

**Peace Agreement Access Tool PA-X <https://pax.peaceagreements.org/>**

**Country/ entity** Liberia

**Region** Africa (excl MENA)

**Agreement name** Final Communque of the All-Liberia National Conference, Virginia, Liberia

**Date** 18 Apr 1991

**Agreement status** Multiparty signed/agreed

**Interim arrangement** Yes

**Agreement/ conflict level** Interstate/intrastate conflict(s) ( Liberian Civil Wars (1989 - 1997) (1999 - 2005) )

**Stage** Framework/substantive - partial

**Conflict nature** Government

**Peace process** Liberia peace process

**Parties** Not signed. Agreement mentions the following parties as having produced it:

Conference Chairs:

Ambassador Herbert R.W. Brewer  
Archibishop Michael Kpakala Francis  
Shiekh Kafumba Konneh

Delegates

1. Political Parties :

Liberia Action Party (LAP)  
Liberia People's Party (LPP)  
Liberia Unification Party (LUP)  
Unity Party (UP)  
United People's Party (UPP)  
National Democratic Party of Liberia (NC;'IL)

2. Warring Factions

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)  
Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL)

3. Interest Groups

Press Union of Liberia (PUL)  
National Bar Association of Liberia (NBA)  
National Medical and Dental Association of Liberia (NMDAL)  
National Teachers' Association of Liberia  
Liberian National Students of Liberia (LINSU)  
Liberian Federation of Labour Union (LFLU)  
Liberian Marketing Association (LMA)  
Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA)  
Federation of Liberia Youth (FLY)  
Liberian Council of Churches (LCC)  
Muslim Council of Liberia (MCL)  
Liberian Association of Writers (LAW)  
Women Development Association of Liberia (WODAL)  
Rubber Planters Association of Liberia (RPAL)

4. County Representatives

While all of the twenty-six (26) county representatives were accredited, only the thirteen representatives from the Monrovia Assembly were actually in attendance at the Conference.

The ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee was represented as follows:  
Honourable Major-General (rtd) Ike Nwachukw, Minister of External Affairs,  
Nigeria.

Honourable Mr. Yaoui Adodo, Minister of External Affairs, Togo

Honourable Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas, Deputy Secretary for Foreign  
Affairs, Ghana

Honourable Mr. O. Yaga Bagayogo, Deputizing for the Honourable Minister of  
External Affairs, Mali

Honourable Alhaji Abdul Karim Koroma, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sierra  
Leone

**Third parties** Other dignitaries present at the Conference included:  
The Special Representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations  
The Special Representatives of the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity  
Members of the Diplomatic Corps residing in Monrovia.

Also in attendance were a large number of Liberians, many of whom had returned from abroad, and members of the international press.

**Description** This agreement establishes an interim government and an interim elections commission in Liberia.

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**Agreement document** [LR\\_910420\\_Virginia All-Liberia National Conference.pdf](#)  | [Download PDF](#)

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## Groups

Children/  
youth No specific mention.

Disabled  
persons No specific mention.

Elderly/age No specific mention.

Migrant  
workers No specific mention.

Racial/  
ethnic/  
national  
group No specific mention.

Religious  
groups Groups→Religious groups→Substantive  
Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Composition: An Independent Interim Elections Commission was established by the Conference and composed of Representatives from the following Interest Groups:  
...The Muslim Council of Liberia  
The Liberia Council of Churches

Indigenous people No specific mention.

Other groups No specific mention.

Refugees/  
displaced  
persons No specific mention.

Social class No specific mention.

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## Gender

Women, girls and gender Page 1, Untitled Preamble: The All-Liberia National Conference was held in Virginia, Liberia from March 15 to April 20, 1991 under the Triumvirate Chair of Ambassador Herbert R.W. Brewer, Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis and Shiekh Kafumba Konneh. The Conference was attended by one hundred and fifty-one (151) delegates of thirty-six (36) delegations from the following Political Parties, warring factions, interest groups and county representatives:  
...3. Interest Groups:  
...Women Development Association of Liberia (WODAL)

Page 3, THE INTERIM ELECTIONS COMMISSION, Composition: An Independent Interim Elections Commission was established by the Conference and composed of Representatives from the following Interest Groups:  
...The Women Development Association of Liberia

Men and boys No specific mention.

LGBTI No specific mention.

Family No specific mention.

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## State definition

Nature of state (general) No specific mention.

