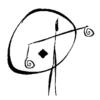


Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002

L. Alison Smith, Catherine Gambette and Thomas Longley, for No Peace Without Justice



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FORWARD

The purpose of this report is to examine information gathered in Sierra Leone by No Peace Without Justice's Conflict Mapping Program and analyse it through the lens of international humanitarian law, particularly those crimes within the subject matter jurisdiction of the Special Court.

Accountability exists in many forms and at many levels; this report focuses on accountability for the violation of the laws of war in the belief that it is only by holding responsible those who violate those laws can there be deterrence for future would-be perpetrators. Too often, there are those who argue for the preservation of general amnesties and other guarantees of immunity in the name of "stability" or "moving on"; yet too often, history shows that the only way to achieve real stability and to move forward is to account for what has happened in the past.

Accountability for violations of international humanitarian law for conflicts such as that experienced by Sierra Leone requires more than one avenue; even the formal institutions established for this purpose – the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court – can only do so much. This report hopes to contribute to the accountability process, to the strengthening of the rule of law and to sustainable peace by adding to the historical record of what happened during the long years of the conflict.

The Conflict Mapping Program deliberately took a wide approach: chronologically, it covers the whole period of the conflict and substantively, it covers all violations of humanitarian law, irrespective of whether they are subject to the jurisdiction of Sierra Leone courts or of the Special Court. Thus, it hopes to demonstrate two main things. First, that what happened to the people of Sierra Leone were crimes, whether they are prosecuted or not. Second, to demonstrate that all such crimes are worthy of an account, from the harassment of one person in a remote village, obliged to give all he owns to an invading force, to the systematic killing of hundreds or thousands of people.

The world characterised the conflict in Sierra Leone in two words: diamonds and amputations. For certain, those two factors construct a persuasive framework by painting acts of great horror and ruthlessness against a background of solid greed. However, the conflict was about much more than that, as the facts gathered and analysed for this report show. There is another story of a decade of cruelty and petty humiliations, systematic brutality, murder, theft and exploitation: a million or more tales of human suffering, sadness and loss. The conflict in Sierra Leone was characterised by extreme levels of violence against a civilian population from all sides, even from those supposed to be their protectors. The violence focused on the domination of a country and her resources, particularly her people: the most valuable resource of all.

If the rule of law is to be upheld, the perpetrators of these acts, which are astonishing not only in their brutality but also in their repeating pattern across more than a decade, must be held to account. Such perpetrators rely upon people not watching closely and not speaking out, in keeping quiet and living with fear in their hearts and minds; they rely on the language of "forgive *and* forget". It is hoped that this report goes some small way towards removing the shield of impunity for the planners and perpetrators of such predatory enterprises and that in its reading, the plight not only of the hundreds or thousands killed but also the one person who lost everything will remain in our memory.

Through the years we have worked in Sierra Leone, we have made many close and valuable friends. This report is dedicated to two friends who are no longer with us, to **Idrissa Kendor**, one of NPWJ's Conflict Mapping Recorders, and to **Mr S.A. Sankoh**, former Treasurer of the Special Court Working Group, whose enthusiasm and dogged determination are sorely missed.



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Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002

Preface: An overview of NPWJ activities in Sierra Leone

1. No Peace Without Justice

No Peace Without Justice (NPWJ) is an international non-profit organisation working for the establishment of an effective international criminal justice system and in support of accountability mechanisms for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, with a view to strengthening democracy and the rule of law worldwide.

Since its creation in 1994, NPWJ has been engaged in activities to promote public awareness on the International Criminal Court (ICC) as well as to pressure Parliaments, Governments and other decision-making bodies with the aim of accelerating the entry into force of the first permanent international jurisdiction over war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

NPWJ's international activities have involved a series of inter-governmental regional conferences in Europe, Africa, Asia, North America and Latin America to foster the prompt creation of the ICC. At an academic level, NPWJ has organised a series of seminars and workshops to create a "Task Force" to enable the participation of developing and less developed countries in the process towards the establishment of the Court. On the eve of the 1998 Rome Diplomatic Conference, NPWJ launched a project of concrete technical cooperation called the "Judicial Assistance Program" (JAP) to assist small delegations to participate in ICC-related negotiations. To date, some 15 countries have benefited from this program, profiting from the competence and expertise of more than 40 jurists, lawyers, law professors and researchers.

In August 1998, NPWJ launched an ad hoc campaign to support the activities of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) concerning the crimes perpetrated in Kosovo. This was followed in 1999 by an extensive Humanitarian Law Documentation Project, conducted under the auspices of the International Crisis Group, which gathered statements from witnesses of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed during the Kosovo conflict, primarily for use by the Office of the Prosecutor at the ICTY. In addition, the "analysis" part of the project produced a report generalising the findings and helping to reconstruct chains of command. A third purpose was to build local capacity to continue this work and promote human rights after the project ended in December 1999.

In June 2000, NPWJ also launched a Judicial Assistance Program related to internationalised courts, including the Serious Crimes Panel established by the United Nations in East Timor after the obtainment of independence and the then-proposed Special Court for Sierra Leone. Following the entry into force of the Rome Statute on 1 July 2002, NPWJ has continued its international activities to universalise the jurisdiction of the ICC aimed at enlarging the membership of the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute and continues to assist developing countries to participate in

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¹ See "Reality Demands" on the ICG website for the report from this project: www.crisisweb.org. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report 10 March 2004 Preliminary edition for the opening of the SCSL Courthouse PAGE 1 of 559

ICC-related meetings. NPWJ has also expanded its scope of action to other issues such as the fight against Female Genital Mutilation and the direct promotion of the enforcement of democracy.

NPWJ projects are carried out in collaboration with a variety of international and regional entities, such as the United Nations and the European Union, as well as groups of Non-Governmental Organisations, such as the International Coalition of NGOs for the ICC and others. NPWJ publishes a quarterly newsletter and operates a website at www.npwj.org.

2. No Peace Without Justice in Sierra Leone

NPWJ's involvement in Sierra Leone began with the secondment of experts in international criminal law to the Government of Sierra Leone in June 1998 on the occasion of the Rome Diplomatic Conference that adopted the Statute of the International Criminal Court. Since 2000, NPWJ-seconded experts have been working in Freetown and New York, within the Mission of Sierra Leone to the United Nations and the Office of the Attorney-General and Ministry of Justice, to assist the Government of Sierra Leone in relation to the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

Since 2001, NPWJ has also been engaged in a wide-ranging field-based Outreach and public information campaign on the Special Court, in cooperation with Sierra Leonean grassroots organisations and civil society groups. In 2002, after the Special Court came into existence, NPWJ's Sierra Leone project considerably expanded both its scope of activity (and its expenditure) to include a Conflict Mapping program and a Legal Profession program designed specifically for the Sierra Leonean Legal Profession.

NPWJ's most recent Sierra Leone program, which ran from July 2002 to October 2003, included four principal components:

- 1. The Judicial Assistance Program ("JAP" Program), namely the secondment of expert personnel to the Government of Sierra Leone in Freetown and New York to assist with dealing with requests of assistance and other requests by the Special Court and to build the capacity of the relevant Government Departments to deal with these requests, as well as to provide advice on issues relating to international law in general;
- 2. The Outreach Program, namely cooperation with local grassroots organisations to carry out public information and education on the Special Court and on accountability mechanisms in general, in order to facilitate a sense of ownership of these mechanisms and increase reliance on the rule of law and the mechanisms of democracy; this included the organisation of "Training the Trainers" workshops throughout the country, seminars, the production of outreach materials in different media, community events including street theatre and creating a robust network of non-governmental organisations centred on issues of accountability;
- 3. The Legal Profession Program, namely the promotion of the role of the Special Court within the legal profession in Sierra Leone and the role of the Sierra Leonean legal profession within the Special Court, in order to enhance the relevance of the Special Court in the lives of legal professionals and the potential of the Special Court for leaving a legacy of respect for the law and knowledge of international human rights standards; this included training seminars, public lectures and the production of reports and informational materials;
- 4. The Conflict Mapping Program, namely the reconstruction of the chain of events during the ten-year war through the scrupulous selection and debriefing of key individuals throughout

the country whose profession, role in their community or in the forces involved in the conflict, placed them in a position to follow events as they unfolded.

Each program, while distinct in their specific aims, was conducted so as to reinforce the other programs and thereby increase the contribution of each program to the project's overall aim of strengthening the ability of Sierra Leone society to address violations of human rights and humanitarian law. The most striking example of this was the close cooperation between the Outreach and Conflict Mapping programs. While the Outreach Program trained villages and towns on the Special Court, through "Training the Trainers" sessions and community events, these same communities continued to participate in accountability efforts by providing the Conflict Mapping program with their own views on and experiences of the conflict, by being consulted on the events and by directly taking part in the gathering of information. In addition, the project as a whole operated so as to maximise the participation of Sierra Leoneans in decision-making processes, both in relation to project policy as well as the design, implementation and follow-up for activities. This was premised on the belief that for Sierra Leone's accountability mechanisms to make a meaningful impact and achieve their goals, there must be "ownership" of the processes by Sierra Leoneans. It is also underpinned by the notion that, as a matter of policy, Sierra Leoneans are best placed to know what activities and approaches would be the most effective to reach the people of Sierra Leone.

2.(a). Judicial Assistance Program

Since 2000, NPWJ-seconded experts have been working in Freetown and New York, within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the Attorney-General and Ministry of Justice, to assist the Government of Sierra Leone in its negotiations for the establishment of the Special Court for Sierra Leone. This component of the project addresses the consequences of the conflict in Sierra Leone by increasing governmental awareness of and commitment to accountability mechanisms, which is vital for the successful operations of these mechanisms. Increasing the awareness of the Government and Parliamentarians of the benefits of international human rights and humanitarian law increases the likelihood of legislation passing through Parliament, which in turn strengthens the rule of law by providing legal mechanisms by which to seek redress for its violation.

In July 2000, responding to the request of Sierra Leone to provide specialised assistance, NPWJ seconded a legal expert to the Sierra Leone Mission to the UN in New York to continue assisting the Sierra Leone Ambassador to the UN, which had begun during the negotiations for the establishment of the ICC in 1998. In August 2000, a further two legal experts were seconded to the Office of the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice in Freetown, Sierra Leone. This ensured that the Government, with the advice of NPWJ-seconded personnel, was able to form a co-ordinated response, both in Freetown and in New York, and to convey that response in the best possible way at the best possible time. By maintaining this close contact, NPWJ-seconded legal experts have kept the often delicate negotiations balanced and have ensured that the concerns of Sierra Leone were not lost in the debate.

The work of NPWJ-seconded legal experts has centred around advising the Sierra Leone Government on critical issues arising in relation to the Special Court and issues of international criminal justice in general, including representing the Government during meetings and negotiations. This, together with detailed legal and policy analyses and recommendations on a range of issues

raised directly and indirectly by the ongoing negotiations, has enabled Sierra Leone to formulate policies and address all the relevant issues in a timely manner.

In addition, NPWJ-seconded legal experts have been assisting the Attorney-General and the Sierra Leone Mission with various other tasks relating to international human rights and humanitarian law. For example, in New York, NPWJ-seconded legal experts have been participating in the VI (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly, while in Freetown, the Government has often taken advantage of the presence of NPWJ-seconded international law experts to provide information and analyses on matters within their areas of expertise, such as the requirements of implementing legislation for the International Criminal Court.

2.(b) Outreach Program

During the team's stay in Freetown in 2000, NPWJ identified a need for public sensitisation and education, given that what was being reported concerning the Special Court in the local media was often wildly inaccurate. The NPWJ Sierra Leone Mission was therefore expanded in 2001 to include an Outreach Program, designed to facilitate public information and sensitisation on the Special Court. The Outreach Program increased awareness of the mandate and operations of the Special Court, including promoting knowledge about human rights and humanitarian law issues to the public at large. The Outreach Program worked through the medium of local organisations, in particular the Special Court Working Group, by building the capacity of such local organisations to formulate and disseminate information coherently and in simple terms. Part of this process includes working with local organisations to formulate the issues in language and ways easily understandable by the general public. This fosters the role of civil society in promoting accountability within Sierra Leonean society and creates a stronger civil society by supplementing them with potent means to raise the issues publicly, both in general and in terms of prompting the Government to ensure international standards are promoted.

The Outreach Program commenced with "The Freetown Conference on Accountability Mechanisms for Violations of International Humanitarian Law in Sierra Leone", held in the Lagoonda Complex on 20 to 22 February 2001 and attended by over 100 mainly Sierra Leonean participants. The conference provided a vehicle for the exploration of mechanisms designed to provide accountability for atrocities committed in Sierra Leone during the course of the conflict. It focussed on the two mechanisms then envisaged for Sierra Leone (the Special Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and the interaction between those institutions as well as exploring how traditional or customary justice could be incorporated into or operate alongside those mechanisms. Two key recommendations were adopted at the plenary session of the Conference, both based on participants' perceived need for ownership of accountability mechanisms by the people of Sierra Leone: holding training workshops on the Special Court and establishing a coalition of interested Sierra Leonean NGOs to conduct the bulk of public sensitisation and information sharing about the Special Court. This concrete set of recommendations formed the basis for much of NPWI's subsequent outreach work.

The "Training the Trainers" seminars presented a detailed overview of the provisions of the (then) draft Statute and Agreement for the Special Court. To place the Special Court in context, the seminars began with a brief introduction to the purposes and principles of international

humanitarian and criminal law and discussed practical issues surrounding the Special Court. A number of identical workshops were held over a period of days, limiting the number of participants within each session to ensure the maximum opportunity for discussion. This model was employed over a number of months to facilitate holding seminars both in Freetown, the capital city, and in the provinces. The series of seminars thus held in 2001 attracted a total of over 600 participants from a diverse range of human rights, civil society and other organisations, including the RUF and the CDF. Training sessions were also held at the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) camp in Lunsar and "extra-ordinary" sessions were held for specialised groups, such as the legal profession and human rights monitors.

An additional motive for the training seminars conducted in March 2001 was to identify those members of Sierra Leone civil society who were interested in establishing a "Special Court Working Group", a coalition of Sierra Leone civil society organisations who were interested in the issues and who could play a crucial role in outreach and sensitisation, including ensuring that information being disseminated about the Special Court by various groups within Sierra Leone would be uniform and consistent. NPWJ organised a number of meetings of the Special Court Working Group (SCWG); over the course of 2001, the number of participants in working group meetings grew to a total of 39 members representing as many organisations. The SCWG, which met every two weeks in plenary and more often in smaller specialised groups, discussed the types of messages concerning the Special Court that would need to be directed to specific groups within Sierra Leone, together with the modalities through which the sensitisation program would be implemented. The SCWG adopted its constitution on 30 June 2001 and held elections for the national executive in July 2001, from which time the Special Court Working Group Sierra Leone (SCWG-SL) was established as an independent entity.²

During 2002-2003, the NPWJ Outreach Program gathered momentum and expanded in terms of the range of activities undertaken, its geographical reach and its implementing partners, which at the end of 2003 included the Special Court for Sierra Leone itself. NPWJ continued to work with the SCWG, including facilitating the establishment of 12 District Working Groups and the holding of elections for the national executive in August 2003, as required by the constitution. NPWJ also cooperated with the SCWG to hold "top-up training" for existing and new SCWG members, to ensure people were kept well informed about ongoing developments in relation to the Special Court. Among the targeted training held in 2002-3, NPWJ held a seminar for performing artists, which saw the creation of "The Right Players", a group of Sierra Leonean dramatists who write and perform skits, short plays and songs on themes related to the Special Court. Building on this and the targeted training held for market women, NPWJ organised a series of Market Tours for the Right Players, in which the Right Players staged short plays about the Special Court in 16 markets across the Freetown area, with NPWJ staff on hand to answer questions from the audience.

Together with the Peace and Conflict Studies Department of Fourah Bay College at the University of Sierra Leone, NPWJ organised a series of public lectures, which commenced with the first public engagement of the newly-elected President of the Special Court, Judge Geoffrey Robertson. These

² The Special Court Working Group subsequently changed its name to the Coalition for Justice and Accoutability. Given that during the time period covered by this preface they were still known as the SCWG, that is the name this preface will use.

lectures were video-taped and broadcast on SLBS, Sierra Leone's national television station. In addition to television, NPWJ continued to facilitate the SCWG's "Special Court Hour", held every Saturday on Radio UNAMSIL since 2001, and helped to establish and support similar radio shows in five locations across the country. Again in conjunction with the SCWG, NPWJ held a series of training sessions for the newly-established District Working Groups in 13 locations in the provinces. These sessions were attended by over 520 participants, ranging from NGO and civil society activists to the Sierra Leone Police and Sierra Leone Army, traditional leaders and the local Law Officers' Departments. These were followed by two major conferences in the provinces for the District Working Groups, based on the model adopted for the Freetown Conference in 2001, which resulted in concrete plans of action for the District Working Groups for the coming months. During August 2003, NPWJ and the Special Court for Sierra Leone built on these seminars and conferences by conducting a major series of training seminars across the country targeting specific groups such as the military, children, women and others.

The Outreach Program continued to develop and distribute materials on the Special Court, including production of the "Special Court Times", a newspaper-sized broadsheet on issues related to the Special Court, and its accompanying "Pocket Edition", which contained "Frequently Asked Questions" about the Special Court. In addition, NPWJ produced a number of small informational pamphlets, reproduced the constitutive and supporting legal documents of the Court³ and assisted the Special Court to put together a booklet covering all aspects of the Special Court, illustrated by local artists. NPWJ also produced a series of informational materials on the International Criminal Court, to accompany two seminars hosted by NPWJ, one for civil society in conjunction with the Coalition for an International Criminal Court and other foreign and local NGOs, including the National Forum for Human Rights, and one at the request of Sierra Leone Parliamentarians.

2.(c) Legal Profession Program

In 2002, after the Special Court came into existence, NPWJ's Sierra Leone project expanded to include a Legal Profession Program, aimed specifically at the Sierra Leonean Legal Profession and working primarily in partnership with the Sierra Leone Bar Association. The Legal Profession Program promoted knowledge of human rights and humanitarian law norms within the legal profession in Sierra Leone. A robust legal profession with knowledge about human rights will lead to a profession capable of defending human rights through various means, including legal means. This in turn strengthens the rule of law by enabling the Sierra Leone legal profession to ensure they have the knowledge required to work effectively with and within Sierra Leone's accountability mechanisms.

The activities undertaken within the Legal Profession Program included training seminars, roundtable discussions and the drafting of explanatory and critical documents. The program also encouraged the Special Court to involve itself in the legal community so that the Court may make a sustainable contribution to the rule of law in Sierra Leone. To that end, NPWJ together with the Sierra Leone Bar Association and the Special Court held a half-day seminar on the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court in December 2002. During this seminar, selected members of the Bar Association made submissions to the newly sworn in Judges on different

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³ Namely the Agreement establishing the Special Court, the Statute, the Rules of Procedure and Evidence, the Rules of Detention and the indictments.

aspects of the Rules, in particular with reference to the laws of Sierra Leone. In addition, NPWJ brought an international law expert to Sierra Leone to consult with the Special Court and others on potential models for defence before the Special Court. Both activities resulted in reports that were made available to, among others, the Judges of the Special Court during their first plenary meeting to consult on the Rules in early 2003.

The Legal Profession Program also worked closely with the Outreach Program on the public lecture series, including selecting an international law expert to provide specialised training for the members of the Sierra Leone Bar Association on the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court. In July 2003, NPWJ in partnership with the Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales held a week-long "IHL Training Seminar" for members of the Sierra Leone Bar Association and other interested legal practitioners. This training resulted in a set of lecture notes, which was widely distributed in Sierra Leone and abroad. In addition, many of the trainers participated in another NPWJ activity, the Lawyers' Guide to the Special Court, which is a guide to the substantive and procedural law relating to the Special Court.

A major component of the Legal Profession Program was providing access to relevant library resources through the establishment of the NPWI International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Library in Freetown. This library was a continuation of the "Book Donation" program launched in 2000, whereby foreign universities, individuals and others donated legal books and materials to NPWJ's international law reading room and resource centre in Sierra Leone. NPWJ was fortunate to receive a large donation from the Colombia University Human Rights Law Program, which was shipped to Sierra Leone in 2002 and formed the backbone of the library, which also included donations from Penguin Publishers, the Canadian Law Book Company, Geoffrey Robertson QC (as he then was), Caroline Morgan and others. The library was officially opened at the beginning of 2003 by Desmond de Silva, QC, the Deputy Prosecutor of the Special Court. NPWJ hired a qualified librarian to manage the collection, which included a digital library compiled by NPWI, and to oversee the library itself, which also contained internet stations and photocopying facilities. The majority of users consisted of human rights activists and university and school students, who used the library for research on human rights, humanitarian law and related matters. Following the conclusion of the NPWJ Sierra Leone project in 2003, NPWJ embarked on a partnership with the Campaign for Good Governance, who are now housing the library at their Freetown headquarter office and ensuring continued public access to the collection.

2.(d) Conflict Mapping Program

In 2002, NPWJ launched the Conflict Mapping Program, which reconstructs the chain of events during a conflict through gathering information in the field and analysing the decision-making processes to ascertain the role of those who bear the greatest responsibility for policies of systematic and massive violations of the laws of war. This analysis is based on testimonial and other data overlaid with order of battle and command structures of the various forces as they evolved over time and space. This chronological and geographical mapping of the conflict, including reconstructing the order of battle and chain of command, serves to prevent denial of those events. An analysis of events according to international law establishes prima facie accountability for

⁴ Staff of the Special Court also attended these training seminars.

⁵ The Lawyers' Guide is available from www.specialcourt.org.

violations of international humanitarian law. In so doing, it both serves to strengthen the rule of law and to promote and defend human rights by publicising the price for violating them. In addition, establishing the chain of command within the armed forces operating in Sierra Leone and assembling these disparate pieces of information to create the bigger picture of the decade-long conflict in Sierra Leone enables the crucial first phase of establishing who bears direct and command responsibility for crimes committed during the conflict. This will enable the people of Sierra Leone to establish who should be held accountable for those crimes, thereby avoiding the trap of blaming a group or segment of society and promoting peaceful conciliation.

Beginning in 2002, the Outreach Program increased its geographic spread. This opened up new channels, networks and possibilities for collaboration and consequently increased the diversity and size of NPWJ's network of partner organisations and individuals. In addition, the Outreach Program deepened NPWJ's pre-existing relationships with many key sectors of society. These factors made it possible to conceive of a field based nation-wide Conflict Mapping Program in two main ways. NPWJ's extensive and trusted network of partners would be essential in devising and implementing any system of collecting information. Following this, NPWJ's network of partners embedded in communities throughout the country would also be essential in maximising the possible impact of the program: in encouraging people to participate in the program; in promoting the underlying rationales of accountability; and then in disseminating the results.

Meaningful long-term conciliation and reintegration can only take place if the accountability process belongs to each and every community – and if each community is able to participate in it. Rehabilitation and reintegration is not simply a matter of locating next of kin and assisting in individual reintegration; it is about enabling society and each community to move forward and to accept individuals back into their fold. The outreach and information gathering processes have contributed towards establishing confidence in the accountability mechanisms, by providing victims and witnesses with the opportunity to recount their stories and the stories of others in such a way as to help them understand their personal and their communities' experiences in the context of the conflict.

In the implementation of the Conflict Mapping Program, NPWJ worked closely with local partner organisations, with whom an excellent relationship had been built over the previous two years. The Conflict Mapping Program has therefore involved as much of the country as possible in conducting sensitisation and documentation in this manner so as to encourage a sense of ownership of the processes by the people of Sierra Leone.

The results of this work, which are found in this report, together with the work of organisations in Sierra Leone undertaking human rights reporting, are hoped to support the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court. It must however be emphasised that the process in itself is as important as the final document, because the direct involvement of Sierra Leoneans (both as interviewer and interviewee) in this program has allowed them to be at the heart of the accountability work being carried out in the country.

Chapter One: Methodology

The purpose of the Conflict Mapping Program, as outlined in the preface, is two-fold: to gather reliable information so as to put together an accurate picture of what happened in Sierra Leone and to make the process meaningful for Sierra Leoneans. Initially, on the basis of NPWJ's experience in other situations, it was determined that there were four main ways in which a report such as this one could be produced, namely:

- 1. Individuals recounting their own experiences;
- 2. Individuals giving an overview of what happened in their area, through their own experience and what they have learnt from others;
- 3. Groups recounting their experiences in a shared environment; and
- 4. Open source materials.

The question facing the program during the conceptual phase was which method to select in order to maximise both the quality of the information gathered and the impact of information-gathering on Sierra Leoneans, given the resources and constraints. The main constraints were limited financial resources; a limited amount of time; the size of the country and lack of ease of movement, including the condition of the roads; and the fact that Sierra Leone experiences torrential rains for six months of the year, making many roads completely impassable.

In addition, each method listed above has its own pros and cons. For example, while the first method involves Sierra Leoneans to the greatest degree, every single person in the country would have to be given an opportunity to tell their story in order to gather enough information to be able to put together an accurate picture of what happened across the country. This would be difficult if not impossible to achieve at the national level for a ten-year conflict with limited resources and limited time. On the other hand, while the last method can also give a very comprehensive picture of what happened across the country, it would have limited to no impact on or involvement of the people of Sierra Leone.

Given these factors, it was considered that the most appropriate method for NPWJ to conduct a Conflict Mapping Program that focused on the whole of the country rather than a limited geographical area was to use information gathered from people in Sierra Leone with a good general overview of the conflict in their area ("key persons"), supplemented with open source materials. In order to maximise community participation, enhance the quality of the information and overcome potential cultural and linguistic barriers, it was considered that the best people to take records from people with an overview were Sierra Leoneans from the same geographical area as the key persons ("Conflict Mapping Recorders" or "CMRs"). In addition, it was considered that in order to enhance community "ownership" of the accountability mechanisms, the Conflict Mapping and Outreach Programs should as much as possible be conducted together. Marrying the sensitisation and the documentation processes ensures that the perception of the communities reached is not that of being "told" about the accountability process as something that happens elsewhere and is relevant to others, but rather of truly taking part in it.

⁶ Key persons provided information to NPWJ on the basis of confidentiality, subject to certain exceptions for which the consent of the key person was obtained prior to taking the record, including use of the information in the compilation of this report.

While this method was the most appropriate in the circumstances, it comes with its own potential drawbacks, which had to be addressed during the conceptual phase so as to minimise their possible impact during implementation. There are seven major areas of concern of such importance that failure to recognise and address them would have compromised the value of both the process and outcomes of the program, described here as "critical areas". These are addressed comprehensively in the following sections, but are worth discussing briefly here.

The first critical area is the quality of the CMRs and their ability to draw out relevant information from the key person so as to compile a record that could be used during the analysis phase. This was addressed through a rigorous two-fold selection process. In the first instance, NPWJ outlined the program to partner NGOs in the regions, often members of the SCWG, who would nominate persons they considered suitable to be CMRs. Following that initial nomination, NPWJ held a training session for the potential CMRs, including a practical exercise in record-taking, and selected CMRs on the basis of the results of that training. In addition, CMRs were trained in recognising their own potential biases and how to overcome them and, at the very least, to identify those biases for the analysts.

The second critical area concerns the quality and usability of the records, which is distinct from the quality of the person taking the record, although the two often correlate. This was overcome by rigorous training in how to take a record and what information might be relevant, which included practical exercises in taking a record before interviewing the first key person. In addition, once the first record had been taken, NPWJ personnel reviewed the record with the CMR, to point out potential problems and provide advice on how to take a more comprehensive record.⁷

The third critical area is the type of the key persons interviewed by the CMRs in terms of the kind of information they might provide. In order to overcome this concern, CMRs were provided with rigorous guidelines and criteria for ideal candidates for key persons. Once CMRs had made their initial selection of the key persons they wished to interview, NPWJ personnel went through the list with them and discussed their choices, suggesting alternatives where the initial choices were inappropriate.

The fourth critical area is the accuracy of the information provided by the key persons. This was addressed by providing CMRs with guidelines and training in interviewing and how to take a record, including the importance of accuracy and not "making up" information to fill in gaps, as well as recognising potential bias in key persons.

The fifth critical area concerns the accuracy of the information itself. Given that the conflict ranged over the course of a decade and many key persons were either relatively young when events happened or were relatively elderly at the time they gave their record, not to mention the potential effects of post traumatic stress disorder, even with the best intentions on the part of both the CMRs and the key persons there is always the possibility that people are mistaken. This was addressed by reviewing the first factual analysis with well respected local human rights activists who were not involved in the Conflict Mapping Program and who themselves had a good general overview of

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⁷ In most cases, CMRs were required to go back to the first key person to fill in information that was lacking in the record, which would generally improve the comprehensiveness of the remaining records that were taken.

what happened in a particular District. In addition, it was addressed by providing the factual analysis to other local and foreign experts and by cross-checking the information with open source materials.

The sixth critical area was geographical coverage. In its original conception, the Conflict Mapping Program was to have one CMR per chiefdom, in order to have saturation coverage across the whole country. However, time, financial and logistical restraints meant that this was not possible, as there are 149 chiefdoms across the country, plus the rural Western Area, not all of which are accessible at all times of the year. In order to avoid making arbitrary decisions about which chiefdoms to cut and with a view to minimising the damage to the report as a whole, NPWJ therefore discussed this issue with the Campaign for Good Governance (CGG), the leading human rights NGO in Sierra Leone with human rights monitors in every District, and the SCWG. NPWJ sought their advice on which chiefdoms could be covered by a CMR from a neighbouring chiefdom (termed "linked") and which chiefdoms were not the scene of a great deal of activity during the conflict and could be cut altogether. In addition, NPWJ discussed with CGG the chiefdoms about which they would be able to provide information, on the basis of their regular human rights reporting work as well as a special human rights violations reporting project they undertook during 2001.

The final critical area related to processing the raw information generated by the project – in short, information management. Failure to secure, store and accurately break down the records into a practical format for analysis would undermine efforts to build an accurate reconstruction of the events described in them. In November 2002, NPWJ together with Sensible Data srl, an Italian IT company specialising in emergency situations, began developing a customised database that would allow the narratives in the records to be broken down into incidents, storing simple information about the incident alongside data about the exact location and date of its occurrence. As soon the first completed records began to be collected in mid May, they entered a process of digitisation. In late June, once all the records were collected, records were broken down into incidents by a team of specially trained database analysts. A thorough system of cross-checking was implemented throughout to maintain the accuracy of information from record through to database.

1. Selecting and training Conflict Mapping Recorders

The gathering of information in the field in Sierra Leone was conducted by national human rights workers or "Conflict Mapping Recorders", trained and supervised by NPWJ personnel, in communities and villages throughout the country.

1.(a) Selection of CMRs

While the selection of the CMRs in the communities was one of the most important parts of the program, it also presented one of the greatest challenges from a quality control perspective. In this process, NPWJ was very heavily reliant on the judgment and expertise of its collaborating organisations and their representatives, with whom a relationship of trust had been built over the previous two years.

As a system of quality control, NPWJ tried to ensure the collaborating organisations selected their best people to nominate as CMRs, by discussing with the organisations the purpose of the program and providing the following checklist for indicators that people could make good CMRs:

• They should have a good level of knowledge about the conflict in their chiefdoms.



- They should have a good level of written and spoken English.
- They should be able to overcome their bias as much as possible.
- They should show willingness and have time for the program, since much of its success lies in the quality of their records.

Following the initial selection stage by local partners, NPWJ held a training workshop at which the final selection was made (see below), based on how the CMR responded to the training and their performance in the practical exercise of taking a record. By the end of April 2003, the selection stage was complete and NPWJ had hired a total of 136 CMRs to cover 146 chiefdoms. Twenty-two CMRs were hired to cover the Western Area, which is a densely populated area to which many IDPs fled during the war. In each District, NPWJ appointed a focal point, who was the main contact person for that District and who assisted with logistical and other arrangements, including bringing the final records to Freetown for review purposes. These CMRs and the focal points represented a broad cross section of civil society and included human rights activists, teachers and others.

1.(b) Training of CMRs

NPWJ conducted training workshops in various locations in the Western Area and in the 12 headquarter towns throughout the country. In order to provide greater participation and information sharing, as well as due to time and logistical constraints, CMRs travelled from their chiefdoms to the headquarter town rather than NPWJ personnel travelling to each chiefdom. In addition, this allowed the focal point to meet every CMR selected and identify possible logistical obstacles. The training was divided into three distinct components: the introductory workshop, the training workshop and the review process.

The first visit, called an "introductory workshop", was dedicated to meeting with community leaders and collaborative organisations to introduce the program. This session was the final part of the "Training the Trainers" seminar held by the NPWJ Outreach Program and the Special Court Working Group. This placed the Conflict Mapping Program in the context of the Special Court, accountability mechanisms and the difficulties faced in reconstructing accurately the events of the conflict in Sierra Leone. The introductory workshops laid the groundwork for the quality of the CMRs selected, following the considerations outlined above, as well as the relevance of the key persons identified. One of the main aims of this session was to engage the participants, so that over the following days they could identify potential CMRs for the training workshop and compile a list of potential key persons for reviewing at the end of that training workshop. This stage was completed for the whole country by mid April 2003.

The second visit was the "training workshop", a one-day session composed of sensitisation on the Special Court to ensure that CMRs would be well versed in crimes under international law, in particular those within the jurisdiction of the Court, to enable them to take all the relevant details from their key persons. This sensitisation was followed by a workshop on the Conflict Mapping

⁸ CMRs were paid a small stipend to cover transport and incidental costs incurred during their time spent taking records. It should be noted, however, that CMRs were not paid according to the number of records they took but were paid a sum that had been set in advance. It was felt that paying according to the number of records taken could harm the quality of the records, as there was the possibility, however remote, that some people may take

more records, which could be of reduced quality, in order to increase their remuneration.

Program itself, concluding with the selection of Conflict Mapping Recorders to take records from key persons. The training focused on explaining the Conflict Mapping Program, how conflict mapping differs from human rights reporting, how to take a record, what type of information to focus on and discussed the fact that these interviews would be taxing and draining on both the CMRs and the key persons. The session culminated in practical exercises in record taking. In addition, this stage included training in the crucial first step of selecting appropriate key persons who have a good general overview of the conflict in their area. On the basis of performance during this training session, including perceived understanding of the process and principles and the quality of the practice record, NPWJ selected a limited number of individuals to work as CMRs. This stage was completed for the whole country in the first week of May 2003.

The third stage consisted of reviewing the first records collected by the CMRs for content and organisation before the final two records were taken from key persons selected by the conflict mapping recorders in consultation with NPWJ. This stage was essential to provide top up training (if necessary), to address problems the CMRs may have encountered, to ensure the quality of the records taken and to ensure that CMRs never felt abandoned. The fact that this process took place after the collection of each CMR's first record and before the collection of subsequent records enabled NPWJ to undertake a thorough system of quality control on an ongoing basis. This stage was completed for the whole country in June 2003. Thus each location was visited at least three times by NPWJ according to a schedule worked out in advance with local partners, especially the SCWG, and the NPWJ Outreach Program.

The structure of the training was developed by NPWJ in consultation with local partners during October and November 2002 and was reviewed on an ongoing basis to incorporate lessons learnt during the training process. The first round of training commenced in December 2002 in Freetown, followed by further meetings and the training of conflict mapping recorders in the rural Western Area, near Freetown. Although this ran the risk of appearing there was a "Freetown bias", NPWJ selected the Western Area as the first point of entry to enable NPWJ to perfect the conflict mapping training before taking it into the provinces, as logistically it is more difficult to perfect such processes in the provinces. Lessons learned from the training in the Western Area were incorporated into the planning process for the provincial training and in late March 2003, following preparatory work undertaken in consultation with the SCWG and the Outreach program, conflict mapping training began in the provinces.

Partly in consideration of the time frame and the impending rainy season, which starts in May and during which many roads become impassable, NPWJ hired a Sierra Leonean team comprised of the best CMRs from the Western Area to undertake the training workshops and the collection of the first records in some parts of the country. This enabled there to be two conflict mapping training teams working simultaneously in different locations around the country, allowing full coverage of the whole country by the conclusion of the time frame for the gathering of records.

⁹ A common criticism by Sierra Leoneans of foreign NGOs and others in Sierra Leone is that they focus too much on the capital, Freetown, and do not focus enough on the provincial and rural areas in Sierra Leone.

2. Key persons

The Conflict Mapping Program was primarily based on the scrupulous selection and debriefing of selected individuals ("key persons") whose profession, role in their community or in the forces involved in the conflict placed them in a position to follow events as they unfolded.

To facilitate proper identification and selection of key persons, CMRs were provided with the following guidelines for characteristics of people who would likely be best suited to being a key person:

- 1. The widest possible overview of the conflict in their area.
- 2. They were present in their chiefdom for much of the conflict.
- 3. Reliability.
- 4. Trustworthiness.
- 5. They have a good reputation in their community.
- 6. They would usually be regarded in their community as a person that others can confide in.
- 7. Honesty.
- 8. They are able to pass on their knowledge to the Conflict Mapping Recorders accurately and fully.
- 9. They are as free from bias as possible or at least are able to recognise their own bias.
- 10. They will usually be recognised as local community leaders in some respect.

In addition, CMRs were provided with the following list of people who may make good key persons:

- 1. Teachers.
- 2. Doctors.
- 3. Lawyers.
- 4. Counsellors/Social workers.
- 5. Youth Leaders.
- 6. Women's Movement Leaders.
- 7. Senior Police from the local area.
- 8. Local Magistrates.
- 9. Chiefs.
- 10. Section Leaders.
- 11. Local Commanders from the different fighting factions.
- 12. Any person in the local community who has been able to gain an overview of the conflict through a number of other persons talking to them or through holding some respected and trusted position in their community.

To facilitate and monitor the quality of the records and the key persons selected for interviews, the CMRs were asked to provide a report prior to conducting an interview, in order to maintain the focus of the process and the standard of the key persons selected. These reports covered the following matters:

- 1. Why that key person was selected from their list of potential key persons.
- 2. How the selected key person meets the criteria, for example how and why that key person has an overview of the conflict in that area.
- 3. The nature of the information provided by that key person.
- 4. The key person's knowledge of the conflict.

Each CMR was to select three key persons in their chiefdom from whom to take a record, based on the time necessary to take a record and the time frame within which the record-taking phase had to be completed. Nevertheless, the main emphasis was on quality and not quantity when identifying key persons to be interviewed. It was therefore the case that fewer key persons were selected for interviewing in some chiefdoms where the scale of the conflict was minimal or where there was a smaller population.

Following these criteria, the Conflict Mapping Program gathered records from 401 key persons across the country, who ranged in age between 19 and 82. Of these, 6.7% were former members of one of the fighting factions; 6.7% were women; and 10.7% had been captured by one or more of the fighting factions and used either as forced labour or were recruited into a fighting faction. The most common occupation of key persons was a farmer, most of whom had occupied some position of authority during the conflict (such as Town or Section Chief) and many of whom were members of a fighting faction, most commonly the Civil Defence Forces. Other occupations included Paramount Chiefs, Town Chiefs and other chiefdom authorities, teachers, fishermen, housewives, retired military personnel and civil servants.

3. Database

The information gathered by CMRs from key perons comprised over 400 records, each containing an average of 30 pages, with a total of approximately 5,500 separate incidents, that is, instances of an alleged violation of international humanitarian law or key strategic or other information contained in a record. Given the amount and breadth of information, it had to be collated and stored in such a way as to enable easy search and retrieval in order for it to be used by analysts.

NPWJ therefore entered this information into a database designed specifically for the purposes of analysis according to order of battle and chain of command information. Prior to the completion of the design and programming of the database, 11 typists entered the records in their entirety into digital format. The resulting files underwent rigorous proofreading to ensure they were exactly the same as the record provided by each CMR. These documents then formed the basis of the data entry process and were used extensively during the analysis phase.

For data entry purposes, each record was broken into incidents, which consist of discrete parts of information, usually chronological, containing examples of serious violations of international humanitarian law or other relevant information. Each incident was classified according to what crimes were allegedly committed, who allegedly committed them, what weapons they allegedly used and other pertinent information. To ensure accuracy and consistency in the classification of incidents, NPWJ personnel provided training to data entry operators in the basics of international humanitarian law as well as a manual outlining how different factual scenarios should be classified. To ensure accuracy of the database as a whole and to enhance its effectiveness for analysis purposes,

¹⁰ These people are not included in the 6.7% who were former members of a fighting faction, which refers only to those people who joined willingly, according to the information they provided to the CMR.

¹¹ The database was designed and developed by Sensible Data s.r.l. Sensible Data is an IT company that specialises in information technology, data processing and secure communications for emergency and humanitarian operations: www.sensible.it.

each entry went through a thorough process of checking and cross-checking, to ensure that it was consistent, complete and correct.¹²

4. The analysis

4.(a) District level analysis

At the conclusion of the data entry stage, NPWJ's analysts began piecing together what happened during the 10 years of war in Sierra Leone, using three tools: the database; detailed maps, mostly at District level; and the typed records. The result of this stage, which involved collating and cross-checking vast amounts of information, was a rough outline of what happened in each District during the conflict, highlighting troop movements, chains of command and events, including acts likely to constitute violations of international humanitarian law.

Following this stage, the rough drafts for each District were reviewed in Freetown with field monitors from the Campaign for Good Governance (CGG) responsible for that District. CGG's field monitors are very experienced human rights activists with an in-depth knowledge about what happened during the conflict in the District for which they are responsible. NPWJ specifically did not hire any CGG field monitors as Conflict Mapping Recorders, so that their experience could be better utilised once the first analyses were done, to ensure that there were no major errors or inconsistencies in the District-level analyses, thus providing a crucial first level of cross-checking.

In addition, over a six month period, NPWJ debriefed a former high-level member of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), who provided a great deal of information on the inner workings of the RUF and an overview of the conflict since it began in 1991. The hours spent working with this key person yielded a statement of over 100 pages, plus various documents and maps describing the structure, procedures and geographical locations of the RUF, which were of immense benefit during the analysis phases. A senior Kamajor was also debriefed for the same purposes, although not as extensively.

The process as a whole enabled analysts to piece together the conflict as it happened across time and space and, in particular, to draw out patterns of conduct that may constitute crimes against humanity, namely those crimes committed in a widespread or systematic manner.

4.(b) The first draft factual analysis

Once these stages were complete, experienced analysts began the long process of putting all the information together, which consisted of three stages. First, a "first review" was conducted of the rough drafts, checking for internal sense and consistency. Second, each rough draft went through a more thorough review, addressing potential problems in the analysis, often going back to the original records and maps to clarify issues. Finally, the rough drafts for each District were put together and cross-referenced, which enabled the compilation of the general overview of the conflict. This first stage was based purely on the information gathered in the field and, as such, did not incorporate any information from open sources or other materials.

¹² In compiling the database and the data entry process, NPWJ hired personnel who had worked on the ICG Humanitarian Law Documentation Project so as to enable this phase to benefit from lessons learnt during that project.

4.(c) The second draft factual analysis

The first draft factual analysis formed the backbone of the work that followed, namely the incorporation of information from open sources and other materials, going back to the records when necessary to iron out inconsistencies and to fill in details. Further, at this time, cross-checking, filling in details and checking dates and other information was undertaken when there was conflicting, contradictory or inadequate data. To facilitate this process, NPWJ incorporated a range of diverse information into a fully searchable open source database, with 8,500 entries comprised of news reports, UNAMSIL press briefings, is situation reports from NGOs and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), United Nations press briefings and documents, press releases from other relevant bodies, such as mining companies, and other relevant information. Other open source materials were also used, including reports from major human rights organisations, particularly Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

The primary purpose for open source and other material was to provide background material, cross-check the information gathered from key persons and to fill in gaps where any existed. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that the main source of information for the facts as analysed in this report was Sierra Leoneans themselves, through the records of key persons gathered by Conflict Mapping Recorders throughout the country. Wherever open sources provided information used in the report, that is noted in a footnote to the relevant portion of the text.

The result of this was the second draft factual analysis, which incorporated all verified information from the first draft, with the addition of open sources and other material that had not been gathered directly by NPWJ in the field, but which was useful for confirming or correcting the data. This second draft factual analysis was then sent to a selected number of "resource persons", namely Sierra Leoneans and foreigners with expertise in the conflict in Sierra Leone who had agreed to review the information contained in the draft report and help clear up any lingering inconsistencies or unclear information.

4.(d) The legal analysis

While the factual analysis was being perfected with the assistance of resource persons, NPWJ put together a legal analysis of the events that happened during the conflict. This involved researching, presenting and discussing the relevant principles of international humanitarian and criminal law, which were then applied to the information contained in the factual analysis, so as to ascertain what crimes under international law and Sierra Leonean law were committed during the conflict.

The draft of the legal analysis was sent to NPWJ's network of international law experts, many of whom have had experience working on similar projects, such as the Humanitarian Law Documentation Project in Kosovo, or practicing before international courts or tribunals. These people are to the legal sections what the CGG field monitors and the factual resource persons are to the factual sections.

¹³ The main sources used were BBC and AFP wire reports and reports from the Xinhua News Agency.

¹⁴ Often, the records did not contain as detailed information about events that occurred from late 2000, partly because the decade-long conflict was beginning to come to an end. As such, UNAMSIL press briefings – which were regular and very detailed about UNAMSIL deployment in particular – were used to bring structure to the recollections of key persons, where necessary.

5. Notes on the report

One difficulty in a country with limited resources is the availability of detailed, comprehensive and up-to-date maps. In Sierra Leone, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has begun producing detailed maps, which were vital for the analysis of the information gathered during the Conflict Mapping Program. Difficulties were nevertheless encountered because a number of villages mentioned in the records – which span back to 1991 – were completely destroyed during the conflict and, as such, no longer exist. Wherever possible, this report tries to identify the location of such villages based on the information contained in the reports.

Due to the fact that OCHA maps were used in the analysis phase and specially-constructed maps were provided by OCHA as visual aids for the report itself, this report adopts the spelling of place names used on the OCHA maps. If that was not available, this report uses the spelling used in the records. Throughout, the report tries to be as specific as possible about the location of a particular place, adopting the formula of naming first the town or village, then the chiefdom and District, where it is different from the District under analysis. For example, if Peyema is being discussed as part of the factual analysis for Bo District, it will read: "Peyema (Lower Bambara Chiefdom)"; however, it is being discussed as part of the factual analysis for Pejuhun District, it will read "Peyema (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Bo District)". In addition to avoid any possible confusion, the word "Town" was used to distinguish a town from a District, for example, "Pujehun Town", although "Town" is not an official part of the place name.

Finally, while it may appear counter-intuitive in a report on a conflict in which many victims and perpetrators were named in the media, this reports does not "name names" of either victims or perpetrators. While the case for not naming victims is clear, it was decided also not to name perpetrators, even where they might be considered to be "notorious". This decision was taken because the allegations made are often extremely serious and would require further investigation before public disclosure could be considered. It must be borne in mind that the information analysed in this report has not been tested to the level required for sustaining a conviction, for example through cross-examination in court, nor have the alleged perpetrators had the opportunity to tell their side of the story or answer the allegations made in this report. Therefore, although some names are well known and the decision not to include them may seem artificial, it was decided that the best approach would be to omit entirely any references to names.

6. Partners

NPWJ would have been unable to complete the Conflict Mapping Program without the support and assistance of a number of partners. First and foremost, the Special Court Working Group, both in Freetown and across the country, was invaluable at every stage of the process from the initial design of the training seminars, to planning the up country trips, to providing us with CMR candidates. They also assisted us in undertaking training on the Special Court, together with the Outreach Program, during the first phases of training of the CMRs.

Another crucial partner was the Campaign for Good Governance (CGG), who provided assistance both as a member of the SCWG and independently. In particular, the CGG field monitors provided vital assistance by going through the preliminary District-level analyses for their District to verify the

accuracy of the information and fill in any gaps. CGG field monitors are particularly well placed to undertake this task, as they are based in the District and have been gathering information on human rights abuses for CGG, one of Sierra Leone's leading and most reputable organisations.

A proper understanding of the movement of forces and how events interplayed would not have been possible without the use of maps provided by OCHA. The illustrative maps contained in the report were produced with the generous assistance of OCHA personnel, who put together District-level maps that contain as many of the places mentioned in the report whose location could be identified.

Special recognition should go to the European Commission, who financed the bulk of our 2002 and 2003 activities in Sierra Leone, including the Conflict Mapping Program.

Finally, the Special Court for Sierra Leone provided much needed co-financing during the analysis stage of the Conflict Mapping Program. It must be emphasised, however, that this assistance was limited to financial assistance only and in no way implies endorsement by the Special Court of any of the material or conclusions, factual or legal, contained in this report.

Indeed, the content and conclusions drawn in this report are the sole responsibility of No Peace Without Justice and cannot be attributed to any of our partners.

The present report does not and cannot mention or even truly reflect the varied range of tasks carried out by all NPWJ personnel in the Conflict Mapping Program or or other programs in the project. Nor can it acknowledge fully or exhaustively the wide range of assistance and support given to us by our partners, friends and people we met throughout the country. Rather, the purpose of this report is to provide as comprehensive as possible a picture of what happened during the decade-long conflict in Sierra Leone, analysed over time and space according to chains of command and order of battle information. With this picture, we hope to demonstrate that what happened to the people of Sierra Leone over the course of more than 10 years was a crime – the result of deliberate policies to commit systematic and massive violations of the laws of war – and by so doing to give a voice to the countless victims of these crimes, to play our part in ensuring they will not be forgotten.

Chapter Two: A General Overview of the conflict in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002

Sierra Leone is located on the south-west coast of Africa, bordered on the north and north-east by Guinea, on the east and south-east by Liberia and on the west coast by the Atlantic Ocean. Sierra Leone's compact shape and coastal situation mean that her international borders are only 555 miles in total, sharing 397 miles with Guinea and 158 miles with Liberia. Sierra Leone's territory covers 27,699 square miles (71,740 km²), housing a pre-conflict population estimated at 4.3 million. The 13 ethnic groups in Sierra Leone had strong administrative structures in the provinces prior to British colonisation in the late 18thor early 19th century, which were utilised by the British when they expanded control from Freetown across the rest of the country. This is echoed in today's legal and administrative systems, which are comprised of both traditional structures and traditional or customary law as well as a Westminster style Parliament and the application of British common law.

