FINAL REPORT

IDENTIFYING RECORDED SITES OF MASSACRES THROUGH GIS MAPS AND GLOBAL POSITIONING SYSTEMS (GPS)

AARON WEAH

LEAD CONSULTANT / RESEARCHER

JOSEPH 'JOEY' WREH – RESEARCHER

ANDY TUGBAH – GIS TECHNICIAN

Table of Contents

Acronyms 2

Executive Summary 3

Methodology 9

Introduction 11

Notes from the Field: Uncovering Violent Memories - Mapping the Truth 12

Memorialization and Significance of Identifying sites of Massacres 15

Findings 18

Recommendations and Conclusion 22

Annexes of GPS Data 25

Annexes of GIS Maps of Sites of Massacres per County 28

Acronyms

FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia
KII	Key Informant Interview
INCHR	Independent National Commission of Human Rights
IVV	Identification Verification and Validation
LIMASA	Liberia Massacre and Survivors Association
LISGIS	Liberia Institute of Statistics & Geo-Information Services
LTRC	Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission
INCHR	Independent National Commission of Human Rights
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
ULIMO-J	United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (Johnson)
ULIMO-K	United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (Kromah)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Executive Summary

In the Act that established Liberia's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the Independent National Commission of Human Rights (INCHR) is mandated as the Government body with authority to ensure that recommendations of the TRC are implemented. [1] Also, in the Strategic Road Map for National Healing, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation, the INCHR is specifically instructed to implement postwar memorialization as proffered by the TRC. In fulfilment of this task, the Commission with support from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) launched a project entitled: *Identification of Mass Graves through Maps and Global Positioning Systems (GPS).* Aaron Weah, a scholar on Liberia transitional justice process along with Joseph Wreh, a peace and conflict researcher, and Andy Tugbah, a geographic information system technician, were hired to undertake the research. The terms of reference described by the consultancy are:

1. Conduct field based research in all 15 counties of Liberia to identify all 203 sites of massacres;
2. Demarcate and place GPS coordinates on all 203 sites of massacres as may be identified;
3. Ascertain the rightful location and names of districts/towns/villages where these sites of massacres may be located if different from the names of areas in the TRC Report;
4. Develop County Maps of the 15 Counties and identify the location of each site of massacre per county on the Map.

[1] The Act Establishing Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Republic of Liberia, June 9, 2005

5. Submit report of the research, and include as annex, counties' maps showing sites of massacres identified with GPS coordinates. The report will include recommendation on how to maintain the sites of massacres in the future, and the potential role of local dwellers in the protection of the sites of massacres. The report will also shed best practices from several other countries on how sites of massacres were protected and memorialized.

The use of the word 'mass grave' (in the original project title) suggests that recorded sites of massacres outlined in the TRC final report can be used interchangeably with massacres. In other words, the nomenclature tends to infer that that mass graves and sites of massacres are similar; whereas, the accepted definition of these words reveal that they are two separately violent phenomena determined by different actions and intention. Mark Skinner, a scholar of mass graves, provides a definition that suggests that mass grave contains at least a half dozen individuals.[2] Another interpretation of a mass grave is proposed by the United Nations Rapporteur as locations where three or more victims of extra-judicial, summary or arbitrary executions were buried, not having died in combat or armed confrontations.[3] The latter definition is considered the standard as it has been the basis of forensic investigation that led to the evidence gathering in criminal prosecution of international tribunals.[4] Unlike the identification of sites of massacres, the identification of mass graves tends to have objectives that are prosecutorial in nature: a) to collect narrative and physical evidence that assists in

[2] Mark Skinner, Planning The Archeological Recovery of Evidence from Recent Mass Grave, *Forensic Sciences International,* 34:267-287

[3] See The Archaeology of Contemporary Mass Grave, William D. Haglung, Mellisa Connor, Douglas D. Scott (*Historical Archaeology*, 2001, 35(1):57—69.)

[4] Ibid

establishing the accountability of those responsible and bringing them to justice; b) to assemble information instrumental in identifying the victims in order that the remains might be returned to surviving relatives; c) to create a record that will stand up to historical revisionists; and d) to expose such atrocities to world opinion and provide an international standard that will deter such atrocities in the future. For example, exhumation (and identification) of mass graves was instrumental in the proceedings of International Criminal Court for Rwanda (ICTR), International Criminal Court for Yugoslavia (ICTY) and elsewhere. In contrast, massacre is defined by the United Nation Human Rights Council, as an intentional mass killing of civilians not directly participating in hostilities, or hors de combat fighters, by organized armed forces or groups in a single incident, in violation of international human rights or humanitarian law[5]. While the Liberia TRC doesn't provide a systematic definition of what constitute massacre, it provides a minimum number of estimated people killed in a single act of massacre as five, representing the lower limit and 800 as upper. Put together, this inferred that massacre in the Liberian context involved the intentional mass killing of at least five persons or above.

Establishing clearly the difference between the two terminologies was critical to streamlining the terms of reference for this research. Based on these clarifications, we modified the focus of the study so much so that it aligns with the TRC final report. In the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Consolidated Final Report, the terminology of recorded massacres or sites of massacres is used and not mass graves. This information can be found on pages 244 to 254 of the TRC Final Consolidated Report. It is also important to note that our research was not intended to

[5] See UN General Assembly, Human Rights Council 22nd Session: *Report of the independent international commission of inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic. P. 10, Chapter III, A.*

launch a re-investigation into these violent actions as the TRC already provide a comprehensive list of recorded massacres and their sites. However, our work was largely designed to verify these sites through a deliberate Identification, Verification and Validation (IVV) process.

From June 2006, the TRC operated for three years; it gathered 22,000 statements from eye witnesses, survivors, perpetrators as well as experts from a wide range of field.[6] Based on the evidence gathered, the TRC made a number of determinations, including the list of recorded sites of massacres.[7] Thus, the TRC Report stands as the official record on the political violence and civil war in Liberia, 1979 to October 2003. Rather, any other action, such as ours, is intended to supplement the TRC official records and not to produce new official data on this period mentioned above. Identification of mass graves and application of GPS coordinates are intended to make these locales of mass killings more accessible, so that the Commission draws up a nationwide memorialization scheme as recommended by the TRC Final Consolidated Report.

