Nation led by Zainab Bangura. Keen (2005, 156) says this group was "[p]articularly effective … They had reportedly threatened to expose corrupt politicians" financial links with the military unless the politicians backed the elections" (*Africa Confidential*, 29, March 1996, vol. 37, no. 7, cited in Keen 2005, 156). Keen notes a point by Jusu-Sheriff that, in Keen's words, "the women's intervention might also have made a negotiated settlement a more respectable option, minimizing loss of face for both government and rebels" (156).
- Mid 1990s. Three key groups, among others, "came together" to oppose the NPRC: Civil Society Movement of Sierra Leone; SLANGO (Sierra Leone Association of Non-Government Organizations) and the Women's Forum, according to Ayesha Kamara.
- Bitumani I, August 15-17, 1995. Women negotiated increased representation in the conference, more than was planned by the organizer, head of the Electoral Commission, James Jonah. The women lobbied nationwide on the issue. Delegates voted to hold elections before peace.

- Bitumani II, February 12, 1996. Delegates vote to hold elections before peace.
- Head of state Maada Bio's had attempted to "manipulate" the transition, to delay a return to democratic rule and prolong the military's stay in power (Brima Sheriff). "Two days before the conference, the Interim National Electoral Commission offices and the homes of Electoral Commission boss, James Jonah, and presidential candidate, Tejan Kabbah, were attacked with grenades and gunfire. Soldiers were widely suspected of being behind the attacks. Jonah, however, was determined to press on with the elections (Keen 2005, 156.)
- Women were again key players at Bitumani II. Not clear was how much doubt delegates had about proceeding to elections, but by most accounts the speech by market woman Marie Touray on going ahead was dramatic and effective.
- International pressure: Julius Spencer notes that the will of the people was overwhelming at Bitumani II. The international community also played a role: "They were watching." They also offered scholarships to the NPRC, many of whom accepted them, according to Spencer.

Voting in 1996: a form of resistance to NPRC in view of threats and gunfire. One might not immediately consider the vote for a civilian president in 1996 "resistance," but Julius Spencer, who later became a cabinet minister in the government elected that year, describes it as resistance. "People went out to vote, even though there were threats of violence [by the regime]. On polling day, even with sounds of gunshots, people stood in line and insisted they were going to vote."

- Election of Kabbah in February 1996.
- NPRC chairman Julius Maada Bio handed over power to the democratically elected president, Alhaji Ahmed Tejan Kabbah March 29, 1996.
- Kabbah government took power; fourteen months later he was ousted in a coup.

AFRC coup May 25, 1997: mass noncooperation by civilians

During their more than nine months in power, the civilian population in Freetown mounted an extraordinary nonviolent resistance campaign in which noncooperation was the key tactic. Driven by strong opposition to the junta and encouraged by both the unpredictable violence on the streets and fears of being labeled a collaborator later, much of the commercial and institutional life of the city shut down.

- AFRC invites RUF rebels to join the military government. The RUF rebels quickly "took command" of the government (Charles Mambu and others).
- Sierra Leone Labour Congress denounces the rebels two days after the coup. They call on the regime to step down. Other immediate denunciations came from the National Union of Sierra Leonean Students (NUSS), Women's Peace Movement, petty traders association, and the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists (SLAJ), and "university dons," (Gordon 2004, 187).
- Silent protest after rebels burn Treasury building in 1997. The destruction of records on seven state officials came the day before they were to go on trial on charges of stealing state resources. "[T]housands of Sierra Leoneans gathered at the site of the burned Treasury in mute protest" (Gordon 2004, 187).
- Student demonstration August 18, 1997. Two students were killed (Jonathan Leigh; Kelvin Lewis mentions one was killed.) Military helicopters flew over the city shooting live rounds at students; some 200 students were arrested and some female students were raped at military barracks (Brima Sheriff).
- Some civilians ate with rebels who were "family or friends" (Charles Mambu). It was a "matter of survival." Rebels would locate food and other items and share it in the civilians' compound. There were revenge killings of collaborators after the war, something few Sierra Leoneans mentioned but which are noted in international human rights reports. Charles Mambu said some AFRC fighters were recruited against their will.
- Clandestine opposition journalism. Significantly, a number of independent newspapers began publishing from clandestine locations, continuing to expose junta abuses.
- Clandestine radio station. The Kabbah government in exile in Guinea set up a clandestine radio station that kept hope alive of their return. They used psychological tactics against the junta, using informants to report the junta's moves and even plans.