Sierra Leone is endowed with mineral resources, namely diamond, gold, bauxite, rutile and iron ore. Although only 6.7% of the land is arable, it also produces cash crops, in particular, coffee, cocoa, ginger and rice. Of the 800 km of waterways running through the country, 600 km is navigable the year round. Very few of the major highways running through the country are paved and there are no common carrier railroads, rendering travel through the country difficult during the rainy season, which runs from May to October. Indeed, rainfall along the coast can reach 495 cm (195 inches) per year, making Sierra Leone one of the wettest countries in West Africa. Prior to the rainy season, from December to February, the dry haramattan winds carry sand from the Sahara, depositing large amounts of sand throughout the country and bringing corresponding dust storms.

The early years of independence, which Sierra Leone attained in 1961, are marked by a number of military coups until 1968, after which the one-party State was established in the late 1970s. Once prosperous Sierra Leone would experience a steady decline throughout the 1980s, widely regarded to be the result of rampant corruption, which would set the stage for the conflict that erupted in the 1990s.

On 23 March 1991, combined forces of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) entered Kailahun District from Liberia through the town of Bomaru in Upper Bambara Chiefdom. On 27 March 1991, another group of RUF/NPFL entered Kailahun District from Liberia through the town of Koindu in the north of the District. By mid April, these two fronts would join in the centre of the District, having by then occupied the majority of it. On 28 March 1991, a third RUF/NPFL group crossed the Mano River forming the border between Liberia and Sierra Leone, in the south-east part of the country. They immediately occupied Zimmi, the southern-most town on the road network in Pujehun District.

As at 23 March 1991, units of the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) were stationed in the towns of Koribondo (Bo District), Daru (Kailahun District), Gandorhun (Kono District) and Kenema Town (Kenema District). RUF/NPFL forces would move towards these locations to confront directly the SLA in an aggressive inland-moving campaign that was accompanied by systematic attacks against the civilian population.

In April 1991, the RUF unit that had entered Bomaru was engaged with the SLA at Daru Barracks in the south of the District. This was an important SLA position on the northern bank of the Moa

River, as it controlled further inland access by road. Occupying Daru Barracks would be a continuing objective of RUF/NPFL forces throughout 1991 and 1992. Again in April, the RUF/NPFL unit that entered through Koindu town immediately attacked SLA forces stationed some 20 km south in the town of Buedu, forcing them to retreat to Kailahun Town.

When the RUF/NPFL forces entered a town or village, civilian residents were gathered together in the centre of town, at the Court Barrie, where the RUF/NPFL forces introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" seeking to redeem the people of Sierra Leone from the corrupt All People's Congress (APC). Government. NPFL members were immediately identified as Liberian through their foreign accent and use of Liberian dialects. Enlisting, conscripting and training of both adults and children started immediately, particularly in Kailahun, where numerous training camps were established; the ranks of the RUF swelled quickly.

Reacting to such events, the Government of Sierra Leone requested and received support from the Governments of Nigeria and Guinea, who sent forces to provide security for strategic locations in and around Freetown. The Government of the United States would also provide indirect logistical and training assistance to the Government of Sierra Leone throughout 1991.

The RUF/NPFL unit entering Pujehun District from Liberia spread out across the District in a 45 mile arc from the town of Zimmi. They attacked through Pujehun Town, northwards into the southern chiefdoms of Bo District and north-east toward Koribondo Town, where the SLA was garrisoned. RUF/NPFL forces would attack the SLA in villages on the route to Koribondo until August 1991. The advance of RUF/NPFL forces in April allowed them access to land running south-west into Bonthe District, where RUF/NPFL occupied a number of small towns in the extreme south and east of the District, eventually trying but failing to occupy the District headquarter town of Bonthe, on Sherbro Island. Around this time, SLA forces were deployed in Bonthe Town and by the end of the year had opened new bases in the south-east of the District. RUF/NPFL forces moved into the southern chiefdoms of Kenema District using the main road linking Zimmi to the south of the District. Combined Guinean and SLA forces checked their advance through Kenema District into Kenema Town, where the main SLA brigade was located.

As they advanced, RUF/NPFL forces uniformly abducted civilians, simply killing them, or forcing them to carry looted property and perform domestic tasks. Almost without exception, sexual violence against women accompanied the arrival of RUF/NPFL forces in a locality. The burning of civilian residences and targeting of government and traditional authorities, in addition to the violence against civilians, caused massive panic and an exodus of civilians northwards inland. Rudimentary administrative structures – pass systems, checkpoints and appointment of their own personnel as town and chiefdom authorities – were put in place by the RUF/NPFL as they advanced. This would continue throughout the following years.

In June 1991, RUF/NPFL forces moved further north into Kono District along the main road to the District headquarter town of Koidu, staging a number of attacks on SLA positions in the south of Kono District. Throughout August and September, SLA forces from Koribondo would react offensively, forcing RUF/NPFL forces to retreat back through Pujehun District along the routes by which they had entered. In recapturing Pujehun and pushing the RUF/NPFL southwards, the SLA

collaborated with forces of the United Liberian Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), a Liberian movement engaged in warfare with the NPFL in Liberian territory.

To consolidate their own advance and successes against RUF/NPFL forces, SLA forces in Kono District began supporting the establishment of civilian vigilante groups, armed with bladed weapons and short-barrel shotguns. Throughout Pujehun District, SLA forces executed civilians suspected of collaborating with RUF/NPFL forces in even the most menial of ways.

By December 1991, RUF/NPFL forces had consolidated positions in Kailahun District and were compressed into small pockets of activity away from main towns in Pujehun District.

In April 1992, junior officers from the SLA Tiger Unit led by 25 year-old Captain Strasser moved from the war front to Freetown to complain about poor conditions. They successfully staged a coup, ousted the APC Government and established a military government known as the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). Following the coup, SLA forces looted many civilian shops and residences in the Western Area, which was accompanied by the infliction of violence upon civilians.

In early 1992, the SLA, now under the command of the NPRC, continued to unseat RUF/NPFL forces throughout Pujehun District. Moving southwards from Koribondo (Bo District), SLA and ULIMO forces retook the network of roads crossing the Sewa River and moved towards Pujehun Town. With the assistance of the SLA, a civil militia group comprised of local hunters called the "Donsos" gained in strength in Kono District, participating as auxiliary forces to the SLA and ULIMO. The Donsos, together with other local hunting societies across the country – the largest of which were the Kamajors – would later join forces under the umbrella of the Civil Defence Forces.

RUF/NPFL forces attempted again to enter Kenema District, having failed in 1991. Entering Kenema from points in the east of the District, RUF/NPFL were resisted by ULIMO and freshly deployed SLA forces. SLA secured these positions until late 1993.

RUF/NPFL forces continued to attack Kono District, uniformly attacking the civilian population as they advanced until their expulsion from the District in early 1993. In mid 1992, in response to this increasing northwards movement of RUF/NPFL forces, the NPRC Government initiated, supported and strengthened the process of mobilising a civil militia group in Koinadugu District, in the extreme north-east of Sierra Leone. Comprised of local hunters, the "Tamaboros" – as they became known – were deployed to Kono District to engage RUF/NPFL forces. In late October 1992, RUF/NPFL forces occupied Koidu Town and were able to attack further inland in the northern chiefdoms of Kono District. Combined SLA, ULIMO and civil militia forces pushed them out of Koidu Town and Kono District in early 1993.

By May 1992 in Pujehun District, combined SLA and ULIMO forces had pushed RUF/NPFL forces back across the Moa River, leading by the end of the year to their retreat back into Liberia across the Mano River. Pockets of RUF/NPFL activity continued to pressure the SLA in the southern chiefdoms of Pujehun District and in the extreme south-east of Bonthe District.

The SLA intensified attacks on "collaborators" from October 1992 to February 1993. To the SLA, there appeared to be little distinction between civilians who cooperated enthusiastically with the RUF/NPFL and those who found themselves with little choice or simply failed to escape when the RUF/NPFL entered an area. The criteria used to de termine who was and was not a "collaborator" were largely arbitrary. The SLA forced civilians to mine diamonds, provide food and carry out other forms of manual labour. In Pujehun Town, the SLA started providing basic military training, weapons and ammunition to civilians.

In Kailahun District, RUF/NPFL forces continued to attack Daru and other SLA positions in the west of the District. At the end of 1992, the RUF/NPFL grip on the northern chiefdoms of Kailahun District was unchallenged. Within these areas, a special unit of NPFL forces known only as "TAP 20" executed terror operations against the civilian population, including the widespread killing and cannibalism of civilians. Later, in 1993, "TAP 40" and "TAP Final" would continue this operation.

In the early months of 1993, SLA forces established positions in advance of Daru and started to engage RUF/NPFL forces stationed in the northern chiefdoms of Kailahun District, where RUF/NPFL forces had first entered Sierra Leone. The SLA built on this eastward progression by successfully preventing the RUF/NPFL from moving northwards into Kono District. By mid-1993, the SLA had rolled back and confined RUF/NPFL forces to the far eastern part of Kailahun District.

RUF/NPFL activity in Pujehun District resumed in December 1992 to January 1993 when the RUF/NPFL moved a large force into the District, crossing the Moa River, entering Pujehun Town and Potoru, a strategic town giving access to Kenema District. Their push into Pujehun District, while brief, was accompanied by a brutal attack against the civilian population; the RUF/NPFL forces routinely killed, raped and abducted people and burnt down large numbers of civilian residences. However, their control of these two towns and the surrounding areas was quickly overturned by SLA and ULIMO forces. RUF/NPFL forces were then confined to the bordering chiefdoms with Liberia and in the swampland south of Pujehun District. RUF/NPFL forces also made intermittent attacks on locations in the south-east of Bonthe District, following the course of the Wanjei River.

In December 1993, the then Head of State announced a unilateral ceasefire, RUF/NPFL forces having been repelled almost entirely back to Liberia. Taking advantage of this ceasefire, in the last days of December 1993, RUF forces moved across the border from Liberia into Kenema District, occupying its seven southern chiefdoms by March 1994 and inflicting violence on the civilian population. By this point, NPFL had withdrawn from Sierra Leone to fight ULIMO forces in Liberia. "Camp Zogoda", established in March 1994 to the north of the Moa River in the south-west of Kenema District, became the RUF's main base until 1996. From Camp Zogoda, RUF forces were able to stage ambushes on the main Bo-Kenema highway, a major arterial route.

In early 1994, the number of forces under arms in the SLA swelled to around 12,000 owing to a recruitment drive by the NPRC Government. RUF forces in Pujehun District fully repelled the SLA eastwards towards Koribondo, allowing their forces to push northwards into Bo District. SLA

forces stationed in Bonthe Town on Sherbro Island used boats to patrol the coastal waters off Sherbro Island, engaging on the water RUF forces entering the mouth of the Sewa River. The RUF had control over the boundary between Bonthe and Pujehun Districts, setting up a number of town and village level administrations and continuing to inflict similar violence on the civilian population as had begun earlier in Kenema District.

Although in April 1994, RUF forces made incursions into Kono District, they were from the beginning of 1994 unable to undermine significantly the hold over the District exercised by the Donsos and SLA forces in the northern chiefdoms and the Civil Defence Units, mainly composed of local hunters known as the Kamajors, in the south. This prevented RUF forces moving directly through to Koinadugu District, to the immediate north of Kono District. However, an alternative route was found.

Thus the RUF expanded their operations in a westerly direction from the three Districts bordering Liberia, continuing to inflict serious violence against the civilian population as part of an attack that had begun in Kenema District in 1993 and would last until the end of 1994. Thousands of civilians in Pujehun District were asked by SLA forces to go to an Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camp in Gondama (Bo District), placed under the protection of foreign forces. RUF forces established a base in the north of Kenema District in February 1994, thus preceding their advance through Kenema District from the south and guaranteeing control over the entire District, bar Kenema Town, by April 1994. From this northern base, RUF forces staged ambushes on the main Koidu-Makeni highway in Tonkolili District, making it impassable for civilian and military traffic alike. In April, RUF forces attacked the towns of Masingbi and Makali, both along the Koidu-Makeni highway, very close to the northern tip of Kenema District. SLA forces sent from Makeni were repelled from Makali by the RUF. RUF forces would move progressively further along this road, attacking Matotoka in July. Getting ever closer to Magburaka Town, by October the RUF were able to loop round through Tonkolili District into the southern chiefdoms of Koinadugu District. A string of attacks on the Magburaka-Alikalia highway by an RUF expeditionary force culminated in a heavy attack on Kabala Town on 7 November 1994. This force would leave Kabala the next day and return to Tonkolili District in the following week, leaving in its path a trail of destruction and hundreds of civilian deaths.

The RUF grip on Pujehun and Kenema Districts presented opportunities for the RUF to further infiltrate Bo and Bonthe Districts. In early 1994, RUF forces executed countless "hit and run" attacks on villages in the eastern chiefdoms of Bo District along the entire boundary with Kenema District. Initially, these were "food-finding missions", mostly staged from Camp Zogoda. Between June and December, however, these missions became more substantial, with RUF forces attacking but not occupying towns just across the District boundary. In November, RUF forces attacked an IDP camp in Gerihun, but were repelled by SLA forces. On 24 December, RUF forces attacked the IDP camp at Gondama, killing hundreds of civilians displaced from the fighting in the preceding years. On 25 December, Kenema Town was attacked but left unoccupied. Towns in the centre of Bo District, including the District headquarter town of Bo on 27 December, were attacked by the RUF; none of these towns were occupied. RUF forces re-entered Bonthe District, occupying the eastern chiefdoms, using the natural features of the District to expand their control in areas in the three chiefdoms on the east and south.

Responding to RUF advances into Bo and Tonkolili Districts, groups of civilians were formed into civil militia, variously labelled "Civil Defence Units" or "Territorial Defence Forces". In Jaiama Bongor Chiefdom (Bo District), these units were gathered, trained and armed under the auspices of the Resident Government Minister for Bo District. In Jaiama Bongor Chiefdom alone, 2,800 civil militia were under arms by June 1994.

Initially, these units were deployed alongside SLA forces, used to operate checkpoints, identify RUF "collaborators" and carry out patrols within chiefdoms. Despite this cooperation, tensions between the SLA and civil militia groups had been simmering since 1993 throughout the country. This was due to widespread civilian mistrust of the SLA, owing to their involvement in the same enterprises of killing civilians, raping women, looting private property and exploiting mineral resources. For example, in the Tongo Field area of Lower Bambara Chiefdom, the SLA engaged in diamond mining in Tongo Town itself and forced civilians to work at the mining sites. In nearby Peyema, also in Lower Bambara, the RUF did the same. These practices were aggravated further by numerous attacks on civilian settlements and ambushes on civilian traffic carried out by unknown assailants suspected to be members of the SLA. Two such attacks occurred in Moyamba District in 1994. Civilians branded such SLA members "So-bels", or "Soldier-Rebels".

By late December 1994, RUF forces had entered the western chiefdoms of Tonkolili District, having had access to the eastern chiefdoms since April. Earlier in 1994, it is highly likely that RUF forces began establishing a foothold in the Kangari Hills in the south of the District, which they would use as a launching point for attacks on the surrounding villages. Since June, SLA forces had been stationed in Mile 91, which is located on a key junction; to the west lies Masiaka, the gateway to Freetown. Leading north-east from Mile 91, the highway goes to Magburaka. Leading south-east, the highway runs through to Bo, Kenema and Kailahun. On 22 December, the SLA were forced out of Mile 91 by the RUF, although they regrouped outside of the town and regained control the following day. Many locations in the chiefdoms around Mile 91 were attacked as the RUF forces established a new Brigade base in the Kaitkant Hills, spanning the borders of Tonkolili with Port Loko and Bombali Districts. The location of the Kaitkant Hills between the two main highways leading into the Western Area allowed the RUF to begin a new phase of their campaign, opening up for the first time since 1991 the possibility of attacking Freetown. By the end of 1994, rumours of imminent RUF attacks on Moyamba District, so far unaffected by the RUF, were widespread. Since 1992, SLA forces had been deployed in the District, although they had also been harassing civilians, including stealing property, which intensified from December 1994 to early 1995.

As the RUF expanded the territory over which it had control throughout 1994, violence against the civilian population continued unabated. The proliferation of "hit and run" missions into Bo District, across Kenema District and in Tonkolili District resulted in the widespread burning and looting of civilian residences, accompanied by a high number of civilian deaths. Sexual violence against women was perpetrated by RUF forces during raids. Beating, molestation and abduction of both men and women for use as porters to carry stolen property or for conscription into the fighting force continued. The RUF assaults on Bo, Kenema and Kabala resulted in the denigration and destruction of public infrastructure such as government offices, hospitals, schools and Police barracks.

As 1995 began, RUF forces controlled the southern Districts of Kailahun, Pujehun and Kenema. Deployments of SLA within the occupied Districts occasionally offered short-term effective resistance to RUF attacks, but had little long-term strategic influence. Camp Zogoda continued to be the RUF's main base in the south and it was common practice for abducted civilians and looted property from the whole occupied area to be sent to the camp. The RUF expanded their operations in Bo District, opening a new base, "Camp Bokurr", in the north-east. The Bo-Freetown highway, at least until Mile 91, and the entire Bo-Kenema highway were under RUF control. The IDP camp in Gerihun was attacked again, this time successfully. RUF forces killed over 100 civilians. Even before 1995 ended, the RUF controlled all of Bo District and would attack the civilian population there until April 1996, systematically killing civilians, burning houses and committing similar acts of violence against civilians.

The strong grip on Pujehun and Bo Districts and on the south-east part of Bonthe District allowed a rapid and large-scale expansion of RUF forces into the whole of Moyamba and Bonthe Districts. Entering the eastern part of Moyamba District in January 1995 from Bo District, RUF forces proceeded southwards and took control of the bauxite mining area of Mokanji before moving south-west to upper Bonthe District, the location of the economically important Sierra Leone Rutile Mining Company. By February 1995, RUF forces controlled all the northern chiefdoms of the District, using the developed road network in this area. These attacks on the south of Moyamba District and the north of Bonthe District paralysed an economic area vital to the Government of Sierra Leone. From the north of Bonthe District, RUF forces rapidly spilled over into the southern chiefdoms of the District. Despite this, they failed to gain control of Sherbro Island and Bonthe Town. This movement in Bonthe District was carried out during the same period of a concerted action accompanied by attacks against civilians in Moyamba District.

Throughout January and February 1995, RUF forces attacked villages and towns in the chiefdoms of Tonkolili District in which the Kaitkant Hills are located. In early January, the RUF extended military operations into Port Loko District, attacking two key towns on the Freetown-Makeni highway. On 1 January 1995, RUF forces advanced north-west from their Kaitkant Hills base and from positions near Mataboi in Bombali District, towards the town of Foredugu in Port Loko District. The RUF force, which numbered 500, overcame the SLA forces stationed in the town, forcing their retreat. RUF forces attacked other villages in the Foredugu area. From Foredugu, RUF forces attacked Lunsar, but were beaten back by SLA forces stationed in the town. Lunsar would fall to the RUF later in the year.

At the end of January 1995, RUF forces moved north from Port Loko District and attacked Kambia, the headquarter town of Kambia District. RUF forces did not attempt to occupy Kambia Town and the attack was staged primarily to demonstrate their ability to strike in areas previously thought to be secure.

In early March 1995, RUF forces moved north into Kono District from Kailahun District and the Tongo Field area in Kenema District, taking advantage of SLA groups abandoning a comprehensive defensive position in favour of illicit mining operations. Throughout March, April and May, RUF forces occupied many towns in the western, diamond-rich area of Kono District, including Koidu Town, which was accompanied by violent acts against the civilian population.

The pattern of RUF activity in Moyamba District in March-April 1995, part of an overall attack from December 1994 to April 1995 across several Districts, clearly shows that their immediate objective was to attack Freetown. The RUF did not initially intend to settle in Moyamba District, rather use it as a transit into the Western Area and the capital. RUF forces attacked Moyamba Junction, in the north of the District, to paralyse any SLA response to a simultaneous attack on Moyamba Town. The group that attacked Moyamba Town would then follow the Moyamba-Freetown road, attacking the major roads and settlements on its way, before being slowed down by SLA forces in the north-west of the District. In March, RUF forces settled in Moyamba District, progressively reaching all the chiefdoms and establishing a strong base in the north, known as "Camp Fol Fol". As the RUF consolidated their hold over Districts in the south and encamped in Moyamba District, SLA forces increased security activities throughout the Western Area, adopting defensive deployments at locations along the road running around the Freetown Peninsula and on the main inland highway.

Also in early March 1995, RUF forces deployed from their Kaitkant Hills base and attacked Mile 91, partly in response to reports of an advance by SLA forces towards RUF positions. In late March, SLA forces coordinated by members of a private military company called the Gurkha Security Group attacked RUF forces at Kaitkant Hills using intensive bombardment from a helicopter gunship and a Guinean Airforce fighter jet. Evacuating the base, RUF forces consolidated at the recently established Camp Fol Fol (Moyamba District). From this location, RUF forces raided the surrounding chiefdoms in Moyamba District between March to May 1995.

In early April, RUF forces moved into the Western Area in a bid to attack Freetown. RUF forces attacked settlements in Koya Rural District in a triangular area delimited by Songo to the east, Waterloo to the west and Fogbo Jetty to the south. RUF forces met resistance from SLA forces. Many civilians were killed and many civilian houses were burnt down by RUF forces. By late April, the RUF had pushed its front lines into Waterloo, where they attacked SLA and Guinean positions in the town. Replacing the Gurkha Security Group, the Government of Sierra Leone contracted another private military company called Executive Outcomes at the beginning of May 1995.

Executive Outcomes started training activities at the Benguema Training Centre near Freetown and formed a "Special Task Force" using a large number of demobilised Liberian militia from ULIMO. The Special Task Force attacked the RUF, pursuing them out of the Western Area. Following this, civilians and SLA forces in the Western Area attacked and killed persons suspected to be "rebel collaborators".

In mid-May, the RUF established a camp at Ro-Source in the west of Bombali District and commenced attacking nearby towns. RUF activity in northern Port Loko District, near Camp Ro-Source, recommenced, following a lull during the RUF push into the Western Area.

Moving to the north-east, Executive Outcomes, together with the SLA and civil militia, attacked RUF positions in Kono District from land and air. They successfully recaptured Koidu Town from the RUF by June. By the end of 1995, Executive Outcomes had control over the western chiefdoms of Kono District, where the mining areas are to be found. This did not, however, prevent RUF

forces from launching "food-finding missions" into the eastern chiefdoms of Kono District and the southern chiefdoms of Koinadugu District.

In June 1995, the RUF commenced a second wave of attacks in Port Loko District, advancing beyond the Foredugu area towards Port Loko Town, attacking on two fronts. The first advance came from the south, possibly again from Kaitkant Hills or from Camp Fol Fol. The second advance was from the north, through Gbinti Town from Camp Ro-Source in Bombali District. Both advances converged upon Port Loko Town on 8 June 1995. RUF forces attacked and entered Port Loko, but did not capture the town from the SLA forces stationed there. Following this attack, RUF forces took up temporary positions in the chiefdoms to the north and east of Port Loko Town. By mid June, a contingent of Guinean soldiers deployed into Port Loko, commencing heavy artillery bombardments on the RUF's positions. This forced an RUF retreat towards Camp Fol Fol (Moyamba District) and Camp Ro-Source (Bombali District). Following their stalled advance on Freetown and the failure to take Port Loko Town, RUF activity concentrated on the strategic town of Masiaka and other towns in the surrounding area across June 1995.

In October 1995, the Special Task Force, comprised of Executive Outcomes, SLA and ULIMO members, deployed to Bonthe District and started dislodging the RUF forces from their positions, notably in the primary mainland town of Mattru Jong. Joined later by Kamajors, the Special Task Force progressively dislodged the RUF from their positions throughout Bonthe District. In late 1995, RUF forces, defeated in certain areas of the District, gathered thousands of civilians at Bauya Junction, killing hundreds of them. A few years later, over 1,000 human skulls would be discovered in that area. RUF activity in Port Loko District continued unabated, with the attack and brief occupation of Lunsar in December.

In 1996, Executive Outcomes controlled the diamond mining areas of Kono District, also taking control of other strategic sites. In collaboration with the Kamajor Society, Executive Outcomes took control of the Sierra Rutile mining operation in mainland Bonthe District and were contracted by the Sierra Ore and Metal Company (Sieromco) in Moyamba District. Alongside the SLA, Executive Outcomes were hired by the owners of the hydroelectric plant at Bumbuna (Tonkolili District) to provide security.

In January 1996, the NPRC Deputy Chairman overthrew the NPRC Chairman, thereby seizing power. In the weeks preceding the Presidential and Parliamentary elections planned for 26 February 1996, RUF forces in a number of locations across Sierra Leone threatened civilians, posing the question about whether they wanted peace before elections, or vice versa; the implication being that "elections before peace" would lead to reprisals against the civilian population. A national consultative conference held in Freetown in February gauged the national mood and decided that elections should go ahead. This decision was not without dissenters other than the RUF, including sections of the SLA and a number of Paramount Chiefs.

In late January and across February, RUF forces attacked Madina, Kukuna and Rokupr in Kambia District and Kamakwie in Bombali District, resulting in huge damage to civilian residences and some particularly brutal killings of civilians. RUF forces staged attacks on villages in Moyamba District, killing, raping and mutilating civilians. Just before Election Day, the NPRC commenced peace talks

with the RUF in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. On Election Day itself, RUF forces attacked the towns of Kenema and Magburaka, the elections nevertheless proceeding in the wake of killing, rape and looting.

Following the February elections which resulted in the formation of a government by the candidate of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), Guinean armed forces were deployed at two locations in the north-west of Sierra Leone. Nigerian forces set up checkpoints in the Western Area and the Nigerian 28th Battalion arrived in Port Loko District. An entire SLA battalion deployed from Freetown to the far east of Kono District. Guinean forces were also deployed in small numbers in southern Koinadugu District and established a base in Kambia District.

Around this period, the various civil militia groups that had formed throughout Sierra Leone were united under a central coordination system known as the Civil Defence Force (CDF) and the Kamajor leader was appointed to the position of Deputy Defence Minister by the newly elected President. The Kamajor Society was the largest component of the CDF, which also included the Gbethis, the Kapras the Donsos and others.

The process of initiating Kamajors already underway in Bonthe District since 1995 spread in 1996 to Bo District. The Kamajor High Priest and Chief Initiator was moved from Bonthe District to Bo District to initiate young men into the Kamajor Society. By late 1995, Kamajor Societies were formed in some of the southern chiefdoms of Bo District. By mid-1996, the initiation process had spread throughout Kenema, Bo and Pujehun Districts and into parts of Moyamba, Kailahun and Tonkolili Districts.

In the early stage of this process, recruitment for the Kamajor Society was carried out exclusively through the traditional authorities, who nominated men from their chiefdoms for initiation. However, as the war escalated and the territory over which the Kamajors gained control increased, new initiates did not require this nomination by traditional authorities.

The most striking feature of 1996 is the exponential increase in strength of the Kamajor Society throughout the Southern and Eastern Provinces. By early 1996, a Kamajor Society had formed in every chiefdom of Bo District. Initiates in Bo District were first sent to locations in Bo Town and Jiama Bongor Chiefdom where they were initiated and given basic military training. In the first half of 1996, initiates from Kenema were sent either to Kenema Town or a location in Bo District for training. In the southern Kenema chiefdoms, Kamajors were initially gathered into two battle groups, one of which was known as the Upper Wanjei Defence Committee. Alongside Nigerian, Guinean and SLA forces and other Kamajor groups from chiefdoms in Bo and Pujehun Districts, the Upper Wanjei Defence Committee successfully destroyed the RUF stronghold of Camp Zogoda. In the north of Kenema District, Kamajor units successfully confronted and eliminated RUF camps, including "Camp Joe Bush", undermining completely the hold over Kenema District that was enjoyed by the RUF throughout 1995. In late 1996, Kamajors attacked another main RUF base known as "Camp Booloko", just north of Bo District. Also in late 1996, Kamajor units in Moyamba District attacked the RUF at Camp Fol Fol, removing one of the RUF's main staging points for attacking Port Loko and Tonkolili Districts. On other occasions, Kamajors from different chiefdoms regrouped in order to engage the RUF more efficiently. Kamajors from Bonthe District were also active in Moyamba District, assisting those chiefdom authorities that did not have a Kamajor Society.

In Tonkolili District, other components of the CDF were formed. Civil militia movements known as the Gbethis and the Kapras were formed in the south and north of the District respectively. The Gbethis were active in the area surrounding the Kaitkant Hills, a former RUF stronghold. In June 1996, Gbethis worked alongside SLA forces stationed in Mile 91, before being driven out of town by SLA forces after a skirmish concerning the division of contributions offered by civilians under their control. The Gbethi leadership demanded that the civilian population provide support for their positions, punishing with physical violence those "RUF collaborators" who did not cooperate willingly. The Gbethis set up checkpoints and patrolled villages at night, looking for "strangers" and fining civilians who failed to give notice of their arrival. Similar practices were carried out by members of the CDF throughout the territory they occupied.

On 30 November 1996, the Government of Sierra Leone negotiated a peace agreement with the RUF leadership in Côte d'Ivoire. One of the key provisions of the Abidjan Peace Accord, as it became known, was the removal of all foreign forces and Executive Outcomes from the country; Executive Outcomes would leave the country by early 1997.

At the beginning of 1997, SLA and CDF forces continued to confront the RUF. "Camp Libya" in Pujehun District, one of the RUF's longest held positions, fell to a combined SLA and CDF attack in the first months of 1997. Until May, Kamajors also engaged the RUF, sacking the RUF's main defence headquarters in the Kangari Hills. RUF activity in Bombali District continued from Camp Ro-Source with a number of food-finding raids into Port Loko. In mid May, RUF forces captured the northern town of Kamakwie, meeting no resistance and capturing an ammunition dump from the SLA forces stationed there.

The tensions between the CDF and SLA that were ignited in 1996 burned on into 1997, with numerous armed confrontations between the two forces throughout the country. For example, in Tonkolili District, SLA forces ambushed a Kamajor night patrol and attacked Gbethis defending Yonibana. Kamajors in Pujehun District forcibly dismantled SLA checkpoints. These tensions led the SLA to abandon some chiefdoms. Already in the middle of 1996, civilians from Moyamba District had asked the governmental authorities in Freetown to withdraw the SLA forces from the District. SLA forces moved out shortly after and left the security of the District to the Kamajors who, by the end of the year, had control of the south of the District, while RUF forces were still active in the north of the District. The CDF, however, was partially weakened in Kono District with the disbanding of the Donsos in February 1997 as a sign of good faith in the wake of the Abidjan Peace Accord.

Civilian populations fared badly throughout areas controlled by both CDF and SLA forces. Throughout Moyamba and Bonthe Districts, civilians suspected of being "RUF collaborators" or who were considered to be insufficiently supportive or respectful of the CDF, were subjected to gruesome punishments. In the areas they controlled, Kamajors put in place rudimentary administrative structures, preventing regular local authorities from exercising any power and took actions affecting various aspects of civilian life. These practices continued throughout the following

years. The SLA also continued their illicit mining and looting activities, often using civilians to carry the loads.

On 25 May 1997, junior elements of the SLA overthrew the elected government of President Kabbah. This coup d'état resulted in the formation of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), led by an SLA officer awaiting trial in Pademba Road Prison in Freetown, charged with treason for a planned coup attempt. Immediately following the advent of the AFRC, its leadership called for the RUF to join them and share power, an offer the RUF leadership promptly accepted. Immediately following the coup, AFRC forces looted extensively throughout Freetown and the Peninsula area. A large RUF force moved into the Western Area, initially concentrating around Waterloo and Hastings, stealing from and harassing civilians.

Following the coup, former-SLA deployments gave the AFRC a strong foothold throughout the country, particularly in the major towns of Freetown, Bo, Kenema, Koidu, Pujehun and Bonthe. The AFRC did not inherit territory the SLA did not control, such as CDF strongholds. Nevertheless, AFRC positions were reinforced and strengthened when RUF forces allied with them, moving from the bush towards towns where the AFRC was deployed. The RUF also established new positions throughout the north. RUF forces moved into Port Loko District, living amongst the civilian population. In Bombali District, they occupied a number of strategic locations. They also established a large base in Kambia District. At this time, the RUF/AFRC staged a sharp and brutal attack against the civilian population, including massive killings, abductions, rapes and other acts of severe violence; staged simultaneously across the whole country, every District would be affected to different degrees.

The RUF/AFRC immediately found itself in a tense standoff with Nigerian forces stationed in Freetown. Nigerian forces were reinforced by sea and air in the days following the coup. At the beginning of June, Nigerian forces attempted to unseat the RUF/AFRC but the operation was called off the day it had begun, when RUF/AFRC forces overpowered and briefly held hostage around 300 Nigerian soldiers. Nigerian forces took control of Freetown International Airport in the following days, although civilians were killed during exchanges of mortar fire between Nigerian and RUF/AFRC forces throughout the year.

Throughout 1997, the RUF/AFRC appeared to have two closely related priorities. The first was to destroy the base of support for the CDF movement. The second was to consolidate their hold over the country and find ways of supporting their regime. Accordingly, the RUF/AFRC began suppressing political dissent, civil society and student activism in Freetown. RUF/AFRC forces in Freetown arrested many journalists, activists and demonstrators. Some were tortured and killed, others detained in freight containers and other places.

In June, the CDF rejected a call by the leadership of RUF/AFRC to demobilise and surrender their arms and register at Police Stations. Instead, the CDF retreated to strongholds where there was no previous SLA – now RUF/AFRC – deployment and commenced attacking combined AFRC and RUF positions. CDF forces in Bonthe District did not, however, go underground, as RUF/AFRC forces were concentrated in Bonthe Town on Sherbro Island and not on the mainland.

On the boundary between Kenema and Kailahun Districts, RUF/AFRC forces established a base known as "SS Camp" and used this to attack surrounding villages and towns in the hunt for "CDF collaborators". Throughout the areas in which they were deployed, RUF/AFRC forces attacked civilian settlements and hunted through the bush for civilians, stealing any property they found. In general, screening systems were put in place, especially at checkpoints, where RUF/AFRC forces were searching civilians thoroughly for any evidence that they were supporters of the CDF. Such brutal tactics swelled the numbers of civilians willing to give active support and be initiated into the Kamajor Society.

In some places, more sophisticated methods of extracting support from civilians were put into place by the RUF/AFRC, including local tax administrations and systems allowing the regime to communicate demands to civilians less violently. Nevertheless, the number of "food-finding missions" ballooned, including such plainly-titled looting sprees as "Operation From your Hand to My Hand, from Your Pocket to my Pocket". In Tonkolili District, RUF/AFRC forces concentrated their actions in the chiefdoms around Mile 91 and in the area around Magburaka, where they were strongly engaged by the CDF from the south and west of the District.

In Moyamba District, a CDF stronghold, the RUF/AFRC commenced an aggressive campaign, culminating in the attack on and week-long occupation of Moyamba Town in July 1997. RUF/AFRC forces perpetrated large scale violence against civilians in retaliation for the earlier rejection by civilians of SLA protection. Until CDF forces repelled the RUF/AFRC from Moyamba Junction, the Mile 91-Bo highway fell under RUF/AFRC control, evidenced by intense attacks on towns and their civilian inhabitants along the route. The mainland of Bonthe District remained under CDF control, but they were forced to move from Bonthe Town after the RUF/AFRC deployment in the town. Throughout 1997, RUF/AFRC forces occupied the diamond-rich areas of Kono District, continuing the established practice of forcing civilians to work in the mines.

In August 1997, ECOWAS imposed a trade and arms embargo on Sierra Leone and extended the mandate of their Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to cover sanctions enforcement in Sierra Leone. ECOMOG artillery and Alfa Jets began shelling vessels approaching Freetown's Kissy Terminal; stray ECOMOG shells resulted in the deaths of civilians in Freetown's densely populated east end. Eventually, ECOMOG and the RUF/AFRC negotiated a ceasefire in late October. This, however, did not hold firm and there were many breaches of the letter and spirit of the ceasefire agreement.

Starting in September 1997, having regrouped in villages and strongholds, CDF forces successfully launched attacks on RUF/AFRC positions. These actions would yield greater results in early 1998 with the inland advance of ECOMOG forces. In late December 1997, CDF forces intensified pressure on provincial RUF/AFRC positions by preventing civilian and military traffic from moving towards Freetown and vice versa. The consequences of "Operation Black December" – namely the deprivation of food and other supplies - were sharply felt in the towns of Bo, Kenema and Pujehun. From then until March 1998, the CDF would engage in a systematic attack against the civilian population, including massive killing of "RUF collaborators", the widespread use of small cages in which they imprisoned people and similar acts of brutality.

Between 6 and 12 February 1998, following renewed RUF/AFRC attacks on ECOMOG positions, ECOMOG forces invaded Freetown and gained control of the Western Area, forcing RUF/AFRC forces to retreat inland. From the Western Area, RUF/AFRC forces retreated along the main highway to Masiaka, where they split into three groups. The first headed directly towards Magburaka through Mile 91. The second group moved to Makeni (Bombali District) through Lunsar. These two groups would meet after 14 February and move to Kono District, occupying main towns along the route. The third group regrouped at a pre-existing RUF/AFRC base in Port Loko District and moved northwards into Kambia District. RUF/AFRC forces counter-attacked ECOMOG and CDF positions on the roads to Port Loko Town. All these groups left in their wake a trail of destruction, including the loss of civilian life and property.

The RUF/AFRC forces reaching Makeni and Magburaka moved into Kono District along two routes. One group moved along the main highway though southern Tonkolili District, enduring ambushes from CDF forces positioned along the route. The second group moved into Koinadugu District, both by the main highway through Foredugu and along a secondary road though Bumbuna, before moving south into Kono District.

By 21 February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces had reasserted control over Koidu Town and its immediate environs. A large RUF/AFRC base known as "Superman Camp" was established in the east of Kono District and served as a training base through 1998 and 1999. Shortly after, RUF/AFRC forces scattered throughout the District and parts of the southern chiefdoms of Koinadugu District.

At the beginning of March, ECOMOG forces deployed from Port Loko and moved into towns throughout the Northern Province, following the retreating RUF/AFRC forces and reaching Lunsar, Magburaka, Masingbi and Makeni. By mid March, they had entered Kabala, Foredugu and Alikalia (Koinadugu District). In addition, by mid March, ECOMOG had also occupied the towns of Kamakwie (Bombali District), Falaba and Mongo Bendugu (Koinadugu District), which are the key access routes to the Guinean border for the entire Northern Province. ECOMOG forces also deployed from Guinea to Kambia Town. Throughout their deployment, ECOMOG forces were assisted by CDF members in patrolling these areas.

From the southern entry point, ECOMOG moved directly north and in early February entered Kenema Town, which had been deserted by RUF/AFRC forces a few days earlier. Since December 1997, CDF forces had undermined RUF/AFRC control over Kenema District. Shortly after entering Kenema Town, ECOMOG and CDF forces overran SS Camp. By March 1998, the RUF/AFRC had retreated from Kenema District entirely, although in April they made a few minor incursions from Kailahun District.

As ECOMOG forces coming from Kenema Town retook Bo Town from the RUF/AFRC in early March, CDF forces dislodged the RUF/AFRC from Pujehun District. RUF/AFRC forces withdrew from Sherbro Island in the days following the ECOMOG intervention, leaving the District entirely under the control of the CDF (Kamajors). From Bo Town, ECOMOG deployed in Mile 91, where they engaged in patrolling the area, assisted by the CDF. By March 1998, the entire Southern Province was free of the presence of RUF/AFRC forces and would remain so throughout the year,

although RUF/AFRC forces retreating from Freetown who went through the Northern Province towards Makeni and ultimately Koidu Town made a few rapid incursions into the north of Moyamba District. Nevertheless, the level of violence inflicted upon civilians and those alleged to have collaborated with the RUF/AFRC heightened in 1998 since CDF forces, primarily Kamajors, were unchallenged throughout this Province and in most of Kenema District. The CDF progressively exercised greater control over civilian life, replacing both State and traditional structures with their own invasive and largely arbitrary system of administration.

By April, ECOMOG units attacked and occupied Koidu Town and other major towns on the main highway, forcing the RUF/AFRC further into Kono District. ECOMOG forces based in Kenema Town, together with SLA and CDF forces, reinforced the Moa Barracks at Daru and other positions in the south of Kailahun District. Between March and May, RUF/AFRC forces attacked these positions as ECOMOG Jets attacked the RUF/AFRC headquarters in Buedu, in the far east of Kailahun District.

Following their ejection from Freetown and the commencement of ECOMOG provincial operations, RUF/AFRC forces launched "Operation Pay Yourself". In all the areas passed through or occupied while retreating from the Western Area, RUF/AFRC forces stole civilian property. Between mid February and mid March, towns and villages throughout the entire Northern Province and, to a limited extent, the north of Moyamba District were attacked. RUF/AFRC forces took anything that could be of use, from livestock and other food items, domestic items such as mattresses and cooking pots and motor vehicles, trucks and motorcycles. Although looting had been standard practice throughout the previous RUF campaigns and "food-finding missions" had been commonplace since 1992, the scale and intensity of "Operation Pay Yourself" was unprecedented in Sierra Leone.

A heightened level of violence against civilians accompanied "Operation Pay Yourself". Shortly after the reinstatement of the exiled Sierra Leonean President on 10 March 1998, RUF/AFRC forces launched "Operation No Living Thing". During a period running from February to June, in locations across Sierra Leone, but primarily in Kono District, hundreds of civilians were killed, or had limbs amputated and hundreds of women were raped. This operation marked a specific period of military activity during which the scale and intensity of violence against civilians in Sierra Leone was elevated to new and unprecedented levels. Thousands of civilians in Kono District were abducted and brought into the mining areas in the western part of the District to work, many of them dying as a result of the squalid living conditions.

From April to early December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces in Kambia, Koinadugu and Bombali Districts expanded the territory over which they had control and consolidated their positions in some areas in Tonkolili District. A striking feature of this period in 1998 was how ineffective CDF forces and other civil militia groups in Bombali and Koinadugu Districts were compared to their high concentration and success in the Southern and Eastern Provinces and, to a lesser extent, in the south and west of Moyamba District. In those areas where ECOMOG cooperated with what groups did exist and CDF forces deployed alongside them, their forces often had success in holding rural outposts, gaining good intelligence and extending their influence throughout smaller settlements in the surrounding bush. There are episodes, however, indicating that ECOMOG was reluctant to

leave main fortified positions, or support others in so doing, thereby handing RUF/AFRC forces immeasurable advantages.

In Koinadugu District, RUF/AFRC forces gradually expanded their activity around the two main roads arcing in towards Kabala from the south of the District, while at the same time moving fluidly through bush areas bypassing ECOMOG positions and continuing their operations without needing recourse to main roads and tracks. A strong ECOMOG and SLA presence in Kabala guaranteed that the RUF/AFRC never captured Kabala for more than five days in late July 1998, despite many attacks during the course of 1998. Nevertheless, RUF/AFRC placed all other major towns in the District under constant pressure, offering RUF/AFRC forces easy access to the area surrounding Kabala Town and influence over the arterial roads leading to it. ECOMOG forces were prevented from moving south, pre-empting any attempt to reinforce or counter-attack from Kabala.

In Bombali District, the RUF/AFRC adopted a similar strategy. They expanded their territorial hold and continued the occupation of towns to east of Makeni Town, thereby controlling the major eastwest axis roads through the District. Throughout November, RUF/AFRC advanced closer to Makeni Town. Additionally, they secured control over a main latitudinal road, which gave the RUF/AFRC free access to the eastern boundary of Port Loko District.

In Port Loko District, RUF/AFRC forces intensified activity to the north of Port Loko Town between May and November 1998, with the formation of large looting squads and the gradual encroachment on Port Loko Town. ECOMOG forces based in the town were reinforced by CDF from numerous locations. CDF forces proved effective in Port Loko District, creating with ECOMOG a defensive arc around the north of Port Loko Town that prevented RUF/AFRC forces infiltrating southwards from Kambia District. During this period, RUF/AFRC forces attacked many villages in the south of the District. As for Tonkolili District, CDF continued engaging the RUF/AFRC forces concentrated in the north-west of the District. A massive IDP camp hosting thousands of civilians fleeing fighting in Kono District was opened in Masingbi in the west of the District.

In mid April, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 10-strong team of military and security observers to Sierra Leone, who arrived in May 1998. The UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), comprising around 70 military observers and accompanying logistic support, was established on 13 July 1998.

In October 1998, a splinter group of the RUF/AFRC comprised primarily of ex-SLA members commenced operations in the Okra Hills area in the south of Port Loko District. The "West Side Boys", as they later became known, staged "hit and run" attacks on a large number of villages in the area that would continue until April 1999, with a lull in January and February when the West Side Boys were in Freetown. During this period, the West Side Boys systematically killed civilians, stole property and burnt houses. In addition, they ambushed civilian and military traffic on the main highway to Masiaka, often making the road impassable.

RUF/AFRC forces attacked ECOMOG forces in Masiaka (Port Loko District), and Kamalo, in the north of Bombali District in November 1998. These preparations would put the logs beneath the

stones of a large-scale RUF/AFRC action in December. Kono Town was overrun by RUF/AFRC forces on 20 December 1998, beginning a chain of attacks across the Northern Province that culminated in the invasion of Freetown on 6 January 1999. These would be accompanied by massive violence systematically inflicted on the civilian population in all areas in which the RUF/AFRC had a presence. While retreating south from Koidu, ECOMOG left with thousands of civilians, hundreds of whom were abducted by the RUF/AFRC during ambushes on convoys.

On 21 December, RUF/AFRC forces from Port Loko District attacked Songo and Mile 38 and moved into Waterloo – the gateway to Freetown – by 22 December. This foothold was reinforced over the following days, as RUF/AFRC forces began moving from Kono District on 21 December. RUF/AFRC forces advanced from Koidu towards Magburaka and Makeni, taking control of both towns by 24 December. The attack from Magburaka was coordinated with attacks on Makeni from RUF/AFRC positions immediately north-east of the town. ECOMOG was forced to retreat north to Kamakwie, which by 28 December would also be in RUF/AFRC hands.

RUF/AFRC forces continued the westwards movement from Makeni directly to Port Loko Town, where they were supplemented by RUF/AFRC forces already in Port Loko District and prepared for the assault. From 28 December 1998 until 3 January 1999, they launched a sustained attack from three directions on ECOMOG forces stationed in Port Loko Town. Meanwhile, on 30 December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces in Kailahun District moved from their headquarters in Buedu and successfully forced SLA and ECOMOG units out of the town of Segbwema. This move was undertaken to pre-empt any possible counter-attack on Freetown from SLA and ECOMOG forces based at the Moa Barracks in Daru. In mid January, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Mile 91, blocking the highway leading to Freetown and pre-empting any ECOMOG counter-attack.

After staging a number of preliminary attacks on towns west of Waterloo in the Western Area, RUF/AFRC forces advanced on Freetown. On 6 January, RUF/AFRC entered the eastern end of Freetown and advanced into the centre. On the first day, RUF/AFRC forces released 700 inmates from Pademba Road Prison. During their advance in the capital, hundreds of civilians were killed, mutilated or raped in the eastern end of Freetown. At night, in the Freetown suburbs held by the RUF/AFRC, civilians were forced to gather in the streets and sing songs about peace in support of the RUF/AFRC. Others were burned alive in their homes. Behind ECOMOG lines, civilians were gathered in the National Stadium and screened; a number were lined up against the walls and shot dead by ECOMOG forces. The westward movement of RUF/AFRC forces into Freetown was halted by ECOMOG at the Congo Cross Road Bridge on Freetown's Main Motor Road, held by ECOMOG, SLA and CDF forces. By 9 January, unable to advance further into the Freetown urban area and under constant attack from ECOMOG Alpha Jets, the RUF/AFRC were forced to retreat gradually from Freetown back towards Waterloo.

In the following days, ECOMOG forces pushed the RUF/AFRC out of the Greater Freetown Area. During the retreat, RUF/AFRC destroyed much of the State infrastructure in the centre of town, killed and mutilated civilians and burnt down many houses. RUF/AFRC forces held firm in Waterloo until late February and remained in control of Masiaka and Mile 91. The towns of Lunsar and Magburaka, however, remained under firm RUF/AFRC control for much longer.

Following the assault on Freetown, the RUF/AFRC clearly concentrated their actions on mining activities, strengthening their positions in the Northern Province and planning actions to take place on Guinean territory. At this time, the RUF/AFRC commenced a large defensive operation, at the heart of which was their continuing occupation of Makeni and Kono District. The RUF/AFRC defensive headquarters was also moved to Makeni at that time. Between February and July 1999, RUF/AFRC forces consolidated their positions as of December 1998 and expanded their control over Kambia District. The RUF/AFRC's strength throughout the Northern Province guaranteed a strong hand during the peace negotiations that started in the aftermath of the Freetown invasion.

Across the Northern Province and Kono District, RUF/AFRC forces devised methods of rationalising the use of civilians by making them participate in their own administration. Throughout Koinadugu, Bombali and Kambia Districts, RUF/AFRC commanders selected individuals to form committees of "G-5" civil-military intermediaries, communicating RUF/AFRC demands for food and human resources to local communities. The G-5 committees administered the collection of house and trade taxes, food and other financial contributions from the civilian population to the RUF/AFRC. In western Tonkolili District, civilians were required to register with the RUF/AFRC military police. Unregistered civilians were deemed "CDF collaborators" and were flogged, fined or killed. However, G-5 committees proved to be inadequate in providing enough subsistence resources for the combined RUF/AFRC forces, and "food-finding missions" again proliferated through the Northern Province. In a cynical irony, the same commanders that supported the G-5 system by ordering their subordinates to cease looting and theft also ordered the commission of food-finding missions, again increasing the levels of violence inflicted on civilians. Facing shortages, RUF/AFRC forces raided trade fairs in Guinean towns just over the border from Kambia District, prompting the Guinean armed forces to bombard suspected RUF/AFRC positions in the District.

In late January 1999, SLA forces deployed in Bumbuna, a town in the north of Tonkolili District. This brought a limited amount of relief to the civilian population who quickly converged on the town. The area surrounding Bumbuna remained under RUF/AFRC control, although Kamajors from the south of the District continually attacked this concentration of RUF/AFRC forces. This fighting led to the substantial destruction of much of the central chiefdoms of Tonkolili District.