Summary findings

Using the IVV method of data collection, the study held one Focus Group discussion (FGDs) at every site of massacre, compounded with one (1) key informant interview (KII) per site bringing the total of 52 KIIs conducted. The FDGs on average brought together at least six (6) persons (Town Chief, Elders, local government representatives, youth, chair ladies, residents of the town etc.), men and women alike. FGDs held lasted for about 40 minutes to an hour, culminating in an

[6] Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report, Volume II: Consolidated Final Report, June 30, 2009
[7] Ibid

escort to the site of massacre. Some of the questions included: Do you know the TRC listed Camp Two - Harbel as a massacre site in its final Report? Can you confirm that a massacre occurred here? What year did the incident happened? What group is believed to have perpetrated this violent action? From the list of massacres documented by the TRC, are there other sites that are not mentioned in the TRC Final report? Based on these questions, we were able to corroborate information contained in the TRC Final report and uncovered new information regarding sites of massacres not documented in the TRC Final report. We were also able to properly locate these new sites of massacres and situate them in the actual towns, villages and clans that the incidents occurred. In some measure, the TRC Final Report was more concerned with macro level details and didn't provide comprehensive data on specific geographic locales of massacres sites. While in some cases, details on villages and towns are provided, for most of the sites, detailed information are scanty and in some cases, non-existent. The identification of these sites have resolved the issue; all sites can now be located in real-time by inputting GPS coordinates via google maps, google earth, or any geographic navigational tool. All sites have been mapped, GPS tagged, and documented with regards to their appropriate locale; as in villages, towns, clans and districts. Such systematic information cannot be found in the TRC Final Report. This research adds new value to efforts at corroborating, identifying, and documenting sites that played host to some of the most unspeakable atrocities in Liberia's history.

Below are summary findings of a number of new sites identified and those that cannot be corroborated:

Bomi

- *Demeh/Combat Camp*—recorded as site of massacre by the TRC, this site couldn't be corroborated. Through focus group discussion and Key informant interviews, we couldn't verify that a massacre happened there. Instead, similar information surrounding the massacre was described to have happened in another location (Roberts Field Hwy) by other key informants.
- *St Dominic Compound*—it was confirmed that 300 children died there, however, they didn't die as a result of a massacre, but rather hunger/starvation caused by the civil war.

Montserrado

- *Kemah Town, Soul Clinic*—was identified as site of massacre not included in the TRC recorded sites of massacres
- *Du Port Road Waterside*—is not included in the TRC Final Report, even though everyone seem to know the place. Rather, the Cow field massacre site is often confused with Du Port Road Waterside site. Also, the Du Port Road Cow field was a location of several massacres and not one single incident.
- *James Spriggs Payne Runway*—endpoint or Lakpazee's Panama Community is another massacre site not included in the TRC Final report
- *Lakpazee Zoo*--Adjacent Zoo Annie's residence was verified as both a mass grave and a site of massacre that is not mentioned in the TRC final report.

Grand Cape Mount

- *Jenneh Brown, aka Sabibo*--is said to have been a massacre hub and the base for

Ulimo-K. Witnesses recounted that loads of people were brought in from other towns and groups were systematically killed daily. This town is not on the TRC report.

- *Lajor,* is a town that is listed on the TRC report as being a site of massacre, but Lajor's location was a massive gold deposit, and as such, was given to Aureaus Mining as part of a mining concession agreement. Lajor as a town was relocated, dissolved, and absorbed by a larger affected town named Kinjor. So residents of the former Larjor are now members of the new Kinjor, and the site of massacre is no longer accessible as it is a mining site

All other sites were verified and corroborated as places where massacres occurred. Accordingly, appropriate GPS coordinates were applied and navigational maps created.

Methodology

Figure 1: Burial site of St. Dominic's Compound (Bomi) 300 Children

Juxtaposing massacre sites from mass graves, we used the Identification, Verification and Validation (IVV) methods in locating these sites and applying GPS coordinates. The IVV methodology is suitable for a number of reasons. One, it's most effective when the identification process relies on an established baseline data—in this case, the original data source is the TRC Final Report. Secondly, for verification purposes, to confirm that these sites exist as per the TRC Final report, we relied on eye witnesses, survivors and longstanding residents of these locations. To validate the information presented by TRC and to

triangulate the data, we interviewed survivors, eye witnesses and members of the Liberia Massacre and Survivors Association. Here, we try to corroborate or assess variance, or contradiction, where possible.

The TRC Final Report doesn't provide sufficient data on the location of these sites; the information are largely fragmented.[8] In some cases, it provides districts and counties while in other cases, it makes no reference to districts, except county. It makes consistent data source on village, town, clan, districts lacking. To ensure that every site of massacre is identified and situated in official locales such as village, town, clan and districts, we hired county-based GIS assistants of Liberia Institute of Statistics & Geo-Information Services (LISGIS). These professional resources are knowledgeable of the respective counties, and have worked there since the 2008 Housing and Population Census. The total number of LISGIS resources we worked with was three (3). In addition, we conducted one (1) Focus Group Discussion (FGD) at every site of massacre, bringing the total of FGDs conducted to 51 across Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Margibi and Montserrado counties. Each FGD conducted brought together the minimum of 6 persons, including at least 2 female and 4 male. In some towns we had women that facilitated the FGDs, in this case more women showed up and participated in the process of identification and verification. In rural Liberia, there are serious limitations with having equal number of women participate in such forums; especially where their male counterparts are present. Nonetheless, we managed to secure some minimalist standard by bringing together the total of 312 persons (104, female; 208 male) for FGDs exercise.

[8] Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Consolidated Report, (June 2009) pp.244-254, Republic of Liberia,

Introduction

Since the TRC released its final report in June 2009, the process of identifying and applying GPS coordinates to sites of massacres as a guide toward memorialization is the single largest follow-up, and attempt at implementing the TRC recommendations. Admittedly, the TRC undertook a herculean task in compiling its data; venturing out on terrible roads to get to towns / communities that were virtually inaccessible, interacting with horrifying actors of the war, listening to graphically violent stories from victims while trying to appear neutral, and un-phased by peoples' most personal truths. This research shadowed in many ways, the TRC's path to locate and mark (GPS) sites of massacres, and in some cases, unmarked mass graves.

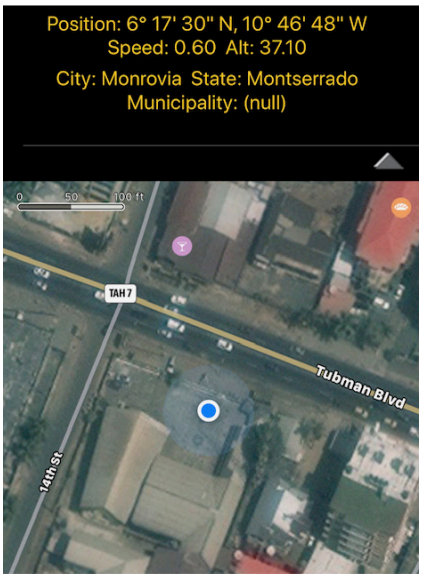


Figure 2: Satellite Imagery and GPS coordinates of Mass Grave 1 (Basketball Court) at Lutheran Church Compound

It has been a thirty-day process to substantiate our baseline data, collect GPS coordinates of four counties' sites of massacres, prepare GIS maps, and prepare a report that reflects the experience. Typically, the entire process would have required more time, because of the inaccessibility of many sites, the non-availability of witnesses from a time that spans 30 years now since the inception of the civil conflict, and the horrendously bad roads, or lack thereof. We would say we were fortunate because these initial four (4) counties are some of the most accessible by road, considering the rest of the list. So far, we have mapped Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Margibi, and Montserrado, and have 52 sites of massacres located, out of the 203 documented by the TRC. It's likely to end up being more than 203 sites as we discovered that there are several accounts that are coming up

that were not on the TRC list, and we anticipate more as we go deeper into the countryside and complete the remaining 11 counties and their respective maps. The TRC report estimates over 250,000 people lost their lives during the Liberian civil conflicts, and of those 250,000 people, a percentage of them found their final resting place at 1 of the 203 listed sites of massacres across the 15 counties of Liberia.

