STEPHEN ELLIS The Mask of Anarchy

The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War

HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	<i>page</i> vii
Acronyms	xiii
Introduction: African wars	1
A death in the night	1
War and barbarism	17
Part I. A CHRONICLE	
Chapters	
1. The First of the Warlords	31
A frontier society	31
Government, trade and politics	43
Chairman Doe	54
Quiwonkpa's legacy: the NPFL	65
2. Lean and Hungry Years	75
The Nimba County campaign	75
Splits in the NPFL	80
Greater and Lesser Liberia	87
New factions	94
Monrovia, 1996: the final battle	104
3. The Mechanics of War	110
Punishing Monrovia	112
The profit motive	120
Factions as political organisations	132
Military organisations and civilian life	141
4. Business and Diplomacy	150
The West African balance of power	151
The game of nations	158
Markets and rackets	164
Colonies and non-colonies	181

Contents

Part II. AN INQUIRY

5.	A Nation Long Forlorn	191
	Settlers and others The politics of stateless societies Liberian administration The Liberian state	191 198 206 211
6.	Men and Devils	220
	Poro business is eating business Secret societies under Liberian administration The political assimilation of religious ritual Ritual killing and modern politics War, power and the spiritual order The psychology of transformation	223 237 245 249 259 266
7.	False Prophets	281
	Politicians A conflict of generations Culture and imagination Some implications for the wider world The family tree	281 285 291 304 309
An	anexes	
A.	Casualties of the Liberian war, 1989-97	312
B.	List of principal characters	317
Bi	bliography	321
Index		339

.