CDF forces strengthened their deployment in Port Loko District, where they established a recruitment and training centre, and the south of Tonkolili District. CDF forces directed excesses of violence at civilians as a means of encouraging the creation of more Gbethi Societies in the District, as people frequently joined in order to avoid harassment by the CDF. Nevertheless, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Port Loko Town in May 1999. In April 1999, CDF, SLA and ECOMOG forces retook control of Mile 91, which rapidly saw the influx of thousands of civilians from the areas around Makeni and Magburaka.

In the north of Kenema District, the RUF/AFRC retook control of Tongo Field, the most important diamond mining area in the District. CDF forces continually attacked RUF positions in Tongo Field, but did not disrupt mining operations. South-east of Tongo Field, RUF/AFRC forces maintained a hold over Segbwema (Kailahun District), denying the CDF, ECOMOG and the SLA the opportunity of moving north into Kono District from Moa Barracks. The RUF/AFRC diamond mining office was established in Koakuima, to the immediate south of Koidu. All diamonds mined

by RUF/AFRC operations were trafficked through Koakuima onto their final destinations. Throughout 1999, hundreds of civilians from Kono District who had not fled into neighbouring Guinea were abducted to work in the mining areas of the District. RUF/AFRC forces continued to inflict physical violence on civilians, although on a lower scale than in 1998. Throughout RUF/AFRC-occupied areas of Sierra Leone, civilians were forcibly transported into Kono District to work in the mines.

In Koinadugu District, RUF/AFRC intensified gold mining operations in Diang Chiefdom, at the same time putting pressure on the SLA Brigade stationed at the strategic hydroelectric plant in nearby Bumbuna (Tonkolili District). RUF/AFRC forces had unimpeded access along all main roads in Koinadugu District, surrounding Kabala Town completely. RUF/AFRC brigade headquarters were established in Kayima, in Kono District and in Gberifeh (Koinadugu District) splitting between them responsibility for administering the expansive Neini Chiefdom.

The RUF/AFRC divided Bombali District into two, establishing headquarters in Makeni for the south and Kamakwie for the north. The intermediate territory remained under complete RUF/AFRC control. The RUF/AFRC began conscripting large numbers of able-bodied men in Bombali and Tonkolili Districts, in part due to CDF attacks on Magburaka Town. The RUF/AFRC increased their control over the northern chiefdoms of Bombali District, crossing the Little Scarcies River and establishing stronger supply lines by land through to Kambia Town, which was occupied completely in February 1999. The RUF/AFRC's increasing hold over Kambia District was sealed with the establishment of additional RUF/AFRC bases and a brigade headquarter in the District. The RUF/AFRC also occupied many of the wharf towns on the Great Scarcies River, thereby controlling a valuable economic and strategic asset. ECOMOG forces created checkpoints on main roads leading to Kambia Town, but this did little to prevent the RUF/AFRC moving freely throughout the District.

Throughout 1999, the West Side Boys raided villages located on each side of the Rokel Creek in Koya and Maforki Chiefdoms (Port Loko District). Initially operating from a base in the densely forested Okra Hills inside Koya Chiefdom, the West Side Boys opened a new base on the other bank of the Rokel Creek in Maforki Chiefdom.

Except for brief "food-finding missions" carried out by RUF/AFRC units into parts of northern Moyamba District, the CDF hold over Moyamba, Bonthe, Pujehun, Bo and most of Kenema Districts, bar the mining area in the north, remained unchallenged.

Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (Lomé Peace Agreement). Shortly after the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed, the main RUF/AFRC training centre at Camp Superman (Kono District) was supplanted by a new one in Gbendembu Town, north of Makeni. This was primarily to train conscripts for missions into Guinea.

After a few months, however, hostilities resumed in Bombali District, with the RUF/AFRC attacking civilians. Internal divisions within the RUF/AFRC created following the retreat from Freetown heightened, resulting in violent confrontations between the senior commanders of the combined movement as the disarmament process grew nearer. To a certain extent, the RUF and the remnants of the AFRC started controlling different parts of the country. In Kailahun District, disagreements over disarmament between the RUF leader and the most senior RUF officer resulted in the flight of the latter to Liberia.

On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone, to assist with the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement. The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) commenced deployment in late November 1999 and by 10 January, 4,500 UNAMSIL troops were present in Sierra Leone. The UNAMSIL force was initially deployed alongside ECOMOG forces and was gradually reinforced as the United Nations Security Council expanded the size of the mission.

Despite the official launching of the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) program by the Sierra Leonean President in Freetown on 4 November 1999 and a nationwide sensitisation tour conducted by the leaders of the RUF, the AFRC and the CDF, hostilities rapidly resumed. The CDF in Kono District engaged the RUF/AFRC forces in the north and east of the country but failed to impact upon the strongly embedded RUF/AFRC forces, who retained their positions in the north of Tonkolili District and in the areas bordering Bombali and Port Loko Districts.

In early May 2000 and following the withdrawal of the last Nigerian ECOMOG contingent, RUF forces launched a number of attacks against UNAMSIL peacekeepers in Kambia, Port Loko, Tonkolili, Bombali and Kailahun Districts, leading to the taking of around 500 UN peacekeepers as hostages. Following the capture of the UNAMSIL peacekeepers, RUF forces first advanced southwest along the main highway towards Masiaka and Songo, unsuccessfully attempting to occupy the towns. As these events unfolded, the bodyguards of the RUF leader fired on a crowd of thousands of civilians gathered around his home in Freetown, killing around 20 people. The RUF leader was later captured in Freetown and detained by the Government of Sierra Leone. RUF/AFRC forces then attacked Port Loko Town, but were repelled by UNAMSIL and SLA forces. UK armed forces arrived in Freetown to provide security for the Freetown area and, in the following months, to retrain the SLA. By the middle of July, the RUF/AFRC had released all the UNAMSIL peacekeepers it had previously captured. The SLA also staged a number of counter-attacks, attempting to retake Lunsar and using a helicopter gunship to bombard RUF/AFRC positions in and around the major towns of Makeni, Magburaka and Rokupr and other locations in the Northern Province, resulting in civilian casualties.

On 30 August, 11 UK Royal Marines were taken hostage by the West Side Boys in the Okra Hills area. Following a breakdown in negotiations, UK paratroops rescued the hostages in September 2000, practically destroying this volatile splinter group in the process.

Starting in July, the hostilities had become sporadic and in August 2000, RUF/AFRC forces surrendered to UN peacekeepers in Kabala. The disarmament process continued, although the RUF/AFRC were still engaged in mining activities, mainly in the centre of Koidu Town.

In May 2000, RUF forces in Kono District started engaging Guinean forces in the Guinean area known as "The Parrot's Beak", using the hundreds of civilians they had abducted and trained during the previous months. In early September 2000, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Guinean towns of Pamelap and Madina Oula and carried out similar actions in the Parrot's Beak area from Kailahun District. Throughout September and October, Guinean forces also adopted a "hot pursuit" policy, in which RUF bases inside Sierra Leone along the Guinean–Sierra Leonean border were directly attacked in addition to the pursuit of RUF/AFRC forces from inside Guinea. This was manifested through intensified artillery and helicopter gunship bombardment of towns just south of the border in Sierra Leone, resulting in many civilian casualties and in the large-scale displacement of the population, mainly Sierra Leoneans who had found refuge in Guinea. Guinean armed forces also moved their security checks three miles inside the territory of Sierra Leone in Bombali District and erected some checkpoints in Kailahun District. RUF/AFRC forces nevertheless continued to attack Pamelap and Guinean infantry and airborne operations against RUF/AFRC positions in Kambia District continued into 2001.

Representatives of the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone met in Abuja, Nigeria, to negotiate the reactivation of the ceasefire and peace agreement signed in Lomé in July 1999. The Abuja Ceasefire Agreement was signed on 10 November 2000. In December 2000, RUF forces went to Guinea to bring back Sierra Leonean refugees as a proof of their commitment to the peace process. By January 2001, thousands of Sierra Leoneans were thus brought back to the east of Kono District, where they were relocated by the RUF to different towns across RUF territory. Harassment, however, continued and many civilians were sent to Koidu to work in the mines.

In the first three months of 2001, RUF/AFRC forces entered into negotiations with UNAMSIL. This resulted in the opening of a number of key stretches of road leading into Kambia and Bombali Districts and the eventual deployment of UNAMSIL peacekeepers throughout those areas.

In March and April 2001, Donsos and Kamajors who had sought refuge in Guinea were armed by Guinean authorities and launched successful attacks on RUF forces in the east of Kono District, thereby opening three flanks in Kono and Kailahun Districts. They were, however, prevented from entering Koidu Town when the RUF requested the intervention of UMASIL to remind the CDF of the terms of the successive ceasefire agreements.

The November 2000 ceasefire was renewed in Abuja on 4 May 2001 and it was agreed that an accelerated disarmament should be carried out on a District-based level. To this end, disarmament was to take place successively and simultaneously in two Districts. The DDR program started in Kambia and Port Loko Districts, where in May 2001, reception centres were opened. In Port Loko District, the DDR process was accompanied by sporadic looting of civilian settlements by demobilised members of all factions. The stealing of corrugated zinc roofing material from houses was commonplace. Nevertheless, disarmament continued across the country throughout 2001; the

last two Districts to be disarmed were Kailahun and Kenema. Mining activities would continue in Kono District until the last days of the disarmament.

Following disarmament and demobilisation of members of all the different fighting factions, the Sierra Leonean President declared that the war was over and held a symbolic "Arms Burning Ceremony" at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom, Port Loko District) on 18 January 2002.

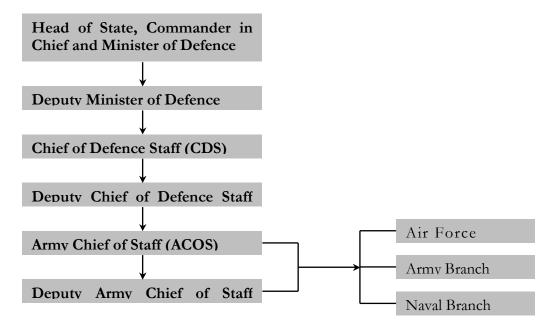
Chapter Three: Overview of Armed Forces Involved in the Sierra Leone Conflict

1. Fighting factions

a. The Republic of Sierra Leone Military Forces (RSLMF)

The Republic of Sierra Leone Military Forces (RSLMF) is commonly known and referred to as the Sierra Leone Army (SLA). When RUF/NPFL forces commenced military operations in the south and east of Sierra Leone in March 1991, the SLA was under-staffed, under-equipped and often poorly trained. The SLA had three battalionsdeployed in the Eastern and Southern Provinces.

Until 2002, when the Government of Sierra Leone embarked on significant military reforms, the sennior heirarchy of the SLA was as follows:



Army Branch forces below Army Chief of Staff were and are divided into brigades, battalions, companies, platoons and sections, with a conventional officer and non-commissioned officer ranking hierarchy. In addition to barracks in provincial Sierra Leone, the SLA has a number of major installations in the Western Area, including the Defence Headquarters at Cockerill and the Armed Forces Training Centre near Waterloo.

From the beginning of the war in 1991, the SLA did not engage RUF forces unaccompanied. In addition to ad-hoc civilian security initiatives and local militias, including those evolved from traditional hunting societies throughout Sierra Leone, the SLA fought alongside foreign forces primarily from other West African countries at different times throughout the conflict. This foreign involvement was also expressed through the provision of logistics, resources, military training and guidance to the SLA. As the war progressed, the SLA collaborated with a Liberian fighting force engaged in the Liberian conflict called ULIMO and a selection of international private military companies, including the Gurkha Security Guards and Executive Outcomes. In 1992, a contingent of the SLA made up part of the ECOMOG peacekeeping forces in Liberia.

On two occasions during the 11-year conflict, in 1992 and in 1997, members of the SLA overthrew the Government of Sierra Leone, establishing military regimes in its place. The two juntas were very different in nature. On 29 April 1992, junior officers of the SLA came to Freetown to complain about the desperate situation on the war front. They successfully staged a coup, ousting the then President and the All People's Congress (APC) establishment. They created the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), swearing in 25 year-old Captain Strasser as Head of State. Shortly after the coup, SLA members looted civilian property in major centres, particularly in Freetown and the Western Area. In December 1992, SLA members suspected of having planned a coup were convicted of treason and executed, resulting in international condemnation of the NPRC. The NPRC engaged in an extensive recruitment drive, more than doubling the number of infantry available to the SLA by 1994. New recruits received only summary military training before being sent to the front lines and were unable to contain the RUF advance across the country, despite initial successes in 1993.

The swelling of the SLA ranks was accompanied by some breakdowns in discipline, compounding many of the problems already caused by the dramatic subversion of the traditional military hierarchy by junior officers. SLA attacks against civilians, including theft and summary executions of suspected RUF "collaborators" and the SLA's inability to protect civilians from RUF attacks led to a profound deterioration in civil-military relations. Many called the SLA "So-bels", or "Soldier-Rebels", noting that in some cases there was little to distinguish the two. The NPRC regime came to an end with the Presidential and Parliamentary elections in February and March 1996, during which the leader of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) was elected President of Sierra Leone.

Just over a year later, on 25 May 1997, SLA officers staged a military coup, ousting the Sierra Leonean President and establishing a military regime called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The elected Government moved into Guinea. Unlike the NPRC, the AFRC chose not to fight the RUF; rather, the AFRC Chairman — Johnny Paul Koroma — called upon the RUF leadership to join the AFRC regime, which they promptly did. The majority of the SLA aligned with the AFRC, but some "loyal SLA" retained an allegiance to the elected Government. As the coup was driven by non-commissioned officers, most of the senior SLA officers who did not want to take part in the new regime went into hiding, chased by AFRC members. This military regime was ousted from power in February 1998 by an ECOMOG military intervention.

The situation of the SLA became a priority for the Sierra Leonean President after his reinstatement on 10 March 1998. During a presidential address delivered on 22 May 1998, President Kabbah revealed he had appointed the former ECOMOG Task Force Commander as Chief of Defence Staff to "use his wide experience in helping [Sierra Leone] to develop guidelines for putting together a new army." Two months later, the disbanding of the "unpatriotic Army" was announced. The framework of the new army, composed of 5,000 members was announced to Sierra Leoneans in

¹⁵ Presidential address delivered on the occasion of the State Opening of the Second Session of the First Parliament of the Second Republic of Sierra Leone, 22 May 1998: http://www.sierraleone.org/kabbah052298.html.

¹⁶ Statement of the Sierra Leonean President at the Special United Nations Conference on Sierra Leone held at the United Nations, New York, 30 July 1998.

early September.¹⁷ Newly trained SLA members began fighting alongside ECOMOG forces. Earlier in the year, former SLA members were hastily retrained by ECOMOG forces and absorbed into the ECOMOG force structure to help fight the retreating RUF/AFRC forces in the Provinces.¹⁸

In the middle of 2000 and at the request of the Sierra Leonean Government, the United Kingdom started providing assistance in the "national restructuring exercise" of the SLA by providing advice and training. ¹⁹ UK forces carried out a series of six-week basic training courses for around eight battalions of the SLA. ²⁰ The 180-strong team began arriving in Freetown on 10 June 2000, ²¹ dovetailing with the withdrawal of the Royal Marines after 15 June 2000. ²² On 24 July, nearly 1,000 SLA members graduated from the UK-run training course, ²³ the first group of a total of around 8,000 who would eventually be trained this way. SLA forces again began to participate in combat actions against the RUF/AFRC in mid 2000.

Following the initial rounds of UK short-term training programs, a UK-led long-term International Military and Training Team (IMATT) was established to push a wider process of military reform. In 2002, the SLA was renamed Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) and the separate army, navy, and air force command structures were restructured.²⁴

b. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF)

The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) commenced attacks inside Sierra Leone on 23 March 1991, at which time little information about the RUF was available to the public. The RUF finds its origins in a movement to overthrow the regime of the All People's Congress (APC). In an internal RUF document written in the early stage of the conflict and entitled "Reasons Why We Took Up Arms to Fight", it is stated that, "We are fighting against corruption, because the past and present government seized political, economic and social justice in this country". In 1991, the RUF was composed of around 230 members. These included former Fourah Bay College students, political opponents of the APC, former members of the SLA and other public figures that considered themselves victims of the APC regime. The majority were trained in Liberia at Camp Namma, although eight of the original members – referred to as "vanguards" –were trained in warfare and the "ideology" in Libya. RUF numbers swelled rapidly following their entry into Sierra Leone.

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¹⁷ See point 10 of the Broadcast to the Nation on Peace and Security by the Sierra Leonean President.

¹⁸ The ECOMOG 128th Infantry Battalion was created to remedy the ECOMOG personnel shortage in their "mopping up operations" in the province and was mainly composed of former SLA members: Brig. Gen. R. A. Adeshina: *The Reversed Victory: Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc., pp. 66-7.

¹⁹ Address by the Sierra Leone President at the Pass Off Ceremony for the First 1000 Military Personnel, under the UK Short-term Training Program, Benguema Training Centre, 22 July 2000:

²⁰ The UK Military handed over to the UK-led International Military and Advisory Training Team (IMATT) in September 2001.

²¹ BBC Online News, 10 June 2000 (19:28 GMT 20:28 UK).

²² IRIN West Africa, 14 June 2000.

²³ IRIN West Africa, 24 July 2000.

²⁴ IRIN West Africa, 22 January 2002. See also the speech of the Sierra Leone President at the Opening of the New Defence Ministry Building, Tower Hill, Freetown, 21 January 2002.

²⁵ See also the RUF's manifesto, *The Footpaths to Democracy, Towards a new Sierra Leone.* For a full text of this manifesto, see http://www.sierra-leone.org/documents.html#RUF.

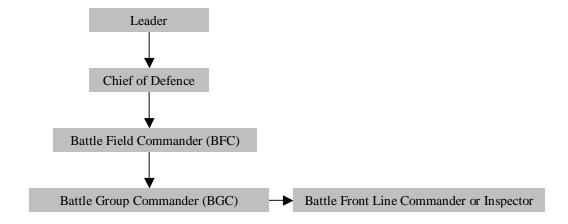
²⁶ Including the Green Book of Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi.

At first, many civilians joined the RUF voluntarily, seeing it as a solution to corruption and poverty. Nevertheless, the RUF commenced abducting and conscripting civilians shortly after, a practice that continued throughout the conflict. The RUF conscripted thousands of Sierra Leoneans of all ages and of both sexes to be trained as fighters at large training bases. These were opened from time to time depending on the state of the RUF advance, on the number of new conscripts and recruits and on the logistic support available. While one senior RUF officer was responsible for the opening of bases and the provision of training, this did not stop other, smaller training bases from being opened under localised commands. When the RUF needed "manpower" for planned actions, RUF members known as "Safari Teams" were sent to the villages to bring back civilians in accordance with preagreed figures. Children under the age of 15 were abducted, conscripted and trained to operate as Small Boy Units (SBU) and Small Girl Units (SGU). Adults were organised into platoons and trained. Instructors in the training bases were responsible for providing training on drill, military tactics, weapons and ideology, among other things.

The NPFL clearly supported and even controlled, to an extent, RUF operations in Sierra Leone. NPFL members fought alongside RUF forces and the NPFL provided logistical support to the RUF as a whole. When they first entered Sierra Leone and during the early stage of the conflict, NPFL members, who not only outnumbered the RUF but also held most of the commanding positions, dominated the RUF forces. Although the NPFL withdrew from Sierra Leone in 1993, links with the NPFL and its leader were never severed completely.

Following the SLA coup in May 1997, the AFRC invited the RUF to join the regime. RUF forces joined with and strengthened AFRC positions throughout areas of Sierra Leone that the SLA had previously controlled. RUF members held ministerial positions in the Council of the AFRC and the movement re-branded itself the "Peoples' Army".

From the beginning of the movement, the RUF, who leader was a retired signals corporal from the SLA, adopted a military-style internal organisation and disciplinary system, with clearly identified positions and tasks allocated to its members:



The BFC moved between front lines depending on to the battles in preparation and ongoing military activity, while the BGC remained in the rear at headquarters. The BGC's primary function was to take care of logistics, under the orders of the BFC. The Battle Front Line Commander moved between the front lines according to logistical needs. RUF forces were divided into brigades, ²⁷ battalions, companies, platoons and sections. A section was composed of 8 to 10 combatants and five sections made a platoon. A platoon was composed of 30 or more combatants and five platoons made a company. A company was composed of 100 or more combatants and five companies, plus an administrative one, made a battalion. A battalion comprised around 1,000 combatants; three battalions made one brigade.

Representatives from specific supporting units were attached at battalion level. The G-5 Unit was responsible for coordinating relations between combatants and civilians, including the collection of taxation and food contributions from civilians. G-5 was also responsible for disseminating political ideology. The Army Agricultural Unit was to take care of all farming and food production in the battalion. The S-4 Unit was responsible for the storage and distribution of food and was battalion quartermaster. The Intelligence Office Unit was responsible for monitoring all operations within the battalion and for sending intelligence reports to headquarters. The Combat Medic Unit was responsible for all medical affairs and the health for everybody in the battalion. The G-4 Unit took care of all arms and ammunitions. Armoury was a sub-unit and was responsible for the maintenance of all arms. The Logistics and Motor Pool was responsible for the maintenance of all mechanical and vehicular equipment in the battalion. The Signal Unit was responsible for internal and external communications. The Military Police (MP) Unit was responsible for disciplinary actions and, therefore, for the maintenance and enforcement of law and order. Military Police (MP) also escorted prisoners and were attached to brigades, battalions and companies. The Internal Defence Unit was responsible for all necessary investigations in the battalion and also served as a link between the G-5 and other operational units.

When they entered Sierra Leone in 1991, the RUF established a headquarters in Pendembu (Kailahun District), where they remained until 1993 when SLA forces retook the town. From 1994 until they joined the AFRC in Freetown, the RUF leader was not settled in one place but was generally mobile. When the RUF joined with the AFRC in Freetown, the high command established headquarters in Freetown in the Defence Headquarter at Cockerill. Following the retreat from Freetown in February 1998, a War Office was opened in Buedu (Kailahun District, on the border with Liberia). This was the administrative headquarter, the permanent radio base and the base for one of the most senior RUF officers. Important meetings involving the senior RUF command took place in Buedu until disarmament in 2001. The RUF defensive headquarter was moved as RUF forces captured towns, but remained in Makeni (Bombali District) from 1999. As the RUF's positions stabilised following the general retreat from Freetown in 1999, the territory under their control was subdivided further and a number of brigade headquarters were established.

²⁷ Growing rapidly after the first attack in March 1991, the RUF had one and a half brigade. Following the retreat from Freetown in 1998, the RUF had three brigades, one in Kailahun District, one in Kono District and one in Bombali District.

²⁸ During this period, it is not completely clear whether the RUF retained a headquarters as such and if it existed, where it was located.

The appointments of the most senior officers within the movement were approved personally by the RUF leader. Some appointments were approved by the Liberian President, in particular when the RUF leader was in custody in Nigeria in 1997 and then Sierra Leone in 1998. When the RUF leader was again arrested after the 8 May 2000 events,²⁹ the then Battle Field Commander was made Interim Leader and would take instructions directly from the Liberian President.

The RUF set up a disciplinary system to deal with offences committed by its members. When an RUF member committed an offence, he or she was sent to the Military Police (MP), which would obtain a statement and issue a report. When the offence reached a certain level of severity, the MP had to refer the matter to the General Staff Officer Class One (GSO1),³⁰ who in turned would convene a Board of Investigation. The report of the Board of Investigation would then be sent to the RUF leader or the most senior RUF officer,³¹ who would be responsible for taking appropriate measures, including recommending that a court martial be conducted. For minor offences, local commanders were vested with certain powers to conduct investigations and administer punishment in line with the gravity of the offences committed. Most of the time, commanders settled cases at the front line without going through the proper channels. The senior officers in charge of the RUF were allegedly aware of this conduct, but did not intervene to deter it. During the 11-year conflict, very few courts martial were conducted.³²

c. National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL)

The National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) emerged in the neighbouring country of Liberia in 1989. The NPFL's aim was to oust the Liberian President, who had been in power since 1980 and whose regime was accused of being corrupt and excessively tribalistic. Backed up by foreign countries, the NPFL movement rapidly expanded its actions across the country towards Monrovia, the capital. In August 1990, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sent to Monrovia a peacekeeping force known as the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). ECOMOG established a rear base near Freetown's International Airport in Lungi. In September 1990, the President was arrested, tortured, killed and his body paraded through Monrovia by an NPFL splinter group called the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). An Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) was formed in November 1990. Despite a

²⁹ On 8 May 2000, a crowd gathered outside the Freetown residence of the RUF leader to protest the resumption of hostilities in Sierra Leone and the taking hostage of UN peacekeepers by RUF forces. RUF bodyguards fired on the crowd, killing around 20. The RUF leader was detained by the Sierra Leone Police on 17 May and was subsequently held in custody.

³⁰ As an example of the structuring of the RUF, the functions given to the GSO1 were as follows: to maintain an ongoing roadmap or prepare a yearly forecast of events concerning general training, including bush camps, recreational sports, ceremonial parades and the planning and implementation of training courses; maintenance of a list of all courses to be undertaken by RUF members throughout the year; to maintain a manifest of the seniority of officers and senior NCO's in the RUF for promotions; appointments and reversions; to request course bids based on existing vacancies for various courses stating educational qualifications required; to be in charge of general discipline; and to post officers.

³¹ Depending on the period, it was sent to the RUF leader, to the Battle Field Commander, or to the officer who later became the Interim Leader.

³² For example, a Board of Investigation was seized of a case involving a senior RUF officer who allegedly diverted some Guinean currency and failed to give it to the movement. The Board investigated some of the most senior RUF officers.

reconciliation accord signed in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, between the President of the IGNU and the NPFL leader in October 1991, fighting continued in Liberia. In March 1991, the NPFL assisted the RUF in launching its "revolution" in Sierra Leone. NPFL members started fighting alongside the small RUF force. The strength and involvement of NPFL forces in Sierra Leone would decline over the subsequent years owing to the emergence of the United Liberian Movement for Democracy (ULIMO), a counter-revolutionary force comprised of supporters of the late President. The NPFL's physical withdrawal from Sierra Leone did not, however, lead to the withdrawal of the NPFL's active support for the RUF.

In March 1994, pursuant to the Cotonou Agreement signed in July 1993 between the NPFL, ULIMO and the Interim Government of National Unity, a tripartite Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), headed by a five-seat Council of State replaced the IGNU. The three signatories each obtained one seat in the Council of State. Hostilities continued in Liberia and a splinter group of the NPFL, the NPFL-Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC) emerged and formed a coalition with the ULIMO-J. Following a new peace agreement signed in Abuja, Nigeria in August 1995, a new six seat Council of State was established, and the coalition obtained a seat in the Council.³⁴ Pursuant to a peace accord signed between the same fighting factions in August 1996 – referred to as Abuja II - disarmament started and in February 1997, the various groups were disbanded. In July 1997, Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held in Liberia; the NPFL leader was elected President of Liberia, his National Patriotic Party also winning a majority of seats in the National Assembly.

United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

The United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), mainly composed of former members of the Liberian Armed Forces (AFL) and other refugees who had found refuge in Sierra Leone and who were supporters of the late Liberian President, emerged in 1991 as an opposing force to the NPFL. In September 1991, ULIMO forces attacked NPFL forces in the west of Liberia, using Sierra Leonean territory as a staging point. ULIMO rapidly started fighting alongside the SLA to push the combined RUF/NPFL assault back into Liberia.

Over the subsequent years, the existence of this fighting force would be punctuated by rivalries between two personalities, leading to various splits and reunifications. In May 1992, the ULIMO Chairman was removed and the movement was split between two potential leaders, one of whom was accused of using ULIMO to wage a holy war while the other was accused of financial impropriety and hijacking the movement for political ends. Nevertheless, between August and December 1992, ULIMO reunified and resumed fighting with the NPFL. Following this, two branches of ULIMO clearly appeared: a Freetown-based branch, fighting alongside the SLA in Sierra Leone, and a branch based solely in Liberia.

A reunification congress between the two branches in October 1993 and a selection of joint communiqués issued in early 1994, some at the initiative of the Sierra Leonean NPRC Chairman, did not prevent the two branches from fighting. One of the main points of disagreement was the

³⁴ For a full text of these peace agreements, see http://www.usip.org/library/pa/liberia/pa_liberia.html.

³³ This is how the RUF referred to its actions in Sierra Leone. The RUF would further consider itself a government, referring to property stolen from civilians by RUF members as "government property".

participation of the ULIMO Liberian branch in the Cotonou peace process for Liberia in July 1993.³⁵ In June 1994, the violence committed against civilians by ULIMO fighting alongside the SLA led a delegation of Sierra Leonean Chiefs to call for the withdrawal of ULIMO from Sierra Leone and also resulted into the disarmament of some members of the Freetown-based branch by the SLA.³⁶

In 1994, the two branches were clearly identified by two different acronyms: ULIMO-J (Freetown) and ULIMO-K (Liberia); the letters "J" and "K" referred to the names of the respective branch leaders. From the end of 1994 until 1996, ULIMO forces as such were not active within Sierra Leonean territory. In May 1995, demobilised ULIMO-J members based in Freetown were remobilised by Executive Outcomes, a private military company hired by the Government of Sierra Leone. The Special Task Force, as the ULIMO-J/Executive Outcomes force became known, assisted the SLA in driving back the RUF from the Western Area. The Special Task Force continued to operate under the umbrella of the SLA and Executive Outcomes in Bonthe District and briefly in Bo Town in late 1995 and 1996.

The ULIMO-J branch was formally included in the peace process in Liberia in August 1995. By signing the Abuja Agreement,³⁷ the parties agreed to form a six-seat Council of State to exercise executive power in Liberia. The leader of the ULIMO-K branch represented ULIMO in the Council of State while the NPFL-CRC/ULIMO-J coalition received one seat and the ULIMO-J wing gained ministerial positions.³⁸ However, factional fighting resumed and ULIMO-K and the NPFL collaborated to capture the leader of the ULIMO-J, who they accused of murder. This fighting culminated in the widespread destruction in Monrovia, the capital, in April 1996.

Peace negotiations resumed and resulted in the signing of a supplement to the Abuja Accord, referred to as Abuja II, which would be the first step towards the end of the conflict in Liberia. This provided for the representation of both ULIMO-K and ULIMO-J in the Council of State. ULIMO was officially disbanded in early 1997, pursuant to the Abuja II Agreement. Nevertheless, ULIMO resurfaced in Sierra Leone in 1997 and 1998 when some former members joined the Kamajors and others fought alongside the RUF/AFRC.

e. Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)

On 25 May 1997, elements of the SLA staged a coup d'état and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC released over 700 inmates from Pademba Road Prison, including their leader, an SLA officer who had been charged with a coup attempt in 1996. The AFRC immediately suspended the Constitution of Sierra Leone and the elected President escaped to the Republic of Guinea by helicopter. In an address to the nation, the AFRC leader advanced as a justification for the coup the polarisation of the country "into regional and tribal factions", ³⁹ and the

³⁵ This accord was signed by the NPFL, ULIMO and the Interim Government of National Unity in Cotonou, Benin; the ULIMO leader of the Liberian Branch appeared in the agreement as the leader of the ULIMO. No mention of different branches was made.

³⁶ Those disarmed ULIMO members were encamped at Waterloo refuge camp in the Western Area.

³⁷ This supplemented the previous Akosombo, Cotonou and Accra Agreements.

³⁸ For a full text of the Agreement, see http://www.usip.org/library/pa/liberia/pa_liberia.html.

³⁹ The President of Sierra Leone had appointed the leader of the Kamajors, a pro-government local militia, as the Deputy Defence Minister in 1996.

lack of control of the President over the situation". Amidst international condemnation of the explosion of violence and looting that accompanied the coup, the AFRC leader was sworn in as Head of State on 17 June 1997.

Immediately after the coup, the AFRC invited the RUF to share power. On 28 May, the RUF leader – at that time in custody in Nigeria for a firearms offence – broadcast a statement over SLBS Radio, encouraging RUF solidarity with the AFRC. Part of his statement is worth quoting: "You will always get instructions from me through [the AFRC leader]. They are our brothers. Let no one fool you. You have to work with them to put the situation under control, especially in the Western Area. As you [sic] the field commander, instruct your other Commander ... to stand by for any reinforcement needed by [the AFRC leader] for any eventualities. We have to defend our sovereignty. You are to act on these orders immediately." On 30 May, the RUF declared their support for the AFRC on SLBS television and radio and on 1 June, the AFRC declared the RUF leader to be the Deputy Head of State of Sierra Leone. The RUF/AFRC Cabinet hierarchy was as follows: Chairman and Head of State, Vice Chairman and Deputy Head of State, Chief Secretary of State, Secretaries of State and Public Liaison Officers. In June 1997, the RUF/AFRC created a 17-member supervisory team to prevent the apparatus of civilian government from grinding to a halt following lengthy strikes by public sector workers. In June 1997, the RUF/AFRC created a 17-member supervisory team to prevent the apparatus of civilian government from grinding to a halt following lengthy strikes by public sector workers.

Immediately after the coup and throughout 1997, the RUF/AFRC found itself in an escalating military standoff with Nigerian forces stationed in Freetown and Lungi. ECOWAS established a Committee mandated to negotiate with the RUF/AFRC regime. On 29 August 1997, at its 20th Annual Summit, ECOWAS imposed sanctions on Sierra Leone, effective throughout all ECOWAS member States. The ECOWAS embargo included military hardware, supplies and spare parts, petroleum and petrol-derived products; an export ban was also imposed. A travel ban was imposed on AFRC members and their families, in addition to a freeze on their assets. Moreover, ECOWAS formally expanded the mandate of ECOMOG to include the use of force to impose sanctions against Sierra Leone. Effectively, this gave legal backing to a complete navel blockade of the Port of Freetown and the prohibition of air-freight traffic. On 8 October, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1132 (1997), imposing a range of global arms, oil and travel sanctions on Sierra Leone. During peace talks in Conakry, Guinea, on 22 and 23 October 1997, the ECOWAS Committee of Five and representatives of the RUF/AFRC agreed to an immediate ceasefire and a six-month peace plan guaranteeing a return to civilian government by 22 April 1998.

⁴⁰ BBC Media Monitoring, 30 May 1997 transcribing SLBS, 28 May 1997.

⁴¹ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 24 - 30 June 1997.

⁴² Decision on sanctions against the junta in Sierra Leone, Twentieth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, 28-29 August 1997.

⁴³ *Ibid.* "Article 7. The sub-regional forces shall employ all necessary means to impose the implementation of this decision. They shall monitor closely the coastal areas, land borders and airspace of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and shall inspect, guard and seize any ship, vehicle or aircraft violating the embargo imposed by this decision."

⁴⁴ On 29 August 1997, ECOWAS had issued a recommendation on the application of sanctions against the AFRC regime: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 23 August - 1 September 1997.

⁴⁵ Initially, ECOWAS established the Committee of Four. In August 1997, a fifth nation, Liberia, was added to the Committee of Four, which became known as the Committee of Five.

Following RUF/AFRC attacks on ECOMOG positions and other breaches of the Conakry Peace Plan, ECOMOG intervened militarily. Starting on 6 February 1998, ECOMOG drove the RUF/AFRC regime from power and its forces from the Western Area. Ousted from Freetown, the RUF/AFRC alliance survived but the balance of power between the allies was inverted. The situation of the AFRC members was varied: most fled from Freetown into the Provinces with their leader, others surrendered to ECOMOG forces and many of the senior officers were charged with treason, convicted and executed in 1998.⁴⁶

Following the RUF/AFRC invasion of Freetown in January 1999, most of the AFRC forces withdrew to Makeni (Bombali District) and the rift between RUF and AFRC forces deepened. The AFRC leader did not take part in the peace negotiations in Lomé, Togo that concluded with the signing of a Peace Agreement between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone.⁴⁷

While provisions in the Lomé Peace Agreement granted the RUF leader status equivalent to Vice President, the AFRC leader was appointed as Chairman of a governmental body called the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace. Following serious infighting between RUF and AFRC forces in the Northern Province in October 1999, the rift between the two groups further deepened. Both forces controlled different areas of the country. Nevertheless, the alliance between the leadership of the two forces was still valid. The two leaders issued joint statements and continued to appear together publicly.⁴⁸ The AFRC leader visited RUF/AFRC strongholds in an attempt to engage AFRC commanders in the disarmament program⁴⁹.

When RUF forces disarmed and held hostage of UNAMSIL peacekeepers in early May 2000, the AFRC leader called on his forces to support the Government and halt the RUF advance on Freetown. In May and June 2000, AFRC forces fought the RUF alongside the SLA in Masiaka and Lunsar. The AFRC leader's declaration marked a public shift in relations between the AFRC and the RUF, compounding the division of operational areas that happened in late 1999. AFRC forces were remained active on the ground in only two principal locations.

f. The West Side Boys

Between October 1998 and the end of 2000, the West Side Boys, a splinter group from the RUF/AFRC alliance, concentrated its actions in the Okra Hills (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District). While it is not possible to say the West Side Boys did not fall under the command of the RUF/AFRC, their actions followed a clear pattern that was different from the RUF/AFRC and later

⁴⁶ ECOMOG forces, SSD and even civilians arrested many alleged members and collaborators of the AFRC regime and brought them to Pademba Road Prison, Freetown, where – despite only having the capacity for 400 – the number of inmates rose to between 3,000 and 5,000. Following the reinstatement to power of the President, civilians and military personnel were tried on treason grounds and on 19 October, 24 ex-members of the SLA who had joined the SLA were executed by firing squad.

⁴⁷ AFRC members alleged that their former leader was detained by the RUF second-in-command in Kailahun District: BBC Online News, 7 August 1999.

⁴⁸ The RUF leader announced that the RUF/AFRC alliance was transformed into a political organisation called the Alliance for Peace. UN OCHA, 30 September 1999. In early November, the two leaders issued a joint statement guaranteeing the safety of humanitarian staff and resources even in times of insecurity. IRIN West Africa, 4 November 1999.

⁴⁹ IRIN West Africa, 18 November 1999 and 6 December 1999.

RUF actions in Port Loko District. Although the group considered the AFRC leader to be their figurehead – the absence of the AFRC leader in Lomé and their belief that their interests had been inadequately represented⁵⁰ was the origin of the West Side Boys taking UNOMSIL, ECOMOG and NGO officials hostage in 1999 – the AFRC leader publicly dissociated himself from the group and officially disbanded the AFRC in mid-August 2000. The West Side Boys, primarily ex-SLA who aligned with the RUF/AFRC, achieved international notoriety by kidnapping 11 UK Royal Marines in late August and provoking a decisive military response from the UK that would all but destroy the West Side Boys.

g. Civil Defence Force (CDF)

As RUF/NPFL forces expanded activities the Southern and Eastern Provinces, numerous civilian initiatives emerged between 1991 and 1993 to assist the SLA. Across the Districts, NPRC and SLA authorities, traditional structures and popular personalities⁵¹ supported the foundation of civilian security schemes. This led to the creation of a number of vigilante groups sometimes known as Civil Defence Units (CDU), whose main role was to operate checkpoints. The traditional authorities selected civilians, usually experienced hunters and well-known community people, to join these CDUs. This quality control system guaranteed that Paramount Chiefs could exercise a degree of actual and moral authority over the CDUs. In addition, the mobilisation of tribal-based hunting societies was actively encouraged and supported by the NPRC authorities. Various State agencies were involved in administering the general mobilisation of various hunting societies, which included the "Donsos" in Kono District, the "Tamaboros" in Koinadugu District and the "Kamajors" in the Eastern and Southern Provinces. Affiliates of the Kamajor Society were the largest in number of these societies.

These local militia used their intimate knowledge of their immediate localities to assist the SLA in fighting the RUF/NPFL. Both the civil militia and CDUs were given bladed weapons and rustic single-barrel shotguns and deployed alongside the SLA during combat against RUF forces. As the conflict expanded westwards across the country, similar initiatives emerged in Moyamba and Tonkolili Districts. Traditional hunters known as "Kapras" and "Gbethis" regrouped in the Northern Province.

The organisation of local militias entered a new phase in 1995, when initiation of civilians into the Kamajor Society began in Bonthe District (Southern Province). Hidden behind a veil of secrecy, Kamajor initiation ceremonies revolve around an assortment of mystical beliefs and charms performed by a High Priest Initiator. The purpose of the ceremony was to render initiates fit to serve at the war front, through the granting of special powers such as the ability to be "bulletproof" and being able to smell enemies. Initiators of the Gbethi Society called this process "washing". Once initiated, Kamajors had to adhere to the rules of the Kamajor Society, which governed the conduct of the members. Infractions of the rules were believed to deprive Kamajors of the powers they had been granted at the time of initiation. In the early stages of this process, hunters and youths were

⁵⁰ They also believed that their leader was held hostage by a senior RUF commander in Kailahun District: IRIN West Africa, 12 August 1999.

⁵¹ In Kenema and Kailahun Districts, for example, a renowned local personality who was a former professor played the role of a catalyst in the regrouping of the Kamajors group.

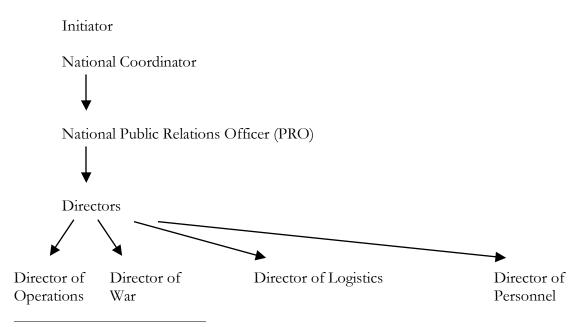
⁵² The first Chief Initiator was an herbalist believed to have magical powers.

nominated for initiation by chiefdom authorities. Once initiated, Kamajors were sent back to the chiefdom from which they originated.

The number of initiates and the rate of initiation into the Kamajor Society increased rapidly throughout 1995 and 1996. Kamajor deployment alongside SLA forces steadily expanded into the other Districts of the Southern Province and into the Eastern Province. By 1996, almost every chiefdom in the Southern and Eastern Provinces had their own Kamajor Society. The initiation of men into the Kamajor Society brought with it the structuring of this local militia at a chiefdom level. Other organised pro-government militias – Gbethis, Kapras and Donsos – were active in the Northern Province and in Kono District.

The Civil Defence Force (CDF) emerged in late 1995 or early 1996 as a union of the various local militias active across the country. Members of the Kamajors were the main force within the CDF and presented strong resistance to RUF attacks throughout the Southern Province and, to a lesser extent, in the Eastern Province. The role and efficiency of the CDF in fighting the RUF received formal recognition from the newly-elected President in early 1996, who appointed the then leader of the Kamajor Society as Deputy Defence Minister. This strong symbolic support was backed up with practical support when the Government of Sierra Leone provided the CDF with staple food items and gave them responsibility for providing security throughout the country. Although originally aligned with and to some extent subordinate to the SLA, the CDF progressively distanced itself from SLA forces, objecting to their action and behaviour. Rivalry and tension between the two groups erupted, frequently resulting in armed clashes.

On the national level, the internal organisation of the CDF was as follows:⁵³



⁵³ The then Deputy Defence Minister was made National Coordinator in the aftermath of the military coup in May 1997. Accordingly, although the coordination of the local militias within the CDF took place in 1995 or in early 1996, the schematised internal structure applies only for the period starting in June 1997.



Battalion Commanders

Below battalion level, the CDF adopted a regular structure similar that of the SLA, dividing battalions into companies, platoons and sections of varying numbers. The CDF also put in place administrative structures at the chiefdom level. For example, in Dasse Chiefdom (Moyamba District), the Chiefdom Ground Commander was assisted by a Deputy Chiefdom Ground Commander, below whom was Section Commanders and then Patrol Commanders. The CDF also appointed civilians as Welfare Officers to liaise between civilians and CDF forces. Chiefdom commands often merged to form battalions comprising over 500 armed personnel.⁵⁴

Following the military coup in May 1997, the AFRC leader officially disbanded the CDF and asked its members to surrender and disarm to the Sierra Leone Police. The CDF command rejected this order and CDF members remained armed, initially keeping a low profile before regrouping to fight the RUF/AFRC. The scale of their military actions increased and progressively more initiates joined the various components of the CDF, in particular the Kamajors. With the increase in the rate of Kamajor initiations came a number of problems. The CDF started to loose control over the selection of initiates and there was some loss of discipline among the newly-initiated. The role of the traditional authorities in selecting initiates was, opening the door for the initiation of children below the age of 15. Increasingly, but notably in 1998, a dichotomy between new members and "old Kamajors" came to the fore.⁵⁵

Following the restoration of the elected Government, the President of Sierra Leone placed the CDF under the control of ECOMOG.⁵⁶ CDF forces were deployed in Freetown; both Kamajors and members of a group called the Organised Brotherhood of Hunting Societies (OBHS) were deployed at checkpoints throughout the Western Area and deployed alongside ECOMOG. CDF forces would be active in defending Freetown in January 1999. In September 1998, the President decided to formalise their position, stating that a Civil Defence Force with a CDF Administrator would be

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⁵⁴ For example, in Bonthe District, Dema, Sittia and Bendu Cha Chiefdoms merged to form a battalion, while the CDF battalions were formed through pairing the chiefdoms of Kwamebai Krim and Nongoba Bullom, Jong and Imperi, Kpanda Kemo and Bum, and Sogbini and Yawbeko. In Bo District, nine battalions were formed to cover

⁵⁵ In April 1998, for example, the High Priest and Chief Initiator called for registration of the Kamajors "because of growing lawlessness among them": AFP, 29 April 1998.

⁵⁶ CDF fought alongside ECOMOG forces for the restoration to power of the Sierra Leonean President.

appointed to liaise with the SLA in every District. The District CDF would report directly to the Paramount Chiefs, thus restoring much of the authority that had been eroded during the development of the CDF.⁵⁷ However, the CDF continued to impose a progressively more insidious system of administration throughout the territory it occupied, invading many aspects of civilian life.

2. Private military companies

a. Gurkha Security Guards Limited

In January 1995, the NPRC Government entered in a three-month renewable⁵⁸ contract with the Gurkha Security Guards Limited (GSG), a British company based in the Channel Islands. Nepalese Gurkhas have long been trained and incorporated into the UK armed forces pursuant to a tripartite agreement between the governments of Nepal, India and Britain. The British Government made significant cuts to the number of Gurkhas serving in the armed forces, resulting in their increased availability to private security and military firms. GSG's contract was to train and advise the SLA in jungle warfare tactics and provide security for the SLA base at Camp Charlie, near Mile 91. GSG was not contracted to engage in direct military actions against the RUF. In February 1995, RUF forces killed two senior GSG advisers and the aide-de-camp of the NPRC Chairman during a road ambush near the Kaitkant Hills in Tonkolili District.⁵⁹ The NPRC Government let GSG's contract lapse in April 1995.

b. Executive Outcomes

In late April or early May 1995, the NPRC contracted Executive Outcomes, a South African private military company, to train SLA forces. At the time Executive Outcomes was contracted, RUF forces had pushed through Moyamba District into the Western Area and were engaging SLA and Guinean forces in and around Waterloo, not far from metropolitan Freetown. Near Freetown, Executive Outcomes created a "Special Task Force" of around 600 re-mobilised Liberian militia from the ULIMO-J movement. The Special Task Force assisted the SLA and organised civil militia in forcing the RUF to withdraw from the Western Area. Executive Outcomes rapidly expanded operations into the Provinces, securing the diamond-rich areas of Kono District. The Special Task Force also engaged RUF forces in Bonthe District later in the year. In March 1996, the newly-elected President of Sierra Leone retained the services of Executive Outcomes.

Executive Outcomes were also hired by mining and hydroelectric companies in Kono, Moyamba and Tonkolili Districts to provide security at their sites. Their departure from Sierra Leonean territory would be one of the main terms insisted on by the RUF during the peace negotiations that led to the signing of Abidjan Peace Agreement on 30 November 1996 between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone. Article 12 of the Peace Agreement provided that, "The Executive Outcomes shall be withdrawn five weeks after the deployment of the Neutral Monitoring Group (NMG). As from the date of the deployment of the Neutral Monitoring Group, the Executive

⁵⁷ Broadcast to the Nation on Peace and Security by the Sierra Leone President, 2 September 1998.

⁵⁸ AFP, 23 March 1995.

⁵⁹ For background information, see Cillers, J. and Mason, P. (eds.), *Peace, Profit and Plunder: The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies*, 1999, pp. 129-33: http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Books/PeaceProfitPlunder/Chap7.pdf [Link alive: 7 January 2004].

⁶⁰ Associated Press Worldstream, 11 May 1995.

Outcomes shall be confined to barracks under the supervision of the Joint Monitoring Group and the Neutral Monitoring Group." In early 1997, Executive Outcomes left Sierra Leone.

c. Sandline International

Sandline International is a British private military company⁶² linked both to Executive Outcomes and to an array of companies with commercial mining interests in Sierra Leone. On 23 December 1997, Sandline International entered into a contract with the exiled Government of Sierra Leone to assist the Government in removing the RUF/AFRC regime through the "provision of technical knowhow, military logistics and equipment" to a value of around 10 million US dollars. This included the provision of 2,500 assault rifles, 180 rocket launchers, 50 machine guns and quantities of ammunition and spare magazines.⁶³ A number of finance problems reduced the money available to around 1.35 million US dollars. Sandline International flew 35 tonnes of weapons costing 700,000 US dollars to Freetown International Airport at Lungi.⁶⁴ Landing on 23 February 1998, the shipment arrived well after ECOMOG forces had driven the RUF/AFRC from the Western Area. The arms shipment was placed in storage by ECOMOG, who passed on a small number of weapons to the CDF commander for use by the Kamajors.⁶⁵ Sandline International was also responsible for establishing an operations base at Lungi for use by the returning Government of Sierra Leone.

In late March 1998, a few weeks after the Sierra Leone President's reinstatement to power, UK Customs and Excise investigated Sandline International's arms shipment as a possible breach of UK law implementing the arms and oil embargo imposed on 8 October 1997 by the UN Security Council. Ultimately, Customs and Excise decided that it was not in the public interest to prosecute Sandline International.