Notes from the Field: Uncovering Violent Memories - Mapping the Truth

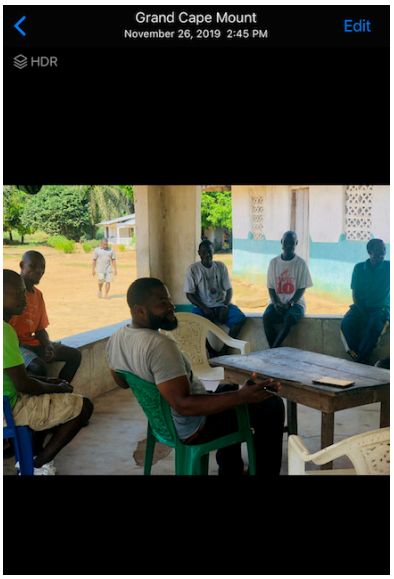


Figure 3: Focus Group Discussion with members of the town of Zuanni, Grand Cape Mt. County

According to the TRC report, there were 12 sites of massacres in Bomi, 24 sites of massacres in Grand Cape Mount, 8 sites of massacres in Margibi, and 7 sites of massacres in Montserrado County that occurred over a span of 14 years. Our task was not to refute any information contained in the TRC report, but rather to create GIS Maps accompanied by GPS coordinates of the documented sites of massacres. The map shows there were very intense periods of violence in particular regions.

At present, it's a preliminary map as we expect to geo-tag more sites of massacres with GPS coordinates as our field research resumes, and or people come forward with more evidence. International scholars have found because massacres tend to be carried out in secret, it's hard to get reliable information at the time it happens. Often the best information comes out later when people speak out, because they feel they're no longer in danger for talking about it. As we encountered during our field research, the real horror comes

out years later.[9] On a day to day basis, over a three week period of collecting field data, and GPS coordinates, we encountered some of the most gracious individuals from towns and villages over 4 counties who gave accounts of atrocities they were a part of, witnessed, or escaped from.[10] They described rape, torture, murder, and massacres that were committed on a day-to-day basis, until it became a norm for them. For example, the systematic killing of civilians by ULIMO K, as a reprisal for the traditional Poro members of Gbesseh organizing themselves and enlisting a traditional custom of "putting the devil outside" in an attempt to scare the ULIMO K rebels off, and in turn, get some relief from the constant harassment and killing of their kinsmen. This action, labeled as Kpaquae, saw traditional Poro men march from Gbesseh to Tewor Mendimasa, recruiting traditional members as they went along until they were estimated to have numbered a thousand. This led to a major massacre of the Poro members adjacent the Tewor football field as the group approached Tewor Mendimasa, and the subsequent targeting of civilians and traditional Poro members.[11] As the rebels justified, 'since civilians wanted to bring war to them, they will take the war to civilians'. Or the account of the 12 people massacred on the Bambala Football field, of whom, one was a pastor that prayed and thanked the rebels and the civilians ordered to dig their graves, consoling the others waiting to be killed that 'many died in the war without graves, and it was of some consolation knowing that when they died, they would at least have a grave'. The pastor and eleven others were killed in the hole that was dug for them and buried.[12] Another account was

[9] Notes on focus group discussion held between 18 November to 12 December 2019; Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Margibi and Montserrado counties. Each FGD comprise at least 6 persons; two female and 4 males.
[10] Ibid
[11] Ibid
[12] Ibid, FGDs held in Grand Cape Mount County

of parents that were killed in Jene Wonde, only for the rebels to discover that there was a 4 year old little girl still in the house. One of the rebels said to the other, "she's of no use".[13] Insinuating that the child was not old enough to be raped or used in any other manner, so there was no need keeping her alive. The child was killed as well.

The willingness of victims / survivors / loved ones of victims to share these heart heaving topics with us, total strangers, in a light-hearted manner, spoke volumes about the strength of the human spirit. It was a testament to their willingness to accept what was done to them, and their determination to not be enslaved by their thoughts, but rather, to move on with their lives; yet keeping those painful memories close. The significance of their cumulative recollections support the need for further investigation and documentation of accounts not mentioned in the TRC reports. We also have to be wary of such circumstances, because these were traumatic accounts, and could easily be passed down to successive generations and have a long term negative effect on the Liberian society.

Trauma is an event, a series of events, or a threat of an event that causes lasting physical, emotional, or spiritual injury. Trauma can result, for example, from structural violence, crime, abuse, or acts of war. Some trauma stay with people for years or even centuries. Chosen traumas are past traumas kept alive from generation to generation – sometimes over centuries – and are used as a rallying cry to spark new waves of revenge violence[14]. Hopefully, our maps containing GPS coordinates to sites of massacres can give some closure to loved ones who now have an exact location to mourn their loss.

---

[13] Ibid

[14] Lisa Schirch, *The Little Book of Strategic Peacebuilding, 2004, P.39*

Memorialization and Significance of Identifying Sites of Massacres

Figure 4: Memorial of the Massacres that occurred on the Maher Bridge, located in the town of Maher, Bomi County

The TRC Report documented an estimated 203 sites of massacres across the country.[15] This number revealed an unprecedented level of staggering and widespread violence touching every single county or region of the country. The Report demonstrates on average that there are at least 13 sites of massacres in each county of Liberia, though in some regions or counties the impact is much higher than others.[16] In Lofa County (northern Liberia) for example, there are thirty-two sites of massacres; in Rivercess (southeastern Liberia) – thirty; in Grand Cape Mount (western Liberia) – twenty-four and in Gbarpolu (western Liberia) – eighteen sites of massacre.[17] Sites of massacres are scattered across the country in such proximity that every village or town is either a host of a site of massacre or an affected community located a short distance away from it. In this context, proximity looms large, as it becomes virtually impossible for a community to be free from such violent memory many years after the conflict. This geography of violence suggests that communities are naturally subjected to a form of everyday storytelling, a reminder of grim memories of the war. To bring closure to these memories and

[15] Final Report of the TRC, above note 1, pp.213-256 and for number of victims and violation by county, pp. 257-259
[16] Final Report of the TRC, Ibid
[17] The TRC presentation of sites of recorded massacre in its final report is a little disjointed. In some parts of the report, the same sites are repeated in different location while in other parts, new sites are mentioned. The sites of recorded sites of massacre are not presented in one coherent fashion. Arriving at the 203 sites required going back and forth with the report and streamlining the recorded sites to ensure one consolidated list.

to facilitate process of community healings and national reconciliation, the TRC advanced a number of recommendations.[18]

Specific recommendations by the TRC on how to memorialize the dead are:

1. That in order to memorialize the dead and out of respect for the survivors of the Liberian civil conflict, that there be established a national holiday for that purpose to be observed once every year; preferably that National Unification Day be renamed to National Unification and Memorial Day and that memorial sites be built in the capital cities of each county to include site of massacres where the remains of our people en mass have been buried from 1979 to 2003.
2. That befitting programs be held on that day and that the Government assist the people to conduct proper cleansing ceremonies according to their customs and traditions to cleanse the land lay the spirits of the dead ones to rest. That there be assistance to rebuild the shrines and holy places and rehabilitate desecrated traditional, cultural and religious institutions.
3. That appropriate national memorial ceremonies be held and a befitting grave be erected with a tomb to honor the memory and loss of President William R. Tolbert, Jr., the 19th President of Liberia who was buried in a mass grave in Monrovia. Also, that the appropriate national ceremonies be held and a befitting grave be erected with a tomb to honor the memory and loss of President Samuel K. Doe who surrendered to Prince Y. Johnson and was killed while in his custody.

