

Cote D'Ivoire
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T320	NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL)		1984	1996
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T2140	MOUVEMENT PATRIOTIQUE DE LA CoTE D'IVOIRE (MPCI)	2002	2002	2003
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T2319	MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE	2003	2002	2003
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T2562	FORCES NOUVELLES - IBRAHIM COULIBALY FACTION		2004	2004
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I. NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL)

Min. Group Date: 1984

Max. Group Date: 1996

Onset: NA

Aliases: NPFL

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- Colin Waugh, "Charles Taylor and Liberia," 2011
- Gen. Prince Johnson, "The Rise and Fall of President Samuel Doe," 2003

Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

The NPFL was a militia founded in 1984 against then President Samuel Doe (Johnson 2003). It came to attention in 1989. It was led by Charles G. Taylor, a former government official, who was opposed to the contemporary presidency of Samuel Doe (Gleditsch et al.). Taylor had originally fled the Doe regime in the early 80s, but escaped from jail in Massachusetts in 1985 and returned to Liberia (Waugh 2011, 114-115). From 1988 to December 1989, Taylor traveled to several West African states to recruit members, gather resources, and avoid detection by potential Liberian security forces trying to track him down (Waugh 2011, 119).

Geography

The group operated around Monrovia and Nimble County, Liberia.

Organizational Structure

NPFL is made up of mostly ethnic Gios and Manos, and their members included former Liberian politicians. Its militants were often adolescent males, who were often drunk when executing attacks (HRW 2003). Levitt (2005) argues Taylor assembled a coalition of multi-ethnic Liberians to create the group. The goal of the NPFL was to overthrow President Doe and establish a new regime in Liberia. The group was formed in Cote D'Ivoire, and on Christmas Eve 1989, NPFL invaded the Liberian Nimba County through

Cote D'Ivoire (HRW 2003). There, they found support from ethnic Gios who, too, were opposed to the rule of President Doe, a member of the Krahn ethnic tribe. Many of the NPFL's targets were supporters of Doe's regime and members of the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups (HRW 2003). Their initial attack was a cross-border raid from Cote D'Ivoire led by Prince Johnson. The group organized themselves into separate military units: Taylor led one, and Prince Johnson and Paul Harris led the other (Waugh 2011, 123). They also benefited from the advice of Elmer Johnson who had dual US-Liberian citizenship, and who also served in the US Marines for a number of years (Waugh 2011, 127).

They primarily funded themselves with diamonds and other resources (Waugh 2011, 158).

External Ties

The group has alleged support from Libya and Cote D'Ivoire in terms of military arms and territory (Johnson 2003, 60). Taylor secured support from Mano and Gio individuals in Nimba county plus foreign fighters from Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana attracted by the idea of pan-African revolution (Waugh 2011, 124). Taylor traveled to Tripoli on multiple occasions where he met with Gaddafi and was able to train at al-Mathabh al-Tahuriya al-Alamiya (Waugh 2011, 120). Taylor also secured support from Liberian exiles in Cote d'Ivoire (Waugh 2011, 121).

Group Outcome

There have been various attempts at counterinsurgency campaigns by the AFL (Armed Forces of Liberia) against the NPFL as well as attempts at peace agreements by ECOWAS' ECOMOG. The AFL employed indiscriminate tactics against Gio fighters and noncombatants which, unlike similar attempts in 1983 and 1985, backfired badly (Waugh 2011, 125-126). AFL was especially vulnerable to attacks because of their inexperience and openness during battle (Waugh 2011, 127; Johnson 2003, 50-51). After the NPFL's 1989 invasion of Liberia, the AFL responded brutally in an attempt to limit the NPFL's reach, and they used scorched earth methods against residents in Nimba county (HRW 1993; Waugh 2011, 124). The Doe regime also denied they were under attack in multiple statements (Waugh 2011, 125).