The details of the investigation and allegations made in the media, led to a political row in the UK concerning the possible involvement of Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) officials and ministers in the breaking of UN sanctions. On 18 May, the UK Government announced an independent inquiry into what had become known as "the Sandline affair", to be led by Sir Thomas Legg. The report of the Legg Inquiry led to a series of administrative and policy changes concerning internal Government communications, particularly in the FCO, and the clear elucidation of future Government policies concerning both economic sanctions and private military companies. Following the submission of the findings of the Legg Inquiry, the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee also conducted its own investigation into the handing of the Sandline Affair by the FCO.

⁶¹ For the full text of the Agreement, see http://www.sierra-leone.org/abidjanaccord.html.

⁶² For the company profile of Sandline International, see http://www.sandline.com/site/.

⁶³ Sir Thomas Legg, KCB QC and Sir Robin Ibbs, KBE; Report of the Sierra Leone Arms Investigation, 27 July 1998 (the "Legg Report"), paras. 4.15-4.18. Full text and annexes of the report are available from the Official Documents section of the UK Foreign and Commonwealth website: http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/complete.zip [Link last visited: 28 February 2004].

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, para. 4.24.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, para. 7.9.

⁶⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 1132 (1997), 8 October 1997.

⁶⁷ The Second Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons:

http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm199899/cmselect/cmfaff/116/11602.htm.

3. Peacekeeping forces

a. Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) Cease-fire Observer Group (ECOMOG)

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional organisation comprising 15 member States, including Sierra Leone. It was created in 1975 and its founding Treaty was reaffirmed by all member States in July 1993. The ECOWAS Treaty allows ECOWAS to "establish a regional peace and security observation system and peace-keeping forces where appropriate", although it does not have a standing military component.

Since 1990, the forward operating base of the ECOMOG mission in Liberia had been located in Lungi, near the Freetown International Airport. The military mandate of ECOMOG, however, did not encompass Sierra Leone until 29 August 1997, when the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government authorised ECOMOG to "employ all necessary means" to enforce a comprehensive trade embargo on Sierra Leone. ⁶⁹ In addition to the ECOMOG forces already deployed in Sierra Leone in support of operations in Liberia, additional forces from ECOWAS member States were also deployed alongside the SLA in Sierra Leone pursuant to a series of defence pacts and agreements between those States and Sierra Leone. In early 1993, for example, Nigerian forces were deployed in Kono District while Guinean forces were active in Kailahun District. However, according to the Abidjan Peace Accord signed on 30 November between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF, all foreign forces were to leave the county. ⁷⁰

The evolution of ECOMOG's direct military involvement in Sierra Leone began with the AFRC coup on 25 May 1997. Nigerian forces reinforced the ECOMOG deployment at Lungi and the Nigerian force headquarters at Kossoh Town, near Freetown. On 2 June 1997, Nigerian forces – not acting under ECOMOG, the mandate of which did not cover Sierra Leone – attempted and failed to unseat the combined RUF/AFRC forces.

The military situation between the RUF/AFRC and Nigerian forces remained tense throughout 1997. Following the failure of diplomatic negotiations carried out by the ECOWAS Committee of Five, the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government imposed a trade, arms and petroleum products embargo on Sierra Leone on 27 August 1997. As noted, this decision also expanded ECOMOG's mandate to include monitoring and supervising ceasefire violations and enforcing the sanctions and the embargo instituted by the authority of the Heads of State and Government against the RUF/AFRC regime.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States, article58(2)(f). Available online at: www.sec.ecowas.int.

⁶⁹ ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, Decision on Sanctions Against the Junta in Sierra Leone, 29 August 1997, article7: "The sub-regional forces shall employ all necessary means to impose the implementation of this decision. They shall monitor closely the coastal areas, land borders and airspace of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and shall inspect, guard and seize any ship, vehicle or aircraft violating the embargo imposed by this decision."

⁷⁰ Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone, Abidjan, 30 November 1996, article 12.

⁷¹ ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, Decision on Sanctions Against the Junta in Sierra Leone, 29 August 1997.

Although Nigerian forces had established a de facto naval blockade of the Port of Freetown since the coup, the ECOMOG mandate allowed them to intensify enforcement operations. The UN Security Council supported the ECOWAS action and applied its own sanctions regime to Sierra Leone, authorising ECOWAS to ensure its strict implementation.⁷²

The continuous shelling of strategic locations in Freetown, the effects of the embargo and the RUF/AFRC's inability to dislodge ECOMOG from Kossoh and Jui prompted them to continue the negotiations started early in the year. ECOWAS mediators, led by the then Nigerian Foreign Minister, hammered out a peace plan. This led to a ceasefire on 21 October 1997, followed on 23 October by the signing of the ECOWAS six-month peace plan for Sierra Leone (23 October 1997-22 April 1998).⁷³ The central provisions of this agreement were the maintenance of a ceasefire and the return of the elected Government by 22 April 1998.

On numerous occasions during the remainder of 1997, RUF/AFRC, CDF and ECOMOG forces violated the spirit and the letter of the Conakry Peace Plan. During the seventh meeting of the ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Five on Sierra Leone, held in Abuja on 19 December 1997, "the Ministers deplored the incessant and unprovoked attacks on ECOMOG peace-keepers. They reaffirmed ECOMOG's right of self defence". They reaffirmed ECOMOG's right of self defence". had begun planning a military intervention to remove the RUF/AFRC from Freetown. On 6 February 1998, as the impasse in implementing the Conakry Peace Plan appeared to deepen, ECOWAS reaffirmed the three options available for the resolution of the conflict, namely: the pursuit of dialogue; the imposition of a sanctions regime; and the possible use of force.⁷⁵ On the same day, ECOMOG forces in Freetown commenced a military intervention that led to their capture of Freetown and the Western Area by 12 February.

Following the success of their Freetown intervention, ECOMOG forces commenced provincial operations in March. The ECOMOG force was divided into three brigades. The 24th Infantry Brigade would execute operations in the Northern Province and parts of the Eastern Province. The 26th and 15th Infantry Brigades would take responsibility for operations in the Southern Province and the remainder of the Eastern Province. After April, four "loyal" SLA battalions were put under the command of the ECOMOG 24th Infantry Brigade.

ECOMOG's mandate in Sierra Leone was expanded following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF on 7 July 1999. ECOMOG forces became a key component and actor in the peace process.

To reflect the provisions of the Lomé Agreement, ECOWAS redefined the mandate of ECOMOG on 25 August 1999. Although the Government of Nigeria had announced the drawdown of its

⁷² UN Security Council Resolution 1132 (1997), 8 October 1997.

⁷³ ECOWAS Six-month Peace Plan for Sierra Leone (23 October 1997-22 April 1998). Available online at: http://www.usip.org/library/pa/sl/sierra_leone_09231997.html [Link last visited 28 February 2004].

⁷⁴ Final communiqué, point 14.

⁷⁵ ECOWAS eighth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Five on Sierra Leone, New York, 5-6 February 1998. Full text available at: http://www.sierra-leone.org/ecowas020698.html [Link last visited: 28 February 2004].

contribution to ECOMOG, their withdrawal was delayed to ensure that there was no security vacuum during the deployment of the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL).⁷⁶ At this time, ECOMOG's additional responsibilities included monitoring the ceasefire, providing security for and disarming ex-combatants at DDR sites and guarding any arms and ammunition retrieved during the disarmament process. ECOMOG gradually scaled down its operations and UNAMSIL deployed in the areas previously under the control of ECOMOG. Out of the six Nigerian battalions deployed in Sierra Leone, four were absorbed by UNAMSIL and the remaining two had left Sierra Leone by 2 May 2000.⁷⁷

b. United Nations Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)

On 22 October 1999, in the aftermath of the Lomé Peace Agreement and following the extension of the ECOMOG mandate, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1270 (1999) establishing the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Initially, the authorised force strength of UNAMSIL strength was 6,000 military personnel, including 260 military observers⁷⁸ to "cooperate with the Government of Sierra Leone and the other parties to the Peace Agreement in the implementation of the Agreement". This included establishing a presence at key locations throughout the territory of Sierra Leone and assisting the Government of Sierra Leone in implementing the DDR plan.

UNAMSIL had been preceded in 1998 by the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL),⁷⁹ composed of military observers and aiming at "monitor[ing] the military and security situation in Sierra Leone" and the "disarmament and demobilisation of former combatants", at "assist[ing] in monitoring respect for international humanitarian law" and at "monitor[ing] the voluntary disarmament and demobilisation of members of the Civil Defence Force".⁸⁰ The presence of UNOMSIL within Sierra Leonean territory and the number of its personnel would vary over the subsequent months, as its terms of deployment were amended taking into account the security

80 UNOMSIL was initially established for a six-month period between 13 July 1998 and 13 January 1999. Its authorised deployment contained up to 70 military observers. As hostilities between ECOMOG and the RUF/AFRC resumed in January 1999, the Security Council extended the mandate of ù UNOMSIL until 13 March 1999 in UN Resolution 1220 (1999), 12 January 1999, paragraph 2 of which authorises the Secretary General "to reduce the number of military observers in UNOMSIL and to retain in Conakry a small number who would return to Sierra Leone when conditions permit together with necessary civilian substantive and logistical support staff under the leadership of his Special Representative". UNOMSIL's mandate was extended to 13 June by Resolution 1231 (1999) of 11 March 1999. At this time, however, there were only eight military observers and they were not deployed inside Sierra Leone. Resolution 1245 (1999) of 11 June 1999 expanded the mandate of UNOMSIL until 13 December. On 20 August 1999, Resolution 1260 (1999) authorised the expansion of the mission to include 210 military observers to monitor the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement and to assist with the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) program. The full texts of all the above-mentioned resolutions are available online at http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1999/sc99 and http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1998/scres98. Additional sources of information on UNOMSIL can be found at

http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unomsil/Unomsil.htm.

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⁷⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 5 - 16 January 2000 and IRIN West Africa, 31 January 2000. On 23 December, the Governments of Nigeria, Guinea and Ghana informed the Secretary-General of their intention to withdraw their remaining ECOMOG contingents from Sierra Leone.

⁷⁷ IRIN West Africa, 2 May 2000.

⁷⁸ For a full text of the resolution, see http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1999/sc99.

⁷⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 1181 (1998), 13 July 1998.

situation in Sierra Leone. UNOMSIL personnel were highly dependant on ECOMOG forces for their security.

In establishing UNAMSIL, the UN Security Council decided that UNAMSIL was to "take over the substantive civilian and military components and functions and to that end" decided "that the mandate of UNOMSIL shall terminate immediately on the establishment of UNAMSIL". Furthermore, despite the ECOWAS statement of impending withdrawal from Sierra Leone, the United Nations included the role and functions of ECOMOG in the resolution, stating the "need for close cooperation and coordination between ECOMOG and UNAMSIL", "commend[ing] the readiness of ECOMOG to continue to provide security for the areas where it is currently located" and noting the need "to conduct other operations in accordance with their mandate to ensure the implementation of the Peace Agreement".

UNAMSIL force numbers would increase over the subsequent months as ECOMOG forces left Sierra Leone. In May 2000, hostilities resumed and UNAMSIL forces were targeted directly by RUF/AFRC forces. The capture of nearly 500 UNAMSIL peacekeepers by RUF/AFRC forces, a series of military events including the intervention of the UK Armed Forces and expanded combat operations by the SLA identified a clear need not only for an increase in UNAMSIL's force strength, but a reform of its structure. In late 2000, the UN Security Council increased the number of authorised personnel in UNAMSIL to 13,000⁸² and ultimately to 17,500.

The first of these expansions would be decided on 7 February 2000, with the Security Council approving the extension of the military component of the UNAMSIL to 11,100 military personnel, deciding the revision of UNAMSIL's mandate and approving its extension for a period of six months.⁸³ UNAMSIL's force strength was increased to a ceiling of 17,500⁸⁴ by 30 September 1999. While the mandate of UNAMSIL was renewed in September 2003,⁸⁵ recent UN Security Council Resolutions have authorised the gradual drawdown of UNAMSIL, paving the way for a possible withdrawal by December 2004.⁸⁶

⁸¹ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999), 22 October 1999, para. 10.

⁸² UN Security Council Resolution 1299 (2000), 19 May 2000.

⁸³ UN Security Council Resolution 1289 (2000), 7 February 2000.

⁸⁴ UN Security Council Resolution 1346 (2001), 30 March 2001.

⁸⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 1508 (2003), 19 September 2003.

⁸⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 1492 (2003), 18 July 2003.

Chapter Four: Legal Analysis

1. Introduction

NPWJ's Outreach and Conflict Mapping Programs focused on the crimes within the jurisdiction of the Special Court for Sierra Leone so that the people of Sierra Leone might understand more about how the Court could assist in the accountability process, by gaining an understanding of the types of crimes on which the Court would be able to adjudicate. This section is, in many ways, intended to be an extension of that program, therefore this analysis focuses on the crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court and related matters, including the principle of individual criminal responsibility. As such, it is not intended to be an academic analysis of all aspects of the crimes within the Court's jurisdiction. Rather, it is aimed at filling out the factual analysis contained in this report by outlining the crimes and their elements in more detail than was possible during the training seminars and demonstrating how this law might apply to the facts uncovered from the information gathered during the Conflict Mapping program.

This section will first give an overview of what is international humanitarian law (IHL), including its sources and key provisions. It will go on to examine whether or not there was an armed conflict in Sierra Leone and, if so, its duration and its nature. The section will go on to discuss the legal aspects of each category of crimes over which the Court has jurisdiction, in the order in which the crimes are listed within the Statute of the Special Court. The discussion of each category of crimes will conclude with an identification of what crimes were committed during the conflict, by applying the law as discussed to the facts as described in the factual analysis. The section will conclude with a discussion of the personal and temporal jurisdiction of the Court, namely the people over whom the Court has jurisdiction and when the acts had to be allegedly committed in order to be considered by the Court, finishing with a brief discussion of the principles of individual criminal responsibility, both direct and command responsibility.

It should be noted that in some circumstances the same set of facts can be characterised as a crime against humanity, a war crime and a crime under Sierra Leone law. For example, the rape of a 10 year-old can be the crime against humanity of rape, where committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack; the war crime of rape, when committed during an armed conflict; and a crime under Sierra Leone law, namely a violation of section 6 of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act 1926. In such a situation, this report considers that the legal basis for each of those crimes has been made out and reflects this in the list of crimes committed, although an accused may be charged with only one of those crimes. Conversely, there are some crimes that do not have counterparts and, as such, some facts only fit into one category of crimes over which the Court has jurisdiction. These include the crime against humanity of enslavement, the war crime of pillage, the serious violation of international humanitarian law of the conscription of children and the crime under Sierra Leone law of the burning of public buildings.

For reasons of clarity and manageability, the crimes are also identified according to the fighting faction identified as being responsible. However, it must be emphasised that responsibility for these crimes cannot be extended to every member of the fighting faction: the relevant provisions of international humanitarian law are premised on the basis of individual criminal responsibility, both direct and command responsibility. As such, liability will only fall on the people who devised and implemented the policies to commit such crimes, i.e. the leaders and planners, the commanders

responsible for the individuals who committed the crimes and each individual who committed that crime.

As mentioned, the facts as described in this report are the result of the collection of information from key persons throughout Sierra Leone; that is, persons who by virtue of their profession or their position in society were in a position to have an overview of the conflict in particular in their area. This information has been used to compile the factual analysis section of this report, on which the following legal analysis is based. Every care has been taken to establish the veracity of the information gathered in Sierra Leone, including cross-checking and, to an extent, supplementing this information with open source and other materials. Details that could not be verified or information on events coming from only one source were generally not included in the final report. However, it must be borne in mind that this information has not been tested to the level required for sustaining a conviction, for example through cross-examination in court, nor have the alleged perpetrators had the opportunity to tell their side of the story or answer the allegations made in this report. Therefore, although every care has been taken to ensure the correctness of the facts contained in this report, these limitations must be borne in mind when considering the following analysis.

2. Applicable law

2.a Introduction to international humanitarian law (IHL)

International humanitarian law, also known as "the laws of war", is the area of international law that regulates conduct during an armed conflict. In the modern era, the development of the rules of IHL began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in an attempt to mitigate some of the consequences of the conflicts prevalent at the time. In essence, they attempted to regulate wars to prevent unnecessary suffering being inflicted upon combatants and civilians. Their development attempted to set specific rules concerning what were and were not legitimate targets in conflict and refined the distinction between combatants and civilians. The protection of persons not taking an active part in hostilities became a basic principle of IHL.

Traditionally, there have been two branches of international humanitarian law: the "Hague law", concerned with means and methods of warfare, and the "Geneva law", concerned with the more humanitarian issues, including the protection of civilians; this distinction is largely illusory, as there is a wide degree of overlap between the two. The prohibition on intentionally directing attacks against civilians, which is applicable irrespective of the nature of the armed conflict, is one of the cornerstones of international humanitarian law. This prohibition derives from one of the key tenets of international humanitarian law, that a distinction be made between legitimate and illegitimate military targets. Accordingly, some targets will always be illegitimate, such as undefended towns and objects employed solely for the provision of humanitarian assistance, while some targets will always

⁸⁷ For a full description of this process, see section A on the methodology of the Conflict Mapping program.

⁸⁸ See McCoubrey, H., *International Humanitarian Law: The Regulation of Armed Conflicts*, 1990, Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, Great Britain, pp. 1-2. Indeed, the Hague Law of 1907 and its annexed Regulations on the Laws and Customs of War on Land, which have the status of customary international law, were to a large degree complemented and supplemented in the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Additional Protocol I: Roberts, A. and Guelff, R., *Documents on the Laws of War* (3rd edn.), 2000, Oxford University Press, Great Britain, p. 68.

be legitimate, such as military installations. Additionally, some methods of attack, such as carpet bombing, and some weapons, such as indiscriminate weapons, may not be employed. A key feature underpinning international humanitarian law is the principle of proportionality, according to which the military advantage expected to be gained in any attack must be balanced against the likely incidental or collateral damage to non-military persons and objects. Therefore, in all cases where either the target, methods, or weapons are not prohibited, the military commander must apply the principle of proportionality to weigh whether or not a particular target can be attacked in a particular way using particular weapons.

Currently, the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and the two Additional Protocols of 8 June 1977, ⁸⁹ form the heart of international humanitarian treaty law and are its most frequently cited sources. ⁹⁰ The 1949 Geneva Conventions, much but not all of which are now considered to be customary international law, were aimed at both codifying customary international humanitarian law as it had emerged following World War II and at developing law to address the experiences of World War II. ⁹¹ These four Conventions concern the treatment of:

- (I) sick and wounded combatants on land;
- (II) sick and wounded combatants at sea;
- (III) prisoners of war (POWs); and
- (IV) civilians.

The Geneva Conventions marked the first inclusion in a humanitarian law treaty of a set of war crimes explicitly attracting individual criminal responsibility – the "grave breaches" of the conventions. Each of the four Conventions contains its own list of grave breaches, expanded by Additional Protocol I of 1977. Grave breaches are crimes considered so serious that all States Parties are required to prosecute persons accused of such offences, or to hand them over to other States Parties willing to conduct such prosecutions. However, the grave breaches provisions only apply in international armed conflicts as opposed to non-international armed conflicts and then only to acts against persons protected by each of the Geneva Conventions ("protected persons"), namely sick and wounded combatants on land and sea, POWs and civilians who find themselves in the hands of a State of which they are not nationals. The primary responsibility for enforcement of these grave breaches provisions, and indeed of international humanitarian law in general, rests with States themselves.

International humanitarian law has two main sources: treaty law and customary international law; it can also be found in general principles of law and in judicial decisions and the writings of eminent jurists,⁹⁴ as subsidiary means that are of particular importance in this field. Treaty law refers to the

⁸⁹ Sierra Leone succeeded to the Geneva Conventions on 10 June 1965 and acceded to the Additional Protocols on 21 October 1986.

⁹⁰ McCoubrey, *supra*, n. 2, p. 15. Note also the Geneva Protocol on the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare 1925, which has the statue of customary international law (Roberts and Guelff, *supra*, n. 2, p. 157) and is reflected in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, article 8(2)(b)(xviii).

⁹¹ Roberts and Guelff, supra, n. 2, pp. 195-6.

⁹² See, for example, the Fourth Geneva Convention, articles 146-7.

⁹³ See below for a discussion of this distinction.

⁹⁴ Statute of the International Court of Justice, article 38(1)(c)-(d).

obligations binding on a State because they are a party to a treaty containing those obligations. Customary international law, on the other hand, refers to those obligations that are binding on States irrespective of whether they are contained in a treaty or not. The existence of customary international law is determined by reference to State practice and opinio juris. 95 State practice is the actions undertaken by States and opinio juris means that States undertake such actions because they believe they are under a legal obligation to do so. 96 State practice in the absence of opinio juris, no matter how uniform or consistent, will therefore not amount to customary international law; one example is the cancellation of diplomats' parking tickets, which is a standard practice but does not give rise to legal consequences if it is not followed. Official statements and declarations can provide evidence of opinio juris and can even amount to State practice in some circumstances, depending on their context. Generally, customary international law is binding on all States. However, it is not binding on a persistent objector, namely a State that has consistently made its objections manifest during the emergence of a new rule, 97 except if it amounts to jus cogens, which is a peremptory norm of international law from which no derogation is permissible and, as such, is binding on all States.⁹⁸ It should be borne in mind that customary international law is a continually evolving process and what was customary international law 20 years ago will not necessarily be customary international law today.

While international humanitarian law regulates the conduct of war, not all of its provisions attract individual criminal responsibility. For example, the violation of the provision stating the prisoners of war shall be permitted to use tobacco⁹⁹ is not considered to be a crime. However, there are a wide number of provisions, based both in treaty and customary law, that do attract individual criminal responsibility, so that people who violate the obligations in those provisions can be held accountable in a court of law. These provisions are considered to form part of a discrete area of law called international criminal law. Many of these provisions will be discussed in the following sections on the crimes over which the Special Court has jurisdiction. The classic modern examples of the enforcement of international humanitarian law are found in two military tribunal established after World War II: the Nuremberg Tribunal, established to try the 22 major Nazi war criminals and the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, established to try major war criminals in the Pacific. The Nuremberg Charter, which gave the Tribunal jurisdiction over war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against peace, ¹⁰¹ is often cited as the basis for the development of

⁹⁵ North Sea Continental Shelf Case [1969] ICJ Rep 3, 44.

⁹⁶ See the Statute of the International Court of Justice, article 38(1)(b), listing one of the sources of international law as "international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law".

⁹⁷ Stein, T. L., 'The Approach of a Different Drummer: The Principle of the Persistent Objector in International Law (1985) 26 Harv. Int'l L.J. 457, p. 458.

⁹⁸ Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969, article 53; norms amounting to *jus cogens* can only be replaced by norms of a similar character. The prohibition on genocide is generally considered to be *jus cogens*: see, for example, Bassiouni, M. C., 'International Crimes: *Jus Cogens* and *Obligatio Erga Omnes*' (1996) 59 Law & Contemp. Probs. 63, p. 68.

⁹⁹ Third Geneva Convention 1949, article 26.

¹⁰⁰ These provisions form part of International Criminal Law, which is also considered to include a range of other offences such as drug trafficking, piracy and fraud: see, for example, Bassiouni, M. C., *International Criminal Law* (2nd edn), 1999, Transnational Publishers, Ardsley, NY.

¹⁰¹ Nuremberg Charter, article 6; note that conspiracy to commit any of these acts was also within the jurisdiction of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

international criminal law in the latter half of the twentieth century. In fact, "[t]he 1949 Geneva Conventions were prepared in the wake of the Nuremberg trials and were heavily influenced by them". 102

2.b The International Criminal Court (ICC), including the Elements of Crimes

The preliminary and traditional problem with international humanitarian law is its lack of enforceability. Despite the advances made after World War II by the International Military Tribunals and several notable cases tried in domestic courts, including Eichmann, Barbie and Trouvier, it is only with the advent of the ad hoc tribunals and subsequent developments through the 1990s and beyond that this historic lack of enforceability is being addressed.¹⁰³

In the early 1990s, the international community took steps to enforce international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, through the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (ICTY and ICTR) in 1993 and 1994 respectively. These Tribunals were established by Security Council Resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Crimes within their jurisdictions include genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws and customs of war. The decisions of these tribunals, which are based on customary international law as identified by the judges, represent the first major post-Nuremberg decisions on crimes under international humanitarian law. While the decisions of these international tribunals are not binding on other courts, whether domestic and international, this growing body of jurisprudence is at the very least highly persuasive and was referred to extensively by the Preparatory Commission of the International Criminal Court (ICC) when the time came to elaborate the Elements of Crimes within the jurisdiction of the ICC.

Indeed, the main step forward in the codification of international criminal law since Nuremberg and Tokyo is the creation of the International Criminal Court. In many ways, the ICC can be seen as a logical next step of the process begun at Nuremberg and traced through the establishment of the ICTY and ICTR, albeit a step that would be blocked for 50 years by the Cold War, among other things. The main difference between the ICC and the tribunals that preceded it is that the Statute of the ICC was negotiated by all member States of the United Nations, thereby representing for the first time a truly universal attempt to codify those laws and customs of war that attract individual criminal responsibility.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court was adopted in Rome on 17 July 1998, after weeks of intensive negotiations and debate, and entered into force on 1 July 2002. Following the

¹⁰² The Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Separate Opinion of Judge Abi-Saab on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, 2 October 1995.

¹⁰³ For further reading, see McCormack, T. and Simpson, G., *The Law of War Crimes: National and International Approaches*, 1997, Kluwer Law International, Boston.

¹⁰⁴ ICTY: Security Council Resolution 827 (1993), 25 May 1993; ICTR: Security Council Resolution 955 (1994), 8 November 1994. The Security Council is mandated under Chapter VII with determining the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, pursuant to article 39(1) of the UN Charter. Having made that determination, the Security Council may then make recommendations or decisions regarding measures to be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security. Any such decisions are binding on all member States (article 25) and are superior to all other international obligations (article 103).

Diplomatic Conference, the Preparatory Commission comprised of representatives of States¹⁰⁵ with significant input from international organisations and non-governmental organisations, debated the particulars of the supporting documents for the Rome Statute, in particular the Elements of Crimes and the Rules of Procedure and Evidence.¹⁰⁶ During the negotiations, the often long debates centred around what was and what was not customary international law, with delegates accepting the former and rejecting the latter. As such, the crimes within the jurisdiction of the ICC, found in articles 6 to 8, are the best possible indication of customary international law at the time of the adoption of the Rome Statute, as are their Elements of Crimes, which were approved at the June 2000 session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court and subsequently adopted during the first meeting of the Assembly of States Parties in September 2002.¹⁰⁷

2.c Note on procedural law

Along with substantive provisions on international criminal law, the ICTY, the ICTR and the ICC have also contributed to the development of a set of procedural rules for international courts and tribunals. Thus each of the international criminal tribunals and the ICC has its own "Rules of Procedure and Evidence", which represent a cross-fertilisation between major legal systems. The rules have a large impact on the evidence that is accepted at trial and, as such, forms the basis for judgments. As such, these rules have contributed to the development of the procedural and substantive elements of this area of law. While the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court fall outside the ambit of this report, interested readers are directed towards NPWJ's Lawyer's Guide to the Special Court, which goes into these Rules in detail. 109

3. Special Court for Sierra Leone: Background and establishment

In June 2000, the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone requested the assistance of the United Nations to establish a court to try people who committed crimes in Sierra Leone during the conflict. On 14 August 2000, the UN Security Council passed a Resolution requesting the Secretary-General to negotiate an agreement with the Government of Sierra Leone to allow the Special Court to be established. It also asked the Secretary-General to report back to the Security Council on a number of points raised in the resolution, including: from what date the Special Court should have

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¹⁰⁵ The Republic of Sierra Leone was one of the most active participants in these discussions and made numerous statements, both in formal and informal negotiations, as to what constituted customary international law in respect of the crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court.

¹⁰⁶ Both the Elements of Crimes and the Rules of Procedure and Evidence, as adopted, are found in UN Doc. ICC-ASP/1/3.

¹⁰⁷ See Politi, M. and Nesi, G. (eds.), The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court: A Challenge to Impunity, Dartmouth Publishing Company Ltd, UK, 2001, p 25 and Lee, RS (ed), The International Criminal Court: Elements of Crimes and Rules of Procedure and Evidence, Transnational Publishers Inc, USA, 2001, pp. 5, 8 and, generally, Chapter 6, "Reflections on the Elements of Crimes". While there is some debate as to whether the Rome Statute and the Elements of Crimes entirely reflect customary international law, they are used in this report as the most authoritative statement of customary international law to date, due to their manner of negotiation and adoption.

¹⁰⁸ The Rules were made in different ways: for the ad hoc tribunals and the Special Court, they are made by the Judges themselves, whereas for the ICC, they were the product of lengthy negotiations between States, which took place at the same time as the negotiations on the Elements of Crimes.

¹⁰⁹ NPWJ's Lawyers' Guide to the Special Court is available from www.specialcourt.org.

¹¹⁰ Security Council Resolution 1315 (2000), 14 August 2000.

jurisdiction, where an alternative seat for the Special Court outside Sierra Leone might be located, how appeals should be made and how much assistance will be required from the international community in terms of finance and personnel.

Negotiations between the Government of Sierra Leone and the United Nations began in September 2000 in New York, continuing later that month in Freetown. The Secretary-General reported back to the Security Council on 4 October 2000. This was followed by an exchange of letters on some of the more contentious areas in the Sierra Leone-United Nations negotiations between the Security Council and the Secretary-General in December 2000 and January 2001, which detailed some changes the Security Council believed should be made to the draft Statute and Agreement. These changes were agreed to by Sierra Leone and the Agreement for the Establishment of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, to which the Statute is annexed, was signed in a ceremony in Freetown on 16 January 2002 by then Attorney-General and Minister of Justice and the then UN Under Secretary-General for Legal Affairs. This Agreement forms the legal basis for the Special Court and in addition to the substantive functioning of the Court includes matters such as privileges and immunities of officials, staff and the premises of the Special Court, which was supplemented by a Headquarters Agreement signed on 21 October 2003 by the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice and the Registrar of the Special Court.

In early 2002, the Prosecutor, Registrar and Judges of the Special Court were named by the United Nations and the Government of Sierra Leone, each of whom was responsible for appointing a number of officials. The Special Court began its operations in late July 2002, when the Registrar, the Prosecutor and some initial staff arrived in Freetown. The first set of indictments was approved on 7 March 2003, arrests were made on 10 March 2003 and initial appearances began on 15 March 2003 at temporary facilities in Bonthe, a small town in southern Sierra Leone. A number of indictments were approved in the following months and all detainees were moved to the Special Court's detention facilities in New England, Freetown, once construction on the site of the Special Court was complete. Since that time a number of pre-trial motions have been heard by the Judges of the Special Court, including applications for provisional release¹¹¹ and jurisdictional matters, heard by a panel of Judges of the Appeals Chamber sitting for the first time in October 2003. 112

4. Crimes within the jurisdiction of the Special Court

In his letter of 12 June 2000, the President of Sierra Leone suggested that the Special Court have as its applicable law a blend of international and domestic Sierra Leone law. Security Council Resolution 1315 (2000) therefore recommended that the Special Court was to have jurisdiction over crimes under international law and selected crimes under Sierra Leonean law. Pursuant to the Statute of the Special Court, the crimes under international law fall under the broad categories of crimes against humanity; violations of common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II; and other serious violations of international humanitarian law, including crimes against

¹¹¹ All of the applications for provisional release have, at the time of writing, been denied.

¹¹² It should be noted that the courtroom for the Special Court was, at the time of writing, still under construction and pre-trial hearings were being held at a temporary courtroom on the New England site.

¹¹³ UN Doc. S/2000/786, 'Framework for the Special Court', para. 3.

peacekeepers and the use of child soldiers.¹¹⁴ These are crimes under international humanitarian law that were considered to have had the status of customary international law at the time the alleged crimes were committed.¹¹⁵ Violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II and the "other serious violations of international humanitarian law" both require the existence of an armed conflict as a condition of applicability, therefore this will be discussed separately at the beginning of this section. The crimes under Sierra Leonean law cover offences relating to the abuse of girls and wanton destruction of property, taken from Sierra Leone legislation dating from 1926 and 1861 respectively; these are the only crimes under Sierra Leone law over which the Special Court has jurisdiction.¹¹⁶

This selection of subject matter jurisdiction was done to pre-empt any challenge to the Court's legality on the basis of the principle of *nullum crimen sine lege*,¹¹⁷ since the acts these provisions are purporting to address had been criminalised at the time those acts were allegedly committed.¹¹⁸ It should be emphasised that the Statute of the Special Court does not create the crimes to which it refers: rather, articles 2 to 5 of the Statute simply provide that the Special Court has jurisdiction over pre-existing crimes. Therefore, an examination of the applicability and content of the norms referred to within the Statute – whether as a result of customary international law or voluntary adoption of norms by Sierra Leone – is necessary to determine the elements of the crimes.

Thus the elements elaborated below are drawn primarily from the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, which are the best current indication of customary international law, and the decisions of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. While their decisions are not binding *per se* on the Special Court for Sierra Leone, they are persuasive. According to the Statute, the Appeals Chamber "shall be guided by the decisions of the Appeals Chamber of the International Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda";¹¹⁹ furthermore, it is also in the interests of certainty of the law and consistency of the application of its provisions that the Special Court for Sierra Leone follow these decisions.

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¹¹⁴ Crimes against humanity (article 2); violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol II (article 3); and other serious violations of international humanitarian law (article 4).

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Establishment of a Special Court for Sierra Leone, UN Doc. S/2000/915, para. 12.

¹¹⁶ This may leave a gap in accountability for violations committed during the conflict, leaving aside the question of the Lomé Amnesty for now. For example, if a person is tried for murder as a crime against humanity before the Special Court and the contextual elements are not proven, that person must be acquitted. The Special Court has no jurisdiction to find that person guilty of murder under Sierra Leone law. However, the *non bis in idem* principle then bars any trial of that person in domestic courts for murder based on the same facts. See the Statute, article 9(1): "No person shall be tried before a national court of Sierra Leone for acts for which he or she has already been tried by the Special Court."

¹¹⁷ According to this principle, nobody may be found guilty of a criminal offence for acts that were not criminalised, whether under national or international law, at the time of their commission: see the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, article 15(1).

¹¹⁸ One of the indictees has filed a motion challenging the Court's jurisdiction in relation to the recruitment of children, submitting that this was not a crime under customary international law at the time of the alleged commission of the alleged acts. Oral arguments were heard in November 2003 and, at the time of writing, the Judges of the Appeals Chamber have not yet decided the matter.

¹¹⁹ Statute of the Special Court, article 20(3).

4.a The existence and nature of an armed conflict: the law

International humanitarian law applies during times of armed conflict, whether international or non-international in nature. The exception to this is crimes against humanity, namely certain acts committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population, and genocide, namely certain acts committed against a national, racial, ethnic or religious group with the intent to destroy that group in whole or in part, as such. According to customary international law, the prohibitions against these acts apply during times of war and times of peace. In all other cases, however, in order to apply these norms, it must first be determined whether an armed conflict existed, before going on to consider whether the conflict was international or non-international in nature.

The ICTY considered the definition of an armed conflict early in its history and stated the following: "[A]n armed conflict exists whenever there is a resort to armed force between States or protracted armed violence between governmental authorities and organized armed groups or between such groups within a State. International humanitarian law applies from the initiation of such armed conflicts and extends beyond the cessation of hostilities until a general conclusion of peace is reached; or, in the case of internal conflicts, a peaceful settlement is achieved. Until that moment, international humanitarian law continues to apply in the whole territory of the warring states or, in the case of internal conflicts, the whole territory under the control of a party, whether or not actual combat takes place there." 122

International humanitarian law draws a distinction between international armed conflicts, i.e. those between two or more States, and non-international armed conflicts, i.e. those between a State and a non-State organised armed group or between such groups. The majority of provisions in the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocol I apply only to international armed conflicts. Nonetheless, article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II lay down a set of basic minimum rules and basic protections applicable in any armed conflict. 123

Whether an armed conflict is international or non-international in nature depends on the parties to the conflict. In essence, a conflict will be "international" when it is conducted between two or more States and will be "non-international" when it is conducted between a State and another armed force not qualified as a State or between such forces. The character of a conflict can change during its course from being non-international in nature to being international in nature. In the Tadic

¹²¹ The ICTY Statute limits the jurisdiction of that Tribunal to crimes against humanity committed in the context of an armed conflict (see article 5) but the Statute of the Special Court contains no such limitation, so this aspect of ICTY jurisprudence will not be discussed in the present report.

¹²⁰ See the Genocide Convention 1949.

¹²² Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995 (Tadic Jurisdiction Decision), para.70.

¹²³ Prosecutor v Naletilic and Martinovic, Case No. IT-98-34, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 31 March 2003, para. 228.

¹²⁴ Prosecutor v Kayishema, Case No. ICTR-95-I, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, para. 170.

¹²⁵Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, para. 84. In addition, there can be both non-international and international armed conflicts taking place side by side. Note, however, that the ICTY Appeals Chamber discussed the issue of the applicable law in such a situation. Addressing the argument that the existence of two types of conflicts meant the application of two different legal regimes in the same place at NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

decision, the ICTY Appeals Chamber specifically addressed the question of when a conflict that is *prima facie* internal in nature may be regarded as involving forces acting on behalf of a foreign power, thereby rendering the conflict international in nature.¹²⁶ The Appeals Chamber identified three specific tests concerning the necessary degree of control by a foreign power to determine whether this had occurred, namely overall control of an armed group or individuals; specific instructions to an armed group or individuals; and actual behaviour of an armed group or individuals, irrespective of any specific instructions.

The Statute of the Special Court only gives the Court jurisdiction over crimes committed in non-international armed conflicts. Particularly given the three-part test identified by the Appeals Chamber, it is debatable whether the drafters of the Statute for the Special Court should have limited the jurisdiction of the Special Court only to crimes committed within an non-international armed conflict. A more sensible approach would have been to leave that determination to the Special Court itself, so it could have applied the test of whether the conflict was rendered international in nature on the basis of evidence presented to it.

4.b The existence and nature of an armed conflict: the facts

It seems almost counter-intuitive to be asking the question of whether an armed conflict existed in Sierra Leone. The facts as adduced in this report, including the descriptions of fighting between various forces at different times, as well as the numerous public reports from the media, human rights organisations and others seem to negate the need for even raising the issue. Nevertheless, it is important to examine this question, in particular to determine when the conflict began, which determines when international humanitarian law begins to apply, and also to determine the nature of the conflict, in order to determine what provisions of international humanitarian law are applicable. ¹²⁷

4.b.i Existence of an armed conflict

As noted, an armed conflict is deemed to have begun whenever there is "protracted armed violence between governmental authorities and organized armed groups or between such groups within a State." Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) forces coming from Liberia first entered Sierra Leone through Kailahun District on 23 March 1991, at which time they engaged the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) in battle. From the very beginning, the RUF was organised according to a military structure, including identifiable chains of command, rules of engagement and disciplinary structures. From that time, RUF/NPFL forces would spread throughout the country, engaging the SLA in battle and establishing their own bases, including for recruiting and training.

the same time, the Appeals Chamber stated that such an interpretation would "authorize the International Tribunal to prosecute and punish certain conduct in an international armed conflict, while turning a blind eye to the very same conduct in an internal armed conflict" (para. 78). This led the Appeals Chamber to consider that "to the extent possible, the subject-matter jurisdiction of the International Tribunal should extend to both internal and international armed conflicts" (*Ibid*).

¹²⁶ See Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, point IV.B.3.

¹²⁷ It should of course be remembered that for crimes against humanity, customary international law does not require the existence of an armed conflict; rather, it requires a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population and that prohibited acts be committed as part of that attack.

128 Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995, para.70 NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report As the conflict progressed, different fighting factions became involved, including loosely organised groups of local hunters and "vigilantes"; the more organised and structured Civil Defence Forces; the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), who took over power during a coup in May 1997; Nigerian and Guinean forces, both independently at the invitation of the Sierra Leone Government and as part of ECOMOG; Executive Outcomes, the South African private military company who entered Sierra Leone under contract with the Sierra Leone Government; and the United Nations military peacekeeping force (UNAMSIL). Some of these armed forces and groups would, at different points, also begin fighting each other, notably the Civil Defence Forces and the SLA, both before and after the establishment of the AFRC during the coup of May 1997.

Thus to greater and lesser degrees from 1991 there was protracted armed violence between both governmental authorities and organised armed groups¹²⁹ on the one hand and between such groups¹³⁰ within the territory of Sierra Leone on the other hand. It is therefore clear that an armed conflict began in Sierra Leone in March 1991, thereby triggering the application of international humanitarian law.

The question of when the armed conflict ended turns on when a general conclusion of peace was reached or when a peaceful settlement was achieved.¹³¹ At various times throughout the conflict, attempts were made to reach a peaceful settlement between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone. A number of ceasefires were declared and peace agreements were negotiated and signed, notably in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, on 30 November 1996 and in Lomé, Togo, on 7 July 1999.¹³² None of the agreements would last for any appreciable length of time, instead taking on the appearance of temporary lulls in the fighting, during which each of the armed forces and groups would regroup, sometimes retrain and on all occasions prepare for further fighting.

By the end of 2001, disarmament was well under way in all Districts across the country, leading the President of Sierra Leone to declare an official end to the war during a symbolic weapons-burning ceremony on 18 January 2002. Such a declaration does not necessarily mean that an armed conflict has concluded, as this falls to be determined by whether there is a general conclusion of peace or a peaceful settlement. Nevertheless, those conditions had clearly been met by that time, therefore this report is taking 18 January 2002 as the date on which the armed conflict ended.

4.b.ii Nature of the armed conflict

The fact that there was a non-international armed conflict – that is, between government authorities and organised armed groups – is clear. The more complex question is whether the armed conflict was international in nature at any point and, if so, when and for how long.

 $^{^{129}}$ For example, RUF/NPFL v SLA; RUF v SLA; RUF v CDF; RUF/AFRC v CDF; RUF v SLA/ULIMO; RUF v ECOMOG; SLA v CDF.

¹³⁰ For example, RUF/NPFL v local hunters/vigilantes.

¹³¹ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995, para.70

¹³² The ECOWAS Six-month Peace Plan for Sierra Leone, signed in Conakry, Guinea, on 23 October 1997, should also be noted in this context.

Because the Special Court only has jurisdiction over those crimes specifically included in the Statute, the answer to this question does not have a practical effect on the work of the Court. Nevertheless, it is useful from the perspective of contextualising the conflict in Sierra Leone and, furthermore, as an indication of whether international or internationalised courts should have jurisdiction over all crimes under international humanitarian law and then determine on the basis of evidence presented to them whether a conflict was international or non-international in nature.

The test of whether an armed conflict is an international armed conflict is based on the presence of forces that are under the control of a foreign power. This falls to be determined by who was controlling the different fighting factions at any given time, for which the ICTY has identified a test consisting of three parts, namely:

- 1. Overall control of an armed group or individuals;
- 2. Specific instructions to an armed group or individuals; and
- 3. Actual behaviour of an armed group or individuals, irrespective of any specific instructions. 133

Factual information gathered in Sierra Leone reveals very clearly that the RUF was operating under direct orders from Charles Taylor, the leader of the NPFL¹³⁴ to greater and lesser degrees throughout the entire conflict, particularly during the early years of the conflict. Indeed, NPFL forces had entered Sierra Leone together with the RUF in 1991 under the direct orders of their leader. Throughout the conflict, logistics and weapons were supplied from Liberia – first through the NPFL and subsequently through the Liberian President, who was the former NPFL leader – in exchange for property taken by RUF/NPFL forces and later by RUF forces from civilians and other commodities, in particular diamonds mined throughout the country.

Therefore, given that the test of control is satisfied, the conflict in Sierra Leone was international in nature during those periods when Charles Taylor was an official of the State of Liberia. For those periods when he was not an official of the State of Liberia, even during times when the NPFL controlled up to 90% of the territory, there is at least a question about the nature of the conflict, although the answer to this question is beyond the scope of this report. However, as noted, the fact that the conflict was international in nature for at least some periods of time does not alter the crimes over which the Special Court has jurisdiction and it is those crimes that this report will focus on in the following sections.

4.b.iii Conclusion

The facts clearly demonstrate that there was an armed conflict in Sierra Leone from 23 March 1991 until the most definitive statement of peace, namely in 18 January 2002. In addition, albeit with less clarity, the facts also demonstrate that at times, this armed conflict was international in character, at the very least from 1997 until sometime in 2001. Given this, international humanitarian law began to apply in Sierra Leone on 23 March 1991 and continued to apply across the whole territory until 18 January 2002.

¹³³ See Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, point IV.B.3.

¹³⁴ This section does not consider the position of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) or other foreign forces engaged in Sierra Leone, which is also beyond the scope of this report.

4.c Crimes Against Humanity (Article 2): The law

Article 2 of the Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone reads as follows:

"The Special Court shall have the power to prosecute persons who committed the following crimes as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population:

- (a) Murder;
- (b) Extermination;
- (c) Enslavement;
- (d) Deportation;
- (e) Imprisonment;
- (f) Torture;
- (g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and any other form of sexual violence;
- (h) Persecution on political, racial, ethnic or religious grounds;
- (i) Other inhumane acts."

Aside from the Elements of Crimes of the International Criminal Court, there is no other document defining crimes against humanity and their legal elements. There are eleven international texts defining the crimes and they all differ slightly. Although the term originated in the preamble to the 1907 Hague Convention IV Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, which codified then existing customary law relating to armed conflict, the crimes were first defined in article 6(c) of the Nuremberg Charter following the end of World War II. The category of crimes has been included in the Statutes of the ICTY and ICTR and, in 1998, in the Rome Statute of the ICC.

The UN Secretary-General's report on the establishment of the Special Court for Sierra Leone states that "The list of crimes against humanity follows the enumeration included in the Statutes of the International Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, which were patterned on article 6 of the Nürnberg Charter." Considerations on this by the Appeals Chamber of the ICTY and ICTR clearly state that these crimes had the status of customary international law as at the time of the establishment of those Tribunals, i.e. in 1993 and 1994 respectively. 137

4.c.i Contextual elements of crimes against humanity

There are two sets of elements for crimes against humanity; one of which may be described as the "contextual" elements; the other of which may be described as the elements of the acts enumerated in article 2 of the Special Court Statute. The contextual elements – spelt out in the chapeau to article 2 – must be met in all cases for an act to constitute a crime against humanity. These elements are:

¹³⁵ The preamble states that until a more complete code on the laws of war is established, "the inhabitants and belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result ... from the laws of humanity".

¹³⁶ Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Establishment of a Special Court for Sierra Leone, UN Doc. S/2000/915, para. 14.

¹³⁷ See, for example, the *Prosecutor v Tadic*, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995 and *Prosecutor v Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 1 June 2001.



- 1. There is an attack against a civilian population;
- 2. The attack is widespread or systematic;
- 3. The act in question was committed as part of that attack; and
- 4. The accused knew of the broader context in which his or her act is committed.

1. An attack against a civilian population

The "attack against a civilian population" means a course of conduct involving the multiple commission of acts enumerated in article 2. Thus the "attack" does not refer to an armed conflict as such, or even to an armed attack or a military attack, but instead refers to one of the acts enumerated in article 2. As such, the attack does not need to be a physical attack but can consist of other forms of inhumane mistreatment of a civilian population. ¹³⁹

Customary international law does not require that the attack itself be committed on discriminatory grounds. The case law of the ICTR can be distinguished on this point, as the jurisdiction of the ICTR over crimes against humanity is limited solely to cases where the attack was carried out on discriminatory grounds. The Statute of the Special Court does not contain such a limitation, therefore, in keeping with customary international law, there is no requirement that the attack itself be committed on prohibited discriminatory grounds.

A "civilian population" refers to a population that is predominantly civilian in nature, i.e. that the people comprising the population do not take a direct part in the hostilities or no longer take a direct part in hostilities, including those who are placed *hors de combat*, namely those who are not fighting because they are wounded or otherwise incapacitated. The presence of non-civilians within the population will not deprive that population of its civilian character. In addition, the specific situation of a victim at the time of the commission of a crime is the critical point at which to determine the person's standing as a civilian rather than his or her general status. The definition of "civilian" and "civilian population" is of critical importance in international humanitarian law, which prohibits targeting civilians, a civilian population and civilian objects, such as schools and hospitals. To constitute a crime against humanity, the civilian population must be the primary object of the attack, although it is not required that the entire population of a territory is victimised. In the state of the attack, although it is not required that the entire population of a territory is victimised.

¹³⁸ See the preamble to the ICC Elements of Crimes.

¹³⁹ See, for example, *Prosecutor v Semanza*, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003, para. 327.

¹⁴⁰ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, paras. 283, 292 and 305. See also Prosecutor v Blaskic, Case No. IT-95-14, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 3 March 2000, paras 244, 260.

¹⁴¹ ICTR Statute, article 3. See also *Prosecutor v Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 1 June 2001, para. 464, footnote excluded.

¹⁴² See, for example, common article 3 to the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols.

¹⁴³ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 7 May 1997, para. 638.

¹⁴⁴ Prosecutor v Blaskic, Case No. IT-95-14-T, Judgment, 3 March 2000, para. 214.

¹⁴⁵ Prosecutor v Bagilishema, Case No. ICTR-95-1, ICTR Trial Chamber, 7 June 2001, para. 80.