[18] Aaron Weah, Declining ethnic relations in postwar Liberia, The Transmission of Violent Memories, International Review of the Red Cross, November 2019

4. That certificates of death adorned in National Colors, be issued to the surviving heirs of all those who lost their lives during the period of 1979 to 2003 as a consequence of the national conflict and who to date remain unaccounted for, are without a grave or other legal evidence of death. The **Independent National Human Rights Commission** will verify and authenticate the conflict related deaths utilizing TRC data base and other reliable sources and will work of the Bureau of Vital Statistics in the issuance of death certificates.
5. That all missing persons, that is, those who have not maintained any contact with relative or friends for a period of more than seven years, be and hereby declared dead.
6. That the Government of Liberia issues public apology to the people of Liberia for the dastardly nature of the Liberian conflict and wanton loss of human life and destruction of properties that ensued in its wake.
7. That the Government of Liberia issues public apologies to the Government and people of West African nations and other foreign nations and their peoples for the wanton, malicious, inhumane and willful deaths of their citizens during the civil war. The TRC takes particular note of the death of journalist Christopher Imodibe and Tayo Awotusin of the Guardian and Champion Newspapers respectively and recommends that the Government of Liberia issues death certificates to their memory and that the Press Union of Liberia hold appropriate memorial service in their honor and that of all journalists who fell during the Liberian crisis.

8. Lastly, that the Government of Liberia issues public apologies to each government that contributed troops to the various peace keeping missions in deployed in Liberia for the wanton, deliberate and malicious killings of their soldiers in active duty.

In view of the TRC recommendations outlined above, the task to develop maps using GPS coordinates as a navigational tool that brings these troughs of significant historical information out of the depths of archives of the TRC Report, brings the Commission one step closer to achieving the desired result of postwar memorialization. With this map we've developed a template that quantifies massacres, a system of identifying sites of massacres, and a report to corroborate disparate sources. The below sections of this report provides critical findings from the identification exercises conducted across four counties, Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Margibi and Montserrado.

Findings

—Identification of Massacre Sites and Application of GPS Coordinates

Below are the sites of massacres (in four counties) as listed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In the process of identification and verification of these sites, we made a number of determinations. One, we identified the precise location of these sites, clan, district and county, and specific location where the massacre occurred (GPS coordinates). These details are not provided in the TRC Final report. It has been more than ten years since the TRC report, some counties have gone through significant reconfiguration wherein new villages and towns have emerged and new names have been added to some old places. Providing specific details in the location of these sites are critical to ensuring the discoverability of these places. Beyond identification of these sites, we also tried to observe the overall status of these places.

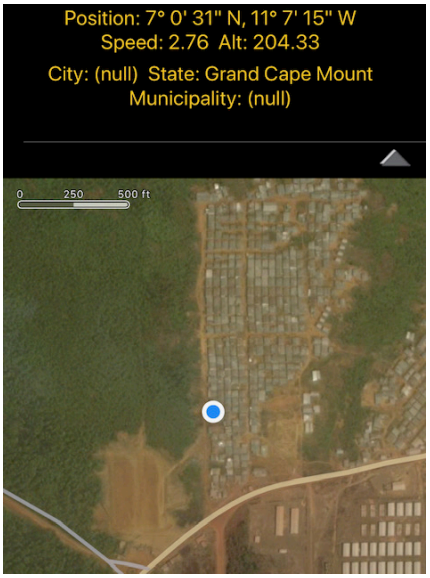


Figure 5: Satellite imagery and GPS coordinates of the newly established Kinjor, which includes the former towns of Lajor and Kinjor that were relocated due to mining concession

Almost 30 years after the destructive Liberian civil war, this research tried to assess the impact massacres had on immediately affected or surrounding communities. This research observed that some communities, despite having experienced a massacre/massacres, bounced back and regrouped. Residents returned home, rebuilt their town, the local economy crested, residents had a sense of community, and bonded by shared experiences. Residents showed no outwardly visible signs of psychological, physical, nor structural effects of a massacre. Residents showed support for each other while recounting accounts of violence that afflicted the town. The town's population is either at where it was pre-massacre, according to key informants, or more. This research characterizes towns / communities that fit this description as **Inhabited and Thriving**. This research also observed that there were towns that had low occupancy rate. Although occupied, it was apparent and substantiated by key informants that the town was not at full occupancy. Many had moved on and not returned since being displaced by the civil conflict, or traumatic massacre occurrence. Economic life is shallow, and there seems to be limited support for one another. Most occupants are visibly angry when discussing their traumatic experiences, and although it's a shared experience by most, there does not seem to be overwhelming support from the rest of the town's residents with regard to individual experiences. There seems not to be universal accounts that affect the town, but rather fragmented personal accounts of atrocities, although no less horrific. Life goes on in these towns

/ communities, but at a slower operational tempo than one that thrives. Towns / communities as such, we characterized as **Inhabited and Functional.** This research also observed an occurrence where residents of an entire town / community fled as a result of atrocities, or moved and were absorbed by other communities, never to return and inhabit their original community. In such cases, they were characterized as **Vacant and Abandoned**. A final characterization befell a community of towns that were totally moved and consolidated as a result of a government mining concession. This characterization fits **Relocated / Dissolved / Concession.**

BOMI

COUNTY	DISTRICT	CLAN	SITE OF MASSACRE / MASS GRAVE	CURRENT STATUS OF SITE
Bomi	Dowein	Gbavon	Demeh (Combat Camp)	INHABITED / THRIVING TOWN
Bomi	Klay	Tehr	Golodee Gaila	INHABITED / THRIVING TOWN
Bomi	Klay	Manna	Nyouwandee	INHABITED / THRIVING TOWN
Bomi	Senjeh	Zerpeh	Gbah Jakeh	INHABITED / THRIVING TOWN
Bomi	Senjeh	LowerTogay -Zone 4	Tubmanburg	INHABITED / THRIVING CITY
Bomi	Senjeh	LowerTogay -Zone 4	St. Dominic Compound	INHABITED / THRIVING / MISSION CONTINUED NORMAL OPERATIONS
Bomi	Senjeh	LowerTogay -Zone 4	Bomi Police Station	INHABITED / THRIVING / BEHIND THE POLICE STATION
Bomi	Senjeh	LowerTogay -Zone 4	India Water, New Road	VACANT / ABANDONED / DESOLATE STRETCH OF ROAD
Bomi	Senjeh	Manoah	Maher River Bridge	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL / MEMORIAL IS ERECTED NEAREST THE SITE
Bomi	Senjeh	Manoah	Weakama	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL / SITE HAS NOT BEEN REBUILT UPON
Bomi	Suehn Mecca	Gbojay	Gbojay	INHABITED / THRIVING
Bomi	Suehn Mecca	Gbor	Madina Football Field	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL

GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY

Grand Cape Mount	Porkpa	Kposo	Bamballa Town	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Porkpa	Sokpo	Camp Israel	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Kaihon	Dassalamu	INHABITED FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Fahnbulleh D	Diah	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Manobalah A	Gbah Forboi	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Fahnbulleh D	Gbesseh	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Jene Wonde	INHABITED THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Darblo	Larjor Village	RELOCATED / DISSOLVED / CONCESSION
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Mana	Lofa Bridge	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Commonwealt	Lower Tombey	Mandoe	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Porkpa	Seimavula	Mano River Kongo	INHABITED THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Darblo	Mbaloma	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Darblo	Mecca	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Passawe	Mehkor	INHABITED FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Ngojah	INHABITED FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Commonwealt	Robertsport	Robertsport	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Sambola A	Sangar	INHABITED FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Kiazolu 2B	Sinje	INHABITED THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Sambola E	Sowee	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Tewor	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Fahnbulleh D	Tiene	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Victoria Village	VACANT / ABANDONDED
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Mana	Weajue	INHABITED / THRIVING
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Sambola E	Zuanii	INHABITED /FUNCTIONAL

MONTSERRADO:

COUNTY	DISTRICT	CLAN	SITE OF MASSACRE / MASS GRAVE	CURRENT STATUS OF SITE
Montserrado	Commonwelth	Lousana Clan	University of Liberia - Fendell	INHABITED / THRIVING / UNIVERSITY REOPENED / NORMAL OPS
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Duport Road N. East	Duport Road Cow Field	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	King Gray	ELWA Jeety Store	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Dixville Water Side	ETMI - Caldwell	INHABITED / THRIVING / SCHOOL REOPENED / NORMAL OPS
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Duport South	Duport Road Waterside	INHABITED / THRIVING
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Ocean View	Lutheran Church-14 Street	INHABITED / THRIVING
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	BTC Area	Barclay Training Center	INHABITED / FUNCTIONAL
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Mamba Point	Grey Stone Compound	INHABITED / THRIVING
Montserrado	St. Paul River	Kpalla	Moulton Corner/ Gbayneh Hill	VACANT / ABANDONED

MARGIBI

Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Charlesville	Carter Camp	350136
Margibi	Firestone	Harbel	Camp2 / Harbel	350923
Margibi	Mamba Kaba	Marshall City	Marshall	346847
Margibi	Mamba Kaba	Zoeduah	Yanmahs Town	329182
Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Zoeduah	Zoewein Town-Mambahn Chiefdom	328351
Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Zoeduah	Wheavien Town	331622
Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Gahneo	Senzohn Town	336539

Recommendations and Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, we are advancing a number of recommendations to preserve these sacred sites of the dead, promoting critical thinking about long term collective memory of the Liberian conflict. Collective memory can take on various forms, including mourning; teaching and some can lead to reparations of war victims. The primary focus on the below recommendations is to ensure that these sites are preserved, remain accessible, and that they engender the desired collective remembering for the purpose of preventing further relapse to conflict.

INCHR

1. That key members of the INCHR staff are trained in how to use GPS coordinates to access the sites as well as to use county-based massacre sites to physically locate these villages, towns, clans and districts

2. That INCHR notify county-based leadership about this exercise and encourage them to protect these sites from any further sacrilege for these places should be considered sacred in keeping with the TRC Recommendations on atonement and putting the dead to final rest.

3. That INCHR consults with the leadership of affected towns / communities to that they have an input on what kind of memorial suits their customs / traditions. This was there is a sense of pride and ownership by community members, which will lead to better cooperation.

4. That INCHR does a dedication and turnover ceremony of county-based memorials to the community it occupies when completed, as to give the community a vested interest in the upkeep, and a sustainable means of safeguarding the memorial.

5. That county-based maps be developed and shared with each county superintendent so that all officials of the county are knowledgeable about the number of sites identified by the TRC and their locations

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. That county-based sensitization exercises be carried out so that residents understand the significance of the memorialization and that plans are underway for their memorial if they are an affected community. This is important because towns in the vicinity of Maher did not understand why Maher was recognized with a memorial, while they too experienced massacres and were not afforded the same acknowledgement. As a result, they admitted

not attending the Maher memorial dedication in protest. That INCHR does a dedication and turnover ceremony of county-based memorials to the community it occupies when completed, as to give the community a vested interest in the upkeep, and a sustainable means of safeguarding the memorial.

2. That every county superintendent should draw up a plan to preserve these sites and declare that all land containing these sites be considered public land that cannot be sold or rented.
3. That Superintendents explore temporary efforts of memorialization and commemoration at every site of massacre in their respective counties.

CONTINUOUS RESEARCH:

1. That continuous research is employed to continuously address claims of massacres in an attempt to provide closure to victims, survivors, and affected citizens of our society. The road to healing is long and persistent, and acknowledging, and mapping these truths is a step in the right direction.

Annexes of GPS Data

Annex 1: Bomi GPS Data

Clan	Massacres/ Mass Grave	Xcoordinate	Ycoordinate	Latitude	Longitude
Gbavon	Demeh (Combat Camp)	296966	721584	6° 31' 29.168" N	10° 50' 10.043" W
Tehr	Golodee Gaila	293899	724615	6° 33' 7.457" N	10° 51' 50.223" W
Manna	Nyouwandee	312253	747536	6° 45' 35.690" N	10° 41' 55.407" W
Zerpeh	Gbah Jakeh	281894	742596	6° 42' 51.183" N	10° 58' 23.257" W
LowerTogay -Zone 4	Tubmanburg	298069	760528	6° 52' 36.904" N	10° 49' 38.860" W
LowerTogay -Zone 4	St. Dominic Compound	298717	758950	6° 51' 45.613" N	10° 49' 17.564" W
LowerTogay -Zone 4	Bomi Police Station	298513	759892	6° 52' 16.249" N	10° 49' 24.325" W
LowerTogay -Zone 4	India Water, New Road	297780	761245	6° 53' 0.199" N	10° 49' 48.354" W
Manoah	Maher River Bridge	296021	750129	6° 46' 58.165" N	10° 50' 44.266" W
Manoah	Weakama	298422	756699	6° 50' 32.308" N	10° 49' 26.893" W
Gbojay	Gbojay	312845	736435	6° 39' 34.403" N	10° 41' 34.881" W
Gbor	Madina Football Field	309375	732442	6° 37' 24.035" N	10° 43' 27.398" W