In early July 1990, the NPFL rebels occupied the capital of Monrovia, engaging in bloody conflict with both the AFL, Liberia's army, and the INPFL. Additionally, in October 1992, the NPFL surprised the city of Monrovia with Operation Octopus, which were attacks against ECOMOG and the Interim government created by ECOWAS (Ellis 1995). In August 1990, ECOWAS agreed to send ECOMOG into Monrovia in order to impose a ceasefire, create an interim government, and hold a new election within a year. However, NPFL refused to respond to ECOMOG's presence, and continued fighting, forcing ECOMOG to use combat in an attempt to push NPFL out of Monrovia. In November 1990, NPFL finally agreed to a ceasefire, but it was broken in 1992 when Taylor launched Operation Octopus, which was a series of direct attacks on ECOMOG and the AFL. In October 1992, ECOMOG conducted a series of bombings and strafing raids

using borrowed Nigerian planes, which were unresponded to by NPFL due to their lack of air force (HRW 1993).

In 1990, Prine Johnson, an ethnic Gio, splintered from the NPFL to form the INPFL, which later was responsible for the assassination of President Doe (Gleditsch et al. 2013). Initially, the group only had 200 members, but quickly grew to 1500 (Waugh 2011, 128). The group splintered in 1990 due to leadership tensions between Taylor and Johnson (Waugh 2011, 129). Johnson formed the INPFL soon after.

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: NPFL

Group Formation: A new proposed formation date if different than above

Group End (Outcome): 1996 (splinter and peace agreement)

II. FEDERATION OF STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS OF COTE D'IVOIRE (FESCI)

Min. Group Date: 1990

Max. Group Date: 2000

Onset: NA

Aliases:

Part 1. Bibliography

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- "Student and School Federation of Cote d'Ivoire resurfaced in Abidjan campus," Africa Program Wilson Center, March 6, 2014,

<https://africaupclose.wilsoncenter.org/student-and-school-federation-of-cote-divoi-re-resurfaced-in-abidjan-campus/>

Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

FESCI was founded in 1990 by Guillaume Soro to oppose Bedie' government. It later threatened, attacked, and killed students and professors who voiced dissenting opinions against the Gbago government (US State Department 2011; US News 2015).

Geography

The group was active around Danane, Divo, Yamoussoukro, Tomodi, Dimbokro, and Abidjan (US State Department 2011).

Organizational Structure

Guillaume Soro was the leader of FESCI until he was replaced by Charles ble Goude (BBC 2011). The group was composed primarily of students from high schools and universities around the state (State Department 2011). The group began to splinter in 2000, and is currently divided into a pro-Ouattara and pro-Gbago party (Canada IRB 2004).

External Ties

FESCI fought other militant groups, including other factions of FESCI from time to time (State Department 2011). They collaborated with the FPI (Ivorian Popular Front) early on to oppose the Gbago regime (State Department 2011; Wilson Center 2014).

Group Outcome

In the 1990s, the state arrested FESCI group leaders (US News 2015). After Gbago came to power, FESCI members were arrested by the state for their violent activities, but "rarely, if ever prosecuted" by the government itself (State Department 2011). The group has tried to become more non-violent since, but still exists as a violent group (US News 2015).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: Any additional aliases you may have encountered

Group Formation: A new proposed formation date if different than above

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (Active)

III. IVORIAN POPULAR FRONT

Min. Group Date: 1992

Max. Group Date: 1992

Onset: NA

Aliases: NA

Part 1. Bibliography

- Richard Crook, "Winning Coalitions and Ethno-Regional Politics," *Afr Aff (Lond)* (1997) 96 (383)215-242. <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/96/383/215.full.pdf+html>
- Daddieh, Cyril Kofie. "Universities and Political Protest in Africa: The Case of Côte D'Ivoire." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 24, no. 1 (1996): 57-60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1166616>.
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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

FPI was founded in 1982 by Laurent Gbago and Simone Gbago as a political party in exile. They challenged the single-party rule of Felix Houphouet-Boigny and sought to gain political power in Cote D'Ivoire (Ba 2015). FPI participated in the first multi-party elections in 1990 and gained nine seats (Widner 1991). Its first violent attack in 1992 targeted a government official (GTD 2017).