2. The attack is widespread or systematic

To fulfil the contextual elements for a crime against humanity, an attack must be *either* widespread *or* systematic, but does not have to be both. Widespread' means that the attack takes place on a large scale and is perpetrated against a number of victims, whereas 'systematic' refers to an organised pattern of conduct. 147

Early jurisprudence of the international criminal tribunals considered whether 'systematic' required the existence of a pre-conceived policy or plan, either of a State or some other organised group.¹⁴⁸ The Appeals Chamber of the ICTY has concluded that while a widespread or systematic attack can be evidence of a pre-existing policy or plan, and in practical terms such a policy or plan would in all likelihood be necessary for an attack to be carried out in a widespread or systematic manner, such a policy or plan is not in itself a necessary element:

"There was nothing in the Statute or in customary international law at the time of the alleged acts which required proof of the existence of a plan or policy to commit these crimes ... proof that the attack was directed against a civilian population and that it was widespread or systematic, are legal elements of the crime. But to prove these elements, it is not necessary to show that they were the result of the existence of a policy or plan. It may be useful in establishing that the attack was directed against a civilian population and that it was widespread or systematic (especially the latter) to show that there was in fact a policy or plan, but it may be possible to prove these things by reference to other matters. Thus, the existence of a policy or plan may be evidentially relevant, but it is not a legal element of the crime." ¹⁴⁹

3. The act was committed as "part of" the attack

An act must have been committed or intended to be committed as part of the attack against a civilian population to qualify as a crime against humanity. There must therefore be a nexus between the act and the attack, namely that the act was related to the attack. As such, this excludes random or isolated acts – those not forming "part of" the attack – from the definition of crimes against humanity.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 580. See also the Rome Statute, article 7.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁹ Prosecutor v Kunarac, Case No. IT-96-23&23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, 12 June 2002, para. 98. In reaching this conclusion, the ICTY Appeals Chamber reviewed a wide range of precedents, including article 6(c) of the Nuremberg Charter; Nuremberg Judgement, Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nüremberg, 14 November 1945 – 1 October 1945, in particular, pp. 84, 254, 304 (Streicher) and 318-19 (von Schirach); Article II(1)(c) of Control Council Law No 10; In re Ahlbrecht, ILR 16/1949, 396; Polyukhovich v The Commonwealth of Australia and Anor (1991) 172 CLR 501; Case FC 91/026; Attorney-General v Adolph Eichmann, District Court of Jerusalem, Criminal Case No. 40/61; Mugesera et al. v Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, IMM-5946-98, 10 May 2001, Federal Court of Canada, Trial Division; In re Trajkovic, District Court of Gjilan (Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), P Nr 68/2000, 6 March 2001 plus various reports of the UN Secretary-General and the International Law Commission.

¹⁵⁰ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, para. 251; Prosecutor v Kordic, Case No. IT-95-14/2, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 26 February 2001, para. 33.

¹⁵¹ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, para. 271.

While the attack itself will generally involve a large number of acts, as evidenced by the definitions of 'widespread' and 'systematic', a single act may constitute a crime against humanity if it is perpetrated as part of a larger attack. This has been made clear by the ICTY Trial Chamber, which stated that:

"Crimes against humanity are to be distinguished from war crimes against individuals. In particular, they must be widespread or demonstrate a systematic character. However, as long as there is a link with the widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population, a single act could qualify as a crime against humanity. As such, an individual committing a crime against a single victim or a limited number of victims might be recognised as guilty of a crime against humanity if his acts were part of the specific context identified above."

4. The accused knew of the broader context in which his or her act was committed

As with most crimes, there is a mental element to crimes against humanity that must be satisfied in order for an accused to be found guilty of that crime. This element is twofold, namely that the accused acted with knowledge of the broader context of the attack and the accused knew that his or her act formed part of the attack on the civilian population.¹⁵³

Simple knowledge on the part of the accused is sufficient to satisfy this requirement; it is not necessary to show that the accused shared the purpose or goal behind the attack against the civilian population.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the motive with which the accused commits the act is irrelevant. There is no requirement that an act must not have been carried out for purely personal reasons; the only requirement is that the act is related to the attack and the accused knows it is so related.¹⁵⁵

This is made clear in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, which states that: "The perpetrator *knew that the conduct was part of* or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population." This is elaborated in the chapeau to the elements of crimes against humanity, which states that:

"[This element] should not be interpreted as requiring proof that the perpetrator had knowledge of all characteristics of the attack or the precise details of the plan or policy of the State or organization. In the case of an emerging widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population, the intent clause of the last element indicates that this mental element is satisfied if the perpetrator intended to further such an attack." ¹⁵⁷

4.c.ii Elements of enumerated acts constituting crimes against humanity

Once the contextual elements are met, the elements of the acts that constitute crimes against humanity also have to be established. There are nine types of acts that can constitute a crime against humanity, as outlined in paragraphs (a) to (i) of article 2 of the Statute of the Special Court.

¹⁵² Prosecutor v Mrksic, Radi and Sljivancanin, Review of the Indictment pursuant to Rule 61, 3 April1996, IT-95-13-R61, para. 30.

¹⁵³ See, for example, *Prosecutor v Tadic*, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 7 May 1997, para. 656 and *Prosecutor v Semanza*, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003, para. 331.

¹⁵⁴ Prosecutor v Semanza, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003, para. 332.

¹⁵⁵ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, paras. 271, 272.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 7(1)(a), para. 3, UN Doc. ICC-ASP/1/3, p. 116 (emphasis added).

¹⁵⁷ Chapeau of the Elements of Crimes Against Humanity, UN Doc. ICC-ASP/1/3, p. 116.

Although not all of these acts have been considered by the ICTY or ICTR, they have all been elaborated in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC.

a) Crime against humanity of murder

The elements for the crime against humanity of murder are: 158

- 1. The perpetrator unlawfully killed or caused the death of one or more persons.
- 2. The perpetrator acted:
- (a) With the intent to cause someone's death; or
- (b) With the intent to cause grievous bodily harm and with the knowledge that that bodily harm was likely to cause death and was reckless as to whether death would actually occur.¹⁵⁹
- 3. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 4. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

Customary international law does not require the element of premeditation for the crime against humanity of murder and, as such, all the different types of murder known to common law would satisfy this requirement. This is mirrored in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, which refer simply to "killing", with a footnote indicating that this is interchangeable with the phrase "caused the death of". 161

b) Crime against humanity of extermination

The elements of the crime against humanity of extermination are:¹⁶²

- 1. The perpetrator unlawfully killed or caused the death of one or more persons, including by inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of part of a population.
- 2. The conduct constituted, or took place as part of, a mass killing of members of a civilian population.
- 3. The perpetrator acted:
 - (a) With the intent to cause someone's death; or

¹⁵⁸ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(a) and below, note 68.

¹⁵⁹ See also the Rome Statute of the ICC, article 30 (2) for a description of the required mens rea.

¹⁶⁰ Prosecutor v Kayishema, Case No. ICTR-95-I, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, para. 138. See also Prosecutor v Kordic, Case No. IT-95-14/2, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 26 February 2001, para. 235 and Prosecutor v Jelisic, Case No. IT-95-10, ICTY Trial Chamber, 14 December 1999, para. 51. The decisions of the ICTR can be distinguished on this point, as they have found that pursuant to the ICTR Statute, this crime requires an element of premeditation, due to the elements of the crime of assassinat under French law: see Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 588 and Prosecutor v Kayishema, Case No. ICTR-95-I, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, paras. 138-9 for discussions on this issue.

¹⁶¹ Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(a), para. 1.

¹⁶² See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(b), *Prosecutor v Vasiljevic*, Case No. IT-98-32, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 29 November 2002, para. 229 (for the fourth element) and below, notes 72-6.

- (b) With the intent to cause grievous bodily harm and with the knowledge that that bodily harm was likely to cause death and was reckless as to whether death would actually occur.
- 4. The accused acted with the knowledge that his or her act was part of a vast murderous enterprise in which a large number of individuals were systematically marked for killing or were killed.
- 5. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 6. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

Extermination contains an element of mass destruction, requiring that the act of extermination be "collective in nature rather than directed towards singled out individuals." This mass destruction can include direct killing of individuals but can also include causing the conditions of life calculated to bring about such destruction, for example by detaining individuals and withholding food or by introducing a deadly virus into a population and withholding vital medical supplies. Generally, a numerically significant proportion of the population must be destroyed to constitute the crime against humanity of extermination.

The ICTY recently considered the crime against humanity of extermination in *Valsijevic*, in particular the required level of participation of the accused. The Trial Chamber concluded that in order to be guilty of the crime against humanity of extermination, an accused person has to be responsible for a "large number of deaths", ¹⁶⁶ even if the accused's involvement was remote or indirect. Further, the accused must have known of the "vast scheme of collective murder and have been willing to take part therein". ¹⁶⁷

c) Crime against humanity of enslavement

The elements of the crime against humanity of enslavement are: 168

1. The accused exercised any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over one or more persons, such as by purchasing, selling, lending or bartering such a person or persons, or by imposing on them a similar deprivation of liberty.

¹⁶³ Prosecutor v Vasiljevic, Case No. IT-98-32, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment of 29 November 2002, para. 227.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, *Kayishema* Judgment, para. 146.

¹⁶⁵ Prosecutor v Krstic, Case No. IT-98-33, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 August 2001, para. 503, Prosecutor v Vasiljevic, Case No. IT-98-32, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 29 November 2002, para. 227. See, however, Prosecutor v Stakic, Case No. IT-97-24, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 31 July 2003, para. 640, where the Trial Chamber considered this must be considered on a case-by-case basis and that no specific minimum number of victims is required.

¹⁶⁶ Prosecutor v Vasiljevic, Case No. IT-98-32, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 29 November 2002, para. 227.

¹⁶⁷ Prosecutor v Vasiljevic, Case No. IT-98-32, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 29 November 2002, para. 228; see also Prosecutor v Semanza, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003. But see Prosecutor v Stakic, Case No. IT-97-24, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 31 July 2003, para. 640, which specifically rejected the requirement of a "vast scheme of collective murder".

¹⁶⁸ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(c) and below, notes 78 to 83.



- 2. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 3. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

The ICTY has held that the crime against humanity of enslavement has the same elements as the war crime of slavery and violates both treaty and custom based international humanitarian law.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, the prohibition against slavery is an "inalienable, non-derogable and fundamental right, one of the core rules of general customary and conventional international law".¹⁷⁰

The ICTY Appeals Chamber has held that "the traditional concept of slavery, as defined in the 1926 Slavery Convention and often referred to as "chattel slavery", has evolved to encompass various contemporary forms of slavery which are also based on the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership." Thus the indicia of slavery include the following: "control of someone's movement, control of physical environment, psychological control, measures taken to prevent or deter escape, force, threat of force or coercion, duration, assertion of exclusivity, subjection to cruel treatment and abuse, control of sexuality and forced labour". This is mirrored in the footnote to the Elements of Crimes of the crime of humanity of slavery, which reads as follows:

"It is understood that such deprivation of liberty may, in some circumstances, include exacting forced labour or otherwise reducing a person to a servile status as defined in the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery of 1956. It is also understood that the conduct described in this element includes trafficking in persons, in particular women and children." ¹⁷³

Given that the definition of slavery is exercising "any or all" of the powers attaching to "ownership" over a person, 174 the exaction of forced labour from a person held captive would be sufficient to establish the commission of this crime, provided the other elements are also established. It should further be noted that the lack of consent is not an element of the crime, although "consent may be relevant from an evidential point of view as going to the question whether the Prosecutor has established the element of the crime relating to the exercise by the accused of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership." 175

d) Crime against humanity of deportation

The elements of deportation as a crime against humanity are: 176

¹⁶⁹ Prosecutor v Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, paras. 352, 353.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, para. 353.

¹⁷¹ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, para. 117.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, para. 119.

¹⁷³ Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(c), footnote.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, para. 120.

¹⁷⁶ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(d) and below, notes 86-7.

- 1. The accused deported, without grounds permitted under international law, one or more persons to another State, by expulsion or other coercive acts.
- 2. Such person or persons were lawfully present in the area from which they were so deported or transferred.
- 3. The accused was aware of the factual circumstances that established the lawfulness of such presence.¹⁷⁷
- 4. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 5. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

Deportation is to be distinguished from forcible transfer, with the former referring to the displacement of people across national borders and the latter simply referring to the forced movement of people, which can occur within the confines of national borders. The ICTY has made it clear that "forced displacement" – charged in the *Krnojelac* case as persecution – is a standalone crime and is not a lesser, included offence of deportation. This is mirrored in the Rome Statute of the ICC, which refers to the crime against humanity of "deportation or forced transfer of population". ¹⁸⁰

e) Crime against humanity of imprisonment

The elements of imprisonment as a crime against humanity are:¹⁸¹

- 1. The accused imprisoned one or more persons or otherwise severely deprived one or more persons of their liberty.
- 2. The gravity of the conduct was such that it was in violation of fundamental rules of international law.
- 3. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the gravity of the conduct. 182

¹⁷⁷ This element is intended to clarify that the perpetrator does not need to be aware that the presence is lawful, just the facts that go to make up that lawfulness; in other words, the perpetrator does not need to made a legal determination that the victim is lawfully present in the area.

¹⁷⁸ Prosecutor v. Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, para. 474.

¹⁷⁹ The Appeals Chamber of the ICTY has recently stated that "acts of forcible displacement underlying the crime of persecution ... are not limited to displacements across national borders", without making a definitive pronouncement on the crime in general: *Prosecutor v. Krnojelac*, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 17 September 2003, para. 218. The recent Trial Chamber decision in *Stakic* held that the crime encompasses "forced population displacements both across internationally recognised borders and *de facto* borders, such as constantly changing frontlines, which are not internationally recognised *Prosecutor v Stakic*, Case No. IT-97-24, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 31 July 2003, para. 679. While this may be indicative of evolving customary international law, the distinction between the crime of deportation and the crime of forced displacement is retained for the purposes of this report.

¹⁸⁰ Rome Statute of the ICC, article 7(1)(d).

¹⁸¹ See the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 7(1)(e) and notes 91-6.

- 4. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 5. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

The crime against humanity of imprisonment, which incorporates deprivation of liberty, has only been considered in two cases at the international criminal tribunals. The ICTY has held that the elements of this crime are not limited by the elements of the similar crime of unlawful confinement, which is a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions, but that any form of arbitrary physical deprivation of liberty might constitute imprisonment. This is mirrored in the Elements of Crimes of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, in which the elements of this crime differ from those for the crime of unlawful confinement.

One of the elements of the crime against humanity of imprisonment is that the deprivation of liberty is imposed arbitrarily, namely that no legal basis can be invoked to justify the deprivation of liberty. Therefore, a determination has to be made regarding the legality of imprisonment as well as the procedural safeguards pertaining to the subsequent imprisonment of the person or group of persons in question, including the fact that the deprivation may be initially justified but may become arbitrary "if the deprivation is being administered under serious disregard of fundamental procedural rights of the person deprived of his or her liberty as provided for under international law." This is mirrored in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, which refers to the gravity of the conduct being in violation of fundamental rules of international law.

f) Crime against humanity of torture

The elements of the crime against humanity of torture are: 190

- 1. The perpetrator inflicted severe physical or mental pain or suffering upon one or more persons.
- 2. Such person or persons were in the custody or under the control of the perpetrator.
- 3. Such pain or suffering did not arise only from, and was not inherent in or incidental to, lawful sanctions.

¹⁸² This element is intended to clarify that the perpetrator does not need to be aware that the conduct is in violation of fundamental rules of international law, just the facts that go to make up that violation; in other words, the perpetrator does not need to made a legal determination that his or her conduct violates international law.

¹⁸³ The first of these cases, *Kordic*, considered that this crime was identical in its elements to the crime of unlawful confinement as a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions, whereas the second case, *Krnojelac*, considered that imprisonment as a crime against humanity should not be limited by the elements of unlawful confinement as a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions.

¹⁸⁴ Prosecutor v Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, para. 112.

¹⁸⁵ See the Elements of Crimes, article 7(1)(e) (imprisonment) and article 8(2)(a)(vii)-2 (unlawful confinement).

¹⁸⁶ Prosecutor v Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, para. 115 (footnote deleted).

¹⁸⁷ Prosecutor v Kordic, Case No. IT-95-14/2, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 26 February 2001, para. 302-3.

¹⁸⁸ Prosecutor v Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, footnote 347.

¹⁸⁹ Elements of Crimes, article 7(1)(e), para. 2.

¹⁹⁰ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(f) and below, notes 99-113.

- 4. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 5. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

The essential element of the crime against humanity of torture is "the infliction, by act or omission, of severe pain and suffering, whether physical or mental". Torture can therefore be distinguished from ill treatment or other inhumane acts by the level of intensity of the pain or suffering inflicted; the standard adopted by the European Court of Human Rights, for example, is "very serious and cruel suffering". The ICTY Appeals Chamber has also addressed this question, stating that, "In assessing the seriousness of any mistreatment, the Trial Chamber must first consider the objective severity of the harm inflicted. Subjective criteria, such as the physical or mental effect of the treatment upon the particular victim and, in some cases, factors such as the victim's age, sex, or state of health will also be relevant in assessing the gravity of the harm." The ICTY Appeals Chamber has further stated that rape, as an act necessarily implying pain and suffering, can amount to torture provided the other elements are established.

The Convention Against Torture, which requires States to criminalise torture as a self-standing offence, contains the element that the torture be inflicted "by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity". However, both the ICTY Appeals Chamber¹⁹⁶ and the Elements of Crimes for the ICC¹⁹⁷ recognise that this element is applicable only to torture pursuant to the Convention and that customary international law does not impose such a limitation in the context of crimes against humanity.

Where the ICTY and ICTR jurisprudence and the Elements of Crimes of the ICC diverge is on the question of whether a purpose is required as an element of this crime. Both the ICTY¹⁹⁸ and the ICTR¹⁹⁹ have held that one of four purposes is required for conduct to rise to the level of torture, namely that the conduct was committed for the purposes of 1) obtaining information or a confession from the victim or a third party; 2) punishing the victim or a third party; 3) intimidating

¹⁹¹ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, para. 142.

¹⁹² Republic of Ireland v UK (Series A, No 25), European Court of Human Rights, (1979-80) 2 EHRR 25, 18 January 1978.

¹⁹³ Prosecutor v Kvocka et al., Case No. IT-98-30/1, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 November 2001, paras. 142-3.

¹⁹⁴ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, paras. 149-51.

¹⁹⁵ The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1984, article 1(1). The Convention against Torture entered into force on 26 June 1987.

¹⁹⁶ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, paras. 142, 144-8.

¹⁹⁷ Elements of Crimes, Article 7(1)(f), p 119.

¹⁹⁸ Prosecutor v Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, para. 185.

¹⁹⁹ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 594. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

or coercing the victim or a third party; or 4) for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, although the conduct need not have been committed solely for one of the prohibited purposes.²⁰⁰

The Elements of Crimes of the ICC, however, specifically states that "[i]t is understood no specific purpose need be proved for this crime". This was considered by the vast majority of delegations at the Preparatory Commission to reflect customary international law, in part because the Rome Statute – which includes only those crimes already established under customary international law – does not contain any reference to a purpose element. This can be distinguished from the elements of the war crime of torture, which does contain the purpose requirement so as to distinguish it from inhuman treatment, which is included within the offence of torture. Nevertheless, for the purposes of crimes against humanity, the international community has affirmed that torture does not require that the conduct in question be carried out for any particular purpose.

g.i) Crime against humanity of rape

The elements of the crime against humanity of rape are:²⁰⁷

- 1. The perpetrator invaded the body of a person by conduct resulting in penetration, however slight:
- (a) of any part of the body of the victim or of the perpetrator with a sexual organ; or
- (b) of the anal or genital opening of the victim with any object or any other part of the body.
- 2. The invasion was committed by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such person or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment, or the invasion was committed against a person incapable of giving genuine consent.
- 3. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 4. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

Much of the jurisprudence of the ICTR about this crime has focused on the discussion of whether rape should be defined as a contextual framework, or whether the elements of the crime should be explicitly defined. The general trend at the ICTR has been to adopt a contextual framework,

²⁰⁰ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, para. 155. These purposes are also included in the Convention Against Torture, article 1(1). ²⁰¹ Ibid, footnote.

 $^{^{202}}$ Lee, pp. 5 and 90-2. The Preparatory Committee also referred to the European Court of Human Rights, in particular the separate opinion of Fitzmaurice J in *Ireland v UK*, who stated that a certain purpose is not a necessary requirement and that the distinguishing feature of torture is its severity: Series A, o.25 (1976), pp. 129 f.

²⁰³ Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(a)(ii)-1, para. 2.

²⁰⁴ Lee, p. 91.

²⁰⁵ The Rome Statute of the ICC, article 8(2)(a)(ii), prohibits "torture or inhuman treatment".

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p 92

²⁰⁷ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(g)-1 and below, notes 115-9.

according to which rape is defined as "the physical invasion of a sexual nature committed under circumstances that are coercive". 208

However, the ICTY Appeals Chamber, considering this matter in the context of common elements in national legislation and the trend for States to broaden the definition of rape, which has as its core element forced physical penetration, has followed the approach of defining the elements of the crime. Thus, the Appeals Chamber held that rape means the non-consensual penetration, however slight, of the vagina or anus of the victim by the perpetrator's penis or another object used by the perpetrator, or of the victim's mouth by the perpetrator's penis.²⁰⁹ Consent must be given freely and voluntarily, which must be assessed in the context of the surrounding circumstances.²¹⁰

The question of consent is further addressed in the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court, which set out the following guiding principles:

- "(i) Consent cannot be inferred by reason of any words or conduct of a victim where force, threat of force, coercion or taking advantage of a coercive environment undermined the victim's ability to give voluntary and genuine consent;
- (ii) Consent cannot be inferred by reason of any words or conduct of a victim where the victim is incapable of giving genuine consent;
- (iii) Consent cannot be inferred by reason of the silence of, or lack of resistance by, a victim to the alleged sexual violence;
- (iv) Credibility, character or predisposition to sexual availability of a victim or witness cannot be inferred by reason of [the] sexual nature of the prior or subsequent conduct of a victim or witness."211

It is submitted that explicitly stating the elements of the crime, rather than adopting a loose conceptual framework, is the more appropriate approach, as it gives more certainty to the law in respect of this crime. Indeed, this is the approach adopted in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, which also incorporates aspects of the contextual approach and, as such, better reflects customary international law.

g.ii) Crime against humanity of sexual slavery

The elements of the crime against humanity of sexual slavery are:²¹²

- 1. The perpetrator exercised any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over one or more persons, such as by purchasing, selling, lending or bartering such a person or persons, or by imposing on them a similar deprivation of liberty.
- 2. The perpetrator caused such person or persons to engage in one or more acts of a sexual nature.

²⁰⁸ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 598.

²⁰⁹ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, paras. 127-8.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, para. 120.

²¹¹ Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court, rule 96. Unlike the ICTR, however, evidence of consent does not first have to be raised before a Judge in Chambers: cf. ICTR Rules of Procedure and Evidence, rule 96. For further reading, see the Lawyers' Guide, available from www.specialcourt.org.

²¹² See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(g)-2.

- 3. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 4. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

While the crime of sexual slavery is not addressed in the jurisprudence of the ad hoc tribunals, it is nevertheless comprehensively addressed in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC. While not explicitly stated in the elements, the framers understood that "deprivation of liberty" in this context may, in some circumstances, include exacting forced labour or otherwise reducing a person to a servile status as defined in the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery of 1956. It is also understood that the conduct described in this element includes trafficking in persons, in particular women and children.²¹³

g.iii) Crime against humanity of enforced prostitution

The elements of the crime against humanity of enforced prostitution are:²¹⁴

- 1. The perpetrator caused one or more persons to engage in one or more acts of a sexual nature by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such person or persons or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or such person's or persons' incapacity to give genuine consent.
- 2. The perpetrator or another person obtained or expected to obtain pecuniary or other advantage in exchange for or in connection with the acts of a sexual nature.
- 3. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 4. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

g.iv) Crime against humanity of forced pregnancy

The elements of the crime against humanity of forced pregnancy are:²¹⁵

- 1. The perpetrator confined one or more women forcibly made pregnant, with the intent of affecting the ethnic composition of any population or carrying out other grave violations of international law.
- 2. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 3. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

g.v) Crime against humanity of other forms of sexual violence

The elements of the crime against humanity of other forms of sexual violence are:²¹⁶

²¹³ *Ibid*, footnote 18.

²¹⁴ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(g)-3.

²¹⁵ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(g)-4.



- 1. The perpetrator committed an act of a sexual nature against one or more persons or caused such person or persons to engage in an act of a sexual nature.
- 2. The act was committed by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such person or persons or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or such person's or persons' incapacity to give genuine consent.
- 3. Such conduct was of a gravity comparable to the other offences in article 2(g) of the Statute of the Special Court.
- 4. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the gravity of the conduct.²¹⁷
- 5. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 6. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

The crime of other forms of sexual violence has been addressed in the ICTR, which has held that sexual violence is any act of a sexual nature that is committed on a person under circumstances that are coercive.²¹⁸ In addition, the crime of other forms of sexual violence is comprehensively addressed in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC.

h) Crime against humanity of persecution

The elements of the crime against humanity of persecution are:²¹⁹

- 1. The perpetrator severely deprived, contrary to international law, one or more persons of fundamental rights.
- 2. The perpetrator targeted such person or persons by reason of the identity of a group or collectivity or targeted the group or collectivity as such.
- 3. Such targeting was based on political, racial, national, ethnic, or religious grounds.
- 4. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 5. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

The crime of persecution is premised on the discriminatory intent of the perpetrator. Thus both acts enumerated in article 2 of the Special Court Statute as well as other acts can constitute

²¹⁶ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(g)-6 and below, note 126.

²¹⁷ This element is intended to clarify that the perpetrator does not need to be aware that the conduct is in violation of fundamental rules of international law, just the facts that go to make up that violation; in other words, the perpetrator does not need to made a legal determination that his or her conduct violates international law.

²¹⁸ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 688; sexual violence can also fall within the scope of "other inhumane acts" (para. 688).

²¹⁹ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(h) and below, notes 128-40.

persecution when they are carried out against a particular group on prohibited discriminatory grounds, namely on political, racial, ethnic or religious grounds. Indeed, the ICTY has characterised persecution as follows: "Persecution is grounded in discrimination. It is based on the notion that people who share ethnic, racial or religious bonds different to those of the dominant group are to be treated as inferior to the latter. In the crime of persecution, this discriminatory intent is aggressively achieved by grossly and systematically trampling upon the fundamental human rights of the victim group."220

The material element of persecution as a crime against humanity, in addition to the requirement that the acts be carried out on discriminatory grounds, is that there is a gross or blatant denial of a fundamental right laid down in customary international law or conventional law, reaching the same level of gravity as other enumerated acts.²²¹ The acts that constitute persecution need not themselves be physical acts and must be evaluated in context by looking at their overall cumulative effects, 222 rather than the effect of one specific act. Indeed, it is a requirement that the effect of the acts be discriminatory; discriminatory intent is not itself sufficient to warrant characterising an act as persecution, the act must also have discriminatory consequences.²²³

The question of which grounds are prohibited is not a closed issue and customary international law has developed to the extent where, in addition to those grounds listed in article 2(h) of the Special Court Statute, the following grounds are also prohibited: cultural, gender and other grounds that are universally recognised as impermissible under international law. 224 The restriction of the grounds in the Statute of the Special Court can therefore be seen as a jurisdictional limitation only, similar to the requirement of a nexus with an armed conflict in the ICTY Statute²²⁵ and the requirement that the attack itself be committed on discriminatory grounds in the ICTR Statute.²²⁶

Early jurisprudence of the ICTY and ICTR considered the question of whether discriminatory intent was required for all crimes against humanity,²²⁷ not just for persecution. The Trial Chambers initially adopted the position that not only did the attack have to be carried out on discriminatory grounds²²⁸ but that each of the enumerated acts also had to be committed with discriminatory intent to constitute a crime against humanity. However, the Appeals Chamber of both the ICTY²²⁹ and the

²²⁰ Prosecutor v Kupreskic, Case No. IT-95-16, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 14 January 2000, para. 751.

²²¹ *Ibid*, para. 621. See also the Elements of Crimes of the ICC for the crime against humanity of persecution.

²²² Prosecutor v Kupreskic, Case No. IT-95-16, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 14 January 2000, para. 622 and Prosecutor v Semanza, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003, para. 349.

²²³ Prosecutor v Krnojelac, Case No. IT-97-25, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 March 2002, para. 432. See also Prosecutor v Stakic, Case No. IT-97-24, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 31 July 2003, para. 733.

²²⁴ See the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 7(1)(h).

²²⁵ ICTY Statute, article 5; see also *Prosecutor v Kupreskiv*, Case No. IT-95-16, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 14 January 2000, para. 545.

²²⁶ ICTR Statute, article 3; see also *Prosecutor v Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 580.

²²⁷ See, for example, *Prosecutor v Tadic*, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 7 May 1997 and *Prosecutor* v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998.

²²⁸ See, for example, *Prosecutor v Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 578.

²²⁹ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, para. 305.

ICTR²³⁰ overturned this position, holding that the perpetrator did not have to have discriminatory intent each time an act constituting a crime against humanity was committed, in part because this would render the crime of persecution redundant.

i) Crime against humanity of other inhumane acts

The elements of the crime against humanity of inhumane acts are:²³¹

- 1. The perpetrator inflicted great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health, by means of an inhumane act.
- 2. Such act was of a character, i.e. in terms of gravity and nature, similar to any other act referred to in article 2.
- 3. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the character of the act.²³²
- 4. The conduct was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.
- 5. The perpetrator knew that the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

This is a "catch-all" provision that covers all other acts of similar gravity that are not enumerated in article 2. The International Law Commission has noted the impossibility of listing all the various acts that may fall within this category of crimes against humanity, stating that it includes "acts of similar gravity that are intended to cause and in fact actually cause injury to a human being in terms of physical or mental integrity, health or human dignity". This has been followed in the Statutes of the ICTY and ICTR and in the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, which provides greater guidance as to what may constitute an inhumane act.

There must be some nexus between the act and the suffering of the victim, which does not necessarily require physical injury to the victim as such. Mental injury consequent on witnessing acts committed against other people may constitute an inhumane act where the perpetrator intended to inflict suffering on the victim or knew such suffering was likely to occur and was reckless as to whether that suffering would result.²³⁴

4.d Crimes Against Humanity (Article 2): The facts

The accusation of having committed a crime against humanity is a very serious one; indeed, it could be said that it is the most serious crime over which the Special Court has jurisdiction. In order for an act to be considered a crime against humanity, there is no need that it occur in the context of or

²³⁰ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 464.

²³¹ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 7(1)(i) and below, notes 143-4.

²³² This element is intended to clarify that the perpetrator does not need make a legal determination that his or her conduct constitutes a crime against humanity.

²³³ ILC Commentary on article 18 to the Draft Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind. See also *Prosecutor v Kupreskic*, Case No. IT-95-16, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 14 January 2000, para. 566, for a discussion of what might constitute an inhumane act falling within this category.

²³⁴ Prosecutor v Kayishema, Case No. ICTR-95-I, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 1 June 2001, para. 153. This is reflected in article 30 of the Rome Statute of the ICC, dealing with the mens rea of the perpetrator.

be associated with an armed conflict of any type. Rather, what needs to be demonstrated is that the prohibited act was committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population and that the accused knew of the broader context in which his or her act is committed.

An analysis of the individual events that occurred across the whole of Sierra Leone shows very clearly that the same patterns were employed time and again throughout the country and throughout the conflict. In order for satisfy the contextual elements for crimes against humanity, there must be a widespread or systematic attack against the civilian population. An attack against the civilian population is different from an armed attack or a military attack; in fact, as noted, the existence of an armed conflict is not an element of crimes against humanity. Rather, an attack consists of prohibited acts being committed against a civilian population on a widespread or systematic basis.

For the purposes of this report, the conflict has been analysed according to patterns of conduct and patterns of attack over time and over geographical space, based on a strict application of the law to the facts. The attacks have therefore been identified based on whether similar conduct was occurring at the same time in different locations, at different times in the same location, or against a large number of victims at different times in different locations; such attacks satisfy either the widespread or systematic requirement, or both. In identifying such attacks, this report errs on the side of caution: there are a number of other potential attacks that took place during the conflict in Sierra Leone that have not been included in this discussion because the facts as analysed in this report do not necessarily yield the level of certainty about the widespread or systematic nature of the attack required to sustain a criminal conviction.

The information gathered for this report reveals that there were two general attacks against the civilian population: one by the RUF and one by the CDF. A series of more specific attacks was also committed by each faction within the context of those broader attacks. In the case of the other fighting factions, it was not possible to identify general attacks against a civilian population stretching over a period of years. The West Side Boys committed an attack against the civilian population during the period spanning late 1998 to early 1999. In the case of the SLA, there were clearly a number of specific attacks committed against the civilian population between 1991 and 1996. However, for ECOMOG, it was not possible to identify any attack committed against the civilian population on a widespread or systematic basis, although there are numerous incidents of specific acts being committed against civilians, which are examined in the section on war crimes.

The selection of the specific attacks for analysis has been undertaken on the basis of the proportion of attacks committed by each faction. An examination of the conflict as a whole reveals the commission of 33 discrete widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population:²³⁶ 21 committed by the RUF and their allies; eight committed by the SLA; three committed by the CDF and one committed by the West Side Boys. Accordingly, the legal analysis below reflects the fact

²³⁵ In the following analysis, only those acts committed by the fighting forces concerned that were committed in relation to such an attack and with the knowledge of the broader context of the attack have been characterised as crimes against humanity.

²³⁶ As noted, these attacks were selected on the basis of a strict application of the law to the facts as analysed in this report. Nevertheless, based on the information gathered, any additional attacks that may have taken place are unlikely to alter significantly the proportion of attacks committed by each faction.

that more crimes were committed by the RUF without absolving the members of any other fighting faction of responsibility for the crimes that they committed. Similarly, the description of specific crimes in the various categories of crimes against humanity are not exhaustive of *all* the crimes committed during a particular attack, but are highlighted as representative examples of the types of crimes that were committed.²³⁷

4.d.i Crimes Against Humanity Committed by members of the RUF, the RUF/NPFL and the RUF/AFRC

The RUF, joined by the NPFL between 1991 and 1993 and the AFRC from 1997 onwards, committed a general attack against the civilian population lasting from 1991 until 2000. This attack was both widespread, in that it took place on a large scale and with a multiplicity of victims, and systematic, in that it constituted an organised pattern of conduct. That there was a policy to attack the civilian population is clearly demonstrated by the targeting of civilians in virtually every month in every District in which the RUF or their allies had a presence, particularly during military advances and retreats, but also when military manoeuvres were not being undertaken. Those instances in which there was relative calm usually represent periods during which the RUF was regrouping and rearming or periods during which the population had fled. During the period spanning from 1991 to 2000, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC committed the following crimes against humanity:

- (a) Murder, for the intentional and reckless killings of thousands of civilians;
- (b) **Extermination**, for several mass killing events, namely the gathering of hundreds of civilians at different times in different locations to be shot or hacked to death;
- **(c) Enslavement**, for the abduction of thousands of civilians and their use as porters, cooks, food-gatherers, domestic work, construction work and for similar purposes;²³⁸
- (d) **Rape**, for the rape of hundreds of women and girls, including girls aged below 14, for sexual slavery, namely the abduction of hundreds of women and girls as "wives", for sexual violence, including numerous incidents of sexual abuse and sexual assault, including forcing people to have sex with members of their own families;
- (e) **Imprisonment**, for the arrest and detention of hundreds of civilians, who were held for weeks without charge;
- (f) **Torture**, for the infliction of pain and suffering on people under RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC custody and control, including severe beatings and floggings, dripping melted plastic or rubber into people's eyes and onto people's bodies and a range of other equally grave acts;
- (g) Other inhumane acts, for the variety of severe acts of violence committed against civilians throughout the attack, including mutilation, amputation, beatings, floggings and a range of other similar acts as well as for the effect on the population of cannibalism, drinking blood, displaying internal organs and severed heads at checkpoints, parading severed heads around

²³⁸ The crime of enslavement requires that the perpetrator exercise any or all of the powers of ownership over the abducted person. As such, this report does not characterise as enslavement the thousands of incidences where civilians were abducted but the purpose is not revealed; in addition, it does not characterise as enslavement the thousands of incidences where civilians were abducted and forced to carry loads for a short period of time before being released.

²³⁷ All of the specific examples listed in these sections are detailed in the factual analysis.

villages and forcing civilians to sing and dance at gunpoint in celebration of the actions of the RUF/NPFL, the RUF and the RUF/AFRC.

Within that general attack, there were a series of specific attacks committed against the civilian population. Of the 21 identified attacks committed against the civilian population, six will be discussed below as being representative of the types of actions carried out by the RUF/NPFL, the RUF and the RUF/AFRC throughout the conflict. It should, however, be emphasised that the selection of these attacks is in no way intended to reflect any judgment about the relative importance of the attacks not selected for further exploration.

a) The RUF/NPFL attack from March to July 1991

In March 1991, the RUF/NPFL entered Sierra Leone from Liberia, arriving first in Kailahun and Pujehun Districts and spreading across Bonthe, Bo, Kenema and Kono Districts before being gradually pushed back in early August. During that time, the pattern of conduct employed by the RUF/NPFL reveals a clear policy to direct attacks against the civilian population, as evidenced by the abduction, killing, sexual assault, massive burning of houses and countless other actions inflicted on civilians. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF/NPFL committed the following crimes against humanity:

- Murder, for the numerous intentional and reckless killings of civilians, including the killing of 100 people in Pujehun District in July 1991 and the killing of 62 people in Kailahun District in June 1991;
- b) **Enslavement**, for the abduction of hundreds of civilians and their use as porters, guides, food-gatherers and similar purposes, including the abduction of 800 civilians to work in farms in Kailahun District in July 1991;
- c) **Imprisonment**, for the detention of children who refused to be conscripted in Kailahun District in May 1991;
- d) **Torture**, for the numerous beatings administered to people under the control of the RUF, for the dripping of rubber or plastic into people's eyes in Bonthe District in May 1991 and for tying a man up under the sun for one week in Bo District in May 1991;

Those attacks that are not discussed in detail in this report are: the RUF/NPFL attack in Kailahun, Kenema and Pujehun Districts from January to June 1992; the RUF/NPFL attack from May 1992 to early 1993, primarily the movement from Kailahun to Kono District; the RUF/NPFL attack in Pujehun District from December 1992 to the end of January 1993; the RUF attack across several Districts from December 1993 to September 1994; the RUF attack on Bo from January 1995 to April 1996; the RUF attack from May to June 1995 in Port Loko, Bombali and Koinadugu Districts following the failure to take Freetown; the RUF attack in Kono District from April to September 1995; the RUF attack in Moyamba District from August 1995; the RUF attack in the northern Districts in the lead up to elections from January to February 1996; the RUF/AFRC attack from May to December 1997 in Freetown, during which journalists and civil society were particularly targeted; the RUF/AFRC attack from July to January 1998 in District Headquarter towns in Bonthe, Kailahun, Kenema, Tonkolili, Bo and Pujehun Districts; the RUF/AFRC attack from February to November 1998, during which there named policies to commit certain acts, including "Operation No Living Thing" and "Operation Pay Yourself"; the RUF/AFRC attack in the Northern Province from February 1999 to February 2000; the RUF/AFRC attack in Kono District for the purposes of mining from 1999 to March 2001; and the RUF/AFRC attack on the Northern Province from May to November 2000.

- e) **Rape**, for the rape and sexual assault of dozens of women, including the rape of a 10-year-old girl in Kailahun District in May 1991, and for sexual slavery, namely the abduction of women as "wives":
- f) Other inhumane acts, for ordering people to dance while women were being raped in Pujehun District in June 1991 and for the effect on the population of frequent acts of cannibalism.

b) The "TAP" operation: April 1992 to May 1993

From April 1992 to May 1993, successive groups of NPFL forces committed an ongoing attack against the civilian population, which was striking in terms of the similarity of the conduct employed, including cannibalism, and the brutality inflicted on civilian men, women and children in the areas of Kailahun District over which the RUF/NPFL forces exercised control. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the NPFL committed the following crimes against humanity:

- (a) **Murder**, for the intentional killing of scores of people, including people who tried to escape, people who were abducted for use as porters and people selected for their large size in Penguia Chiefdom in May 1992;
- (b) **Enslavement**, for the abduction of dozens of people for use as porters;
- (c) **Torture**, for the infliction of severe pain and suffering on people under RUF control, including the severe cutting of people's flesh and dripping melted plastic or rubber into people's eyes in Luawa Chiefdom;
- (d) **Rape**, for the rape of dozens of women, including young girls, and often by multiple assailants, including the rape of women by multiple assailants in Penguia Chiefdom in May 1992 and the rape of a woman in Kissi Teng Chiefdom in February 1993;
- (e) Other inhumane acts, for cooking people alive, pounding a baby in a mortar and for the effect on the population of frequent acts of cannibalism, including the people who had been selected for their large size in Penguia Chiefdom in May 1992.

c) RUF attack between December 1994 and May 1995

From the end of 1994, the RUF had consolidated its control over Kailahun, Pujehun and Kenema Districts. From there, they expanded across Bo, Bonthe, Moyamba and Port Loko Districts in a clear push towards Freetown, which culminated in April 1995 in attacks on settlements in the Western Area. Throughout this westward expansion and their subsequent retreat on being repelled from the Western Area, the RUF engaged in an attack on the civilian population in towns through which they passed. This attack was both widespread, in that it affected a large area of the country and a large number of victims, and systematic, in terms of the remarkable similarity among the acts carried out across these Districts. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF committed the following crimes against humanity:

- (a) **Murder**, for the intentional and reckless killing of thousands of people, including the killing of dozens of civilians at an IDP camp in Bo District in 1994;
- (b) **Enslavement**, for the abduction of hundreds of people for use as porters, food-gatherers and cooks;

- (c) Rape, for the rape of scores of women and girls, for sexual slavery, namely the abduction of women as "wives" and for sexual violence, including forcing people to have sex with their own family members;
- (d) **Torture**, for beatings and other acts inflicting pain and suffering on people under RUF control, including dripping melted plastic in people's eyes,
- (e) Other inhumane acts, including amputation of limbs, branding people with hot irons and carving words on their bodies with razor blades.

d) RUF attack on Bonthe District: 1995

Throughout 1995, the RUF were progressively taking firm control of Bonthe District; their arrival in towns across the District was accompanied by severe brutality against civilians and the deposing and replacement of traditional authorities. The attack was carried out in a systematic manner, in that it was clearly conducted according to an organised plan. From January to November, not a month passed without significant violations being committed against the civilian population. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF committed the following crimes against humanity:

- (a) Murder, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, including the killing of 300 people in Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom) in February;
- (b) **Extermination**, for rounding up thousands of civilians from many different places and killing hundreds of them in Bauya Junction (Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom) in October;
- (c) **Enslavement**, for abducting civilians and forcing them to work, including as food-gatherers, cooks and porters;
- (d) **Rape**, for the rape of scores of women and girls, including the rape of young girls in front of their parents, for sexual slavery, namely the abduction of women as "wives" and for sexual violence, including forcing people to have sex with their own family members;
- (e) Other inhumane acts, for the amputation of limbs, for the effect on the population of leaving mutilated corpses on the road, for severe beatings and for pouring petrol over a man and setting him on fire.

e) RUF/AFRC Attack in May and June 1997

On 25 May 1997, the AFRC staged a military coup, and were joined in power soon after by the RUF, thereby establishing a presence in areas previously held by the SLA. Between the end of May and the middle of June, the RUF/AFRC staged a sharp and brutal attack against the civilian population across the country that would affect every District to greater and lesser degrees. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF/AFRC committed the following crimes against humanity:

- (a) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, including reprisal killings against civilians for failing to be "sufficiently supportive", the killing of civilians deemed to be "enemy collaborators" and civilians who refused to work;
- (b) **Enslavement**, for the use of civilians as food-gatherers, cooks and porters;
- (c) **Imprisonment**, for the arbitrary arrest and detention without charge of dozens of journalists, lawyers and civil society activists;
- (d) **Torture**, for the infliction of severe pain and suffering on people detained by the RUF/AFRC, including severe beatings;

- (e) Rape, for the rape and sexual abuse of dozens of women, including young girls, and the padlocking of women's genital areas in Pujehun District;
- (f) Other inhumane acts, for the mutilation of several civilians, the amputation of one or more of their limbs, the effect on the population of displaying people's intestines at checkpoints and forcing people under gunpoint to dance and sing in support of the RUF/AFRC.

f) RUF/AFRC Attack from December 1998 to January 1999

From December 1998, the RUF/AFRC orchestrated a campaign to retake Freetown, moving from various Districts, particularly in the north, towards the Western Area. As they advanced, as well as during their retreat, the RUF/AFRC implemented a systematic attack against the civilian population that reached its peak during the invasion and brief occupation of parts of Freetown. This attack was striking particularly in terms of the sheer number of acts committed against the population and the destruction wrought in such a short period of time. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF/AFRC committed the following crimes against humanity:

- (a) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, including alleged "enemy collaborators" and the killing of 27 people in a market place in Bombali District in January 1999;
- (b) **Enslavement**, for the abduction of hundreds of civilians for their use as porters and cooks;
- (c) **Torture**, for the regular and severe beatings administered to people under the control of the RUF/AFRC, including one man who was beaten for 24 hours and then buried alive in Bombali District in January 1999;
- (d) Rape, for the rape of dozens of women and girls;
- (e) Other inhumane treatment, for forcing people at gunpoint to dance and sing in support of the RUF/AFRC in Freetown's East End in January 1999, for the mutilation of dozens of civilians, including carving words onto their bodies, and the amputation of one or more of their limbs.

4.d.ii Crimes Against Humanity Committed by members of the West Side Boys

The West Side Boys committed an attack against the civilian population in Port Loko District lasting from October 1998 to April 1999 across Koya and Maforki Chiefdoms. This attack was both widespread, in that it took place on a large scale and with a multiplicity of victims, *and* systematic, in that it was an organised pattern of conduct. The facts clearly demonstrate that there was a policy to commit such an attack, with civilians being targeted for a variety of reasons. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the West Side Boys committed the following crimes against humanity:

(a) **Murder**, for the killing of dozens of civilians, including the killing of two civilians by hanging and the public execution of 20 civilians and the burning of 73 civilians in a house in April 1999;

²⁴⁰ There was a lull in this attack in January and February 1999, during which time the West Side Boys were participating in the attack on Freetown. Nevertheless, the actions before and after that time form part of the same attack against the civilian population.

- (b) **Enslavement**, for the abduction of civilians for their use as porters;²⁴¹
- (c) **Rape**, for the rape of dozens of women and girls and for sexual violence, including forcing people to have sex with their own family members
- (d) Other inhumane acts, for the mutilation of several civilians, including carving words onto their bodies.

4.d.iii Crimes Against Humanity Committed by members of the SLA

While there was no general attack spanning a number of years, the SLA committed a number of specific widespread or systematic attacks at different periods between 1991 and 1996 that reveal a policy to commit an attack against a civilian population, generally for the purposes of reprisals, abducting civilians for the purposes of mining or other work and to obtain property. Of the eight identified attacks committed against the civilian population, two will be discussed below as being representative of the types of actions carried out by the SLA.²⁴² It should, however, be emphasised that the selection of these attacks is in no way intended to reflect any judgment about the relative importance of the attacks not selected for further exploration.

a) SLA attack from January to April 1992

As the SLA started gaining successes over RUF/NPFL forces across Pujehun and Kailahun Districts, they progressively and rapidly launched attacks on civilians. Beginning by targeting civilians they arbitrarily labelled as RUF/NPFL "collaborators", often in the areas they had retaken from the hands of RUF/NPFL forces, the SLA soon expanded these activities to encompass the entire civilian population in those areas. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the SLA committed the following crimes against humanity:

- a) **Murder** for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, including the killing of alleged "collaborators" at Makibi Bridge in Pujehun Town and the tying up of alleged collaborators and throwing them off the Yonni Bridge (Kpaka Chiefdom, Pujehun District) in early 1992;
- b) **Enslavement**, for the use of civilians under SLA control for work, including breaking down houses and uprooting cocoa and coffee plantations in Kangama (Kissi Teng Chiefdom, Kailahun District) and as food-gatherers in Pujehun District in early 1992;
- c) **Deportation**, for the use of radical measures such as setting fire to houses as part of a clear action to evict civilians from an area in Pujehun District in early 1992;
- d) **Rape**, for the rape of several women, including the rape of a woman in Makpele Chiefdom (Pujehun District) in early 1992, and for other acts of sexual violence;

²⁴¹ The crime of enslavement requires that the perpetrator exercise any or all of the powers of ownership over the abducted person. As such, this report does not characterise as enslavement the incidences where civilians were abducted but the purpose is not revealed; in addition, it does not characterise as enslavement the incidences where civilians were abducted and forced to carry loads for a short period of time before being released.

²⁴² Those attacks that are not discussed in detail in this report are: the SLA attack in Bonthe District from June to July 1992; the SLA Attack from October 1992 to February 1993, particularly in Kono District; the SLA attack from March to June 1994; the SLA attack in Moyamba District from December 1994 to February 1995; the SLA attack in Kenema District from March to June 1994; and the attack carried out by the Special Task Force in October 1995 in Bonthe District.

e) Other inhumane acts, for the amputation of ears and hands, the plucking out of eyeballs and for putting civilians in a bag that was then set on fire in Kpanga Krim Chiefdom (Pujehun District) in early 1992.

b) SLA attack in Kenema District from March to July 1994

Between March and July 1994, while RUF forces were continuing expanding their operations in the District, SLA forces together with members of ULIMO-J conducted an attack against the civilian population in the area remaining under their control. The widespread or systematic nature of the attack is evidenced by the numerous acts of violence committed against civilians across different chiefdoms. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the SLA committed the following crimes against humanity:

- a) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of dozens of civilians, including those alleged to be RUF "collaborators" and those they accused of not respecting their "orders", including the killing of 12 young people from Damawuro and the killing of a man in Blama (Small Bo Chiefdom) in March;
- b) **Imprisonment**, for detaining an alleged RUF "collaborator" in a cell in Blama in March and for detaining civilians in a guardroom for some days in Blama;
- c) **Enslavement**, for the forceful use of civilians to work at mining sites in the Tongo Field area:
- d) **Rape**, for sexual slavery, namely the abduction of women as "wives" and for sexual violence committed against several women and girls.

4.d.iv Crimes Against Humanity Committed by members of the CDF

The CDF committed a general attack against the civilian population lasting from January 1996 until October 1999. This attack was both widespread, in that it took place on a large scale and with a multiplicity of victims, and systematic, in that it was an organised pattern of conduct. The facts clearly demonstrate that there was a policy to commit such an attack, with civilians being targeted for a variety of reasons; reprisals against civilians for having cooperated with the RUF were systematic and particularly brutal throughout this period. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the CDF committed the following crimes against humanity:

- a) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, including civilians arbitrarily labelled as "RUF collaborators";
- b) **Enslavement**, for the use of civilians under their control to harvest food for the CDF in Tonkolili District in October 1999;
- c) **Imprisonment**, for the detention without charge of people in cells and cages, particularly at checkpoints;
- d) **Torture**, for the use of "FM ropes", ²⁴³ beatings, dripping melted plastic on people and other acts inflicting pain and suffering on people under the control of the CDF;
- e) **Rape**, for sexual slavery, namely forcing women to become "wives", and for sexual violence committed against women;

²⁴³ "FM rope" stands for "Frequency Modulation". A victim would be tied up with a length of nylon, which would be progressively tightened. The more the nylon tightened, the more pain and suffering it would cause and the more the victim would "talk", hence the analogy with a radio tuner.

f) **Other inhumane acts**, for the effect on the civilian population of acts of cannibalism and displaying internal organs at checkpoints.