Annex 2: Grand Cape Mount GPS Data

County	District	Clan	Massacres/ Mass Grave	Xcoordinat	Ycoordinate	Latitude	Longitude
Grand Cape Mount	Porkpa	Kposo	Bamballa Town	259829	798950	7° 13' 22" N	11° 10' 30" W
Grand Cape Mount	Porkpa	Sokpo	Camp Israel	295709	816035	7° 22' 43.253" N	10° 51' 2.974" W
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Kaihon	Dassalamu	252532	755501	6° 49' 47" N	11° 14' 24" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Fahnbulleh D	Diah	240394	760814	6° 52' 38" N	11° 20' 57" W
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Manobalah A	Gbah Forboi	280892	743639	6° 43' 25" N	10° 58' 56" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Fahnbulleh D	Gbesseh	242482	767104	6° 56' 3" N	11° 19' 50" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Jene Wonde	249070	783114	7° 4' 45" N	11° 16' 18" W
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Darblo	Larjor Village	265241	774648	7° 0' 12" N	11° 7' 30" W
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Mana	Lofa Bridge	292346	781722	7° 4' 6" N	10° 52' 48" W
Grand Cape Mount	Commonwealth	Lower Tombey	Mandoe	258176	740325	6° 41' 34" N	11° 11' 15" W
Grand Cape Mount	Porkpa	Seimavula	Mano River Kongo	263413	810548	7° 19' 40" N	11° 8' 35" W
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Darblo	Mbaloma	279557	769700	6° 57' 33" N	10° 59' 43" W
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Darblo	Mecca	280515	771232	6° 58' 23" N	10° 59' 12" W
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Passawe	Mehkor	271188	744109	6° 43' 39" N	11° 4' 12" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Ngojah	242825	780409	7° 3' 20" N	11° 13' 9" W
Grand Cape Mount	Commonwealth	Robertsport	Robertsport	238546	747239	6° 45' 16" N	11° 21' 55" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Sambola A	Sangar	254860	780474	7° 3' 16" N	11° 19' 41" W
Grand Cape Mount	Garwula	Kiazolu 2B	Sinje	263955	753974	6° 48' 59.04" N	11° 8' 8.83" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Sambola E	Sowee	235830	757271	6° 50' 42" N	11° 23' 25" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Tewor	248631	781180	7° 3' 42" N	11° 16' 32" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Fahnbulleh D	Tiene	244311	757814	6° 58' 1" N	11° 18' 49" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Passawe	Victoria Village	254996	783586	7° 5' 1.306" N	11° 13' 5.043" W
Grand Cape Mount	Golakonneh	Mana	Weajue	288122	791848	7° 9' 35" N	10° 55' 7" W
Grand Cape Mount	Tewor	Sambola E	Zuanii	233734	767947	6° 56' 29" N	11° 24' 35" W

Annex 3: Montserrado GPS Data

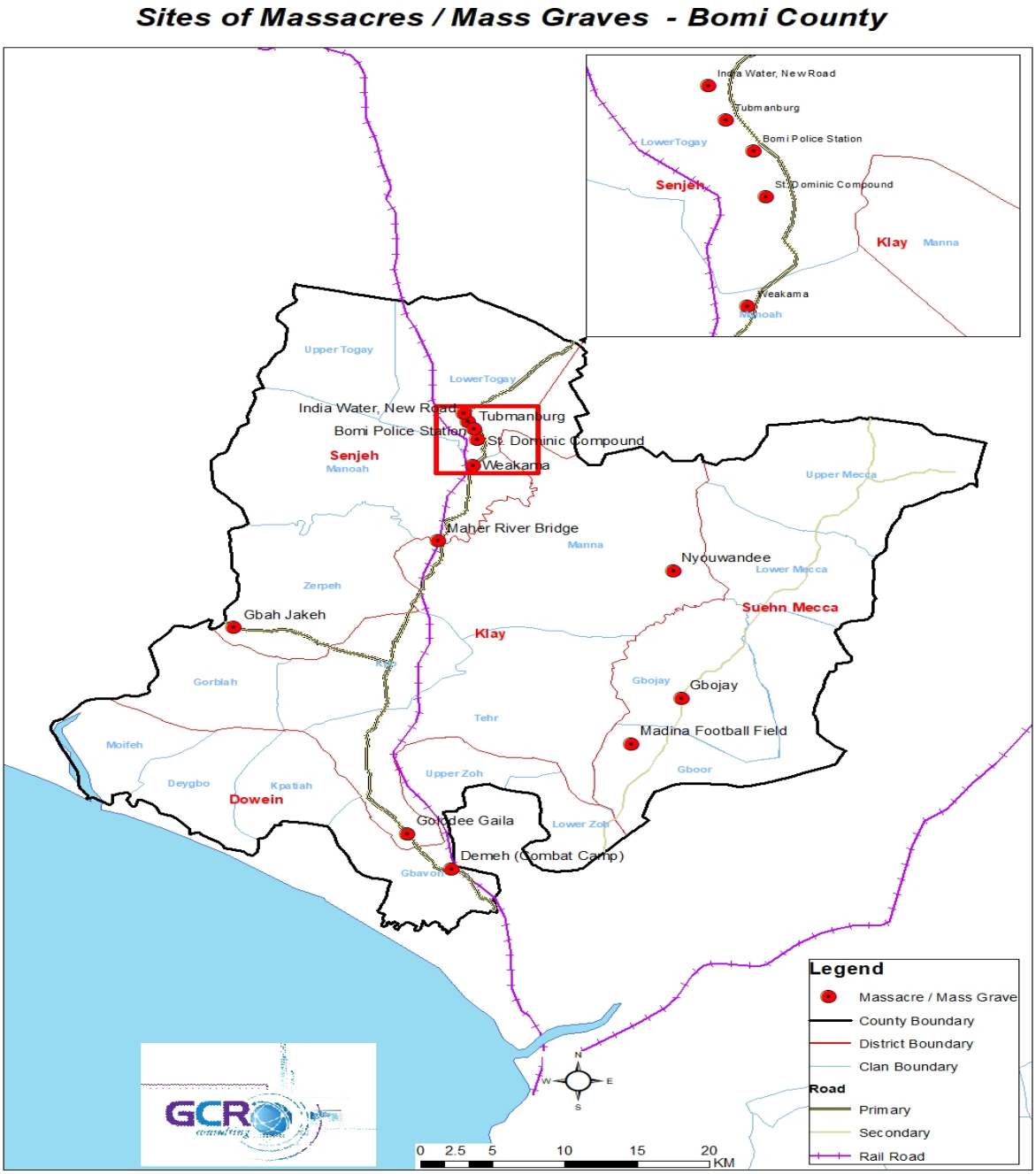
County	District	Clan	Massacres/ Mass Grave	Xcoordinates	Ycoordinates	Latitude	Longitude
Montserrado	Commonwelth	Lousana Clan	University of Liberia - Fendell	320807	705728	6° 22' 56" N	10° 37' 12" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Duport Road N. East	Duport Road Cow Field	315004	693653	6° 14' 53" N	10° 42' 12" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	King Gray	ELWA Jeety Store	311553	690930	6° 14' 53" N	10° 42' 12" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Dixville Water Side	ETMI - Caldwell	308791	708361	6° 24' 20" N	10° 43' 44" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Duport South	Duport Road Waterside	316341	692398	6° 15' 42" N	10° 39' 36" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Ocean View	Lutheran Church-14 Street	303063	690161	6° 17' 31" N	10° 46' 41" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	BTC Area	Barclay Training Center	336113	683529	6° 18' 18" N	10° 48' 12" W
Montserrado	Greater Monrovia	Mamba Point	Grey Stone Compound	299335	698418	6° 18' 55" N	10° 48' 50" W
Montserrado	St. Paul River	Kpalla	Moulton Corner/ Gbayneh Hill	303657	711656	6° 26' 07" N	10° 46' 31" W