State configuration Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: ...As the NPFL Delegation was not in attendance at the Conference immediately prior to elections, the Conference decided to revert to the republican structure of government.

Self determination No specific mention.

Referendum No specific mention.

State symbols No specific mention.

Independence/ secession No specific mention.

Accession/ unification No specific mention.

Border delimitation No specific mention.

Cross-border provision No specific mention.

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**Governance**

Political institutions (new or reformed)

Governance→Political institutions (new or reformed)→Temporary new institutions

Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: As the purpose of the Conference was to restore peace to Liberia through the formation of an interim government, acceptable to the Liberian People, with the capacity to hold free and fair elections, delegates were engaged in numerous, long, tedious, serious and delicate negotiations, the NPFL Delegation insisted on taking a week's break and walked out of the Conference shortly after presenting the NPFL Proposals on the interim government and outlining the reasons for the walk-out

The core of the NPFL Proposals are as follows:

1. A Triumvirate Council of co-equals, called the Council of National Unity, should run the Executive arm of Government; in effect, there should be three heads of state serving as co-equals;
2. The Legislature should be called the Assembly of National Unity with twenty-six (26) members, two of whom coming from each of the thirteen (13) counties,

Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: ...The Conference responded to the grounds for the NPFL walk-out by (a) accepting, in principle, the concept of a triumvirate ruling council while making an adjustment to have a Chairman and two Co-Chairmen for the Council of National Unity;.

Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: ...As the NPFL Delegation was not in attendance at the Conference immediately prior to elections, the Conference decided to revert to the republican structure of government.

Page 2, Interim Government, The Executive: The Conference formed an interim government, known as the Government of National Unity. Upon the joint nomination by the Political Parties and interest groups, Dr. Amos Claudius Sawyer was endorsed by the Conference as President of the Interim Government of National Unity, Republic of Liberia. The Independent National Patriotic front of Liberia (INPFL) nominated the Vice President of the Government, in the person of Dr. Peter Naigow, who was endorsed by the Conference.

Page 2, Interim Government, The Legislature: A unicameral Interim Legislative Assembly is the Legislature for the government. This Assembly is composed of 51 members as follows:

1. Twenty-six (26) members from the thirteen (13) counties of Liberia with thirteen (13) Representatives coming from the Assembly in Gbarnga and thirteen (13) Representatives from the Assembly in Monrovia,
2. Twelve (12) members, two of whom come from each of the six (6) existing Political Parties;
3. Six (6) members from the NPFL and five (5) members from the INPFL; and
4. Two (2) members from the Interest Groups not serving on the Interim Elections Commission.

The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker shall be elected by the Interim Legislative Assembly.

Page 3, Induction: The President-Elect, Dr. Amos Claudius Sawyer and the Vice-President-elect, Or. Peter Naigow, were inducted into their respective offices by Associate Justice J. Bayogar Junius on April 20, 1991 at the Unity Conference Centre, Virginia, Liberia

Elections Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: As the purpose of the Conference was to restore peace to Liberia through the formation of an interim government, acceptable to the Liberian People, with the capacity to hold free and fair elections, delegates were engaged in numerous, long, tedious, serious and delicate negotiations, the NPFL Delegation insisted on taking a week's break and walked out of the Conference shortly after presenting the NPFL Proposals on the interim government and outlining the reasons for the walk-out.

Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Composition: An Independent Interim Elections Commission was established by the Conference and composed of Representatives from the following Interest Groups:

The National Bar Association of Liberia

The Press Union of Liberia

The Liberia Medical and Dental Associations

The Women Development Association of Liberia

The Muslim Council of Liberia

The Liberia Council of Churches

The Liberian Business Caucus

Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Eligibility of Members: Interim Elections Commission shall make the necessary preparations in formulating an Elections Programme for general and presidential elections, scheduled to be held on the date constitutionally provided for, that is the Second Tuesday in October, 1991.

Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Contesting in the Ensuing Elections: All employees of Government wishing to contest in the ensuing general and presidential elections, shall resign their positions prior to the commencement of the campaign period.

Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Monitoring of General and Presidential Elections: The activities of the Interim Elections Commission during ensuing general and presidential elections shall be monitored by international agencies such as:

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The United Nations (UN)

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

The Republican Institute for International Affairs (RIIA) of the United States of America

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) of the United States of America

And, individual as well as other organisations selected by the Interim Elections Commission.