Within that general attack, there were a series of specific attacks committed against the civilian population. Of the three identified attacks committed against the civilian population, one will be discussed below as being representative of the types of actions carried out by the CDF.²⁴⁴ It should, however, be emphasised that the selection of these attacks is in no way intended to reflect any judgment about the relative importance of the attacks not selected for further exploration.

CDF Attack from November 1997 to May 1998

During this period, the CDF engaged RUF/AFRC forces throughout the Southern Province, repelling them from most of the areas previously under their control. The CDF actions in those areas demonstrate a clear pattern of violent activities directed against civilians, in particular against suspected RUF/AFRC "collaborators", leading to the infliction of severe physical violence and the draconian regulation of every aspect of civilian life. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes under the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the CDF committed the following crimes against humanity:

- a) **Murder**, for the intentional and reckless killing of dozens of civilians, including the killing of alleged RUF/AFRC "collaborators" in Bonthe Town in February 1998;
- b) **Imprisonment**, for the detention of civilians in cells or specially designed cages, including the detention in a cell for two days of civilians in Bonthe Town in February 1998, the detention of civilians in a cage at Baiama Junction (Bo District) in February 1998 and in Kwellu (Moyamba District) in December 1997;
- c) **Torture**, for the infliction of severe physical and mental violence, notably by the use of cages and FM ropes across the Southern Province, including tying up suspected collaborators with an FM rope, beating them and locking them up in Blama (Kenema District) in February 1998;
- d) **Rape**, for the use of three women as sex slaves in Makpele Chiefdom (Pujehun District) in January 1998;
- e) Other inhumane acts, for the effect on the population of frequent acts of cannibalism, including the decapitation of a civilian and the drinking of his blood in Nomo Chiefdom (Kenema District) in December 1997.

4.e Violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol II (Article 3): The law

Article 3 of the Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone reads as follows:

"The Special Court shall have the power to prosecute persons who committed or ordered the commission of serious violations of article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 for the Protection of War Victims, and of Additional Protocol II thereto of 8 June 1977. These violations shall include:

²⁴⁴ Those attacks that are not discussed in detail in this report are: the CDF Attack from January 1996 to September 1996 in Bonthe District, which included attacks on Moyamba District from April to August 1996; and the CDF attack from December 1998 to May 1999 in Tonkolili, Moyamba and Port Loko Districts.



- (a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well being of persons, in particular murder as well as cruel treatment such as torture, mutilation or any form of corporal punishment;
- (b) Collective punishments;
- (c) Taking of hostages;
- (d) Acts of terrorism;
- (e) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault;
- (f) Pillage;
- (g) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples;
- (h) Threats to commit any of the foregoing acts."

The four Geneva Conventions of 1949 were, as noted, concerned mainly with international armed conflicts, that is, conflicts involving two or more States. The Geneva Conventions were expanded on in 1977 with the adoption of the two Additional Protocols, the first of which was also concerned with international armed conflicts. However, article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions, which has been described as a "treaty in miniature", contains the minimum set of protections applicable in any armed conflict. Additional Protocol II expands on common article 3 to specify in more detail the protections that apply during a non-international armed conflict.

In order for these norms to become applicable, they must have been in force at the time of the alleged commission of the crimes, whether through customary international law or because the State in question had ratified these instruments and, as such, was bound by these provisions. In respect of the first possibility, ²⁴⁶ it is clear that common article 3 has the status of customary international law; ²⁴⁷ indeed, most States have criminalised the acts listed in common article 3 within their domestic penal codes. Additional Protocol II as a whole is generally not regarded as having the status of customary international law, but article 4(2) relating to fundamental guarantees both reaffirms and supplements common article 3 and, as such, has the status of customary international law. ²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ It should be noted that while common article 3 refers to its applicability in non-international armed conflicts, it is now recognised that customary international law dictates that these protections are applicable in *any* armed conflict, not just those that are non-international in nature.

²⁴⁶ Note that Sierra Leone succeeded to the Geneva Conventions on 10 June 1965 and acceded to the Additional Protocols on 21 October 1986, therefore these instruments were, in any case, in force in the territory of Sierra Leone at all relevant times.

²⁴⁷ See for example *Prosecutor v Tadic*, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999 and *Prosecutor v Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 608.

²⁴⁸ See, for example, *Prosecutor v Akayesu*, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, paras. 608-10.

Nevertheless, in order not to offend the principle of *nullum crimen sine lege*,²⁴⁹ it is not sufficient simply to show that these instruments had the status of customary international law at the time the alleged crimes were committed. It must also be established that the violation of those norms attracted individual criminal responsibility: the ICTY Appeals Chamber has found that customary international law imposes criminal liability for serious violations of common article 3, as supplemented by other general rules and principles, in particular Additional Protocol II.²⁵⁰

4.e.i Contextual elements of violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II

Once it is established that these instruments were in force, there are two sets of elements that need to be met, one of which can be described as "contextual" elements, the other of which are the elements of the acts enumerated in article 3 of the Statute of the Special Court. The contextual elements are as follows:

- 1. The applicability of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II must be established.
- 2. The personal jurisdiction (relating to victims and perpetrators) and the geographical jurisdiction must be met.
- 3. There must be a nexus between the act constituting the crime and the armed conflict.
- 4. The act constituting the crime must be a serious violation.

1. Applicability of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II

Both common article 3 and Additional Protocol II contain conditions of applicability that must be considered in order to determine whether or not they apply at a particular location or during a particular time. As noted, the inclusion of these crimes within the Statute of the Special Court is not in itself sufficient to conclude that these instruments apply to the situation in Sierra Leone, nor is it sufficient to establish that the instruments were in force at the time in question.

Common article 3 applies during any armed conflict,²⁵¹ thereby ruling out its application during internal disturbances and tensions. Whether an armed conflict exists or not²⁵² must be determined on an evaluation of the intensity and organisation of the parties to the conflict; indeed, the *Tadic* decision refers to "protracted armed violence".²⁵³

²⁴⁹ According to this principle, nobody may be found guilty of a criminal offence for acts that were not criminalised, whether under national or international law, at the time of their commission: see the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, article 15(1).

²⁵⁰ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 15 July 1999, para. 134. The Appeals Chamber reached this conclusion following consideration of the decisions of the Nuremberg Tribunal, elements of international practice showing that States intend to criminalise serious breaches of customary rules and principles applicable during a non-international armed conflict as well as national legislation aimed at implementing the Geneva Conventions.

²⁵¹ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, 2 October 1995, para. 137.

²⁵² See above for a discussion on what constitutes an armed conflict.

²⁵³ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995 (Tadic Jurisdiction Decision), para.70.

The situations to which Additional Protocol II will apply are more limited than those to which common article 3 will apply.²⁵⁴ It is worth noting that while Additional Protocol II develops and supplements common article 3, the more restrictive conditions of its applicability are not automatically extended to common article 3, which continues to apply during any armed conflict. In order for Additional Protocol II to apply, the following elements must be satisfied:

- (a) An armed conflict is occurring between the armed forces of a State and dissident armed forces or other organised groups.
- (b) The dissident armed forces or other organised groups were under responsible command.
- (c) The dissident armed forces or other organised groups exercised control over territory such that they were able to carry out sustained and concerted military operations.
- (d) The dissident armed forces or other organised groups are able to implement Additional Protocol II.

(a) An armed conflict is occurring between the armed forces of a State and dissident armed forces or other organised groups

The jurisprudence of the international criminal tribunals refers to the fact that "armed forces", namely those fighting on behalf of the State, covers all armed forces described in national legislation.²⁵⁵ It is unclear whether this would cover armed forces fighting on behalf of the State that are not so described in national legislation but are established as a result of some other procedure. In the absence of a decision on this matter, it is submitted that a test similar to that in *Tadic* related to forces under the control of a foreign power could be adopted to determine whether armed forces are fighting on behalf of the State on whose territory the conflict is being fought.²⁵⁶ The test could therefore be: overall control of an armed group or individuals by the State; specific instructions to an armed group or individuals by the State; and actual behaviour of an armed group or individuals, irrespective of any specific instructions.²⁵⁷

(b) The dissident armed forces or other organised groups were under responsible command This requirement refers to the degree of organisation of the groups, namely that they were able to

carry out military operations and that they were able to impose discipline in the name of the de facto authority, 258 although it does not imply that there needs to be a hierarchical system identical to that employed by the armed forces of a State.

(c) The dissident armed forces or other organised groups exercised control over territory such that they were able to carry out sustained and concerted military operations

While the previous requirement refers to the command ability of the groups, this requirement considers whether the military operations actually carried out were continuous and planned. This

²⁵⁴ In this respect it should be noted that if the requirements for Additional Protocol II are met, then the lower threshold conditions for common article 3 are also automatically met.

²⁵⁵ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 625; Prosecutor v Musema, Case No. ICTR-96-13, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 27 January 2000, para. 256.

²⁵⁶ This question could be relevant, for example, if there are protracted periods of fighting between dissident armed forces and armed forces not described in national legislation that are in fact fighting on behalf of the State, without the involvement of the armed forces of a State.

²⁵⁷ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgment, 15 July 1999, point IV.B.3.

²⁵⁸ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 626.

requires that the groups in fact dominate part of the territory that is no longer under government control.²⁵⁹

(d) The dissident armed forces or other organised groups are able to implement Additional Protocol II

This refers to the degree of organisation of the dissident armed forces or other organised group, such that they can carry out obligations under Additional Protocol II, which includes matters such as searching for sick, shipwrecked or wounded personnel and providing them with medical care and attention.²⁶⁰

2. Personal and geographical jurisdiction

i) Personal jurisdiction: Perpetrators

Anybody who commits a violation of common article 3 or Additional Protocol II can be held accountable; there is no category of persons to whom these provisions cannot apply. The early jurisprudence of the ICTR focused on whether there were certain criteria that needed to be satisfied in order for an accused to fall within the *ratione personae* for perpetrators. Thus the Trial Chamber in *Akayesu*, while recognising that this should not be interpreted restrictively and that civilians could be held liable for violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II, applied a "public official" test to determine whether a person could be held liable. According to this test, if a person was not a combatant, they could be held liable only if they were public officials or agents or exercised some public authority such that they were mandated and expected to support or fulfil the war effort. However, this was overturned by the Appeals Chamber, who held that this test was not supported either by the language of the Statute nor customary international law. Considering that the core of common article 3 is the protection of victims, which implies effective punishment of perpetrators, the Appeals Chamber held that common article 3 and Additional Protocol II are applicable to everyone. As such, the existence of a special link or relationship between the accused and the armed forces of a State is not a pre-condition for the applicability of these instruments.

ii) Personal jurisdiction: victims

Common article 3 and Additional Protocol II are concerned primarily with the protection of civilians, namely people who do not bear arms. Thus common article 3 refers to persons who are taking no active part in hostilities, including members of the armed forces who have laid down their arms and those who are placed *hors de combat*, namely those who are no longer fighting due to injury or some other similar incapacity, whereas Additional Protocol II refers to those persons who do not take a direct part in hostilities or who have ceased to take a direct part in hostilities.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Additional Protocol II, part III.

²⁶¹ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, paras. 630-4.

²⁶² In this consideration, the Appeals Chamber cited the Appeals Chamber of the ICTY in the *Celebici* case, para. 143, which stated that the quintessence of international humanitarian law is the respect for a few essential rules of humanity that are valid everywhere, under all circumstances, and which exist above and outside war.

²⁶³ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 1 June 2001, para. 443.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, para. 444.

To take a "direct part" in hostilities means to undertake acts of war that, by their nature or purpose, are likely to cause actual harm to personnel or equipment of the enemy armed forces. Should a civilian undertake such acts, they would lose their right to protection as civilians and could thereby fall within the class of combatants, thus becoming legitimate military targets.

The central question in this respect is, therefore, whether the alleged victim was taking a direct part in hostilities at the time of the alleged offence. If they were not, then they fall within that class of persons protected by common article 3 and Additional Protocol II. As such, it must be determined on a case-by-case basis whether a victim has the status of a civilian and, as such, whether the provisions of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II apply.

iii) Geographical jurisdiction

The geographical jurisdiction refers to the geographical territory within which common article 3 and Additional Protocol II apply. As noted, international humanitarian law applies across the territory affected by the conflict from the moment hostilities commence until there is general conclusion of peace or, in the case of internal armed conflicts, a peaceful settlement is reached. Customary international law, as reflected in the jurisprudence of the Tribunals, makes it clear that the application of the law is not confined to the narrow geographical scope of the actual theatre of combat operations. Rather, international humanitarian law applies throughout the territory affected by the conflict whether or not actual combat is taking place in parts of the territory under the control of a party to the conflict. 267

In addition, international humanitarian law also has a temporal scope, namely from the commencement of hostilities until the conclusion of peace or the reaching of a peaceful settlement. Customary international law, as reflected in the jurisprudence of the Tribunals, also requires that the temporal factor not be given a restrictive interpretation. As such, there only needs to be some kind of nexus between the act and the conflict, but not that the act itself occurs during the midst of battle.²⁶⁸

3. Nexus between the crime and the conflict

There must be some kind of link between the crime and the armed conflict, whether it be "closely related", "in conjunction with", "70 or – more reflective of customary law – "in the context of or associated with". This requirement stems from the fact that international humanitarian law, concerned as it is with law during an armed conflict, does not protect persons against crimes unrelated to the conflict," which should be dealt with by other means.

²⁶⁵ Prosecutor v Rutaganda, Case No. ICTR-96-3, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 6 December 1999, para. 100.

²⁶⁶ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995, para.70.

²⁶⁷ Prosecutor v Kunarac et al, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 12 June 2002, para. 57.

²⁶⁸ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, Appeals Chamber, Jurisdiction Decision, 2 October 1995, para.70 and Prosecutor v Kayishema, Case No. ICTR-95-I, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 21 May 1999, para. 183.

²⁶⁹ Prosecutor v Tadic, Case No. IT-94-I, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 7 May 1997, para. 573.

²⁷⁰ Prosecutor v Semanza, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003, para. 369.

²⁷¹ See generally the ICC Elements of Crimes, contextual elements for article 8(2)(e).

²⁷² Prosecutor v Semanza, Case No. ICTR-97-20, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 15 May 2003, paras. 368-9.

The ICTY Appeals Chamber has addressed this issue in *Kunarac*, holding that an armed conflict must, at a minimum, have played a substantial part in the perpetrator's ability to commit the crime, his or her decision to commit it, the manner in which it was committed or the purpose for which it was committed. Hence, establishing that the perpetrator acted in furtherance of or under the guise of the armed conflict would be sufficient to conclude that the acts were closely related to the armed conflict. In determining whether or not an act is sufficiently related to the armed conflict, the Appeals Chamber suggested a number of factors that may assist in making that factual determination: the fact that the perpetrator is a combatant; the fact that the victim is a non-combatant; the fact that the victim is a member of the opposing party; the fact that the act may be said to serve the ultimate goal of a military

campaign; and the fact that the crime was committed as part of or in the context of the perpetrator's official duties.²⁷³

4. The violation must be serious

The chapeau of article 3 of the Statute of the Special Court gives the Special Court jurisdiction over "serious violations" of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II. Broadly speaking, the requirement that it be 'serious' refers to "the breach of a rule protecting important values involving grave consequences for the victim". The jurisprudence of the Tribunals makes it clear that violations of the fundamental guarantees related to the protection of victims during an armed conflict are, by their very nature, considered to be serious. ²⁷⁵

4.e.ii Elements of enumerated acts constituting violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II

For the most part, the elements of the crimes constituting violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II mirror the elements required for crimes against humanity. This has been explicitly stated, for example, for murder, ²⁷⁶ torture ²⁷⁷ and rape ²⁷⁸ and it is reasonable to predict that the same approach would be adopted for other crimes. There are, however, some crimes within common article 3 and Additional Protocol II that have no direct counterpart within crimes against humanity, which are discussed briefly below.

a) Mutilation

The elements of the war crime of mutilation are: 279

1. The perpetrator subjected one or more persons to mutilation, in particular by permanently disfiguring the person or persons, or by permanently disabling or removing an organ or appendage.

²⁷⁷ Prosecutor v Kunarac, Case No. IT-96-23&23/1, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 22 February 2001, para. 465. It should be noted that the purpose element will apply in relation to torture as a war crime: see above for a discussion of the elements of the crime against humanity of torture.

²⁷³ Prosecutor v Kunarac, Case No. IT-96-23&23/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, 12 June 2002, para. 58.

²⁷⁴ Prosecutor v Akayesu, Case No. ICTR-96-4, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 2 September 1998, para. 616.

²⁷⁵ Prosecutor v Rutaganda, Case No. ICTR-96-3, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 6 December 1999, para. 106.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, para. 107.

²⁷⁸ Prosecutor v Musema, Case No. ICTR-96-13, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 27 January 2000, para. 285.

²⁷⁹ See *Prosecutor v Musema*, Case No. ICTR-96-13, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 27 January 2000, para. 285 and the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(e)(xi)-1.



- 2. The conduct was neither justified by the medical, dental or hospital treatment of the person or persons concerned nor carried out in such person's or persons' interests.
- 3. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.
- 4. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

b) Cruel Treatment

The elements of the war crime of cruel treatment are:²⁸⁰

- 1. The perpetrator inflicted severe physical or mental pain or suffering upon one or more persons.
- 2. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.
- 3. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

c) Taking of hostages

The elements of the war crime of taking hostages are:²⁸¹

- 1. The perpetrator seized, detained or otherwise held hostage one or more persons.
- 2. The perpetrator threatened to kill, injure or continue to detain such person or persons.
- 3. The perpetrator intended to compel a State, an international organisation, a natural or legal person or a group of persons to act or refrain from acting as an explicit or implicit condition for the safety or the release of such person or persons.
- 4. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.
- 5. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

d) Outrages on personal dignity, including degrading and humiliating treatment

The elements of the war crime of outrages on personal dignity are:²⁸²

- 1. The perpetrator humiliated, degraded or otherwise violated the dignity of one or more persons.
- 2. The severity of the humiliation, degradation or other violation was of such degree as to be generally recognised as an outrage upon personal dignity.
- 3. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.

²⁸¹ See the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(c)(i)-3. See also *Prosecutor v Naletilic and Martinovic*, Case No. IT-98-34, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 31 March 2003, para. 246.

²⁸⁰ See the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(c)(iii).

²⁸² See the ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(c)(ii). See also *Prosecutor v Musema*, Case No. ICTR-96-13, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 27 January 2000, para. 285.

4. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

The Elements of Crimes of the ICC explicitly states that "persons" can include dead people, going on to say: "It is understood that the victim need not personally be aware of the existence of the humiliation or degradation or other violation. This element takes into account relevant aspects of the cultural background of the victim."²⁸³

The ICTR has interpreted "humiliating and degrading" treatment as treatment designed to subvert the self regard of the victims. ²⁸⁴ The ICTY held that rape could amount to an outrage on personal dignity and therefore could be covered by this provision. ²⁸⁵ In *Aleksovski*, the ICTY held that the use of detainees as human shields or trench diggers, beatings and the constant fear of being robbed or beaten could constitute outrages upon personal dignity. ²⁸⁶

e) Indecent assault

The elements of the war crime of indecent assault are: 287

- 1. The accused inflicted pain or injury on the victim or victims.
- 2. The act inflicting pain or injury was sexual in nature and was committed by coercion, force, threat or intimidation.
- 3. The act was non-consensual.
- 4. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.
- 5. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

f) Pillage

The elements of the war crime of pillage are:²⁸⁸

- 1. The perpetrator appropriated certain property.
- 2. The perpetrator intended to deprive the owner of the property and to appropriate it for private or personal use.
- 3. The appropriation was without the consent of the owner.
- 4. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.

²⁸³ ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(c)(ii), footnote.

²⁸⁴ Prosecutor v Musema, Case No. ICTR-96-13, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 27 January 2000, para. 285.

²⁸⁵ The Prosecutor v Furundzija, Case No. IT-95-17/1, ICTY Trial Chamber, Judgment, 10 December 1998, paras. 172-3.

²⁸⁶ Prosecutor v Aleksovski, Case No. IT-95-14/1, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgment, 24 March 2000, para. 36.

²⁸⁷ Prosecutor v Musema, Case No. ICTR-96-13, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 27 January 2000, para. 285

²⁸⁸ See ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(e)(v). See also *Prosecutor v Jelisic*, Case No. IT-95-10, ICTY Trial Chamber, 14 December 1999, paras. 48-9.

5. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

The crime of pillage encompasses isolated acts of looting committed by individual soldiers for private gain as well as organised forms of the seizure of property, for example as part of a systematic economic exploitation of occupied territory. However, as indicated by the use of the term "private or personal use", appropriations justified by military necessity cannot constitute the crime of pillaging.²⁸⁹

4.f Violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol II (Article 3): The facts

Certain conditions must be met before common article 3 and Additional Protocol II will apply. For common article 3, the condition is the existence of an armed conflict. As stated, there was an armed conflict occurring on the territory of Sierra Leone from March 1991 until 18 January 2002. As such, common article 3 applied throughout that time across the whole territory. For Additional Protocol II, the conditions centre around the degree of organisation of the armed forces against whom the State's armed forces are fighting. While it is not intended to go into this issue for each of the fighting factions, the analysis of the non-State fighting factions involved in the conflict of Sierra Leone clearly reveals that these conditions are met, in that at any given point during the conflict, dissident or other armed groups were organised, were under responsible command, exercised control over the territory such that they were able to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and were able to implement Additional Protocol II.

Given that, the provisions of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II applied throughout the territory of Sierra Leone throughout the conflict, whether or not actual combat was taking place. Therefore, although there were lulls in the fighting at different times in different places throughout Sierra Leone, IHL continued to apply in those places as well as those areas where fighting was occurring until the end of the conflict as a whole.

Aside from these, there are other contextual elements that need to be established in order for an act to constitute a violation of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II, namely that the victims are civilians, the violation is serious and that there is a nexus between the act and the armed conflict. These contextual elements were taken into account in describing the crimes listed below;²⁹⁰ for example, murder of a civilian has been included whereas murder of a combatant during a battle has not been included. Similarly, acts that could otherwise amount to a violation of the law but were not committed "in the context of or associated with" the armed conflict have not been included.

In every military action there is the requirement of proportionality, such that a military commander must weigh the military advantage to be gained as against civilian casualties. There is also the requirement that a distinction be made between legitimate and non-legitimate targets, which is highlighted by the prohibition on indiscriminate firing. In Sierra Leone, there were many instances

²⁸⁹ ICC Elements of Crimes, article 8(2)(e)(v), footnote.

²⁹⁰ It should be noted that due to the meaning in international law of the term "terrorism" and the types of acts to which this term is generally applied, such as hijacking planes, this category of crimes has not been considered in this report.

of significant civilian deaths that resulted from what appeared to be predominantly military actions and it is not possible to determine to the requisite degree of certainty whether the military attack was proportional or what was the intended target. In those cases where it is possible to make that determination, this report characterises such deaths as murders.

4.f.i Violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II by members of the RUF, the RUF/NPFL and the RUF/AFRC

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, the following war crimes were committed:²⁹¹

(a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular—

- (i) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of tens of thousands of civilians for a variety of reasons, including for allegedly "collaborating" with forces aligned against the RUF movement, for supporting the elected Government and for failing to show sufficient support for the RUF movement, which was often determined on an arbitrary basis, and by a variety of means, including decapitations, disembowelling pregnant women and throwing babies into the bush or into burning houses, and by using a variety of weapons, including shooting people, hacking people to death with bladed weapons and by locking people in houses that were then set on fire;
- (ii) **Torture**, for the infliction of severe pain and suffering on people under the custody or control of the RUF and their allies for the purposes of inflicting punishment or obtaining information, including by the means outlined below;
- (iii) **Mutilation**, for the hundreds of mutilations, amputation of limbs, the carving of words into people's skin with razor blades and other similar acts;
- (iv) **Corporal punishment**, for the beating and flogging of tens of thousands of civilians;

as well as for several other acts that inflicted violence to the life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, including the frequent instances of the infliction of severe pain and suffering by means such as the dripping of melted plastic into people's eyes and onto their bodies, setting people on fire, forcing people to lie on the ground and stare at the sun, cutting off people's genital organs and a variety of other similar acts;

- (b) **Collective punishments**, for the arbitrary infliction of various degrees of punishment as reprisal actions for real or imagined wrongs on groups of civilians, such as the retaliatory killing of 100 people and the burning of 200 houses in Kailahun District in March 1992;
- (c) **Taking of hostages**, for the abduction of civilians, their continued detention under threat of death or personal injury and thereby using the detainees as a bargaining tool to achieve various aims with third parties;

(d) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular—

(i) humiliating and degrading treatment, for the severe humiliation, degradation and violation of the dignity of tens of thousands of civilians, including by forcing traditional authorities and elders to sit on the floor, ²⁹² by forcing adults to "frog

²⁹¹ For those crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that are not listed here, there is no evidence that members of the RUF, RUF/NPFL, RUF/AFRC committed those crimes.

²⁹² Note that this element takes into account the cultural background of the victim, such that the infliction of these acts on elders, adults and women in the Sierra Leone context amounts to a violation of their dignity.

jump" or "pump", for shaving the heads of female abductees, by decapitating, mutilating and displaying corpses, severed body parts and internal organs in public places, by frequent acts of cannibalism, including the drinking of blood,²⁹³ by forcing men to watch the rape of their wives, by forcing parents to watch the rape of their children, by gambling on the sex of a baby who has yet to be born and settling the bet by disemboweling the mother, for the use of detainees as human shields in a few cases and by keeping the civilian population in constant fear of being robbed, beaten, abducted, having their children abducted and having their houses burnt down and for a variety of other similar acts;

- rape, for the rape, often by multiple assailants, of hundreds²⁹⁴ of women and young girls, including girls as young as 10 and including the rape of women and girls who had been abducted as "wives";
- any form of indecent assault, for sexual violence committed against thousands of civilians, including children, and for forcing people to have sex with members of their own families;
- (e) Pillage, for the stealing of personal property including food, domestic animals, cooking utensils, money and valuable items from hundreds of thousands of civilians in villages and towns and at checkpoints, for the stealing of personal property from civilian residences and for the stealing of property from other buildings, including companies, organisations, churches and others, none of which was justified by military necessity;
- (f) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without due process, for the capture and execution of hundreds of civilians on varied grounds, in particular on the accusation of being a member, collaborator or relative of one of the other fighting forces, and for the infliction of often severe punishment for real or imagined wrongs, such as stealing or adultery, without any form of trial;
- (g) Threats to commit any of the foregoing acts, for the daily threats meted out to civilians wherever the RUF, RUF/NPFL or RUF/AFRC had a presence to kill them, steal their property, beat them and commit a variety of other brutal actions against them.

4.f.ii Violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II by members of the West Side

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the West Side Boys committed the following war crimes:

- (a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular—
 - Murder, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians; (i)
 - (ii)Torture, for the infliction of pain and suffering on people under the control of the West Side Boys, including beatings;
 - Mutilation, for various acts of mutilating civilians, including the carving of words into people's skin with razor blades;

²⁹³ Note that in the context of this crime, "persons" can also include dead people and that the victim does not necessarily need to be aware of the humiliation, degradation or other violation of dignity.

²⁹⁴ It is likely that thousands of women and girls were raped as descriptions of "sexual assault", the "breaking of marital homes" and similar references likely refer to rape. However, this report has taken a cautious approach and only characterised an act as "rape" when the facts as described specifically meet the elements of the crime.

- (iv) **Corporal punishment**, for the frequent instances of beating and flogging civilians;
- (b) **Collective punishments**, for reprisal killings and other punishments inflicted in retaliation for military defeats suffered by the West Side Boys;
- (c) Taking of hostages, for the capture of 40 UNOMSIL, ECOMOG and civil society workers, under the threat of continued detention, in August 1999 for the purpose of securing the release of the AFRC leader from RUF custody and for the capture of United Kingdom military personnel in August 2000, under threat of continued detention, for the purpose of seeking their integration into the SLA, the release of detained members of the West Side Boys and a review of the Lomé Peace Agreement;
- (d) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular—
 - (i) rape, for the rape of scores of women;
 - (ii) any form of indecent assault, for sexual violence committed against hundreds of civilians, including children, and for forcing people to have sex with members of their own families;
- (e) **Pillage**, for the stealing of property from thousands of civilians, including at checkpoints and from civilian residences, none of which was justified by military necessity.

4.f.iii Violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II by members of the SLA During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the SLA committed the following war crimes:²⁹⁵

- (a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular—
 - (i) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians for a variety of reasons, mainly for "collaborating" with the enemy, which was often determined on an arbitrary basis;
 - (ii) **Torture**, for the infliction of serious pain and suffering on people under the custody or control of the SLA for the purposes of inflicting punishment or obtaining information;
 - (iii) **Corporal punishment**, for the beating and flogging of hundreds of civilians, including traditional and local authorities;
- (b) **Collective punishments**, for the targeting of towns and villages suspected of being supportive of the RUF and the consequent infliction of punishment on them, including the burning of property and the bombing of a prison;
- (c) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular—
 - (i) humiliating and degrading treatment, for the severe humiliation, degradation and violation of the dignity of hundreds of civilians, including by forcing adults to "frog jump" or "pump", by forcing men to watch the rape of their wives and by keeping civilians in constant fear of being robbed or beaten by the armed forces that were supposed to be providing them with protection;
 - (ii) rape, ²⁹⁶ for the rape of scores of women and girls;

²⁹⁵ For those crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that are not listed here, there is no evidence that members of the SLA committed those crimes.

²⁹⁶ There was no evidence that enforced prostitution was committed by the SLA during the conflict, although there was ample evidence of sexual slavery.

- (d) **Pillage**, for the stealing of property including food from thousands of civilians, including at checkpoints and from civilian residences, none of which was justified by military necessity;
- (e) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without due process, for the capture and execution of hundreds of civilians accused of being "collaborators" often on an arbitrary basis, including having come from an RUF-held area, without any form of trial.

4.f.iv Violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II by members of the CDF During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the CDF committed the following war crimes:

- (a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular—
 - (i) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, mainly people suspected of being members, relatives or collaborators of the RUF and their allies:
 - (ii) **Torture**, for the infliction of pain and suffering on people under the control of the CDF, including the common use of FM ropes, detaining people in cages made of sharp sticks, pouring hot ashes on people and other similar acts;
 - (iii) **Mutilation**, for various acts of mutilating civilians, including the cutting off and chewing of a woman's ear in Moyamba District;
 - (iv) **Corporal punishment**, for the frequent instances of beating and flogging civilians, including traditional and local authorities;
- (a) **Collective punishments**, for the targeting of towns and villages suspected of being supportive of the RUF and their allies and the consequent infliction of punishment on them, including the burning of property and the execution of inhabitants;
- (h) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular—
 - (i) humiliating and degrading treatment, including forcing adults to "frog jump" or "pump", the decapitation and mutilation of corpses, targeting the traditional and local authorities and keeping the civilian population in constant fear of being physically violated;
 - (ii) rape, for the rape of scores of women;
- (b) **Pillage**, for the stealing of property from thousands of civilians, in particular at checkpoints, none of which was justified by military necessity;
- (c) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without due process, for the capture and execution of suspected RUF members and collaborators without any form of trial;
- (d) Threats to commit any of the foregoing acts, including threatening to kill people and use their bodies as roadblocks in Port Loko District in March 1999.
- 4.f.v Violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II by members of ECOMOG During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of ECOMOG committed the following war crimes:
 - (a) Violence to life, health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular—
 - (i) **Murder**, for the intentional or reckless killing of hundreds of civilians, including the killing of 100 alleged RUF supporters in Kailahun District in May 1998 and

killings that occurred as a result of the artillery and aerial bombardment of market places and other heavily populated civilian areas;²⁹⁷

- Corporal punishment, for the frequent instances of beating and flogging civilians;
- (b) **Pillage**, for the stealing of property from thousands of civilians, often at checkpoints, none of which was justified by military necessity.

4.g Other serious violations of international humanitarian law (Article 4): The law

Article 4 of the Statute of the Special Court reads as follows:

"The Special Court shall have the power to prosecute persons who committed the following serious violations of international humanitarian law:

- Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities;
- Intentionally directing attacks against personnel, installations, material, units or (b) vehicles involved in a humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping mission in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as long as they are entitled to the protection given to civilians or civilian objects under the international law of armed conflict;
- Conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups or using them to participate actively in hostilities."

These provisions give the Special Court jurisdiction over additional crimes under international humanitarian law that have achieved the status of customary international law, including the imposition of individual criminal responsibility for their violation. They are also all included in the Rome Statute of the ICC both for conflicts of an international nature²⁹⁸ and for conflicts that are not international in nature.²⁹⁹ As these crimes were not included in the Statutes of the ICTY or ICTR, there is no jurisprudence directly on these provisions and the only authoritative pronouncement on the elements of the crimes comes from the Elements of Crimes of the ICC and in the writings of eminent jurists.

a) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population

The elements of the crime of intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population are:³⁰⁰

- 1. The perpetrator directed an attack.
- 2. The object of the attack was a civilian population as such or individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities.
- 3. The perpetrator intended the civilian population as such or individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities to be the object of the attack.
- 4. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.

³⁰⁰ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 8(2)(e)(i).

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²⁹⁷ While this report characterises these deaths as murder, more information is needed as to whether civilians were the target during these attacks and/or whether these deaths were proportionate to the military advantage gained.

²⁹⁸ See Rome Statute of the ICC, article 8(2)(b).

²⁹⁹ See Rome Statute of the ICC, article 8(2)(e).

5. The perpetrator was aware of factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

The crime of intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population confirms the fundamental and long-standing distinction between combatants and civilians³⁰¹ and the prohibition on intentionally directing attacks against the latter.

b) Intentionally directing attacks against personnel and objects of humanitarian and peacekeeping missions

The elements of the crime of intentionally directing attacks against personnel and objects of humanitarian and peacekeeping missions are:³⁰²

- 1. The perpetrator directed an attack.
- 2. The object of the attack was personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles involved in a humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping mission in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 3. The perpetrator intended such personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles so involved to be the object of the attack.
- 4. Such personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles were entitled to that protection given to civilians or civilian objects under the international law of armed conflict.
- 5. The perpetrator was aware of the factual circumstances that established that protection.
- 6. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.
- 7. The perpetrator was aware of factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

The crime of intentionally directing attacks against personnel and objects of humanitarian and peacekeeping missions also recognises the fundamental distinction between civilians and combatants. This provision is explicitly directed towards such missions in recognition of the need to extend special protection to them in light of their nature and purpose. 304

These missions will only be entitled to such protection so long as they retain their civilian character, that is, provided that they do not take a direct part in hostilities, which has been defined as undertaking acts of war that, by their nature or purpose, are likely to cause actual harm to personnel or equipment of the enemy armed forces. These provisions expressly do not apply to "United Nations operations authorized by the Security Council as an enforcement action under Chapter VII

³⁰¹ See earlier, section X.

³⁰² See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 8(2)(e)(iii).

³⁰³ This is an evolving area of international law and is currently under extensive discussion in the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the United Nations General Assembly: see

http://www.un.org/law/UNsafetyconvention/index.html, last visited on 28 February 2004.

³⁰⁴ See Report of the Secretary-General on the establishment of the Special Court, UN Doc. S/2000/955, para. 16.

³⁰⁵ Prosecutor v Rutaganda, Case No. ICTR-96-3, ICTR Trial Chamber, Judgment, 6 December 1999, para. 100. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

of the Charter of the United Nations, in which any of the personnel are engaged as combatants against armed forces and to which the law of international armed conflict applies". 306

c) The recruitment and use of child soldiers

The elements of the war crime of the recruitment and use of child soldiers are:³⁰⁷

- 1. The perpetrator conscripted or enlisted one or more persons into an armed force or group³⁰⁸ or used one or more persons to participate actively in hostilities.
- 2. Such person or persons were under the age of 15 years.
- 3. The perpetrator knew or should have known that such person or persons were under the age of 15 years.
- 4. The conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an armed conflict not of an international character.
- 5. The perpetrator was aware of factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

Conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15, or using them to participate actively in hostilities, is a war crime under all conditions, whether the child is recruited into national armed forces or armed groups, whether the conflict is international or non-international and whether the child is coerced or has volunteered. This crime was first included in Additional Protocol II, article 4(3)(c) and subsequently in other instruments, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, article 38(3) and the Rome Statute for the ICC, article 8(2)(e)(vii). An examination of State practice and *opinio juris* in this area, which is beyond the scope of the current report, demonstrates that the act of conscription, enlistment and use of child soldiers is a crime under customary international law. In the scope of the current report, demonstrates that the act of conscription is enlistment and use of child soldiers is a crime under customary international law.

4.h Other serious violations of international humanitarian law (Article 4): The facts

As noted, there was an armed conflict in Sierra Leone that began in March 1991 and continued until January 2002. As such, IHL – including the crimes listed in article 4 of the Statute of the Special Court – applied across the whole territory of Sierra Leone for that time period both in those places where actual combat was not taking place as well as those areas where fighting was occurring.

In respect of the crime of intentionally directing attacks against peacekeeping personnel, it should be recalled that the Rome Statute of the ICC reflects customary international law in limiting the crime to intentional attacks against personnel and objects "as long as they are entitled to the protection

³⁰⁶ Report of the Secretary General on the Scope of Legal Protection under the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel, UN Doc. A/55/637, endnote 1.

³⁰⁷ See the Elements of Crimes of the ICC, article 8(2)(e)(vii) and below, notes 199-200.

³⁰⁸ With respect to armed conflicts that are international in nature, this element prohibits the conscription or enlistment of children into the national armed forces: see the Rome Statute, article 8(2)(b)(xxvi).

³⁰⁹ The entry into force in 2002 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict raises the minimum age for compulsory recruitment and participation in hostilities to 18. This signifies the gradual emergence of a new standard, albeit one that has not yet reached the status of customary international law.

³¹⁰ See NPWJ and UNICEF, *International Criminal Justice and Children*, 2002, available from www.npwj.org, and the Amicus Brief submitted by UNICEF and others, including NPWJ, to the Special Court for Sierra Leone in *The Prosecutor v Norman*, SCSL-03-08-PT-129, filed on 21 January 2004, both of which go into this issue in great detail.

given to civilians or civilian objects under the international law of armed conflict". The critical question is, therefore, whether UNAMSIL military peacekeepers had civilian status or whether they were combatants. UNAMSIL was established by the Security Council acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, 311 authorising the use of force in certain circumstances, which gives rise to the prima facie conclusion that they were combatants, rather than civilians.³¹² It is therefore submitted that UNAMSIL peacekeepers did not have civilian status, at least not to the level of certainty required to sustain a criminal conviction. As such, this report considers that the elements of this crime are not made out in relation to various actions against UNAMSIL peacekeepers.

4.h.i Other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed by members of the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC committed the following serious violations of international humanitarian law:

- (a) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities, for the general and specific attacks committed against the civilian population as outlined above and the attacks against individual civilians not taking a direct part in hostilities as outlined above;
- (b) Intentionally directing attacks against humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles, for the attacks committed against humanitarian personnel and objects, specifically the abduction of personnel of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and World Health Organisation (WHO) and the stealing of property from the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the IDP camp in Bo and Pujehun Districts;
- (c) Conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups or using them to participate actively in hostilities, for the abduction of tens of thousands of children ³¹³ under the age of 15 years, some being as young as 10 at the time of their abduction, conscripting them into the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC forces and using them to participate actively in hostilities and in the commission of crimes under international humanitarian law as members of the regular forces and as members of "Small Boy Units" and "Small Girl Units".

4.h.ii Other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed by members of the West Side Boys

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the West Side Boys committed the following serious violations of international humanitarian law:

312 See Shraga, D, 'Current Developments: UN Peacekeeping Operations: Applicability of International

³¹¹ Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999), 22 October 1999.

Humanitarian Law and Responsibility for Operations-Related Damage' (2000) 94(2) American Journal of International Law 406; see in particular page 409, in which Ms Shraga states that "The [Secretary-General's] instructions apply to members of UN forces when they are actively engaged in situations of armed conflict as combatants ... They accordingly take effect in enforcement actions when the use of force is authorized in pursuance of a Chapter VII mandate, and in peacekeeping operations when it is permitted in self-defence' (emphasis added).

³¹³ The first instance of recruitment of children by the RUF/NPFL was recorded in March 1991; children would continue to be abducted and used as soldiers throughout the conflict by the RUF and their allies until at least June 2000, which is the last recorded instance of this practice.

- (a) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities, for the specific attack against the civilian population as outlined above and for attacks against individual civilians not taking a direct part in hostilities as outlined above;
- (b) Intentionally directing attacks against humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles, for the abduction of 40 UNOMSIL and civil society workers in August 1999.³¹⁴

4.h.iii Other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed by members of the SLA

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, the following war crimes were committed

- (a) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities, for the specific attacks against the civilian population as outlined above and for attacks against individual civilians not taking a direct part in hostilities as outlined above;
- (b) Conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups or using them to participate actively in hostilities, for using children under the age of 15 to carry arms and ammunition to the warfront in Pujehun District in January 1992.

4.h.iv Other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed by members of the CDF

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the CDF committed the following serious violations of international humanitarian law:

- (a) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities, for the general and specific attacks against a civilian population as outlined above and for attacks against individual civilians not taking a direct part in hostilities as outlined above;
- (b) Conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups or using them to participate actively in hostilities, for the initiation of boys aged under 15 in Kenema in May 1997, the use of children aged as young as 13 in hostilities in Kenema in 1999, the initiation of children aged below 15 in Pujehun District in late 1997, the use of children aged under 15 as spies and soldiers in Pujehun District in February 1998 and the conscription of children and their use as soldiers in Kailahun in May 1998.

4.h.v Other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed by members of ECOMOG

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the war crimes that were committed, members of ECOMOG committed the following serious violations of international humanitarian law:

³¹⁴ The members of the United Kingdom armed forces captured in August 2000 were clearly combatants and, as such, the elements of this crime in relation to that incident are not satisfied.

(a) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities, for attacks against individual civilians not taking a direct part in hostilities as outlined above.

4.i Crimes under Sierra Leonean law (Article 5): the law

Article 5 of the Statute of the Special Court reads as follows:

"The Special Court shall have the power to prosecute persons who have committed the following crimes under Sierra Leonean law:

- (a) Offences relating to the abuse of girls under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1926 (Cap. 31):
 - (i) Abusing a girl under 13 years of age, contrary to section 6;
 - (ii) Abusing a girl between 13 and 14 years of age, contrary to section 7;
 - (iii) Abduction of a girl for immoral purposes, contrary to section 12.
- (b) Offences relating to the wanton destruction of property under the Malicious Damage Act, 1861:
 - (i) Setting fire to dwelling houses, any person being therein, contrary to section 2;
 - (ii) Setting fire to public buildings, contrary to sections 5 and 6;
 - (iii) Setting fire to other buildings, contrary to section 6."

Security Council Resolution 1315 (2000) explicitly refers to Sierra Leonean law as being among the provisions over which the Special Court should have jurisdiction. The provisions were selected to cover specific situations that were "considered to be either unregulated or inadequately regulated under international law."³¹⁵ The elements of these crimes are governed by Sierra Leone Statute and case law³¹⁶ and, as such, do not require any connection with an armed conflict.

a) Abuse of girls

The provisions of the *Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1926* listed in the Statute of the Special Court are designed to protect girls under the age of 16 from sexual abuse and exploitation. They vary in terms of the ages of the children they protect, from under 13 in the case of section 6, through between 13 and 14 in the case of section 7, to under 16 in the case of section 12. The different crimes are considered to have different levels of seriousness and entail different penalties under Sierra Leone law, from 15 years in the case of section 6, which is a felony, to 2 years in the case of sections 7 and 12, which are misdemeanours.

The elements for the crimes under sections 6 and 7 are that the accused "unlawfully and carnally" knew and abused a girl within the stated ages. The elements for section 12 are that the accused took or caused to be taken an unmarried girl under the age of 16 out of the possession of and against the will of her father or mother or any other person having lawful charge of her.

³¹⁵ Report of the Secretary-General on the Establishment of the Special Court, UN Doc. S/2000/955, para. 19.

³¹⁶ In this regard, it should be noted that regular case reporting in Sierra Leone ceased in 1973 for a number of reasons, mainly to do with lack of resources, and it was only in 2002-3 that the first steps started being taken towards its reintroduction.

There are two possible defences to the crimes under these provisions. First, 'belief of age' is a defence to the charge: thus if the accused can prove that he had reasonable cause to believe the victim was of or over the required age, this will be a complete defence.³¹⁷ In addition, in keeping with the common law applicable in Sierra Leone related to these types of crimes,³¹⁸ if the accused can show that the victim was his wife, particularly under the customary law of Sierra Leone, this will also be a defence.³¹⁹ However, consent of the girl is no defence to the crime, as lack of consent is not an element of the crime.

b) Wanton destruction of property

These provisions only cover setting fire to specific buildings, namely dwelling houses, public buildings and "other" buildings, which include any type of building not explicitly mentioned elsewhere in the *Malicious Damage Act, 1867*. It should, however, be emphasised that setting fire to a house will only fall within the jurisdiction of the Special Court should a person actually be inside, due to the elements of section 2 of the *Malicious Damage Act, 1867*. Furthermore, the Statute of the Special Court does not incorporate the other provisions of the *Malicious Damage Act, 1867*, thereby excluding setting fire to buildings other than those listed above and excluding other types of damage to all buildings.

An essential element of this crime is that there was actual burning, no matter how slight, of some part of the building or property in respect of which the charge is laid. Each of the crimes listed in article 5(b) constitute a felony under Sierra Leone law, with penalties ranging from 14 years (section 6), through 16 years (section 5) to life imprisonment (section 2).

The mental element is that the act must be committed "unlawfully and maliciously" in order to constitute an offence. In this instance, "malice" does not mean malevolence or ill will, but refers instead to the intention of the accused. The mental element is therefore that the accused either intended to do the act, without just cause or excuse, ³²³ or was reckless and foresaw or ought to have foreseen the result, even if that result was not necessarily intended. ³²⁴

4.j Crimes under Sierra Leonean law (Article 5): the facts

Sierra Leone law applied throughout the territory of Sierra Leone throughout the time period covered by the conflict, without the need to prove any contextual elements such as those applicable to crimes against humanity (a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population) or

³¹⁷ Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1926, proviso section 15(3).

³¹⁸ Many common law countries have abolished immunity for spousal rape, considering it to be a breach of human rights, in particular those relating to the dignity of the person and discrimination on the basis of sex; arguably, Sierra Leone law also constitutes a breach of the rights of the child.

³¹⁹ Thompson, B., The Criminal Law of Sierra Leone, 1999, University Press of America, USA, p. 70.

³²⁰ These are: a church, chapel or other place of divine worship (section 1); a house (with no person inside), outhouse, manufactory, farm building or similar building (section 3) and railway stations (section 4).

³²¹ Apparently, the person inside the house may be the accused person: R v Pardoe (1894) 15 Digest 1027, 11-547.

³²² R v Stallion (1833) 15 Digest 1026, 11-541 (no flame visible); R v Parker (1839) 15 Digest 1027, 11-542 (charring); and R v Russell (1842) 15 Digest 1027, 11-543 (scorching).

³²³ Bromage v Prosser (1825) 4B & C 247, 255 per Bayley J.

³²⁴ R v Pembliton (1874) LR 2CCR 119, 122 per Blackburn J.

violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II and other serious violations of international humanitarian law (the existence of an armed conflict). It should, however, be noted that an amnesty applies in relation to crimes committed before 7 July 1999, 325 so that those crimes cannot be prosecuted in the national courts of Sierra Leone or before the Special Court. Nevertheless, this report characterises acts as crimes where the elements of the crimes are met, irrespective of whether they can be prosecuted or not.

One of the signature acts committed during the conflict in Sierra Leone was the widespread burning of residential houses. While this is a crime under Sierra Leone law, 326 it is not a crime over which the Special Court has jurisdiction: the Special Court is limited to those circumstances in which a person is inside the house at the time it is burnt. Similarly, while wanton destruction of property is a crime under international law, it is not a crime over which the Special Court has jurisdiction. Therefore, while there is evidence of the burning of hundreds of thousands of houses – effectively destroying the lives of hundreds of thousands of people – this in itself is not a crime that can be prosecuted before the Special Court.

4.j.i Crimes under Sierra Leone law committed by members of the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity, war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC committed the following crimes under Sierra Leone law:

- (a) Offences relating to the abuse of girls under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1926, for the rape of scores of girls aged under 13 years, with some aged as young as 10, the rape of girls aged between 13 and 14 years and the abduction of girls aged under 16 years for their use as "wives";³²⁷
- (b) Offences relating to the wanton destruction of property under the Malicious Damage Act, 1861, for the burning of people in residential premises, including locking people inside houses before setting fire to them, and for the burning of public buildings, including schools, courthouses and other buildings;

4.j.ii Crimes under Sierra Leone law committed by members of the West Side Boys

During the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, in addition to the crimes against humanity, war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the West Side Boys committed the following crimes under Sierra Leone law:

(a) Offences relating to the wanton destruction of property under the Malicious Damage Act, 1861, for the burning of people in residential premises, in particular the locking of 73 people in a house prior to it being set on fire in April 1999.

³²⁵ See below for a discussion of the temporal jurisdiction of the Special Court, including the issue of the Lomé Amnesty.

³²⁶ Malicious Damage Act, 1861, section 3.

³²⁷ This report proceeds on the basis that the fact that members of the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC labelled these girls as their "wives" does not establish there was a marital relationship sufficient to mount a defence to this charge.