Annex 4: Margibi GPS Data

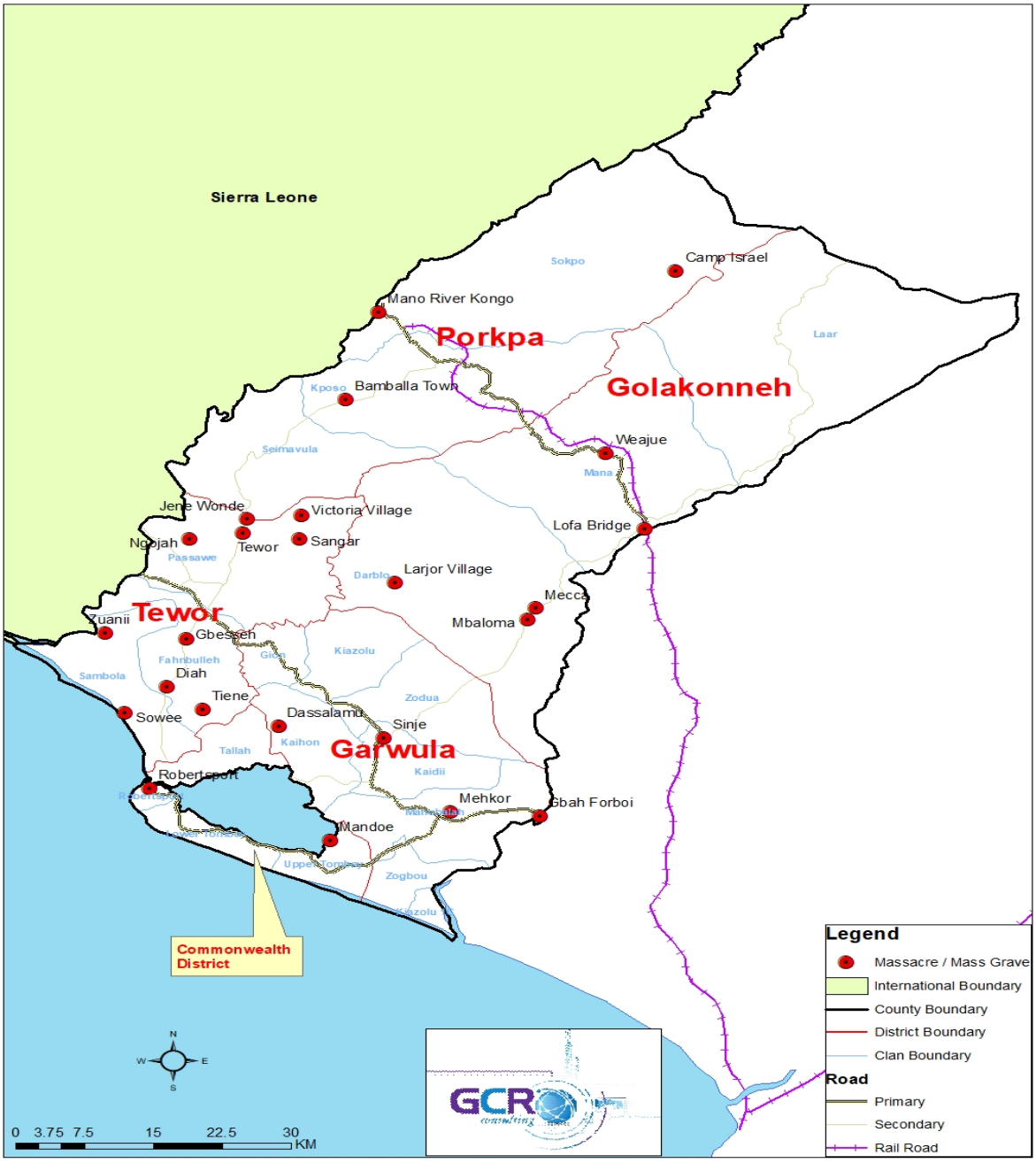
County	District	Clan	Massacres/ Mass Grave	Xcoordinate	Ycoordinate	Latitude	Longitude
Margibi	Firestone	Harbel	Carter Camp	350136	694247	6° 16' 45" N	10° 21' 17" W
Margibi	Firestone	Harbel	Camp2 / Harbel	350923	694108	6° 16' 40" N	10° 26' 52" W
Margibi	Mamba Kaba	Marshall City	Marshall	346847	679062	6° 8' 30" N	10° 23' 3" W
Margibi	Mamba Kaba	Zoeduah	Yanmahs Town	329182	704248	6° 22' 1" N	10° 32' 29" W
Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Zoeduah	Zoewein Town-Mambahn Chiefdom	328351	700352	6° 19' 51" N	10° 32' 53" W
Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Zoeduah	Wheavien Town	331622	699160	6° 19' 22.931" N	10° 31' 19.902" W
Margibi	Mambah Kaba	Gahneo	Senzohn Town	336539	695498	6° 17' 24.165" N	10° 28' 39.564" W