Electoral commission Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Composition: An Independent Interim Elections Commission was established by the Conference and composed of Representatives from the following Interest Groups:  
The National Bar Association of Liberia  
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The Liberia Medical and Dental Associations  
The Women Development Association of Liberia  
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Political parties reform No specific mention.

Civil society	<p>Page 1, Untitled Preamble: The All-Liberia National Conference was held in Virginia, Liberia from March 15 to April 20, 1991 under the Triumvirate Chair of Ambassador Herbert R.W. Brewer, Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis and Shiekh Kafumba Konneh. The Conference was attended by one hundred and fifty-one (151) delegates of thirty-six (36) delegations from the following Political Parties, warring factions, interest groups and county representatives:</p> <p>...3. Interest Groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Press Union of Liberia (PUL)</li> <li>National Bar Association of Liberia (NBA)</li> <li>National Medical and Dental Association of Liberia (NMDAL)</li> <li>National Teachers' Association of Liberia</li> <li>Liberian National Students of Liberia (LINSU)</li> <li>Liberian Federation of Labour Union (LFLU)</li> <li>Liberian Marketing Association (LMA)</li> <li>Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA)</li> <li>Federation of Liberia Youth (FLY)</li> <li>Liberian Council of Churches (LCC)</li> <li>Muslim Council of Liberia (MCL)</li> <li>Liberian Association of Writers (LAW)</li> <li>Women Development Association of Liberia (WODAL)</li> <li>Rubber Planters Association of Liberia (RPAL)</li> </ul>
Traditional/ religious leaders	<p>Page 1, Untitled Preamble: The All-Liberia National Conference was held in Virginia, Liberia from March 15 to April 20, 1991 under the Triumvirate Chair of Ambassador Herbert R.W. Brewer, Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis and Shiekh Kafumba Konneh. The Conference was attended by one hundred and fifty-one (151) delegates of thirty-six (36) delegations from the following Political Parties, warring factions, interest groups and county representatives:</p> <p>...3. Interest Groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>...Liberian Council of Churches (LCC)</li> <li>Muslim Council of Liberia (MCL)</li> </ul>
Public administration	<p>Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Contesting in the Ensuing Elections: All employees of Government wishing to contest in the ensuing general and presidential elections, shall resign their positions prior to the commencement of the campaign period.</p>
Constitution	No specific mention.

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**Power sharing**

Political  
power  
sharing

Power sharing→Political power sharing→Executive coalition  
State level

Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: As the purpose of the Conference was to restore peace to Liberia through the formation of an interim government, acceptable to the Liberian People, with the capacity to hold free and fair elections, delegates were engaged in numerous, long, tedious, serious and delicate negotiations, the NPFL Delegation insisted on taking a week's break and walked out of the Conference shortly after presenting the NPFL Proposals on the interim government and outlining the reasons for the walk-out

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Power sharing→Political power sharing→Proportionality in legislature  
State level

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3. Six (6) members from the NPFL and five (5) members from the INPFL; and
4. Two (2) members from the Interest Groups not serving on the Interim

Territorial power sharing No specific mention.

Economic power sharing No specific mention.

Military power sharing No specific mention.

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### **Human rights and equality**

Human rights/RoL general No specific mention.

Bill of rights/similar No specific mention.

Treaty incorporation No specific mention.

Civil and political rights No specific mention.

Socio-economic rights No specific mention.

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### **Rights related issues**

Citizenship No specific mention.

Democracy No specific mention.

Detention procedures No specific mention.

Media and communication Rights related issues→Media and communication→Other  
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Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Composition: An Independent Interim Elections Commission was established by the Conference and composed of Representatives from the following Interest Groups:  
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Mobility/access No specific mention.

Protection measures No specific mention.

Other No specific mention.

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## Rights institutions

NHRI No specific mention.

Regional or international human rights institutions No specific mention.