Kabbah government returns in 1998; invites rebels into government

- Women in 2001 bravely march (peacefully) on rebel leader's home amidst rumors of a coup. Rebel leader Foday Sankoh refuses to talk; he threatens the women, but does not open fire.
- Second march on Sankoh's home coup turns violent as rebels fire on crowd, with estimates of about 27 killed.
- Abuses under Kabbah: delayed & unfair trials; mistreatment of prisoners (Brima Sheriff; also human rights reports).

Rebels' brief violent return: January 1999
The violence was so horrific and sudden that resistance was impossible. Estimates of the number of civilians killed range from six thousand to more than seven thousand with some one hundred thousand driven from their home. Nigerian troops at a cost of up to a thousand of their troops, pushed them back after several weeks. The war was official declared over in January 2002.

Liberia

Political Chronology

1847	Liberia declares independence.
1971	William R. Tolbert, Jr. becomes president; promises reforms.
1980	President Tolbert assassinated in military coup; Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe becomes head of state.
1985	Doe wins disputed presidential election; coup attempt fails.
1989	National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles G. Taylor, launches civil war.
1990	Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sends peacekeeping troops; Doe is executed by a splinter group of the NPFL.
1990-97	Interim governments, including one of a coalition of rebel leaders.
1997	Charles G. Taylor elected president; disarmament brings temporary peace.
1999	Second civil war begins.
2003	Rebels advance to within ten kilometers of Monrovia; Taylor resigns facing international indictment on charges of war crimes of supporting rebels in Sierra Leone to help his own fight in Liberia.
2005	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf elected president of Liberia – first woman elected as head of an African state.
2006	President Johnson-Sirleaf switches on a generator powering street lights in the capital, a city that had not had electricity in fifteen years.

Resistance Chronology

1970s Civil society groups push for political reforms. The Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) and the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) actively seek greater participation of Liberians in the political system; their leaders become role models for younger activists.

1979 "Rice Riots." Led by Gabriel Baccus Matthews of PAL, with students and others protest an anticipated government hike in the price of rice. Tolbert uses force to halt the demonstrations. His reaction shows weakness of his administration, opening the door for the coup a year later.

1980s Some professionals and activists (journalists, clergy, and attorneys) push for greater democratic freedoms, but mass repression by Samuel Doe's regime severely limits nonviolent resistance. Some activists distributing antigovernment literature are arrested; some are tortured. Six university student leaders condemned to die are released at the last minute after widespread statements ranging from professionals to market women. Thousands demonstrate on the streets when they are freed. University students demonstrate on campus after arrest of popular faculty members Amos Sawyer and George Clay Kieh, Jr. Doe targets independent newspapers, burning some of their offices. Mass public march in 1990 to get Doe to resign as rebels draw near is put down with violence by the regime.

1991 Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) created and provides nationwide, clandestine monitoring of human rights abuses, transmitting the findings to international human rights organizations and Western governments. Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis boldly condemns abuses by rebels, as he had abuses under Doe and did later under President Taylor.

1992 Catholic Church establishes its own radio station, Radio Veritas, which broadcasts live testimonies from victims of the war and related atrocities.

1994 Early phase of women's peace movement. Women hold public meetings and attend some peace conferences, though they are never allowed in as delegates. Women lobby government officials; issue public statements; stage marches and "stay home" strikes. Four-day "training" session in nonviolence for rebel leaders is sponsored by women's peace activists.

1990s During Taylor's presidency: formation of numerous civil society organizations centered on human rights and rule of law. Attorneys and others work closely with international human rights groups to report Taylor's regime abuses. Activists in some NGOs stage various protests. Culture of resistance grows stronger.
1998 Rape and murder of a market woman in Monrovia by Taylor's forces sparks united protest by female lawyers and others.
2003 Women stage mass marches and vigils and use other tactics to get Taylor and rebel leaders to stop the war. Taylor resigns.