5. Temporal jurisdiction of the Special Court (Article 1(1))

The Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone states that its temporal jurisdiction runs from 30 November 1996 to a future date as yet undetermined.³²⁸ This date was selected on the basis of three considerations during the negotiations:

- (a) the temporal jurisdiction should be reasonably limited in time so that the Prosecutor is not overburdened and the Court overloaded;
- (b) the beginning date should correspond to an event or a new phase in the conflict without necessarily having any political connotations; and
- (c) it should encompass the most serious crimes committed by persons of all political and military groups and in all geographical areas of the country.

Three different dates were discussed in this context:

- (a) 30 November 1996 (i.e., the date of the failed Abidjan Peace Accords);
- (b) 25 May 1997 (i.e., when the AFRC launched its coup d'état against the government of Sierra Leone); and
- (c) 6 January 1999 (i.e., when the AFRC and RUF launched their attack on Freetown).

The date of 25 May 1997 was rejected as having too many political overtones, while 6 January 1999 was rejected as giving the impression of favouring Freetown over the provinces. The date of 30 November 1996 was therefore considered the most appropriate, as it represented the first time the fighting factions had attempted to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Additionally, it was considered to encompass the most serious crimes committed in the provinces, thereby ensuring the Court would not be too 'Freetown-centred'. Sierra Leone and the United Nations therefore agreed that this would be a suitable starting date for the Court. It has to be queried whether these reasons provide sufficient justification for setting a start date for the Court that is halfway through the conflict, a compromise criticized by Sierra Leoneans from all along the social, political and professional spectrum. The perception in Sierra Leone is that the Statute unjustly favours Freetown over the provinces, as the November 1996 date corresponds to the time when the capital first became a target of attack. For the provinces, the conflict has generally been one long, continuous experience from the beginning of the 1990's, whereas Freetown witnessed intermittent, although extreme, episodes of violence only from the mid-1990's onwards.

Following consultations with civil society groups and others, the Government of Sierra Leone sought to alter the date so as to give the Court temporal jurisdiction over the whole of the conflict in Sierra Leone, i.e. commencing in 1991. This was sought both to provide greater recognition to the situation in the provinces throughout the war, as well as to be more faithful to the tenets of IHL, which applies from the commencement of a conflict rather than at an arbitrarily-set date midway

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³²⁸ Statute of the Special Court, article 1(1).

³²⁹ Freetown newspapers, for example, have consistently attacked this issue on numerous occasions. In addition, it was criticised in every one of the 26 Special Court Training Seminars conducted by NPWJ, which were held in Freetown, Bo, Kenema and Mile 91 in 2001, when negotiations on the creation of the Special Court were still ongoing. These seminars attracted a total of over 600 participants, including civil society and human rights organisations, lawyers, Paramount Chiefs, police, teachers, combatants and ex-combatants: not a single voice was raised in support of retaining the start-date at 1996.

through the conflict.³³⁰ However, the general feeling within the United Nations was that this issue should not be reopened, lest 'delicate' balances achieved during the negotiations be upset, thereby requiring the re-opening of other aspects of the Statute or Agreement. In addition, the United Nations considered that an extension of the Court's temporal jurisdiction would increase the burden on the Prosecutor and the Court to an unacceptable level. The United Nations also maintained that the Prosecutor would in any event also be relying on evidence relating to events before 1996 (provided it is relevant to cases before the Court), therefore crimes committed prior to 1996 would not necessarily be excluded from consideration by the Court.³³¹ In order to avoid further delay, the Government therefore withdrew its request, while still maintaining the legitimacy of the reasons behind making it.³³²

Another factor to be considered when examining the Special Court's temporal jurisdiction is the amnesty granted under the Lomé Peace Agreement of 7 July 1999. The UN Secretary-General denied that this would act as any bar to the determination of the start-date of the Special Court's jurisdiction, reasoning that the "United Nations has consistently maintained the position that amnesty cannot be granted in respect of international crimes, such as genocide, crimes against humanity or other serious violations of international humanitarian law." In addition, he reiterated the disclaimer issued by his Special Representative for Sierra Leone at the time of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement to the effect that "the amnesty provisions contained in article XI of the Agreement ('absolute and free pardon') shall not apply to international crimes and other serious violations of international humanitarian law." However, the Statute acknowledges that amnesties will be valid in respect of the included provisions of Sierra Leone law. This makes for a situation in which the Special Court will be able to hear violations of international humanitarian law committed since 30 November 1996 but only hear violations of the Sierra Leone provisions committed from the date of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, namely 7 July 1999, in effect creating a dual start-date for the Special Court's temporal jurisdiction.

As noted, international humanitarian law begins to apply from the moment hostilities commence until such time as there is a conclusion of peace or a peaceful settlement is reached. Thus international humanitarian law applied across the territory of Sierra Leone from 1991, the date that hostilities first commenced. As such, this report looks at the time period of the whole of the conflict, from 1991 until 2002, when considering what violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law were committed in Sierra Leone during the conflict.

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³³⁰ 11th Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, 7 September 2001, UN Doc. S/2001/857.

³³¹ Letter from the Office of Legal Affairs to the Government of Sierra Leone (19 October 2001).

³³² Letter from the Government of Sierra Leone to the Office of Legal Affairs (29 November 2001).

³³³ Report of the Secretary-General on the Establishment of the Special Court, UN Doc. S/2000/955, para. 22.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, para. 23.

³³⁵ Article 10 of the Statute provides: "An amnesty granted to any person falling within the jurisdiction of the Special Court in respect of the crimes referred to in articles 2 to 4 of the present Statute shall not be a bar to prosecution." The omission of Article 5, which inscribes the provisions of Sierra Leone law, indicates that amnesties granted in respect of these crimes will be a bar to prosecution.



6. Personal jurisdiction of the Special Court (Article 1(1))

Security Council Resolution 1315 (2000) states that the Special Court should have jurisdiction over those who bear the "greatest responsibility" for crimes committed within Sierra Leone. This was understood to be a limitation on the number of accused who would be tried, according to their command authority and the gravity and scale of crimes committed. The UN Secretary-General's report recommended this be altered to "those most responsible" in order to widen the potential pool of defendants before the Special Court.³³⁶ However, the Security Council refused to accept this change, preferring instead to remain consistent with the wording of Resolution 1315 (2000).³³⁷ Therefore, the Statute retains the wording of "those who bear the greatest responsibility". It should be emphasised that article 1 contains no other limitations on personal jurisdiction, in particular it does not limit jurisdiction based on nationality, political affiliation or official position.

Article 1 also specifically refers to the ability of the Special Court to try peacekeepers who otherwise satisfy the requirements of the personal jurisdiction. Article 1 basically replicates what is found in most Status of Forces Agreements, namely those agreements between troop-contributing and troop-receiving States. According to these types of agreements, the primary responsibility for prosecuting peacekeepers for crimes committed on the territory of the recipient State remains with the sending State. Article 1 contains an exception to this principle, whereby it may be possible to try peacekeepers before the Special Court if the sending State is unwilling or unable genuinely to investigate or prosecute peacekeepers for crimes committed in Sierra Leone. The Special Court may hear such cases upon receiving authorisation from the Security Council, which may act on the proposal of any State.

The aspect of the Special Court that has, perhaps, provoked the most public debate is its position vis-à-vis accused below the ages of 18 at the time of the alleged commission of the crimes. Pursuant to article 7 of the Statute, the Special Court shall have no jurisdiction over persons under the age of 15 at the time of the alleged commission of the crime but persons between the ages of 15 and 18 at the time of alleged commission of the crime may be brought before the Special Court, although the Prosecutor is directed to have resort to alternative truth and reconciliation mechanisms, where appropriate. If convicted, juvenile offenders may not be sentenced to imprisonment, instead the Special Court may order a variety of correctional care. Nevertheless, the personal jurisdiction limitation of bearing the "greatest responsibility" always made it unlikely that children aged below 15 at the time of the alleged commission of the crime would be prosecuted before the Special Court; more recently, the Prosecutor of the Special Court has stated publicly that no child will be prosecuted before the Special Court.

³³⁶ Report of the Secretary-General on the Establishment of the Special Court, UN Doc. S/2000/955, paras. 29-31.

³³⁷ Letter from the Security Council to the Secretary-General, 22 December 2000.

³³⁸ Although many Status of Forces Agreements require the consent of the sending State before trials are launched against their forces, there does not appear to be such a limitation in the Statute of the Special Court, presumably due to the involvement of the Security Council.

³³⁹ As at the time of writing, no peacekeepers have been publicly indicted by the Prosecutor of the Special Court.

³⁴⁰ The position represents a break with the Statute for the ICC, which provides that the "Court shall have no jurisdiction over any person who was under the age of 18 at the time of the alleged commission of a crime": article 26.

³⁴¹ Press release of the Special Court, "Special Court Prosecutor Says He Will Not Prosecute Children", 2 November 2002.



7. Individual criminal responsibility (Article 6)

7.a Direct criminal responsibility

Following well-established principles of customary international law, article 6 of the Statute states that any person who planned, instigated, ordered, committed or otherwise aided and abetted in the planning, preparation or execution of a crime referred to in articles 2 to 4 shall be individually responsible for the crime. The accused does not necessarily have to be a member of the armed forces in order to attract liability; civilians, for example, can also be held criminally responsible for violations of the laws of war. Criminal responsibility for the crimes contained in article 5, namely those under Sierra Leonean law, falls to be determined by the relevant laws of Sierra Leone.

The fact that the accused was acting under the orders of a Government or superior does not relieve the individual of his or her criminal responsibility, although – according to general principles of law as well as the Statute – it may be taken into account in mitigation of sentence. According to these principles of liability, if a commander orders that certain acts be committed, he or she would bear direct responsibility for those acts, as the Statute specifically refers to 'ordering' that the act be committed as a basis for liability.

7.b Command responsibility

The laws of war also impose what is known as "command responsibility", referring to the principle by which a superior will be responsible for the acts of subordinates under his or her control.³⁴³ This concept, which is longstanding in military hierarchies,³⁴⁴ has also become a well-established principle in customary international law, particularly following its development at the Nuremberg, Tokyo and post-Nuremberg Trials.

Command responsibility is concerned with being in a position of command, namely that the commander is in a certain relationship towards his or her subordinates, rather than actually giving commands. Thus the commander will be responsible for any acts of his or her subordinate, irrespective of whether the commander actually issued an order to commit such acts. If a command is actually given, as noted, the commander will bear direct responsibility for acts carried out pursuant to that command. The theory of command responsibility as been described by the ICTY as follows:

"The distinct legal character of the two types of superior responsibility must be noted. While the criminal liability of a superior for positive acts follows from general principles of accomplice liability ... the criminal responsibility of superiors for failing to take measures to prevent or repress the unlawful conduct of their subordinates is best understood when seen against the principle that criminal responsibility for omissions is incurred only where there exists a legal obligation to act. As is most clearly evidenced in the case of military commanders ... international law imposes an affirmative duty on superiors to prevent persons under their control from committing violations of international humanitarian law,

³⁴² See above, discussion on violations of common article 3 and Additional Protocol II.

³⁴³ See, in general, Bantekas, I., 'The Contemporary Law of Superior Responsibility' (1999) 93(3) *American Journal of International Law* 573.

³⁴⁴ See, for example, Charles VII's Ordinance "Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisieme Race", cited in Meron, T., *Henry's Laws and Shakespeare's Wars*, 1993, Cambridge University Press, p.149, fn.40.

and it is ultimately this duty that provides the basis for, and defines the contours of, the imputed criminal responsibility under Article 7(3) of the Statute." 345

This type of responsibility is applicable in two situations: first, where the superior knew or ought to have known the acts were about to be committed or were being committed and did nothing to stop their commission. Second, where the superior knew that such acts had been committed and failed to punish those responsible for their commission. The ICTY Trial Chamber has described the relevant elements for the imposition of command responsibility in the following way: (i) the existence of a superior-subordinate relationship; (ii) that the superior knew or had reason to know that the criminal act was about to be or had been committed; and (iii) that the superior failed to take the necessary and reasonable measures to prevent the criminal act or punish the perpetrator. As with direct responsibility, command responsibility is not limited to military personnel but extends also to civilian commanders. It is also worth emphasising that the principle of command responsibility does not limit or extinguish the individual criminal responsibility of the subordinates for the acts they have committed.

Command responsibility applies during any armed conflict, both international and non-international in nature. The ICTY Appeals Chamber addressed this issue recently, stating that, "the fact that it was in the course of an internal armed conflict that a war crime was about to be committed or was committed is not relevant to the responsibility of the commander; that only goes to the characteristics of the particular crime and not to the responsibility of the commander. The basis of the commander's responsibility lies in his obligations as commander of troops making up an organised military force under his command, and not in the particular theatre in which the act was committed by a member of that military force."³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Prosecutor v Delelic et al, Case No. IT-96-21-T, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Judgement, 16 November 1998, para. 334.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, para. 346; the first two of these grounds was appealed and the Appeals Chamber upheld the decision of the Trial Chamber in this respect.

³⁴⁷ Prosecutor v Hadzihasanovic, Alagic and Kubura, Case No. IT-01-47, ICTY Appeals Chamber, Decision on Interlocutory Appeal Challenging Jurisdiction in Relation to Command Responsibility, 16 July 2003, para. 20.



Chapter Five: Factual Analysis



C. Northern Province

Bombali District

1. Introduction

Bombali District is in the centre-north of Sierra Lone. The town of Makeni is both the district headquarters of Bomalia, and the administrative centre of the Northern Province. The northern boundary of Bombali District is formed by the Republic of Guinea. Koinadugu District is found to the east and north east of Bombali District, and Tonkalili District is located to the south and south east. Kambia and Port Loko Districts border Bombali District to the west.

There are 13 chiefdoms in Bombali District:

Chiefdom Headquarter Town

Kamabai Biriwa Bombali Sebora Makeni Gbanti Kamaranka Kamaranka Gbendembu Ndowahun Kalangba Libeisaygahun Batkanu Magbaiamba Ndowahun Hunduwa Makari Gbanti Masongbon Paki Masabong Mapaki Safroko Limba Binkolo Sanda Loko Kamalo Sanda Tendaren Mataboi Sella Limba Kamakwie Tambakha Fintonia

A main highway runs from the Western Area through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni (Bombali Sebora). At Makeni, the highway splits. The southern fork runs to Magburaka, the headquarter town of Tonkalili District. The northern fork runs through the towns of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) and Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) to Kabala, the headquarter town of Koinadugu District. Makeni and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) are linked by a poor quality secondary road that runs north-south through the towns of Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) and Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). Running north from Kamakwie, the road continues to a ferry point over the Little Scarcies River into Tambahka Chiefdom. A route running north through Tambahka Chiefdom leads directly to the international border with Guinea and the Guinean town of Madina Oula. From Kamakwie, a road runs west over the Little Scaries River into Kambia District, and the town of Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District) and Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District). A route runs east from the main Makeni-Kabala highway nearby Karina, through Gbendembu, Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom) to Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom). From Batkanu, the road continues west into the northern chiefdoms of Port Loko District, ending at Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District).

The Little Scarcies River runs latitudinally through the north of Bombali District, forming the boundary between Sella Limba and Tambakha Chiefdoms. It also forms the boundary between

Bombali and Kambia Districts before running into Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom (Port Loko District).

Bombali District was not directly affected by the conflict until early 1994. Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces attacked a number of locations in Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom on the boundary with Port Loko District. During the RUF attacks, which lasted for around two weeks, civilians were targeted, killed and raped. Many homes were burned down. SLA forces stationed Makeni were involved in countering RUF incursions in Tonkolili District to the south. During 1994, civilian unrest and mistrust of the SLA boiled over into a demonstration in Makeni Town (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), which was brutally suppressed by SLA forces. RUF activity in early 1995 was concentrated on attacking the Western Area, through major assaults on town like Port Loko (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). RUF forces briefly extended their activity into Kambia District in early 1995. In May 1995, RUF established a base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), a village on land between two rivers that is inaccessible by land except by an impractical detour. From Ro-Source, RUF forces attacked nearby villages raping women, abducting civilians to carry stolen items, and burning down houses. Later in the year, RUF forces established a base at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). The RUF forward operating bases in 1995 were in the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and later at Camp Fol-Fol in the South of Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District.

Before the Parliamentary and Presidential elections scheduled for 26 February 1996, RUF forces attacked villages on Batkanu- Gbendembu road, killing civilians and looting property. A civilian was burnt alive in his vehicle by RUF forces. RUF forces also attacked Kamakwie Town (Sella Limba Chiefdom), in the north of Bombali District, opening their attack with indiscriminate fire from with RPG. RUF forces killed and cut open the stomach of a farmer, and shot a deaf and mute man before withdrawing to their camp at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). The elections in Bombali District passed without any widespread violence, and the Abidjan Peace Accord was signed in late 1996. The ceasefire held until early May 1997, when RUF forces again attacked Kamakwie, meeting no resistance from the SLA. Here they seized the contents of an SLA ammunition dump. The RUF again withdraw to their camp at Masonkorie.

On 25 May 1997, element of the SLA overthrew the elected government and formed a military regime called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Shortly after the coup, the RUF and AFRC joined. RUF forces took up positions in Bombali District at Karina and Kamabai (both in Biriwa Chiefdom), taking control of the prosperous agricultural area. In Karina, RUF forces shot dead ten civilians attending a Muslim feast, and abducted a large number of others to be trained to fight for the RUF/AFRC or used as sex slaves by RUF/AFRC members. Other settlements around Karina were attacked. In late 1997, Guinean long-range artillery fire from Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District) forced the RUF/AFRC to temporarily abandon the Ro-Source base. They established a new base at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District). Relations between Nigerian forces stationed within Sierra Leone and the RUF/AFRC deteriorated rapidly across 1997 as Nigerian forces, given an ECOMOG mandate in late 1997, used force to police a trade and arms embargo. In late December, ECOMOG jets bombed RUF/AFRC positions outside of Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), claiming that the RUF/AFRC was constructing a runway to allow arms supplies to enter the country.

In early February, ECOMOG forces attacked Freetown, dislodging the combined RUF/AFRC forces and forcing their retreat into provincial Sierra Leone. On 14 February, heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces retreating from the Western Area began concentrating in Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), commencing a 17 day spree of looting and violence known as "Operation Pay Yourself". RUF/AFRC forces performed house to house searches, stealing valuable items and food from civilians. In early March, ECOMOG commenced provincial operations and moved from Port Loko (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni, establishing a base at Makeni's Teko Barracks. CDF forces deployed in the town, and a hunt for "collaborators" began. ECOMOG also occupied the northern towns of Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

Following ECOMOG's arrival in Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces dispersed throughout Bombali District, staging hit-and-run attacks on settlement on the Makeni-Kamalo axis, and attacking towns in the northern Tambakha Chiefdom. In the chiefdom headquarter of Fintonia (Tambakha Chiefdom), RUF forces executed 11 civilians and burned down large numbers of houses. Civilians from the town were abducted to assist RUF/AFRC forces in navigating the dense jungle terrain. In late April, RUF/AFRC forces amputated the arms from over ten civilians in Komoyah (Tambakha Chiefdom). They erected a rudimentary checkpoint, a rope across the road and tied the amputated arms along the length of the rope, leaving the amputees for dead nearby. Mid-year, towns on the Batkanu-Karina axis, and throughout the north of Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom came under attack from RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces strengthened their positions in Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) and commenced frequent food-finding missions or "Jar" throughout the west of the Chiefdom. By August, RUF/AFRC forces were again active in Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom). ECOMOG artillery shelled the base from Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom) for seven days continuously, leaving the base littered with the corpses of RUF/AFRC forces.

At the end of October 1998, RUF/AFRC forces concentrated around Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) in preparation for an attack of the town. Villages to the east of Kamalo were raided by RUF/AFRC squads. This forced many civilians to seek safety behind ECOMOG lines in Kamalo. During these preliminary attacks, RUF/AFRC forces cut a man in half from head to groin. Despite reinforcing in advance of the RUF/AFRC attack, ECOMOG withdrew north from Kamalo to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), taking casualties. From Kamalo, RUF/AFRC forces moved south attacking Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). During both attacks, large number of houses were burnt down, and civilians killed. ECOMOG forces, and SLA and CDF forces that had been infused into ECOMOG took up positions at Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), Kamaranka and Kamakwie on the northern axis running from Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom). The CDF began initiating local youths around Gbendembu, "washing" them spiritually to render them bullet-proof.

In early December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked SLA and ECOMOG forces in Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), killing over 20 SLA soldiers and amputating the limbs of six civilians. In the closing weeks of late December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces cleared ECOMOG forces from within a corridor from Koidu (CHIEFDOM, Kono District) through Magburaka (Kholifa

Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkalili District) and Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District, Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). RUF/AFRC forces assaulted Freetown between 6 and 20 January. In late December, RUF/AFRC forces in Bombali District were closing in on Makeni, attacking towns to the north including Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom), Karina and Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC had also broken out of Kono District, and were moving on Makeni along the highway through Tonkalili. On 24 December, RUF/AFRC force assaulted Makeni from three directions, forcing ECOMOG to retreat to Kamakwie, which fell to the RUF/AFRC in the days following. A huge RUF/AFRC force moved through Makeni towards Port Loko District, and onwards to the Western Area.

Makeni (Bomali Sebora Chiefdom) now became the RUF/AFRC stronghold until April 2001. The town was at the heart of the RUF/AFRC's defensive operation following their failure to hold onto territory in the Western Area. The RUF/AFRC occupied Kambia District and the key entry points into the district. Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) was also under RUF/AFRC control, as was the town of Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). The RUF/AFRC controlled all the northern border routes in Guinea. Bombali District was divided into two commands, seated at Makeni and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

Throughout RUF/AFRC controlled territory, local RUF/AFRC began establishing joint civilian and military cooperation committees known as G5 committees. Without fail, the establishment of the G5 committee was accompanied by promises that RUF/AFRC commanders would prevent their forces from inflicting violence upon civilians. The G5 committees administered the collection of periodic - sometimes daily - contributions of money and food from the civilian population to the RUF/AFRC. ECOMOG's move to secure the highways between the Western Area, Port Loko and Mile 91 removed vital trade routes that could supply RUF/AFRC with basic goods and supplies. The G5 system appeared not to provide adequate resources to feed or pay RUF/AFRC members. The few instances of extremely brutal punishment metered out by RUF/AFRC commanding officers to their subordinates - on RUF/AFRC member was beaten with a cane infused with razor blades, another was stoned to death – did not to restrain RUF/AFRC forces from carrying out "food finding missions", stealing civilian property and food. To supplement the resources gained through G5 Committees and "food finding missions" the RUF/AFRC began selling stolen property in Guinean trade fairs just over the border from Tambahka Chiefdom. Often, the same commanders that promised discipline and the rule of law ordered these missions.

On 7 July 1999, the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF signed the Lomé Peace Agreement, consolidating a ceasefire that had been in force since May 1999. The RUF/AFRC continued to consolidate within Bombali District, setting up a training camp at Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom). Intense raids, both day and night were conducted around the training camp, intensifying the terror of the civilian population. The training camp at Gbendembu was also used to train recuits and conscriptees for missions inside Guinea territory. In late 1999, infighting between the the leadership of RUF and the AFRC in Makeni led to a division of operational areas, although the depth of the split between the two group is not clear. UNAMSII commenced deployment in late 1999 to bolster the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement.

In January 2000, the 450 peacekeepers tried to deploy in Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) but were delayed a few days en route at an RUF/AFRC checkpoint because they did not have the correct papers. In February, diamonds were discovered in Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom, leading to a concentration of RUF/AFRC forces in the chiefdom. In May, the RUF/AFRC surrounded and attacked UNAMSIL peacekeepers in Makeni, killing an unknown number and attacking them with sniper fire as they fled to Kabala. RUF/AFRC forces also disarmed over 200 Zambian UNAMSIL peacekeepers and took them to Makeni, and then to Kailahun. The RUF/AFRC captured a significant haul of armoured vehicle, weapons, uniforms and communications apparatus from UNAMSIL. Simultaneously, the RUF/AFRC again pushed towards the Western Area, attacking towns in Port Loko District and on the main highway through Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District). By mid-May, the RUF/AFRC advance had stalled. Between May and July, Sierra Leone Government helicopter gunships commenced attacking RUF/AFRC positions in and around Makeni, resulting an frequent civilian deaths and destruction of property when RUF/AFRC forces engaged with Anti-Aircraft guns. Similar attacks occurred in Kambia, Port Loko and Tonkolili Districts. The RUF/AFRC often deserted their positions as the gunship appeared.

In September 2000, RUF/AFRC forces in Tambakha Chiefdom staged attacks on attacked border towns just inside Guinean territory. Guinean armed forces adopted a "Hot Pursuit" policy, bombarding RUF/AFRC positions inside Sierra Leone and moving their border security forces three miles within Sierra Leonean territory. Civilian movement was restricted, and as the RUF/AFRC reprisals against civilians for suspected collaboration with Guinean force intensified.

Negotiations between UNAMSIL and the RUF/AFRC continued in line with the Aduja Ceasefire Agreement and its review process. In the first few months of 2001, the RUF/AFRC had opened the Lunsar-Makeni highway and returned to UNAMSIL much of weaponry and hardware it had confiscated in 2000. Long range UNAMSIL and MILOBs patrols commenced and by April Nigerian UNAMSIL had deployed into Makeni. The disarmament process in Bombali began in late September, accompanied by the arrival of Sierra Leone Police to Makeni (Bombali Sebora)

2. Factual Analysis

a) Events between 1992 and 1994

Following RUF attacks in Kono District on 22 October 1992, residents of the village of Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) who had moved to Kono District to mine diamonds, returned to their village on foot, a distance of over 100km. Many residents of Kambia Mapulen (Gbati Kamaranka Chiefdom) packed up their belongings and fled to larger towns such as Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), Kambia (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District) and Freetown (Western Area). On 21 January 1994, the NPRC Resident Minister for the Northern Province arrived in Kambia Mapulen for a meeting with the chiefdom elders, during which he promised to provide security for civilians.

The RUF entered Bombali District in February 1994. RUF forces attacked the villages of Rogboreh, Makalan and Mateboi (all Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom), to the northwest of Makeni town, and bordering Port Loko District. The troops were armed with AK-47s, RPGs, and hand grenades and wore military-style uniforms. Thirty people were abducted from Rogboreh and a number of women

were raped. Following the attack on Rogboreh, RUF forces chanted slogans about the leader of the RUF. Rogboreh was occupied for 2 weeks, during which no houses were burned. An RUF Commander was identified as killing three people in Makalan, taking their property. In Mateboi, RUF forces burned down an unknown number of homes.

On 3 April 1994, 200 SLA soldiers in Makali (Konike Barina Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) were also under the command of the Resident Minister for the Northern Province. On 11 April, SLA forces deployed from Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) and recaptured the town of Makali from RUF forces.

In Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), on 18 April 1994, there was a public demonstration by civilians in response to a strongly-held belief that those SLA forces had been responsible for earlier attacks on the villages of Masanga and Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and on Magburaka town (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). SLA forces fired on civilian demonstrators, killing at least two people.

In the late morning of 1 November 1994, a large RUF force attacked the town of Bungbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), southwest of Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom). One hundred and ninety-three houses were burned during the attack. Civilians displaced from Bungbuna moved westwards to Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom). On 2 November 1994, SLA forces moved from Teko Army Barracks in Makeni and repelled the RUF forces from Bungbuna. Over the following week, these forces eastwards towards the town of Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom, Koinadugu District).

b) Events in 1995 and 1996

RUF activity in 1995 was concentrated on attacking the Western Area, through major assaults on town like Port Loko (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). Although the RUF established two camps in Bombali District – at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom) and Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) – the RUF forward operating bases in 1995 were in the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara, Tonkolili) and later at Camp Fol-Fol in the south of Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili. The bases in Bombali would take on a greater significance in 1996, as the RUF suffered a series of military defeats and failed to move into Freetown or hold territory in the Western Area.

Between 1 and 5 January 1995, RUF forces attacked the town of Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom, Port Loko District) from the direction of Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) and Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom).

In May 1995, RUF forces entered the Bombali District from Kambia or Port Loko, neighbouring districts to the west. Between 14 and 18 May 1995, RUF moved eastwards from Romeni (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District) towards Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District) crossing into Bombali District and establishing a base on an island beween two river at Ro-Source (Sanda

Tendaren Chiefdom)³⁴⁸. RUF forces operated from Ro-Source until at least September 1997. RUF forces again attacked the village of Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), southeast of Ro-Source along the primary route between Batkanu and Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) in May 1995. RUF forces raped five women and burnt down 10 homes. Civilians were abducted and forced to carry stolen property to an unknown destination. In the same year, RUF forces also established a base at Masonkorie, a village in Sanda Loko Chiefdom, 15km east of the town of Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

Sometime in February 1996, before the Presidential and Parliamentary elections on 26 February, RUF troops left their camp in the Kangari Hills, (Malal Mara Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) crossed the Makeni–Freetown highway and headed in the direction of Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom, Bombali District). From this point, RUF forces took an alternative route towards the town of Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), avoiding the main Batkanu–Gbendembu road, and attacked Makundu village (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom). At least four civilian men were killed during the attack. Subsequently, 200 RUF forces moved in the direction of Gbendembu, attacking the town early in the morning on 22 or 23 February 2003 having camped the previous night in dense forest to the west of the town.

It is likely that RUF forces were active around the Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) area from 1 February, since they had control over Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District). On or around 23 February 1996, civilians in Kamakwie learned of the RUF attack on Gbendembu (Gbendembu-Ndowahun Chiefdom) prior to the subsequent attack on their town. Attacking Gbendembu, RUF forces were armed with AK47s, G3s, RPGs and hand grenades. Properties were looted and the doors of homes were destroyed. Civilian traffic travelling northwards from Gbendembu towards Kamakwie was targeted by RUF forces. The driver and passenger of a passing car were shot and wounded, and their car looted. RUF forces burned the car with the dying occupants trapped inside.

Between 23 and 26 February 1996, an RUF of between 150 and 200 personnel attacked Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) to the north of Makeni, north east of their base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), and 15 Km west of the RUF base at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). The attack came from the south of the town, through the village of Kathumpeh (Sella Limba Chiefdom). The main north-south road through Kamakwie passes through Gbendembu. The attack commenced in the morning, when a member of the RUF entered the town on a motorbike and began firing indiscriminately, possibly with an RPG. In addition to the burning down of 67 houses, RUF forces also burned offices of several international NGOs operating in the town. At least two people were abducted during this attack and taken to an RUF base at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko chiefdom). In the same period, in the village of Kagberi (Sella Limba Chiefdom), about 4 km west of Kamakwie, RUF forces captured and killed a farmer. They cut open his stomach and for an unspecified reason placed some "gari" inside it. Although no location was specified, it is likely that these same RUF forces also shot a deaf and mute man in Kagberi for not responding to their orders

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³⁴⁸ Given the attacks in the north eastern chiefdoms of Port Loko in early January 1995, and accounts in the records detailing attacks on locations in these chiefdoms as coming from the direction of Mateboi (Sanda Tenderen, Bombali), it is likely that the RUF had a presence around Ro-Source well before June 1995.

³⁴⁹ Dried, cracked cassava root.

RUF forces withdrew from Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) to their camp at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom), 15km east of Kamakwie. Abductees held at Masonkorie camp had their movement severely restricted and there are reports that female abductees were raped. Following the attacks on Kamakwie, the RUF unit stationed at Masonkorie redeployed to Kambia District.

Between 26 February 1996 and May 1997 no incidents are recorded within Bombali District. On 30 November 1996 the Abidjan Peace Accord was signed between leadership of the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone. Beginning early May 1997, Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) began to experience steady RUF activity. Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) was attacked during this month.

On 10 May 1997, the SLA deployed heavily armed units at a number of unknown locations in Bombali District. In the evening of 12 May 1997, SLA forces in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) came under attack from RUF forces. RUF forces met little to no resistance and displayed considerable knowledge of the SLA deployment within the town, including the exact location of an SLA ammunition dump. RUF forces killed over ten people during the attack. RUF forces captured an officer of the Sierra Leone Police, who was dressed in civilian clothes. Amongst his possessions they discovered a handgun, with which they subsequently killed him. RUF forces raped an elderly woman before killing her with a blow to the head from the butt of a handgun. RUF forces seized an SLA ammunition dump located within the town during the 12 May attack, although there is no indication of the quantity of ammunition taken. RUF forces selected the most prestigious residences in sections I and II of Kamakwie and burned them down. At 14:00 on 13 May 1997, RUF forces again returned to their base at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). By 20 May, government sources claimed Kamakwie was secure and free from RUF activity. Sometime during May or June of 1997, likely following the 12 May assault on Kamakwie, RUF forces raped and killed a women in the village of Kaforad (Sanda Loko Chiefdom), about three miles from Kamakwie.

On 25 May 1997, elements of the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces overthrew the elected government. This coup d'etat resulted in the formation of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), led by an SLA officer released from prison by the coupists. Shortly after the coup, the RUF and AFRC joined. AFRC forces, comprising primarily SLA elements remained stationed in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom). There are no reports of any atrocities committed by the ARFC in Kamakwie after this time. There are reports that troops clearly identified as belonging to the RUF had free access to Kamakwie.

Following the AFRC coup, the towns of Karina and Kamabai (both Biriwa Chiefdom) were occupied by RUF/AFRC forces. Both towns are located along the main east of the Batkanu – Gbendembu highway, on a key junction joining the north-south highway from Makeni to Kabala. Like Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and Mataboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), control of these towns serves to restrict movement north out of Makeni, the district headquarter town, cutting it off from Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). Karina is situated on top of a hill simplifying greatly the rearing of herd

³⁵⁰ AFP, 10 May 1997

³⁵¹ Detail from AFP 20 May 1997

animals. In May 1997, it had a very high degree of agricultural productivity, including a large cattle stock, making it a valuable location for the RUF to control.

In the early hours of 27 May 1997, the town of Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom) was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces carrying guns and other weapons. Soldiers surrounded the central mosque and killed 10 civilians celebrating the Muslim feast of "Jonbedeh", including the Section Chief. Of those escaping this attack on the mosque, an unknown number were injured. The majority of residents of the town heard gunfire and fled into the surrounding bush. RUF/AFRC forces raped an unknown number of women, and abducted 30 young civilian men and women. During the attack, numerous houses were burned down including those belonging to the town chief and the section chief. RUF/AFRC forces stole property. On the same day, RUF/AFRC forces moved west towards the village of Mandaha towards Gbendembu town (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), taking with them the 30 abductees. Some of the abductees were given military training and forced to join the RUF/AFRC, and some were forced into sexual slavery. The next day, the residents of Karina returned to the town and buried ten corpses in a mass grave. Given that Karina was on a regular patrol route from the RUF/AFRC camp at Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom), the burial was performed quickly, as residents feared the return of RUF/AFRC forces.

Also on 27 May 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Malongbo (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), nearby Karina. A father and son were killed when RUF/AFRC forces set their house on fire. An old man was killed when RUF/AFRC forces set fire to his grass house. RUF/AFRC forces amputated the hand of a civilian man, before shooting him dead in response to his complaints that he was now useless to his community.

From May 1997 to October 1997, Guinean forces were stationed at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District). During August and September 1997, the RUF/AFRC base at Ro-Source came under pressure from long-range rockets fired by Guinean forces at Madina. RUF/AFRC forces moved from their camp at Ro-Source (Ro-source) and established a new camp at Bainkoro (between Dibia and Sanda Magbolontho Chiefdoms, Port Loko).

On 16 December, ECOMOG jets bombed RUF/AFRC positions outside of Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), claiming that the RUF/AFRC was constructing a runway to allow arms supplies to enter the country more freely in violation of ECOWAS and UN sanctions. 352

c) Events in 1998

Between 6 and 14 February 1998, ECOMOG forces attacked Freetown, dislodging the combined RUF/AFRC forces and forcing their retreat into provincial Sierra Leone. This general retreat moved northwards, along the Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) -Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) - Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) axis. 353 After 14 February, RUF/AFRC forces were stationed in Lunsar, to the west along the highway from Makeni Town (Bombali Sebora). RUF/AFRC forces also attacked key locations in Kambia District, including the economic centres of Kambia Town and Rokupr (both Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District).

³⁵² AFP, 16 December 1997.

³⁵³ See factual analysis for Western Area and Port Loko District in 1998 for further information. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report 10 March 2004 Preliminary edition for the opening of the SCSL Courthouse PAGE 133 of 554

On 13 February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered the village of Masongbo (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom), 3 km west of Makeni along the main Freetown-Makeni highway. They were identified as RUF/AFRC because of their half military, half civilian attire. One member of the RUF/AFRC fired a single round between the legs of a civilian man in order to extort money from him; another civilian was robbed. On 14 February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces regrouped in Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown. On the same day, ECOMOG Alpha Jets attacked Teko Barracks in Makeni. In addition, ECOMOG targeted the Makeni Police barracks, believing them to be the RUF/AFRC brigade headquarters. At least five civilians were killed during this attack.

RUF/AFRC commenced "Operation Pay Yourself", which lasted 17 days in Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), from 14 February 1998 until 3 March 1998. "Operation Pay Yourself' was executed in response to the failure of the AFRC to resist attacks on Freetown by ECOMOG forces between 8 and 14 February 1998.³⁵⁴ A similar operation was launched between the same dates in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District). RUF forces were reported as entering Makeni from the Magburaka (Kholifa Rhowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) highway with Toyota Hi-Lux and Mazda pick-up trucks. They were armed with AK-47s and G3s. At night, RUF/AFRC forces fired upon the exterior of houses before entering and performing searches. During these searches, mattresses, watches, foodstuffs, and personal and saleable items were taken. RUF/AFRC forces retreated from Makeni in the wake of ECOMOG forces

In the early evening of 1 March 1998, troops from the ECOMOG 24th Infantry Brigade entered Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) from Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District). They engaged RUF/AFRC snipers en route at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and exchanged fire with RUF/AFRC forces for about an hour as they entered Lunsar. Apart from that, ECOMOG met no further resistance from RUF/AFRC forces in Lunsar.³⁵⁵

On 2 March 1998, ECOMOG forces moved from Lunsar and arrived at the village of Magbema, 2km west of Makeni (both Bombali Sebora Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces retreated northwards from Makeni in the direction of Kamaboi (Biriwa Chiefdom), to the east of Makeni, which had been under RUF control since May 1997. Some forces moved further towards Kabala Town (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District), settling in the town of Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). On 2 or 3 March 1998, ECOMOG arrived in Makeni and established a base at Teko Barracks, taking control of Makeni. At some point after ECOMOG entered the town, forces from the CDF 9th Battalion were deployed to assist in patrolling the Makeni area. Tecomog major stated that any civilian who is caught and found to have been an RUF/AFRC collaborator will be treated as if they are not human and commenced house to house searches, screening civilians and searching for possible RUF/AFRC infiltrators.

333 K.A. Adesnina, pp.30-38.

356 All Africa News, 11 December 1998 taken from Concord Times

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³⁵⁴ Clarification is required from the records about the date, as the starting date of "Operation Pay Yourself" is reported at different times across different Districts, the earliest being in the Western Area in 1997.

³⁵⁵ R.A. Adeshina, pp.36-38.

Around midday on 22 March 1998, the RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Kambia Mapulen (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). They were driven to Kambia Mapulen through the town of Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) on the main northern road to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), in a big truck with a civilian driver. Some of the RUF/AFRC forces were dressed in full military attire and others were dressed in civilian clothes. All were well armed with G3 and AK-47 rifles, and support weapons including RPGs. The RUF Commander first called a village meeting and informed the assembled civilians that they were being "liberated from their struggle". As the meeting progressed, RUF/AFRC forces surrounded the village. In the afternoon, the RUF/AFRC forces began firing on civilians, who fled the village. One girl did not escape the attack, was captured and raped by five members of the RUF/AFRC. The RUF/AFRC forces left the village along the same road they entered in the direction of Kamaranka. Villagers returned to find their valuables and livestock looted by the RUF/AFRC forces.

At this point, ECOMOG forces had taken control of Kamolo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom). ECOMOG met little resistance and easily took control of Kamakwie. During this time, RUF/AFRC forces were based at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District) at the other end of a highway leading directly to Kamakwie. In April and May 1998, ECOMOG informed representatives of the village of Laya (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) that they had insufficient logistical capacity to patrol the road between Kamalo and Laya.

In April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered the northern Tambakha Chiefdom, passed through the Northern Jungle from Wara Wara Bafodia Chiefdom (Koinadugu District) on their way to the chiefdom headquarter town of Fintonia. Duguta (Tambakha Chiefdom), a village along their route, was the first town to be attacked in the chiefdom. Reports indicate that the RUF/AFRC did not fire a shot as they entered, although RUF/AFRC forces aged between 13 and 16 years were given orders to shoot should anyone try and escape. Fifty residents were held under armed guard for the duration of the attack. Twenty-five homes were burned down and 30 people were abducted and forced to carry stolen property, including livestock and poultry. Nobody was killed, although threats were made to abductees by RUF/AFRC forces that anyone caught resting would be killed.

In the early hours of one Wednesday in April 1998, over 100 RUF/AFRC forces eventually arrived at and attacked Fitonia (Tambakha Chiefdom). They were armed with AK-47 rifles, RPGs and bladed weapons. The town was surrounded within 30 minutes of their arrival. Over 20 people were caught trying to escape the town. They were rounded up and placed into groups. During the RUF/AFRC attack, eleven people were killed. sixty-eight houses were looted and burned. At least 17 civilians were abducted to carry stolen property. Those abducted were ordered by RUF/AFRC forces to assist them in avoiding "Government positions", because of their familiarity with the terrain.

On the same day the same RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Kottoh (Tambakha Chiefdom) in the Outanma Kilimi National Park, three miles west of Fintonia. At this village, they amputated the hand of an old civilian man, who died from loss of blood whilst heading south to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) to seek medical attention. Following this assault, the same RUF/AFRC forces proceeded towards Komoyah (Tambakha Chiefdom), which is about sixteen miles south west of Fintonia. RUF/AFRC forces killed 10 civilian men one after the other in this attack and

amputated the arms of a further 11 civilian men. An unknown number of houses were also looted by RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG forces visiting Komoyah following the attack reported that RUF/AFRC forces had erected a checkpoint, a rope across the road. They had tied the amputated arms along the length of the rope and left the amputees dying nearby. ECOMOG forces took the amputees to their base at Kamakwie, where they received medical attention. From here, RUF/AFRC forces continued westwards to Sarakuda (Tambakha Chiefdom) where they killed an old woman.

Overnight between 10 and 11 May 1998, RUF/AFRC force attacked Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), a town on the road to Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District) that sits upon the Batkanu–Gbendembu route. During the attack, the Chiefdom Speaker and another prominent elder were killed. Seven other civilians were also killed. Many of the brick houses in the town had been burnt down, and much of the property stolen by RUF/AFRC forces.

In late June 1998, Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) once again came under attack by RUF/AFRC forces. The town was surrounded before the RUF/AFRC forces announced their presence with a single signature shot. Further sporadic firing by RUF/AFRC forces caused many of the residents to flee the town. An hour after RUF/AFRC forces first entered the village, a large group of RUF/AFRC forces in full combat fatigues passed through the village in a westerly direction, heading towards Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom). Following these military forces were between 1000 and 1500 people in civilian dress carrying looted property. In Mayainku village (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom), on the road to Batkanu, RUF/AFRC forces abducted a man, who was later found dead, his body containing many bulletholes. In Mamaya (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), also on the road to Batkanu from Gbendembu, RUF/AFRC forces raped a 10-year old girl, who later died of blood loss.

In July 1998, villagers in Gbendembu heard from displaced persons that the village of Loihindi (both Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), east of Gbendembu on the route to Kabala, had been attacked by RUF/AFRC forces. During the attack, RUF/AFRC forces had mutilated a young boy and an old man.

In July 1998, the village of Masiba (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces from the direction of Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces went from house to house searching for civilians. Those captured were first tied up as the search continued, and were then taken to the village of Kortulay (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and forced to take the rice of the Section Chief. The captives then transported the rice in the direction of Biriwa Chiefdom. Two days after the initial attack, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Masiba again, to recapture a number of abducted civilians who had escaped and returned to Masiba. The second RUF/AFRC attack on Masiba came from the village of Hundowa, to the north. A trader was shot dead in the centre of town. RUF/AFRC forces broke into all the houses in Masiba, looting what could be carried. At least 10 houses were burnt down. The escapees were recaptured by RUF/AFRC forces. Following this attack, the RUF/AFRC forces immediately moved to the nearby village of Wanworowah (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), where they captured 20 civilians. The men were hung beneath trees and set on fire. The women were cut with blades on their chests and backs.

On 17 July 1998, in Laminaya (Sanda Loko Chiefdom), 28 civilians were killed by RUF/AFRC forces. A man was handcuffed and then burned to death, and RUF/AFRC forces mutilated a woman's genitals. Laminaya was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces again in the afternoon of 5 September 1998.

On 23 July RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Matoko in the north of Biriwa chiefdom, about 20 miles from the village of Laya (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). RUF forces opened the attack at 2200 with an RPG, and went house-to-house searching for civilians. Many fled into the surrounding bush. Over 20 of those that were captured were tied in pairs and shot dead by RUF/AFRC forces. The attack ceased at 0200 on 24 July 1998.

On 29 July, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Kalangba (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) south of Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) on the North-South Kamakwie-Makeni highway. There are no further details about this attack.

Since late May 1997, RUF/AFRC forces had occupied the town of Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) From this location, RUF/AFRC forces were able to establish a strong presence in the area, bolstered by forces driven from Makeni in early March 1998 by ECOMOG forces. RUF/AFRC activity in the neighbouring town Karina and its environs was mainly limited to "food finding missions" or "Jar-Jar". The July 1998 attacks on Masiba (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom) described above are good examples of "food finding missions": civilians were captured and instructed to lead RUF/AFRC forces to sources of salt, livestock, crops and vegetables. The same civilians were then force by RUF/ARFC forces to transport the stolen food to RUF bases.

On 2 August, ECOMOG began planning an operation to remove RUF/AFRC forces from their camp as Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), deploying an artillery battery at Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), and sending a Nigerian infantry platoon to Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom). Across seven days in mid-August ECOMOG artillery and air support bombarded Ro-Source continually. On or around 22 August, a group of civilians volunteered to head to Ro-Source and provide information to ECOMOG. They reported that the village was deserted, and that there were many corpses littering the area. They reported that the village was deserted, and that there were many corpses littering the area. They reported that the village was deserted, and that there were many corpses littering the area. They reported that the village was deserted, and that there were many corpses littering the area.

On 1 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces again attacked the town of Kalangba, south of Gbendembu (both Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom). On 5 September RUF/AFRC forces attacked the town of Laminaya to the east of Kamalo town (both Sella Limba Chiefdom). Many civilians had moved to Kamolo following these attacks, seeking protection from the ECOMOG forces stationed in the town.

Around midnight on 8 September 1998 RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Maharibo (Sando Loko Chiefdom), immediately to the east of Kamalo (Sella Limba Chiefom). RUF/AFRC forces were armed with AK-47s, RPGs, machetes, grenades, and G3s, and dispensed heavy machine gun fire throughout the town. The shooting stopped at 0300. RUF/AFRC forces gathered the villagers into the centre of the town, and requested information about the security arrangements in Kamalo,

³⁵⁷ Account from R.A. Adeshina, p. 115-116

which had been held by ECOMOG forces since early March 1998. Following the attack, RUF forces departed westwards for Bankabie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), a village immediately south of Kamalo and joined with other RUF/AFRC units. RUF/AFRC units that participated in this attack reestablished Camp Ro-Source (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom), which had previously been abandoned in September 1997.

About fifteen miles south of Kamalo (Sella Limba Chiefdom), on 8 October, two groups of RUF/AFRC forces joined at a camp outside Masomba (Sella Limba Chiefdom), where some 500 RUF/AFRC forces were already deployed. RUF/AFRC forces abducted a man rumoured to have mystical powers, and forced him to perform religious rites for the unit. These including creating talisman to guarantee RUF forces would not suffer injuries, in addition to offerings of kola-nuts, sacrifices of goats and sheep for military success. The RUF/AFRC were certain that that another group of RUF/AFRC forces would arrive at the camp on 20 October. Once that unit arrived, all RUF/AFRC forces stationed at the camp would prepare for an attack on Kamalo. In the northern part of Magbaiamba Ndowahun Chiefdom, RUF forces attacked the village of Gbendebu on 27 October. RUF forces captured one civilian and divided him into two sections by splitting his body in two from head to groin. On 31 October, the group of RUF/AFRC forces who had been expected entered the RUF camp outside Masomba (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

By the end of October 1998, around 500 "loyal" SLA troops had been deployed to Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), south of where the RUF/AFRC were concentrating for the attack on Kamalo. The CDF deployed at Kalangba frequently patrolled Gbendembu. Parents were encouraged by the CDF commander to send their children to be initiated into the CDF, or "washed", so they could become bulletproof. A number of people died when trainers shot them at during the final stages of initiation.

As RUF forces prepared to attack Kamalo (Sella Limba Chiefdom) from the south, ECOMOG reinforced their positions in the town on 13 November 1998 with troops from Kamakwie. On 14 November, RUF forces attacked Kamalo. During this assault, RUF/AFRC forces killed an unknown number of ECOMOG forces, who were buried by civilians two days later, on 16 November. In addition, 80 homes were burnt and an unknown number of civilians were killed. Five RUF/AFRC wounded were returned to the camp outside Masomba (Sella Limba Chiefdom). ECOMOG and SLA forces were driven out of Kamalo and retreated north to the town of Kamakwie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom), still at this stage held by ECOMOG.

On 21 November RUF/AFRC forces headed south from Kamolo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) along the main highway and on 21 November they attacked Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces abducted seven men and two women, burnt down homes, and took property. The village clinic was also destroyed. They then established a base there that was still in operation in December 1998. On 22 November, ECOMOG deployed to Kamaranka, but did not engage forces at a nearby RUF/AFRC camp identified by two youths who had escaped from the camp the night before. ECOMOG troops remained in Kamaranka. It is reported in general terms that ECOMOG forces treated civilians accused to being "rebel collaborators" with extreme brutality. On 23 November 1998 in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), ECOMOG forces tied-up and beat to death

a well known and popular businessman accused of being a "rebel collaborator" by a woman in the town.