Annexes of GIS Maps of Sites of massacres per County

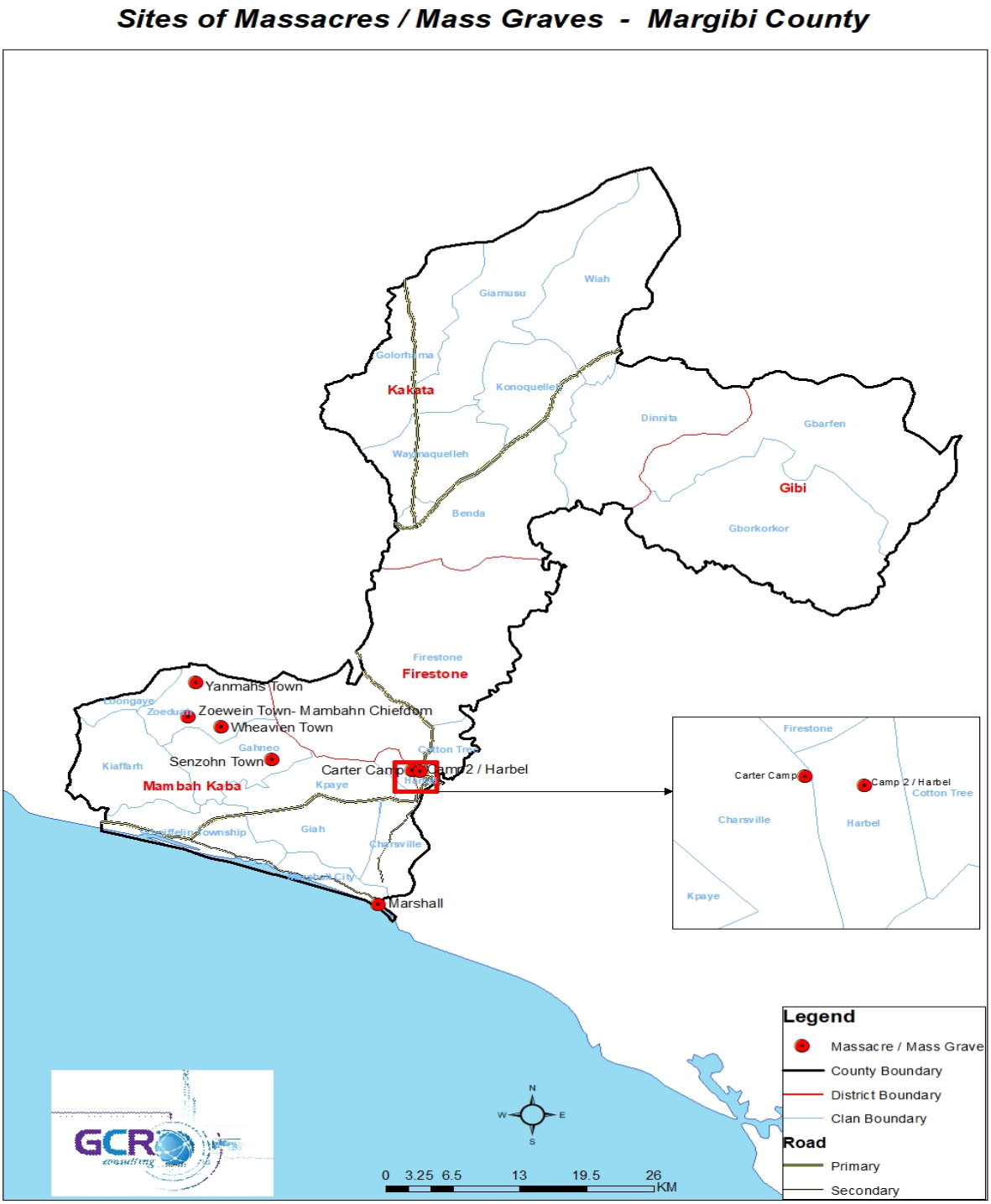
Annex 5: Bomi Sites of massacres GIS Map



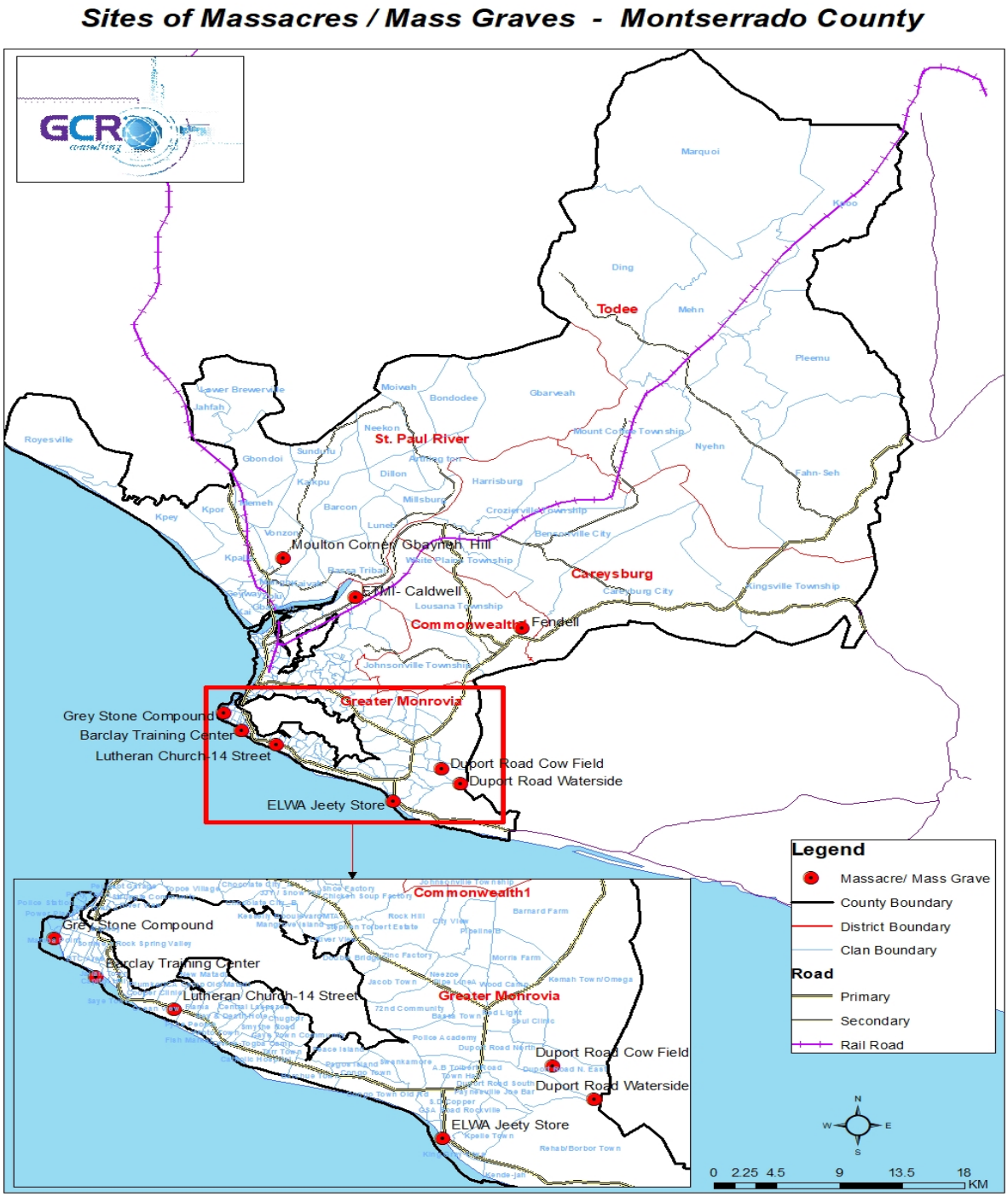
Annex 6: Grand Cape Mt. Sites of massacres GIS Map



Annex 7: Margibi County Sites of massacres GIS Map



Annex 8: Montserrado County Sites of massacres GIS Map



Annex 9: Liberia Sites of massacres

Recorded Massacres/ Mass Graves in Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Margibi & Montserrado Counties