Geography

The group was active in the capital (Widner 1991; Crook 1997).

Organizational Structure

FPI primarily gathered support from the capital and southern parts of Cote D'Ivoire (Crook 1997, 222). FPI participated in the first multi-party elections in 1990 and gained nine seats (Widner 1991). Its first violent attack in 1992 targeted a government official (GTD 2017). In the 1990s, it attracted teachers, students, and elites to join its movement and help protest the state's policies (Crook 1997, 223).

External Ties

It is unclear if FPI had any external support or ties.

Group Outcome

In February 1992, the government arrested Gbago and other prominent members of the FPI (Crook 1997, 223). This is the same time an assault against the government was carried out by the FPI. Organizational leadership was released a few weeks later (Crook 1997, 224)

Note: this is a violent political party with no defined armed wing. The GTD incident is separate from the later violence following the 2010-2011 election/civil war in which Gbago refuses to give up support and FPI - now as a pro-government militia - fights against Ouattara.

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: Gbago loyalists

Group Formation: 1982

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (Active)

IV. LIBERIA PEACE COUNCIL

Min. Group Date: 1993

Max. Group Date: 1996

Onset: NA

Aliases: Liberia Peace Council, Liberia Peace Council (LPC), LPC

Part 1. Bibliography

- “Human Rights Abuses by the Liberian Peace Council and the Need for International Oversight,” HRW Vol. 6, No. 3, May 17, 1994, <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1994/liberia/>
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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

The Liberian Peace Council was formed in 1990 to fight Charles Taylor’s National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) (HRW 1994; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia 2009). The group was involved in the power-struggle against Taylor following the death of Samuel Doe (HRW 1994). It came to attention in 1993 after the Cotonou Peace Agreement (HRW 1994).

Geography

The LPC was active in southeastern Liberia including Sinoe, Grand Gedeh, River Cess, Grand Kru, Maryland, and Grand Bassa counties (HRW 1994). Most of the fighting occurred around Buchanan and Grand Kola (HRW 1994).

Organizational Structure

LPC is primarily composed of ethnic Krahn and ex-military members from the Liberian Armed Forces under Doe (HRW 1994). It is believed to be a splinter from the AFL and the Krahn wing of ULIMO (HRW 1994). The leader is George Boley, former minister of education and had approximately 800 members in 1994 (HRW 1994)

External Ties

LPC allegedly received support from Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers including arms and ammunition, but this has neither been confirmed or denied (HRW 1994).

Group Outcome

The LPC signed the 1995 Abuja Peace Accord in which it agreed to lay down its arms and form a provisional political council with other parties (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2009; BBC 2012).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1990 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

Group End (Outcome): 1995 (negotiated peace settlement, politics)

V. CONGRES PANAFRICAIN DES JEUNES ET DES PATRIOTES (COJEP) - YOUNG PATRIOTS

Min. Group Date: 1998

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset:

Aliases: Congres Panafricain Des Jeunes Et Des Patriotes (Cojep) - Young Patriots, Congrès Panafricain Des Jeunes Et Des Patriotes (COJEP) - Young Patriots, Young Patriots (Ivory Coast)

Part 1. Bibliography

- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Côte d'Ivoire: The Pan-African Congress of Young Patriots (Congrès panafricain des jeunes patriotes, COJEP), including its mission, structure, leaders and activities; whether COJEP issues membership cards; treatment of COJEP members by the authorities (2010-2015) , 26 June 2015, CIV105221.FE, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/568e2f9c4.html> [accessed 16 November 2016]
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- Ofeiba Quist-Arcton, “Ivory Coast’s Young Patriots Volunteer to Fight,” NPR, 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/03/21/134743394/ivory-coasts-young-patriots-volunteer-to-fight>
- Sabine Carey and Neil Mitchell, “Documentation for Young Patriots,” Pro-Government Militias, 2013, <http://www.sowi.uni-mannheim.de/militias-public/data/pgag/43/evidence/>
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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