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## Justice sector reform

Criminal justice and emergency law	No specific mention.
State of emergency provisions	No specific mention.
Judiciary and courts	<p>Page 2, Interim Government: Negotiations: As the purpose of the Conference was to restore peace to Liberia through the formation of an interim government, acceptable to the Liberian People, with the capacity to hold free and fair elections, delegates were engaged in numerous, long, tedious, serious and delicate negotiations, the NPFL Delegation insisted on taking a week's break and walked out of the Conference shortly after presenting the NPFL Proposals on the interim government and outlining the reasons for the walk-out</p> <p>The core of the NPFL Proposals are as follows: ...3. The present structure of the Judiciary should be in force, with principal emphasis on its independent posture.</p> <p>Page 2, Interim Government, The Judiciary: All Justices of the Supreme Court and Judges of the Subordinate Courts shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the National Bar Association.</p> <p>Page 3, Induction: The President-Elect, Dr. Amos Claudius Sawyer and the Vice-President-elect, Or. Peter Naigow, were inducted into their respective offices by Associate justice J. Bayogar Junius on April 20, 1991 at the Unity Conference Centre, Virginia, Liberia</p>
Prisons and detention	No specific mention.
Traditional Laws	No specific mention.

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## Socio-economic reconstruction

Development or socio-economic reconstruction	No specific mention.
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National economic plan	No specific mention.
Natural resources	No specific mention.
International funds	No specific mention.
Business	<p>Page 1, Untitled Preamble: The All-Liberia National Conference was held in Virginia, Liberia from March 15 to April 20, 1991 under the Triumvirate Chair of Ambassador Herbert R.W. Brewer, Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis and Shiekh Kafumba Konneh. The Conference was attended by one hundred and fifty-one (151) delegates of thirty-six (36) delegations from the following Political Parties, warring factions, interest groups and county representatives:</p> <p>...3. Interest Groups:</p> <p>...Liberian Federation of Labour Union (LFLU)</p> <p>Liberian Marketing Association (LMA)</p> <p>...Rubber Planters Association of Liberia (RPAL)</p> <p>Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Composition: An Independent Interim Elections Commission was established by the Conference and composed of Representatives from the following Interest Groups:</p> <p>...The Liberian Business Caucus</p>
Taxation	No specific mention.
Banks	No specific mention.

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## Land, property and environment

Land reform/ rights	No specific mention.
Pastoralist/ nomadism rights	No specific mention.



Cultural heritage No specific mention.

Environment No specific mention.

Water or riparian rights or access No specific mention.

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## **Security sector**

Security Guarantees No specific mention.

Ceasefire No specific mention.

Police No specific mention.

Armed forces No specific mention.

DDR No specific mention.

Intelligence services No specific mention.

Parastatal/ rebel and opposition group forces No specific mention.

Withdrawal of foreign forces page 3, Resolutions: The Conference made the following resolutions; ... (d) That the NPFL-backed military incursion into Sierra Leone be denounced and that solidarity be expressed with the government and people of Sierra Leone as they defend their territorial integrity.

Corruption No specific mention.

Crime/  
organised  
crime No specific mention.

Drugs No specific mention.

Terrorism No specific mention.

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## **Transitional justice**

Transitional  
justice  
general No specific mention.

Amnesty/  
pardon Transitional justice→Amnesty/pardon→Amnesty/pardon proper  
Page 3, Resolutions: The Conference made the following resolutions;  
(a) That conditional amnesty be granted to all Liberians who served as  
combatants in the civil war in Liberia;

Courts No specific mention.

Mechanism No specific mention.

Prisoner  
release No specific mention.

Vetting No specific mention.

Victims Page 3, Resolutions: The Conference made the following resolutions;  
...(b) That appropriate tributes be made throughout Liberia to the memory of  
the people who died as a result of the civil war;

Missing  
persons No specific mention.

Reparations Transitional justice→Reparations→Symbolic reparations  
Page 3, Resolutions: The Conference made the following resolutions;  
...(b) That appropriate tributes be made throughout Liberia to the memory of  
the people who died as a result of the civil war;

Reconciliation No specific mention.

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## Implementation

UN  
signatory No specific mention.

Other  
international  
signatory No specific mention.

Referendum  
for  
agreement No specific mention.

International  
mission/  
force/similar Page 3, The Interim Elections Commission, Monitoring of General and  
Presidential Elections: The activities of the Interim Elections Commission  
during ensuing general and presidential elections shall be monitored by  
international agencies such as:  
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)  
The United Nations (UN)  
The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)  
The Republican Institute for International Affairs  
(RIIA) of the United States of America  
The National Democratic Institute (NDI) of the United States of America  
And, individual as well as other organisations selected by the Interim  
Elections Commission.

Enforcement  
mechanism No specific mention.

Related  
cases No specific mention.

Source Official Journal of the ECOWAS, Vol 21, November 1991

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