Kenya

Political Chronology

1963 Kenya gains independence from Britain.
1964 Jomo Kenyatta becomes president.
1978 Vice President Daniel arap Moi becomes president upon the death of Kenyatta.
1982 Kenya declared a one-party state; coup attempt is unsuccessful.
1987 Opposition groups suppressed; international criticism voiced over arrests and abuses, including torture.
1988 Parliamentary elections held using controversial queue voting; widespread rigging reported.
1990 Popular Foreign Minister Robert Ouko murdered; Scotland Yard points finger at two Moi officials.
1991 Moi agrees to multiparty political system after mounting mass pressure and public rallies calling for this. The decision came shortly after a mass protest and donor freezing of new aid funds.
1992 Ethnic conflicts linked to the government's attempt to control key electoral areas. Moi re-elected president amidst a divided opposition.
1997 Moi re-elected amidst continuing divisions among opposition. Some reforms passed by parliament.
1998 Bombing of US Embassy in Nairobi; more than 200 killed. A similar bombing hits the US Embassy in neighboring Tanzania; both bombings are linked to Al-Qaeda.

2002 Mwai Kibaki wins election as president. Moi is ineligible to run again; his favored candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta, son of Jomo Kenyatta, loses (but is elected in 2013). Kibaki is reelected in 2007 in disputed vote counting which is followed by mass political violence, much of it ethnic related. Power-sharing government instituted with Kibaki and Raila Odinga, son of Kenya's first vice president, Oginga Odinga.

Resistance Chronology

1970s Some published and oral dissent from academics and opposition members of Parliament.

1980s Formation of several underground opposition groups in an era of fear, including Mwakenya.

1987 Attorney Gibson Kamau Kuria sues the government to stop torture of political detainees.

1988 Bedan Mbugua, editor of National Council of Churches magazine, *Beyond*, exposes government fraud in the 1988 elections.

1989 Conservationist/political activist Wangari Maathai challenges regime plans to build tall party headquarters and statue of Moi on only big city park. With the help of donor pressure she wins her case, showing Moi can be rebuffed.

Late 1980s-early 1990s Some attorneys, acting as individuals, without the support of their bar association, challenge the Moi regime's human rights abuses and lack of rule of law. Several independent magazines challenge the regime, leading to arrests of the editors. Four clergy speak out for reform: Bishops Henry Okullu, David Gitari and Alexander Muge plus Rev. Dr. Timothy Njoya.

1990 First of two major non-approved opposition political rallies held: "Saba Saba," July 7, in Nairobi. Police use violence to block it.

1991 Formation of the Forum for Restoration of Democracy in Kenya (FORD) by opposition politicians calling for multiparty elections.

1991 Second major non-approved opposition political rally held in Nairobi ("Kamkunji') Nov 16, 1991, to press for multiparty elections. Police respond with force. Not long after that, and a donor freeze of new funds, Moi approves multiparty electoral system.

1992 Small group of mothers of political detainees stage public sit-in and partial hunger strike in a downtown park to win release of their politically detained sons. They are successful after one year of protest.

1990s	The mostly individual resistance gives way to mostly organizational resistance as political opposition parties and activist NGOs form following adoption of multiparty politics.
1996-97	Nationwide advocacy network for reform established; holds national convention in 1997 near Nairobi. Youth delegates are very active at convention and push for demonstrations.
1997	Series of public demonstrations approved by National Convention Assembly. Regime uses extreme violence against demonstrators, who include members of the middle class. At least fourteen people are killed; many are clubbed.
Late 1990s	Public criticism and even ridicule of President Moi and his regime becomes commonplace in magazines, newspapers, radio, television, public rallies as a culture of resistance begun in the late 1980s blossoms.