COJEP was founded in 2001 by Charles Ble Goude (Canada IRB 2015). The group formed as a youth movement to support Gbago, who had recently come to power (Canada IRB 2015). The group came to attention in 2011 when it started fighting Ouattara supporters following the election results that Gbago would not abide by (Canada IRB 2015).

Geography

The group is active in Abidjan, “southern part of the country” as well as “western parts of the country” including Lougouale and Bangolo (Small Arms Survey 2005, 247-248).

Organizational Structure

The group is very well-organized. Its leader, Ble Goude, was also a Youth Minister under Gbago (NPR 2011). All members carry membership cards, and have an Executive Committee and a Strategic Council (Canada IRB 2015). It is considered an umbrella organization including parts of FESCI, FPI, and the Union pour la liberation totale de la Cote D’Ivoire, or UPLTCI. It is estimated to have 25,000-150,000 members (Small Arms Survey 2005, 247). The group is primarily composed of young students as well as “unemployed men from southern and western ethnic groups” (VOA 2011). They also have support from several armed militias operating around the country including the Bees, Gazelles, Ninjas, and Panthers

External Ties

COJEP allegedly receives arms, ammunition, and training from a variety of sources including the Gbagbo government, Angolan, and Israeli mercenaries (Small Arms Survey 2005, 248).

Group Outcome

The group remains active today, although it has changed its name to the Pan-African Congress and also started to try re-organizing to become a political movement (Canada IRB 2015). Ble Goude was indicted in 2006 for violence against peacekeepers in Cote D'Ivoire and the ICC (NPR 2011).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: Jeunes Patriotes

Group Formation: 2001

Group End (Outcome): Active

VI. MOUVEMENT PATRIOTIQUE DE LA COTE D'IVOIRE (MPCI)

Min. Group Date: 2002

Max. Group Date: 2003

Onset: 2002

Aliases: Patriotic Movement Of Ivory Coast (MPCI), Mouvement Patriotique De La Cote D'ivoire, Mouvement Patriotique De La Cote D'ivoire (Mpci), Patriotic Movement Of Ivory Coast

Part 1. Bibliography

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Note: good example of where Gleditsch et al capabilities reb. estimates are wrong

Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

The MPCI formed in September 2002 following the failed coup against President Gbago (Small Arms Survey 2005, 240). They also demanded new elections within six months, which enabled the group to garner attention (BBC 2003).

Geography

The MPCI was active in "northern and central regions of the country" including Bouake and Korhogo (Small Arms Survey 2005, 241; UN Report 2003). It also launched attacks in Danane (BBC 2003).

Organizational Structure

MPCI was led by Guillaume Soro and Louis Dacoury-Tabley. Soro had initially led the FESCI while Dacoury-Tabley had been a close aide of Gbago and top political official in the FPI (Small Arms Survey 2005, 241). The group was composed of soldiers from the Ivorian Armed Forces as well as ethnic Yacouba and northerners (Small Arms Survey 2005, 241). It also had Muslim, Dioula-speaking members (CNN 2002). The group had an estimated 700-800 fighters in 2002 and 7,000-10,000 fighters by 2003 (BBC 2003;

Small Arms Survey 2005, 241). The group primarily funded itself through robbery, hostages, as well as cocoa and cotton that it seized in northern and central Cote D'Ivoire (Small Arms Survey 2005, 241). This group allegedly wore uniforms while fighting (AFP 2003).

External Ties

MPCI had some foreign fighters from Mali, Liberia, and Burkina Faso (Small Arms Survey 2005, 241). Liberia and Burkina Faso also allegedly gave financial support to the group (Small Arms Survey 2005, 241).

MPCI seemed to coordinate with MJP and MPIGO to convince Gbago to step down (CNN 2002). The alliance formed in December 2002 following the French intervention (Ibid).

Group Outcome

The MPCI initially signed a first ceasefire with the government in October 2002 which went into effect on October 17 (Guardian 2003). When both sides tried to follow-up with peace talks in Lome, the MPCI would not budge from its position that Gbago must leave (UN Report 2003). France sent 2500 troops to the Ivory Coast to help put down the rebellion. In December 2002, there was a large clash in Bouake between French troops and rebels (CNN 2002). MPCI ceased to exist in 2003 after it signed the Linas-Marcoussis Peace agreement (UN Report 2003). Several members joined the Forces nouvelles coalition as well (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 2002

Group End (Outcome): 2003 (peace agreement)

Note: fighting is not brief due to intransigence of rebel bargaining position

VII. MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE IVORIAN DU GRAND OUEST (MPIGO)

Min. Group Date: 2002

Max. Group Date: 2003

Onset: 2002

Aliases: Ivorian Movement For The Greater West (Mpigo), Ivorian Movement For The Greater West, Mouvement Populaire Ivorien Du Grand Ouest, Mouvement Populaire Ivorien Du Grand Ouest (Mpigo), Mpigo, MPGIO

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

MPIGO formed in November 2002 to overthrow Gbago and address ethnic discrimination against the Yacouba ethnic group (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). The group came to attention on November 28 when it announced it sought to avenge the death of General Guei who had overthrown President Bedie in 1999 and then lost power in the disputed 2000 presidential elections to Laurent Gbago (Small Arms Survey 2005, 239-242).

Geography

MPIGO was active in the “western part” of Cote D’Ivoire, including the areas in and around Binhoye. The group also controlled Danane, Bangolo, and the area in-between (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). They also conducted attacks in Toulepleu (BBC 2002).

Organizational Structure

MPIGO was led by N’dri N’Guessan also known as Felix Doh until he was killed in 2003 (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). MPIGO was primarily composed of ethnic Yacouba (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). The group had an estimated 2000 soldiers, though this estimate should be treated with caution, as it also includes MJP members (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242).

External Ties

The group allegedly received external support from Liberia including arms and training (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). The group also had foreign fighters who were ethnically Yacouba, but lived in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Sam Bockarie, a Sierra Leone warlord, also provided assistance (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242).

Group Outcome

MPIGO clashed with French paratroopers in December 2002 (CNN 2002). In December 2002, the group merged with the MJP to become the MJP (BBC 2003). MPIGO ceased to exist in 2003 after it signed the Linas-Marcoussis Peace agreement (UN Report 2003). Several members joined the Forces nouvelles coalition as well (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: Popular Movement of the Far West

Group Formation: 2002

Group End (Outcome): 2002 (merger)

VIII. MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE

Min. Group Date: 2002

Max. Group Date: 2003

Onset: 2003

Aliases: Mouvement Pour La Justice Et La Paix (MJP), Mouvement Pour La Justice Et La Paix, Movement For Justice And Peace, Movement For Justice And Peace (Mjp), MJP

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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

MJP formed in November 2002 with a goal to overthrow Gbago (Small Arms Survey 2005, 243). The group claimed it was immune from the October Peace Agreement and would continue to fight until Gbago stepped down (Small Arms Survey 2005, 243)

Geography

MJP primarily operated around the city of Man (Small Arms Survey 2005, 243)

Organizational Structure

MJP was led by Gaspard Deli. The group had an estimated 2000 soldiers, though this estimate should be treated with caution, as it also includes MPIGO members (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). Approximately 50 of its fighters claimed to have “magical powers” as “Dozo” fighters (AFP 2003). UCPD ACD estimates the group had 300 soldiers (Gleditsch et al. 2011, 727). This group allegedly wore uniforms while fighting (AFP 2003).