Abbreviations and Significant Terms

Sierra Leone

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (junta in power parts of 1996-97)
APC	All People's Congress (political party)
Bitumani I and II	Two national conventions in 1995 and 1996 of a range of citizens who voted on whether to have presidential elections and end military rule before the civil war was over or wait until the war ended. The delegates in both conventions voted to have "elections before peace," blaming military junta for prolonging the war to stay in power. (The sessions were held in the Bitumani hotel in Freetown.)
CDF/CDM	Civil Defense Force/Civil Defense Movements: usually formed around a core group of traditional hunters, during the Sierra Leone civil war. In addition to the Kamajors in the Mende region of the South, there were "the Kapras and Gbetes among the Temne, the Donsos of Kono District and the Tamaboras of Koinadugu District." The term "Kamajors" was widely applied to all such forces, though they specifically were formed among the Mende (Keen 2005, 90)
CSMSL	Civil Society Movement of Sierra Leone

ECOMOG	Economic Community (of West African States) Monitoring Group. The military force comprised of (mostly) Nigerian troops under the direction of ECOWAS that intervened in the civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
MARWOPNET	Mano River Union Women Peace Network (women's peace groups from Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea)
MRD	Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
NCCP	National Coordinating Committee for Peace (coalition of some sixty professional, voluntary and religious organizations advocating for peace)
NPRC	National Provisional Ruling Council (military junta in power 1992-96)
OAU	Organization of African Unity (later reorganized as African Union)
Radio Democracy	A clandestine radio station operated inside Sierra Leone by the ousted government of Kabbah during the time the AFRC/RUF junta was in power in 1996 and 1997. The aim was to encourage noncooperation with the junta, lift spirits of citizens, and put psychological pressure on the junta members by exposing their plans and actions through informants
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone rebel force)
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLAJ	Sierra Leone Association of Journalists
SLANGO	Sierra Leone Association of Non-Government Organizations
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party (political party)
SLTU	Sierra Leone Teachers Union
SLWPM	Sierra Leone Women's Peace Movement
USIA	United States Information Agency
WOMEN	Women Organized for a More Enlightened Nation (NGO formed in 1995 to promote peace and democracy)

Liberia

COLIDAP	Citizens of Liberia in Defense of Albert Porte. An early civil society organization in support of pamphleteer Albert Porte, a frequent critic of governments and advocate for reform
ECOMOG	see listing under Sierra Leone
ECOWAS	see listing under Sierra Leone
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia. Rebel group that broke off from Charles Taylor's NPLF, headed by Prince Johnson, who later oversaw the torture and assassination of President Samuel Doe
JPC	Justice and Peace Commission, an organization started by the Catholic Church in Liberia in the early 1990s to support rule of law and human rights
LWI	Liberia Women's Initiative. Women's peace advocacy group begun in the early 1990s
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy. Rebel group opposed to Charles Taylor
MARWOPNET	see listing under Sierra Leone
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia. Rebel group opposed to Charles Taylor
MOJA	Movement for Justice in Africa. A private organization formed in the 1970s that advocated for political reforms
NPLF	National Patriotic Front of Liberia. The rebel force led by Charles Taylor that invaded Liberia in December 1989
PAL	Progressive Alliance of Liberia. A private organization formed in the 1970s that advocated for political reform. PAL founder Baccus Matthews organized the mass protests in 1979 against the government's plan to raise the price of rice
PRC	People's Redemption Council. The name of the military regime headed by Samuel Doe which seized power in 1980
PUL	Press Union of Liberia. Association of journalists in Liberia
WIPNET	Women in Peace Building Network. Formed in 2003 to advocate for peace

Kenya

CID	Criminal Investigation Department (a government agency)
CPK	Church of the Province of Kenya
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Kenya. Organization advocating for multiparty democracy
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPPG	Inter-Party Parliament Group, formed in Parliament in 1997 to propose reforms
KANU	Kenya African National Union. The party of President Daniel arap Moi
LSK	Law Society of Kenya
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition, the unity group that backed one major presidential candidate in 2002 against the KANU candidate of outgoing President Moi. The compromise candidate, Mwai Kibaki won the election
NCA	National Convention Assembly in 1997 to advocate for constitutional reform
NCEC	National Convention Executive Committee, formed at the NCA
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
RPP	Release Political Prisoners, an NGO formed to advocate for political rights
SONU	Students Organization of Nairobi University

Figure 16 Looking to the future: young couple in Freetown, Sierra Leone, 2009

Photo by Betty Press