External Ties

It is unclear whether MJP received any external support. MJP allied with MPIGO for which the latter received external arms and training from Liberia (Small Arms Survey 2005, 242). MJP was allied with both MJP and MPCl during the course of the conflict (Small Arms Survey 2005, 243). It merged with MPCl in December 2002 and just became known as the MJP (BBC 2003).

MJP's leader claims it was a splinter group from the MPCl following the peace talks, but an MJP spokesman denied this (AFP 2003).

Group Outcome

MJP ended in January 2003 when it signed the Linas-Marcoussis Peace Agreement and disassembled to create the Forces Nouvelles political party (Small Arms Survey 2005, 243).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 2002

Group End (Outcome): 2003 (peace agreement)

IX. NEW FORCES (FN)

Min. Group Date: 2004

Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: 2004

Aliases: Forces Nouvelles (Fn), Forces Nouvelles, Forces R_publicaines De C_te D'ivoire, FRCI, Frci, New Forces, New Forces (Fn), Republican Forces Of Ivory Coast

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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

FN was formed in 2003 as a merger between the MPCl, MPIGO, and MJP following the Linas-Marcoussis Accord (Small Arms Survey 2005, 243). FN organized as a political coalition to share power and gain political influence. FN goals shifted and fighting resumed in 2004 after Gbagbo failed to respect tenets of the agreement (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244). Conflict broke out again in June 2004 (GlobalSecurity n.d.).

Geography

FN was active in northern Cote D’Ivoire including Bouake, Man, and Danane (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244).

Organizational Structure

FN was led by Guillaume Soro with support from Gaspard Deli and Ben Souck (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244). The group funded itself through roadblocks and robberies of banks in Bouake (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244). The group was later led by Alassane Ouattara, who won the election of 2010. Gbagbo contested the results, which caused FN to mobilize again. (Guardian 2011)

External Ties

The group suffered a serious setback in August 2003 when Charles Taylor lost power, as Liberia had been a state sponsor for the group until then (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244). After Taylor was deposed, the MPCl faction purged foreign fighters from the coalition.

Group Outcome

The Ivorian Air Force attacked rebels in Bouake which spurred further protests around the country (Global Security n.d). The French moved against Gbagbo after the Ivorian Air Force bombed a French military base, which caused the French military to destroy two aircrafts and three helicopters (“effectively destroying the [whole] Ivory Coast Air Force”) (Global Security n.d.). Gbagbo accused the French of being supportive of the rebel groups for being so destructive against his forces, but not against the rebels (Global Security n.d.). The group negotiated a peace deal in South Africa in 2004 (Global Security n.d.). This was insufficient, however, as FN continued to control most of northern Cote D’Ivoire (Guardian 2011).

FN was eventually integrated into the Ivorian Armed Forces in 2011 following Ouattara’s ascension to power (IRIN 2011).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 2003

Group End (Outcome): 2011 (political integration)

X. FORCES NOUVELLES - IBRAHIM COULIBALY FACTION

Min. Group Date: 2004

Max. Group Date: 2004

Onset: NA

Aliases: Forces Nouvelles - Ibrahim Coulibaly Faction, Forces Nouvelles - Ic, New Forces - Ibrahim Coulibaly Faction, New Forces - Ic

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

The FN-Ibrahim Coulibaly splinter group first came to attention in June 2004 during a series of clashes with pro-Soro forces for power of the FN (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244).

Geography

The group clashed with pro-Soro factions in Khorogo and Bouake (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244).

Organizational Structure

The faction is led by Ibrahim Coulibaly also known as IB (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244). He had aided military officials in two coup attempts in 1999 and 2002 (Guardian 2011). Coulibaly was previously a member of MPCl who had been living in Burkina and Faso. He opposed Soro’s leadership of the FN and jockeyed to control it (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244). It is unclear how large his group was or how it organized.

External Ties

It splintered from FN in 2004 in order to fight it (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244).

Group Outcome

It is unclear what exactly happened to this group. “Reports circulated” that Coulibaly joined was forced into exile again after suffering major losses in support following the

June 2004 clashes (Small Arms Survey 2005, 244; Guardian 2011). The group later fell apart.

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: IB faction, pro-IB faction

Group Formation: 2004

Group End (Outcome): 2004 (dissolve, exile)

XI. MILOCI

Min. Group Date: 2005

Max. Group Date: 2005

Onset: NA

Aliases: Miloci, Mouvement Pour La Liberation De L'ouest De La Cote D'ivoire, Mouvement Pour La Liberation De L'ouest De La C_te D'ivoire, Movement For The Liberation Of Western Ivory Coast

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

MILOCI came to attention in March 2005 following an attack against a rebel outpost (HRW 2005). It argued the attack was used to reclaim land from rebels for local farmers and residents (HRW 2005).

Geography

The group is involved in an attack in Logouale (HRW 2005).

Organizational Structure

There is not much information available about the group given it is thought to be a fake group. The group is allegedly led by Pastor Diomande Gammi, and is composed of members from the Yacouba ethnic group (HRW 2005).

External Ties

There is strong evidence this group does not exist and was instead composed of Ivorian armed forces or Abidjan government officials posing as non-state actors (HRW 2005). French officials claim to possess evidence showing the government planned the attack (HRW 2005). There are allegations the group contains foreign fighters from Liberia who fought for MODEL as well (Canada IRB 2006).

Group Outcome

The group was not heard from again after its one attack. French soldiers arrested fighters implicated in the attack and discovered they were Ivorian soldiers (HRW 2005).

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 2005

Group End (Outcome): 2005? (disappear)

XII. IMPARTIAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY FORCES - IVORY COAST

Min. Group Date: 2011

Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: 2011

Aliases: Impartial Defense And Security Forces - Ivory Coast (Fdsi-Ci), FDSI-CI, Forces De D_fense Et De S_curit_ Impartiales De C_te D`Ivoire, Forces De Defense Et De Securite Impartiales De Cote D'ivoire, Impartial Defense And Security Forces - Ivory Coast

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Part 2. Narrative

Group Formation

FDSCI-CI was formed in 2010 following the contested presidential election results between Gbago and Ouattera. Although Ouattera won the election, Gbago refused to step down (Guay n.d.).

Geography

The group operated in Abobo (Kroc Institute 2015).

Organizational Structure

The group was led by Ibrahim Coulibaly who returned from exile to fight Gbago. Coulibaly was killed after Gbago died in 2011 (Guay n.d.)

External Ties

There is no evidence of external support or ties to groups (Gleditsch et al. 2011)

Group Outcome

The group disbanded in 2012 after Ouattara ordered militia groups to disarm and Coulibaly refused. The Ivorian Armed Forces launched a massive offensive against the FDSI-CI which resulted in the group's destruction. Some FDSI-CI members were integrated into the military instead (Kroc Institute 2015)

Part 3. Proposed Changes

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 2010

Group End (Outcome): 2012 (destroyed by military operations)

Types of groups

- Violent political parties (ouattara vs gbago)
- Student wing (fesci) - similar to bnp/al role acts as proxy political party
- Coalition of forces in 2002 fighting (mpigo, fn)
 - Weird fusion of coup/civil war dynamics given mpigo is mainly soldiers about to be de-commissioned and fired
 - Note: fighting not brief because mpigo refuses to budge from bargaining and splinter groups refuse to stop
- Why not escalate
 - Opportunity? (but then why does it take mpci longer after election?)
 - Transnational
- Seems more of an ethnic exclusion-power type story (also see lots of groups escalating per total)