CDF forces established a checkpoint Ferrah Loko village, on the main Makeni-Kamkwie highway south of Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). On 27 November 1998, CDF forces detained two civilians at the checkpoint and accused them of being "rebel collaborators". The civilians were led to a nearby river and shot dead with AK-47s. On 28 November, at the same checkpoint, CDF confiscated a quantity of prescription drugs to be used in the treatment of an outbreak of cholera in Kamaranka from a pharmacist travelling from Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) to Kamaranka.

In December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked many villages in Sella Limba Chiefdom, around the headquarter town of Kamakwie. Six miles from Kamakwie, at the crossing point over the Mongo River at Kabbah Ferry, RUF/AFRC forces burnt several houses and looted property in their attack on the village. Then, seven miles from Kamakwie, the town of Kamaportho (Sella Limba Chiefdom) was also attacked. RUF/AFRC forces killed an unknown number of civilians, burnt homes and looted properties.

Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) was attacked on 9 December by RUF/AFRC forces again entering the town from the west along the Batkanu–Gbendembu Highway. ECOMOG and SLA forces stationed in the town were driven out by RUF/AFRC forces. During the engagement, RUF/AFRC forces lined up eleven civilians and shot them one after the other. RUF/AFRC forces set fire to two machine guns located in the vacated ECOMOG position. ECOMOG and "loyal" SLA forces regrouped to the south of Gbendembu and launched a counter attack. During the attack RUF/AFRC forces killed 23 SLA forces and amputated the limbs of six civilians. Nevertheless, RUF/AFRC forces were successfully dislodged from Gbendembu. Residents buried the dead civilians in mass grave near the Wesleyan Church. The 25 dead SLA soldiers were taken to Makeni (Bombali Sembora). Civilians buried an unknown number of RUF/AFRC dead in the bush surrounding Gbendembu.

On Monday 20 December, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Binkolo town (the headquarter town of Safroko Limba Chiefdom), near Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) on the main road to Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). On 21 December, RUF forces took property, including food items, and burnt down 133 homes. Five people were shot dead in the attack. RUF/AFRC forces established and manned checkpoints in Binkolo between 30 December 1998 and 4 January 1999.

On 23 December, RUF/AFRC forces took control of Magburaka Town (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). Later that day RUF/AFRC forces commenced a major assault on Makeni from three directions. The nearby towns of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom), Karina and Kamabai (both Biriwara Chiefdom) to the northeast were already under RUF/AFRC control. Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and Kamolo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) to the northwest were both under pressure from RUF/AFRC forces. From the south, RUF/AFRC forces entered Bombali district through Magburaka town (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and continued towards Makeni, whilst another RUF/AFRC force launched their attack on the town

from the north. RUF/AFRC forces also moved from Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District), attacking Makeni from the west.

On 24 December at 1200 RUF/AFRC forces succeeding in dislodging ECOMOG forces from the Teko Barracks in Makeni. ECOMOG forces retreated north to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom). Teko Barracks was home to the brigade headquarters of the ECOMOG 24th Infantry Brigade. ECOMOG forces ran short of ammunition and were overpowered by the attacking RUF/AFRC force. During the attack, RUF/AFRC forces inflicted heavy casualties on ECOMOG, and managed to capture the ECOMOG brigade intelligence officer and much of the brigade documentation. 358 By 26 December, ECOMOG had withdrawn from Makeni.

In late December, RUF/AFRC forces Fintonia (Tambakah Chiefdom) was attacked. Many people were abducted some of whom were made to carry looted goods. Eleven civilians were killed and at least one woman was sexually assaulted and forced to be a sex slave for RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces abducted over 40 people, 11 were killed. 68 houses were burned down. Civilians were forced to carry looted items for the RUF/AFRC forces.

On 24 December 1998, SLA forces retreating from Makeni towards Koinadugu District arrived in the village of Bombali Bana (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom), 3km west of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom), to the north of Makeni. Bombali Bana was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces after 24 December 1998. In this attack, 25 houses were burned down. Throughout the night of 25-26 December report hearing the movement of convoys of vehicles moved towards Makeni through Binkolo on the Kabala-Makeni highway. Between 30 December 1998 and 1 January 1999, convoys of civilians carrying sacks of rice on their heads, and livestock over their shoulders, were being escorted by armed RUF/AFRC forces through Binkolo towards Makeni.

After 26 December, ECOMOG forces retreated from the town of Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) through the village of Konba towards Kambia District, and eventually to Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District). On 30 December, RUF/AFRC forces entered the town immediately, without engaging ECOMOG. RUF/AFRC forces quickly set up an administration, and started recruiting young men and women from throughout Sella Limba Chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces also crossed into Kamakwie from Tambakha Chiefdom, stealing much of the kerosene and food waiting to be ferried across the Little Scarcies River to Kamakwie. Soon after arriving in Kamakwie, RUF/AFRC forces sought to extend their authority over the Mongo River north towards the border with Guinea. Also on 30 December, RUF/AFRC forces advanced into Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and engaged ECOMOG positions.

Events in 1999

Through December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces cleared ECOMOG forces from within a corridor from Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District) through Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkalili District) and Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District, Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). RUF/AFRC forces assaulted Freetown between 6 and 20 January. Following an intense battle for

358 Detail only. R.A. Adeshina, p.133

the control of metropolitan Freetown, ECOMOG forces pushed RUF/AFRC forces back to Waterloo, where they remained in force until at least 25 February 1999.

At the beginning of 1999 the RUF/AFRC focused on several initiatives to consolidate their gains of late December 1998, and corral ECOMOG in Port Loko District. Initially, RUF/AFRC forces retained control over the arterial routes from Western Area running through Port Loko District towards Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom). Additionally, RUF/AFRC forces took control of the key junction town of Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). In the first months of 1999, however, ECOMOG forces pushed along the main highway from the Western Area into Port Loko District, retaking Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) from RUF/AFRC forces by late April, and creating a relatively secure route between Masiaka and Port Loko Town through Ro-Gberray (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District). Maforki and BKM Chiefdoms, and those behind Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom)³⁵⁹ remained primarily under ECOMOG control. In April, ECOMOG also moved from Masiaka and retook control of Mile 91.

The RUF/AFRC consolidated in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Makeni (Bombali Sembora), and took control of all the key towns in Kambia District.³⁶⁰ From this point through to disarmament in 2001 and 2002, Makeni was the RUF/AFRC headquarter for the southern part of Bombali District. An additional headquarter was also established in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom)to oversee the expansive northern region of the district and the Mongo River crossing at Kabba Ferry. In Port Loko District, the RUF/AFRC lines started at Mange, which was the first line of defence for their positions in wharf towns on the Great Scarcies River, including Rokupr and Kambia Town (both Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District). Makeni was connected to Kambia Town by a lengthy route looping north and then west through Kamakwie and Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District). This gave RUF/AFRC forces access to the major international border crossings with Guinea. At their base in Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District), RUF/AFRC forces controlled access to the main routes Sanda Magbolontor and Dibia Chiefdoms (both in Port Loko District) into Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom (Bombali District). To the south, RUF/AFRC forces occupied Magburaka Town and positions on the main highway to Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District), which was also under RUF/AFRC control. Makeni was the heart of this RUF/AFRC defensive operation.

At the beginning of 1999, RUF/AFRC forces controlled Kamabai, a main town in the Biriwa Chiefdom, to the north east of Makeni. There are frequent mentions of RUF/AFRC forces forcing residents to vacate to provide lodgings for RUF/AFRC forces. There was also massive theft of private property and food during The RUF/AFRC encampment. RUF/AFRC forces were armed with rifles, grenades, cutlasses, bayonets, and RPGs and forced civilians to join them.

In January, numerous RUF/AFRC bases were established along the Makeni– Guinea and Makeni–Freetown highways. One RUF/AFRC base was established in Mabaibunda (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom) and another was established a base at Matako. A camp was set up in Makoth (Makari Gbanti chiefdom). Kamalo (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) was occupied in late December 1998

³⁵⁹ Kaffu Bullom and Lokomassama Chiefdoms.

³⁶⁰ See factual analysis for Kambia District in 1999 for further information.

and checkpoints were established in the following weeks. South of Kamalo, RUF/AFRC forces established two checkpoints in Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom).

By 10 January the RUF/AFRC had all of Sanda Loko Chiefdom under its control, in addition to the north-south road linking Makeni (Bombali Sembora Chiefdom) with Kamakwie. The RUF/AFRC command in Kamalo established a G5 committee, and announced to the town residents that it would punish any of its personnel caught inflicting violence on civilians.

In early January, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Mateboi (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom), capturing four civilians and burning down houses that remained from their attack in May 1998. CDF forces attacked RUF/AFRC forces in Ro-Source at some point in January or February 1999 but were unsuccessful. Over 50 CDF personnel were killed by RUF/AFRC forces and buried by civilians in a mass grave at Ro-Source. RUF/AFRC forces attacked Mateboi later in January, gathering 27 civilians in the town market and shooting them dead. A woman was injured with a cutlass, but did not die and was taken to Makeni for medical treatment. Throughout Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, RUF/AFRC force used civilians to assist with "Food Finding Missions". The RUF/AFRC set up a civilian G5 committee in Mateboi to assist with the collection of contributions of 30 cups of rice and 5 litres of palm oil from every civilian in the town. Shortly after this system began, those civilians remaining began leaving for bush camps to avoid making contributions to the RUF/AFRC.

In January, a group of around 20 RUF/AFRC members set up camp in Masiba (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and informed the town residents that they were here to protect them from raids by other RUF/AFRC groups. Nevertheless, RUF/AFRC forces in the town beat civilians regularly. One man was beaten for 24 hours continually, and then taken by the RUF/AFRC town commander to the nearby bush. The RUF/AFRC commander executed the civilian with two gunshots in the back of his head. He was not fully dead when the RUF/AFRC commander ordered other civilians to bury him. Another young boy was beaten severely by RUF/AFRC members, who also used a bladed weapon to inscribe "RUF" on his chest. Between January and August, two other civilians were treated the same way by RUF/AFRC forces in Masiba. In August, RUF/AFRC forces tied up a civilian in Masiba and attacked him with a cutlass.

Also in January, RUF/AFRC forces set up a base and checkpoints at main entrances of the town of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom). By then, Bombali Bana village (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) was already experiencing regular RUF/AFRC food finding missions. RUF/AFRC forces attacked the town on 26 January because of suspicions that there were CDF and Kamajor supporters among the populace. During the RUF/AFRC attack, two civilians were shot dead and another tortured to death before being transported on a wheelbarrow to the nearby village of Pamlap (Bombali Sembora Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces also burned down 25 houses.

ECOMOG's success in March and April in pushing the RUF/AFRC off the main highways in Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District) and Yoni Chiefdom (Tonkolili District) had the effect of cutting off a major route for goods and supplies for the RUF/AFRC operations in the north. The RUF/AFRC sought to establish other sources of revenue and supply, trading and stealing from markets in Guinean border towns. At this time in the northern chiefdom of Tambakha, RUF/AFRC forces were beginning to move towards the Guinean border. RUF/AFRC forces attacked the chiefdom

headquarter town of Fintonia, on the northerly Kamakwie–Madina Oula³⁶¹ (Guinea) route on 11 January. RUF/AFRC forces were also based seen in border villages such as Sanya and Symbecki (both Tambakha Chiefdom), where they regularly sold items stolen during attacks to intermediaries who would sell them at the weekly market in the Guinean border towns of Madina Oula, Sekusoria and Lakantha. In Kambia District, RUF/AFRC forces used the Great Scaries River to access trade fairs in towns just over the Guinean border.³⁶² The Guinean authorities tightened border security checks on traders. In relation to the Guinean operations, RUF forces in Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) attempted to conscript civilians.

By March 1999, RUF/AFRC forces had effective control over the surrounding area of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) and proceeded to take food from its inhabitants. In Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom, food-finding missions were conducted in Kamaranka and Kambia Mapalun in April. At a meeting that occurred sometime between before peace negotiations commenced, a G5 committee of RUF/AFRC forces and civilians met to discuss food contributions to the RUF/AFRC war effort. An order was passed passed requiring civilians to contribute food to RUF/AFRC forces on a daily basis. The RUF commander officially ordered the beginning of food-finding missions around Binkolo in middle to late 1999.

Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May in the Togolese capital, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (Lomé Peace Agreement). On the same day the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed, RUF/AFRC forces in Thama Village (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) tied up, beat and executed four young boys. Residents of the village buried their corpses in a mass grave in Thama.

After the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed, the RUF/AFRC established a large training camp in Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), on the Guinea-Makeni road. The Gbendembu camp replaced a camp located previously located in Kailahun District. It was set up both to bolster the RUF/AFRC ground force in Sierra Leone, and to train forces for attacks on towns in Guinea. Many civilians in Gbendembu were forced to work in the training camp preparing food for trainees. Conditions in the camp were harsh, and food was scare. To ensure they did not escape, trainees were monitored continually by RUF/AFRC security forces. RUF/AFRC "Food Finding Missions" became commonplace in villages surrounding Gbendembu, and a specific group of RUF/AFRC "Night Combatants" carried out frequent looting raids in the area overnight. This contributed to a sense of heightened terror amongst civilians in and around the town.

In August 1999, "Operation Pay Yourself' began in Magbema. This was an ongoing RUF/AFRC slogan targeting towns and villages with a looting spree, the stolen property from which served as pay for the forces. This operation lasted for 72 hours. If any civilians refused to provide RUF/AFRC forces with food or with whatever goods they sought, they were either beaten or killed. Also in August, RUF/AFRC established "G5" civilian-military liaison committees throughout

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³⁶¹ In late January 1999, UNHCR established a refugee camp in Madina Oula, although Sierra Leonean refugees had been seeking safety there since 1997. AFP, 28 January 1999.

³⁶² See the factual analysis for Kambia District for 1999 for further information.

Safroko Limba Chiefdom. Like in other places, the G5 committee was tasked with administering the collection of daily contributions of foodstuff from the civilian population to the RUF/AFRC. Shortly after its establishment, RUF/AFRC forces were ordered to search the bush surrounding settlement to collect food for themselves.

In the southern headquarter tension was beginning to exhibit itself between RUF and AFRC commanders and ranks in Makeni (Bombali Sembora). In August, a senior RUF commander was captured and detained in Port Loko District by an AFRC splinter called the West Side Boys. The West Side Boys, based in the Okra Hill Area of lower Maforki Chiefdom and Koya Chiefdom in Port Loko District eventually released the senior RUF commander, who commandeered a number of vehicles in Lunsar (Port Loko District) and Magbema and returned to Makeni. In August 1999, in Makeni's Independence Square, one of the RUF commanders shot an AFRC commander at point blank range, killing him immediately. RUF and AFRC members fought for control of Makeni. Following this battle, the AFRC forces left Makeni and moved into Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) led by a different commander of the PRC personnel.

On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone, to replace the previous observer mission and assist with the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement. ³⁶⁵ The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) commenced deployment with the arrival of advance teams on 29 and 30 November; ³⁶⁶ 4,500 UNAMSIL were troops were present in Sierra Leone by 10 January 2000. ³⁶⁷

e) Events in 2000

On 5 January, a contingent of 450 Kenyan UNAMSIL peacekeepers and military observers (MILOBS) tried to enter Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) but was denied entry by RUF/AFRC forces on the grounds that they had not been authorised by the RUF/AFRC high command to deploy in the town. By 6 January, companies of Kenyan UNAMSIL peacekeepers had set up camp in Makeni. In January 2000, RUF/AFRC forces in Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) stoned a civilian to death after accusing him of killing an RUF/AFRC member. The civilian's body was left unburied and dragged along the road to the nearby village of Mongoreh (Safroko Limba).

In February or March 2000, diamonds were found in Kambia Makuhun (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) by residents of the village. A member of RUF/AFRC senior command oversaw the mining operation, in which abducted civilians were forced to work as miners. Those accused of stealing were given 200 lashes. Within the month, RUF/AFRC forces moved from Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) and Makeni to reinforce Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom), a village at the intersection of a route that leads to Kambia Makuhun and the Gbundema– Kamakwie highway. On 24 February, the RUF/AFRC commander in Kamakwie captured the Paramount Chief of

³⁶³ See factual analysis for Port Loko District for further information.

³⁶⁴ This information will require further clarification, since it is also mentioned in the factual analysis for Tonkolili District.

³⁶⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999)

³⁶⁶ BBC, 29 November 1999

³⁶⁷ IRIN West Africa, 11 January 1999

Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom and released him after two weeks when each household in the chiefdom had contributed 5,000 Leones to the RUF/AFRC. Other RUF/AFRC forces entered Kamaranka, and held a town meeting to announce that they planned to use AK-47 machineguns to chase a chicken belonging to a local lady. A young boys was shot in the leg during the chase. Later in year in Kamaranka, three RUF/AFRC members raped a women in the Kamaranka Police Station.

On 2 or 3 May, the Kenyan contingent of UNAMSIL stationed in Makeni came under attack from RUF/AFRC positions in the town. A number of British UN Military Observers were also deployed with the Kenyans. An RUF brigadier entered the Kenyan base, assaulted a Bangladeshi Major and with a group of other RUF forces abducted an unknown number of Kenyan peacekeepers. One Kenyan peacekeeper was shot dead at point blank range by an RUF/AFRC member. As the RUF brigadier tried to take a Kenyan officer, gunfire broke out between the two groups.368 RUF/AFRC forces in Makeni celebrated the attack on the peacekeepers. On 5 May 2000, 208 members of UNAMSIL's Zambian contingent were disarmed and captured en route to Makeni by RUF/AFRC forces based in Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom, Port Loko District). RUF forces returned to Foredugu and Makeni with vehicles, communication sets, weapons and uniforms confiscated from the peacekeepers. The RUF/AFRC high command in Makeni encircled the Zambians partly to delay their advance so other RUF/AFRC forces could prevent a UNAMSIL helicopter from reaching the Kenyan contingent in Makeni. The Zambian captives were taken from Makeni to Kailahun District.³⁶⁹ Kenyan UNAMSIL broke out of Makeni on or around 11 May, and headed to UN outposts in Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and to Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District), which was held by the "loyal" SLA. Kenyan UNAMSIL soldiers were attacked by RUF/AFRC snipers in Panlap, a village on the highway to Kabala. On or around 12 May, UK forces airlifted four UN MILOBs from Magburaka following their escape from Makeni.370

The RUF/AFRC had captured around 500 UNAMSIL peacekeeper since the beginning of May, prompting a crisis for the peacekeeping mission. On 8 May, the UK military commenced "Operation Palliser", deploying to Sierra Leone the HMS Ocean and other vessels with around 800 soldiers from the Parachute Regiment.³⁷¹ UK forces secured the Freetown area and commenced retraining the SLA in June.³⁷² Between 8 and 14 May, RUF/AFRC forces unsuccessfully tried to occupy Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) in a bid to move into the Western Area. Other towns in Port Loko District, including Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) also came under attack from RUF/AFRC forces.³⁷³ By 28 May, following the series of events outlined below, UNAMSIL announced that virtually all the peacekeepers had been released by the RUF. In June RUF/AFRC and SLA forces fought for control of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District), a key town in the RUF/AFRC's defensive arc around Makeni. RUF/AFRC secured the town by 21 June.

³⁶⁸ BBC Online News, 11 May 2000 (13:14 GMT 14:14 UK).

³⁶⁹ See the factually analysis for Kailahun District in 2000 for further information.

³⁷⁰ BBC Online News, 12 May 2000 (15:37 GMT 16:37 UK).

³⁷¹ On 24 May, soldiers from the 42 Commando Royal Marines replaced the paratroopers.

³⁷² See the factual analysis for the Western Area in 2000 for further information.

³⁷³ See the factual analysis for Port Loko Disrict in 2000 for further information.

Between May and July 2000, helicopter gunships began flying over the Makeni and towns along the main highway nearby Makeni, such as Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) and Masungbo (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom). In early May, a gunship attacked Binkolo, destroying two civilian residences. On seeing the gunship RUF/AFRC forces would run from their positions and seek cover in the surrounding bush. On 9 May, the gunship attacked RUF/AFRC positions on the Masungbo-Makeni highway. On 29 May, a helicopter gunship dropped leaflets³⁷⁴ over Makeni. RUF/AFRC forces in Makeni Lorry Park attacked the helicopter. Five civilians were killed in the engagement, although it is not possible to say which side was responsible. The explosions could be heard in Binkolo, some 10 km from Makeni. On 7 July, a gunship flew over Binkolo, hovered and then left. On 29 July, the gunship returned to Makeni, and attacked RUF/AFRC positions killing at least one civilian and damaging three houses. Similar attacks by gunship were made in Kambia District, becoming more intense after 26 May 2000. Gunship attacks are also noted around this time in Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District).

Between August and October, RUF/AFRC commanders requested youths in Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) and Bombali Bana (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) to be trained at the RUF/AFRC camp in Gbendembu. By this time, nearly two battalions of RUF/AFRC combatants had been trained at Gbendembu and deployed on missions in Guinea.

In the morning of 3 September 2000, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Guinean town of Madina Oula. The RUF/AFRC had been concentrating forces in Fintonia (Tambakha Chiefdom) in the weeks before the attack, and conscription with Tambakha Chiefdom had greatly increased. RUF/AFRC forces attacked Guinean forces there but were forced to withdraw after three days when Guinean forces were reinforced. On their return to Fintonia on or around 7 September, RUF/AFRC forces held a town meeting and accused the civilian residents of providing information to the Guinean forces. As punishment, RUF/AFRC force burned down 15 houses in the town. Shortly after the attack on Madina Oula (Guinea), RUF/AFRC forces moved from Kambia District and attacked the Guinean border town of Pamelap. 375

In response to RUF/AFRC encroachments, Guinea forces adopted a "Hot Pursuit" policy, in which RUF bases inside Sierra Leone along the Guinean–Sierra Leonean border were attacked in addition to the pursuit of RUF/AFRC forces inside Guinea. Guinean armed forces also moved their security checks three miles inside the territory of Sierra Leone. The RUF/AFRC unit based in Sanya (Tambakha Chiefdom) came under pressure from the new Guinean security policy and moved their base to a location nearby Sekusoria (Tambakha Chiefdom), a town on the border with Guinea. In early October, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Sekusoria but Guinean forces learned of these plans in advance and reinforcements arrived in the town in advance of the attack. In the weeks following the attack on Madina Oula, Guinean Forces attacked Tukukuray. The villages of Sanya and Somathai were attacked as well by Guinean forces and vigilanties. On 10 October, RUF/AFRC forces from Kambia District again attacked the Guinean town of Pamelap.

³⁷⁴ Leaflets dropped from Government of Sierra Leone helicopter gunships in Kambia stated that their next sortie would not be with leaflets, but Gatling machine guns, 57mm rockets, 23mm guns and 30mm grenades.

³⁷⁵ See the factual analysis for Kambia District in 2000 for further information.

In late September, RUF/AFRC forces raided Thama (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) and went house-to-house looking for valuable items. Seventeen civilians were abducted and forced to carry the stolen items to Makeni, a journey of over 40 miles.

f) Events in 2001

On 3 January, the RUF high command met with the UNAMSIL force commander in Magburaka. In January, the RUF/AFRC agreed with UNAMSIL to open the stretch of highway connecting Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni Town. On 31 January and 13 February, the UNAMSIL Core Contact Group met with the RUF/AFRC command in Makeni Town. At the latter meeting the RUF/AFRC returned 56 weapons, some communications equipment, and nine vehicles seized from UNAMSIL since deployment. On 16 February, a Bangladeshi UNAMSIL unit conducted a long-range patrol to Makeni from Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), passing through 16 RUF/AFRC checkpoint en route. The patrol met with the RUF brigadier in Makeni. Patrols continued throughout February, also moving from Ro-Gberray (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni. On 14 March, around 240 Nigerian UNAMSIL soldier commenced deployment to Lunsar, increasing to 776 by 23 March 2001. On 17 April, Nigerian UNAMSIL soldiers moved from Lunsar and commenced deployment to Makeni. On 25 May, RUF/AFRC forces released 591 child combatants to UNAMSIL in Makeni.

On 24 September, disarmament commenced in Bombali District. UNAMSIL established reception centres in Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom), Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom)³⁸³ and in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) in late October.³⁸⁴ On 15 November, 150 Sierra Leone Police deployed to Makeni.³⁸⁵

3. Conclusion

** TO BE DRAFTED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE**

Kambia District

1. Introduction

Kambia District is located in the north-west of Sierra Leone. The Republic of Guinea runs along the entire northern boundary of Kambia District, with the Atlantic Ocean lying to the west. Port Loko District is to the south of Kambia District and Bombali District is found to the east.

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³⁷⁶ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 3 January 2001

³⁷⁷ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 13 February 2001

³⁷⁸ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 16 February 2001

³⁷⁹ UNAMSIL Press Release, 14 March 2001 and IRINWA, 16 March 2001

³⁸⁰ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 23 March 2001

³⁸¹ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 17 April 2001.

³⁸² UNASMIL Press Briefing, 29 May 2001.

³⁸³ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 25 September 2001.

³⁸⁴ OCHA, Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 16 Oct - 05 Nov 2001

³⁸⁵ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 16 November 2001.

There are seven chiefdoms in Kambia District:

Chiefdom Headquarter Town

Bramaia Kukuna Gbinleh Dixon Tawaya Samu Kychom

Magbema Kambia (District Headquarter)

Mambolo Mambolo Masungbala Kawulia Tonko Lima Madina

The bulk of Kambia District is situated between the Little Scarcies River and The Great Scarcies River. The Great Scarcies River³⁸⁶ initially forms the border between Sierra Leone and the Republic of Guinea before running south through Kambia District into the Atlantic Ocean near Kassirie (Samu Chiefdom). Gbinleh Dixon and Samu Chiefdoms are located on the north bank of the Great Scarcies River, forming the boundaries with Magbema, Mambolo and Bramaia Chiefdoms. Traders from Guinea and Sierra Leone transport goods to Freetown along the Great Scarcies River, passing through the wharf towns of Rosinor (Samu Chiefdom), Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), Mambolo (Mambolo Chiefdom) and Kassirie (Samu Chiefdom). The Great Scarcies also passes nearby the district headquarter town of Kambia (Magbema Chiefdom).

There are four key land routes in Kambia District. The first runs north from Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) through Mange (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom), where it continues north across the Great Scarcies River to the Guinean border at Pamelap (Gbinleh Dixon Chiefdom). From there, the highway leads to Conakry, the capital city of Guinea. This route passes over a long road bridge at Mange, which was held by the RUF/AFRC for most of the period spanning August 1997 to March 2001. The second important route runs from Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom (Port Loko District) into Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom) and then directly to Kambia Town. This route can also be used to by-pass the road bridge at Mange and rejoin the Mange-Kambia highway at Sendugu Junction, just south of Kambia Town. The third route runs from Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District). This route allows movement between the large town of Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom, Bombali District) and locations in Kambia District. The final key land route also runs from Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) through Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom) northwards to the Guinean border.

Between 1991 and 1995, Kambia District was not directly affected by the conflict. At the end of January 1995, the RUF extended their operations northwards into Kambia District from Port Loko District. The RUF did not attempt to hold any territory in Kambia District in 1995, but attacked the district headquarter town of Kambia (Magbema Chiefdom), killing 20 people. The force was heavily armed, carrying AK-47 machine guns, RPGs, small arms and grenades, as well as an array of bladed weapons; there would be little change in this configuration throughout the conflict. RUF forces abducted a large number of children and other civilians and also kidnapped seven Italian nuns to

³⁸⁶ Called the Kolente River in Guinea.

draw international attention to the RUF movement. The attack on Kambia Town was viewed as a demonstration of the ability of the RUF to strike throughout Sierra Leone. The inadequate response and poor discipline of the SLA led to a sharp deterioration in civil-military relations in Kambia District.

RUF forces returned to Kambia District in February 1996, concentrating on securing land and river routes between northern Bombali District and Kambia District. Shortly before the Parliamentary and Presidential elections on 26 February 1996, RUF forces staged a number of attacks on towns in the District, killing civilians and stealing civilian property. RUF forces attacked two key points on the road linking Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). The town of Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom), just north of Madina on the road to Guinea, was also attacked. In addition, they attacked a wharf town and crossing on the Little Scarcies River near Kabbah Ferry (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District), enabling seaward river access to Sanda Magbolontor and BKM Chiefdoms in Port Loko District and Mambolo and Magbema Chiefdoms in Kambia District. RUF/AFRC forces also attacked Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), a large wharf town and economic centre on the Great Scarcies River. From May until November, Guinean forces moved into Sierra Leone and established a base at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). In cooperation with local guides, Guinean forces patrolled the roads around the border with Guinea to prevent RUF infiltration. The Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF leadership signed the Abidjan Peace Accord on 30 November 1996. The resulting ceasefire held firm in Kambia District until May 1997.

In May 1997 the RUF resumed hostilities, moving from Bombali District to attack Madina (Bramaia Chiefdom), stealing property from the town's Catholic Mission. On 25 May 1997, elements of the SLA staged a successful coup and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC); soon after, the AFRC leadership joined with the RUF. The RUF/AFRC immediately established a brigade headquarter for Kambia District in the village of Yibaya (Tonka Limba Chiefdom). As the year progressed, the RUF/AFRC moved into Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom) and established a training camp at Kamba (Magbema Chiefdom). At this time, there was an escalation in the mistreatment of civilians. During attacks on villages, murder, rape and abduction were commonplace. Many civilians were forced to carry stolen property. News of high profile and brutal killings spread through the District, prompting many civilians to cooperate with the RUF/AFRC and take on roles as porters or administrators in order to protect themselves from the consequences of non-cooperation.

Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Kambia and Rokupr (both Magbema Chiefdom). During the attacks, they looted extensively, as well as killing and abducting civilians. The RUF/AFRC brigade headquarters remained in Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) and a series of intense raids were staged on nearby towns and villages across September and October 1998. A number of civilians were killed and mutilated in barbaric ways by RUF/AFRC forces; others had one or more limbs amputated by RUF/AFRC members. Guinean forces strengthened their deployment on the border with Sierra Leone and commenced artillery bombardment of suspected RUF/AFRC bases. RUF/AFRC forces occupied another point on the Great Scarcies River and, in addition to taxing road and river traders, began imposing a high weekly tax on the houses in RUF/AFRC occupied areas. The Great Scarcies

River took on increasing logistical importance to the RUF/AFRC; since CDF and ECOMOG forces fortified Port Loko District, control of points of the river allowed RUF/AFRC forces to generate significant revenue by taxing traders. In addition, it allowed supplies to be transported to other RUF/AFRC bases inland. At this time, a series of hard punishments were administered by the RUF/AFRC command to RUF/AFRC members that were caught committing violent acts against civilians. However, the effectiveness of these disciplinary measures is overshadowed by a pattern of escalating violence towards against the civilian population. Cruel and high profile punishment of civilians and RUF/AFRC members created an atmosphere of terror that was reinforced by the hunt for "rebel collaborators" in the aftermath of successful Guinean attacks on various villages.

In February and March 1999, after the RUF/AFRC had failed in its bid to capture Freetown, RUF/AFRC forces occupied towns across Kambia District, including Kambia Town and Rokupr (both Magbema Chiefdom). Guinean forces in Kambia Town retreated to positions outside the town and engaged RUF/AFRC forces throughout March for full control over the town. Guinean artillery inflicted huge damage on civilian residences in the town. The wharf town of Mambolo (Mambolo Chiefdom) and Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom) were also both Uncharacteristically, RUF/AFRC forces entered Rokupr and Mambolo without firing a shot, wearing white strips of cloth tied around their heads. While civilians welcomed their arrival, the peace did not last long, as RUF/AFRC forces began taxing the civilian population and abducting young men to join their movement. The RUF/AFRC now had full control over all the main wharfs on the Great Scarcies River and began appointing civilian chairpersons and secretaries to administer an extensive system of collecting house taxation and food "contributions" from the civilian population. The consolidation of control over Kambia District was part of a general RUF/AFRC strategy to secure Makeni and encircle Port Loko Town. Bases in Port Loko District at Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom) complimented the RUF/AFRC hold over the Mange Bridge, rendering the main northern route to Makeni and inland unusable. In mid 1999, the RUF/AFRC extended activity to Kassirie (Samu Chiefdom) and began moving into Guinea by night to rob traders. Guinean forces started the artillery bombardment of upstream traffic on the Great Scarcies River, resulting in many unidentified corpses floating past the downstream wharfs. Guinean forces also started using long-range patrols and helicopter gunships to secure the border area.

In 2000, the RUF/AFRC moved their brigade headquarters to Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom). In April, UNAMSIL commenced long-range patrols into Kambia District. RUF/AFRC forces disarmed a company of Nigerian UNAMSIL peacekeepers in May 2000, releasing them after a few days. Guinean forces intensified their bombardment of towns where RUF/AFRC forces were stationed, resulting in many civilian deaths. RUF/AFRC forces took up positions on the Guinean border and late in the year attacked towns inside Guinean territory. The Guinean bombardment continued into 2001. In the first months of 2001, the RUF/AFRC opened up the highway between the towns of Port Loko and Kambia, allowing UNAMSIL to patrol parts of the District. In May, RUF/AFRC forces commenced disarmament in Kambia District at UNAMSIL-run centres in Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) and Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom). The SLA also returned to the District in May and by August 2001, disarmament was complete across the District.

2. Factual Analysis

a) Events in 1995

From the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), RUF forces pushed into Port Loko District during the first three weeks of January 1995, focussing on the road network linking the towns of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District), Foredugu and Kamasundo (both Buya Romende Chiefdom, Port Loko District). RUF forces then moved into Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom (Port Loko District), which borders Kambia District, where they attacked villages on the main road through the chiefdom and also attacked Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District) before moving into Kambia District. Despite the deployment of SLA forces in the District headquarter town of Kambia (Magbema Chiefdom), RUF forces entered Kambia District on 23 January 1995, advancing towards Barmoi³⁸⁷ (Masungbala Chiefdom), 10 miles from Kambia Town near the border with Port Loko District.

At dawn on 25 January 1995, RUF forces attacked Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom). The attack came from the direction of Kolenten Secondary School and lasted for around four hours. The RUF forces did not face any resistance from SLA forces stationed in the town and killed about 20 civilians and a policeman. Around 300 civilians were rounded-up at the Long Communication Pole part of town and screened by RUF forces. Since they were unable to control 300 people, the majority were released, with 70 civilians remaining in RUF custody. Three young boys who escaped abduction were caught by RUF forces in Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom (Port Loko District) and publicly tortured to death. During the attack, RUF forces entered the hospital compound and abducted around 50 schoolchildren³⁸⁸ and seven expatriate nuns from the Rome-based order of the Xaverian Missionary Society of Mary, who were operating a dispensary. RUF forces paraded the nuns and around 100 other civilian residents around the town for three hours before moving south to an unknown destination, possibly Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District).³⁸⁹

Around five hours after the attack, two truckloads of SLA forces arrived in Kambia Town. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) stated that over 24,000 civilians had fled into Guinea immediately after the 25 January RUF attack on Kambia Town. In the wake of the attack, both local youths and the SLA stole civilian property.

On 31 January 1995, the RUF leader requested the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to act as an intermediary between the RUF and the NPRC concerning the release of the seven nuns.³⁹¹ On 13 February, the RUF leader made a number of demands on the Italian Ambassador to Sierra Leone for the release of the nuns, namely the provision of medicine, a satellite phone and a generator.³⁹² RUF forces finally released the nuns onto the Lunsar-Makeni highway on 21 March 1995, their demands remaining unmet.³⁹³

³⁸⁷ Also spelt Gbamoye.

³⁸⁸ AFP, 27 February 1995 reports that parents of around 50 children abducted by the RUF on 25 January 1995 appealed to international agencies for assistance in securing their release.

³⁸⁹ All details of kidnap from AFP, 26 January 1995.

³⁹⁰ Facts on File World News Digest, 23 February 1996 quoting UNHCR 31 January 1996.

³⁹¹ AFP, 31 January 1995.

³⁹² AFP, 13 February 1995.

³⁹³ Xinhua, 21 March 1995 and AFP, 22 March 1995.

Kambia District was quiet for the remainder of 1995, although rumours about new RUF attacks persisted throughout the District. The RUF moved into the Western Area by April 1995 and attacked Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) in June 1995.

b) Events in 1996

January and February 1996 were extremely tense politically, with ongoing disagreements between the NPRC, the SLA and the RUF concerning the elections scheduled for 26 February. In mid-January, the NPRC leader was overthrown by his deputy and fled to Guinea. Throughout this time, the RUF concentrated on securing land and river routes between northern Bombali District and Kambia District. First, RUF forces attacked two key points on the road linking Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District) and the headquarter town of Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). Second, RUF forces attacked key wharfs on the Little Scarcies River near Kabbah Ferry (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District),³⁹⁴ allowing seaward river access to Sanda Magbolontor and BKM Chiefdoms in Port Loko District and Mambolo and Magbema Chiefdoms in Kambia District. RUF/AFRC forces also attacked Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), a large wharf town and economic centre on the Great Scarcies River.

On 31 January 1996, staff of the Catholic Mission in Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) intercepted a radio message that RUF forces were planning to attack Madina the following day at 08.00. The Paramount Chief was contacted immediately and a town meeting was held at the Court Barrie in Madina. On 1 February 1996, RUF forces entered Kambia District using the route from Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District) that runs up the centre of the District. The RUF forces attacked Madina Town between 06.00 and 08.00, meeting no resistance. Seventeen houses were burnt down, one man was killed and two other men were forced to carry items the RUF forces stole during the assault on the township. After the attack, the RUF forces returned to the Kamakwie area, possibly to their camp at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom, Bombali District) for a meeting with another RUF group that in the meantime had attacked Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom).

In the morning of 20 February 1996 an RUF force numbering around 300 targeted Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), using Makatic Section as entry point to the town. Rokupr, which is divided into the town proper and the large, economically important Rice Research Station, is less than 13 miles due south of the District headquarter town of Kambia (Magbema Chiefdom). As with the attack on Kambia, SLA forces were inadequately equipped and numbered too few to resist the RUF offensive. During the attack, RUF forces killed a popular Islamic cleric who had identified one of the RUF members. An unknown number of people were abducted but released the same day. RUF members looted around 250 houses, burnt down eight houses and stole rice; the Rice Research Station was also severely looted.

On 23 February 1996, peace talks between the RUF and the NPRC leadership commenced in Abidjan, the commercial and administrative centre of Cote d'Ivoire. Between 23 and 26 February 1996, RUF forces attacked Kamakwie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom, Bombali District), at the eastern end of the road axis from Madina and Kukuna. On 25 February, RUF forces attacked Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom). During the attack, the RUF forces burnt down between 30 and 50 houses and looted extensively. The brother of a prominent politician was shot dead by RUF forces and an old woman

³⁹⁴ See factual analysis Bombali District in 1996 for further information.

and a baby were burnt to death in one of the houses. From Kukuna, RUF forces went to Makindota (Tonko Limba Chiefdom), moving to their base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District) on 28 February 1996.

Three months later, in May 1996, Guinean forces set up a base in Madina (Magbema Chiefdom), where they stayed for about six months, working together with a locally mobilised civil defence, ³⁹⁵ as RUF forces began moving towards the northern part of the District along the Guinean border. During this period, Guinean forces patrolled all around the Madina - Kukuna route.

The Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF leadership signed the Abidjan Peace Accord on 30 November 1996. This provided for the immediate and total cessation of hostilities.³⁹⁶

c) Events in 1997

A small RUF force again attacked Madina on 18 May 1997. Using a red Toyota Hi-Lux stolen in the prior attack on Madina, they took medicine, clothes, generators and furniture from the Catholic Mission. The stolen property was taken to the main road leading to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District) and then to the Ro-Source base (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District). RUF forces attacked Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom) on the same day.

On 25 May 1997, elements of the SLA staged a successful coup and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC); soon after, the AFRC leadership joined with the RUF. Shortly after the coup, RUF forces based in Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District) moved on to Tonko Limba Chiefdom to establish a base in Yibaya, ³⁹⁷ a village in the centre of the chiefdom less than 10 miles from the international border with the Republic of Guinea. The RUF established another base south of Yibaya at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District). Yibaya was the first seat of the joint RUF/AFRC command in Kambia District. There were few attacks on civilians in the area surrounding Yibaya, primarily for fear for provoking Guinean forces to return to Madina. Yibaya would be the launch point for attacks on the main towns in Kambia District.

Shortly before the signing of the Conakry Peace Plan on 23 October 1997, around 500 RUF/AFRC members under the command of a senior member of the RUF/AFRC leadership carried out "Operation Stay in Madina" (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). A young man was appointed by the RUF/AFRC as Town Chief and was put in control of revenue-generating activities. This led to a general escalation of ill-treatment of the civilian population by the RUF/AFRC forces in the villages surrounding Madina. RUF/AFRC forces stole civilian property, beat civilians, raped women and forced young and strong men to carry stolen items. The RUF/AFRC forces established a "Combat Camp" in Kamba (Masungbala Chiefdom), where many important commanders came to deploy their forces all over Kambia District. RUF/AFRC forces also established a checkpoint four miles south of Madina at Nuemeya Mabande village to screen road traffic through the "Mene Curve" route from Port Loko to Kambia.

³⁹⁷ Also spelt Yibaia.

³⁹⁵ The affiliation of these civil defence people, if any, is unknown.

³⁹⁶ See factual analysis for the Western Area in 1996 for further information.

In Kamba, an unknown number of members of the Dina Ba Yeh Sor³⁹⁸ religious group were accused by the RUF/AFRC commander of stealing 15 gallons of palm oil from the nearby village of Banka Makunloh (Masumgbala Chiefdom). They were stripped, tied up and beaten unconscious³⁹⁹ by four members of an RUF Small Boy Unit. The captives were then swung "like a hammock" and thrown away. News of this incident quickly spread through Masungbala and Tonka Limba Chiefdoms, prompting many civilians to cooperate with the RUF/AFRC, taking on roles such as load carriers and public relations officers for fear of the consequences of non-cooperation.

d) Events in 1998

Between 6 and 12 February 1998, ECOMOG forces entered Freetown and removed the RUF/AFRC forces from the bulk of the Western Area. In March 1998, ECOMOG commenced provincial operations: in brief, within four days of commencement, ECOMOG forces had taken control of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District), Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom, Bombali District), Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and locations in Koinadugu District. ECOMOG then moved into Kono District, taking full control of Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District) in early April 1998, by which time they had also moved as far east as Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District).

RUF forces moved from their base at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Kambia District, advancing into Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom) on 12 February 1998. In Barmoi, RUF/AFRC forces burnt down eight houses, abducted 50 civilians and forced them to carry stolen property. Another RUF/AFRC commander was left in charge in Barmoi and the former commander moved on to attack Kambia Town on 14 February 1998. In Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom), the RUF/AFRC forces killed eight men, stole a large amount of property and burnt down a large number of houses. On 19 February 1998, the same force simultaneously assaulted Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) and Mange (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District), overcoming ECOMOG forces deployed in Mange and pushing them back into BKM Chiefdom.

Guinean ECOMOG forces deployed from the Republic of Guinea to Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom) at some point in late February or early March 1998. On 23 February, youths in Kambia Town captured and burnt alive two RUF members in retaliation for an attack on Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom), where RUF/AFRC forces had disrupted the town market. Another two captives were handed over to the Guinean forces.

At this time, RUF/AFRC forces were already based in Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom). On 8 April 1998, an important conference occurred between many commanders in Madina. It was during this meeting that the AFRC High Command planned the operation "Stay in Kambia", but the plan was later executed on 11 February 1999. Following the conference, the RUF/AFRC field commander gathered the town residents together and asked them for support. He also stated that civilians should report to him any incidences of violence committed by RUF/AFRC members; any

³⁹⁸ Little is known about this group.

³⁹⁹ The RUF/AFRC commander specified that the accused should be beaten until they were in "free engine".

⁴⁰⁰ See factual analysis for Port Loko District in 1998 for further information.

⁴⁰¹ AFP, 16 March 1998.

⁴⁰² AFP, 23 February 1998.

RUF/AFRC members caught carrying out such activities would be shot on sight. On 15 April, the RUF/AFRC commander executed two RUF/AFRC child combatants who had reportedly raped a woman in the village of Gboray Laya (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). The two corpses were buried in a single grave behind the Madina town market. After this event, RUF/AFRC forces tied up a Sierra Leone police officer, placed him in the boot of a car and left it in the sun; he was later released.

Residents of Banka Makunloh (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) who had crossed into Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom (Port Loko District) requested⁴⁰³ the Gbethi Society to provide them with security. On 24 August 1998, Gbethis (CDF) from Port Loko District attacked RUF/AFRC forces stationed at Katherie⁴⁰⁴ (Tonka Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District), killing an RUF/AFRC captain. RUF/AFRC forces retaliated by capturing and decapitating 15 residents of Katherie, subsequently placing their severed heads on poles at the town entrance points. During the attack, three civilians had their hands and ears amputated by RUF/AFRC forces. Others, including a three year-old baby, were wounded when RUF/AFRC members attacked them with bladed weapons.

From 12 September to early October 1998, the RUF/AFRC command based in Madina focused activity on Tonko Limba Chiefdom, attacking the villages of Yibaya, Kathantinah, Kakula, Kamabala, Kasengeta, Kabasa, Kamasasa, Katimbo and Kakonteh. During the attacks on Yibaya, Kathantinah and Kakula, RUF/AFRC forces killed 16 civilians. These three villages were occupied by Guinean ECOMOG forces on or around 16 September 1998.

In Kamabala (Tonka Limba Chiefdom) RUF/AFRC forces, who had earlier infiltrated the town disguised as IDPs, mistreated and killed eight people. RUF/AFRC forces impaled the son of a prominent elder on a sharpened pole, and bayoneted another woman in the right leg for refusing to pay them money. RUF/AFRC forces burnt down all the grass houses in the village before heading into the bush to collect money from village residents who had fled the attack. In Kakonteh (Tonka Limba Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces cut a finger off a young mother and injured her with blows to the head from a cutlass when she stopped them from decapitating her baby. An unknown number of others were killed during the attack and all the houses but one were burnt. In Kangawala (Tonka Limba Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces abducted, raped and then released a number of women. In Katimbo (Tonka Limba Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces injured a man with blows to the head from a machete and amputated a hand each from two other civilians. In early October 1998, a land dispute broke out between the villages of Yibaya and Kakula (both Tonka Limba Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces stationed in Yibaya assisted residents to occupy the disputed land, meeting resistance from the people of Kakula; in the resulting battle, 16 people were killed.

On 28 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces staged a surprise attack on Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom). Guinean ECOMOG forces stationed in Kukuna engaged the RUF/AFRC forces and, receiving reinforcements, repelled the RUF/AFRC from the town. RUF/AFRC forces killed 13 civilians, around seven of whom died from blood loss following the amputation of one or more

⁴⁰³ It is reported that the Gbethis accepted money for this service.

⁴⁰⁴ Also known as Malikia Katherie.

⁴⁰⁵ AFP, 16 September 1998.

⁴⁰⁶ The woman and her child were both taken to the government hospital in Kambia.

limbs. 407 RUF/AFRC forces abducted 10 civilians, and burnt down around 60 houses. Much of the public infrastructure, including the Court Barrie and health facilities, were also destroyed during the battle. Following the attack, it is reported in general terms that Guinean ECOMOG began hunting for RUF/AFRC collaborators.

In the light of this attack, in the final months of 1998, Guinean forces decided to launch artillery attacks on RUF/AFRC positions in Sella Limba Chiefdom (Bombali District). After 22 October, Guinean ECOMOG deployed 3,000 troops along the border with Sierra Leone, and a further 1,000 into Kambia District, including Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom).⁴⁰⁸

From October onwards, RUF/AFRC forces moved toward the south-west of the District, occupying Rosinor (Samu Chiefdom), a small town situated along the banks of the Great Scarcies River. Rosinor is also a key trading and transit point from where produce is taken to Guinea for sale. RUF/AFRC forces entered the town along the river from the direction of Rokupr. They first fired into the air to frighten the town residents and then stole property from the wharf area of Rosinor. RUF/AFRC forces frequently made such raids, forcing civilians to hide their belongings in the bush surrounding the town. In December, RUF/AFRC forces requested the traditional authorities of Rosinor to find them accommodation in the town and eventually occupied two large houses. RUF/AFRC forces taxed each resident of Rosinor two cups of rice and Le 2,000. 409 Those defaulting were locked up in a cell, or had essential household items like cooking utensils and pots taken away until they paid. RUF/AFRC forces established two checkpoints in Rosinor, one at the wharf and another at Yomkeleya (Samu Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC members below 15 years of age patrolled the wharf area and taxed alighting boats a sum of between Le 10,000 and Le 20,000 depending on their destination. RUF/AFRC forces stole bags of rice and other property from traders passing through the Rosinor stretch of the river while those at the Yomkeleya checkpoint collected money from vehicles entering the town. More junior RUF/AFRC members took each day's stolen property for collection at the house of the RUF/AFRC commanding officers. The RUF/AFRC command in Rosinor established a guardhouse where RUF/AFRC members caught committing serious crimes 410 would be beaten and imprisoned for a few days without rations.

At the end of 1998, a substantial number of the RUF/AFRC forces deployed in Kambia District headed to Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to support the attack on Makeni and then the assault on Freetown. The Madina brigade was moved to Makeni, leaving behind a skeleton force in Madina.

e) Events in 1999

RUF/AFRC forces invaded Freetown between 6 and 20 January. In preparation for the 6 January invasion of Greater Freetown, RUF/AFRC force staged preliminary attacks in late December on

⁴¹⁰ It is not specified what constituted a serious crime.

⁴⁰⁷ Amputation detail only. All Africa News, 30 September 1998.

⁴⁰⁸ BBC, 25 October 1998.

⁴⁰⁹ As a very rough guide, one million leones is approximately equivalent to 500 USD. This should be placed in the context of Sierra Leone's position at the bottom of the Human Development Index: between 1991 and 2000, 57% of the population lived on less than 1 USD (2.000 SLL) per day and 74.5% lived on less than 2 USD (4.000 SLL) per day: see UNDP Human Development Report 2003, http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/indicator/cty_f_SLE.html, last visited on 30 December 2003.

towns in Port Loko District and the Western Area, including Port Loko Town, Ro-Gberray (both Maforki Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), Masiaka, Songo (both Koya Chiefdom), Newton (Koya RD, Western Area) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). Also in late December, the towns of Makeni (Bombali Sebora, Bombali District) and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District) were occupied by the RUF/AFRC. ECOMOG forces pushed the RUF/AFRC back from Freetown to Waterloo, where they remained in force until at least 25 February 1999. RUF/AFRC forces retained control over the arterial routes from the Western Area running through Port Loko District throughout this time. During January, Kambia District remained a key destination for IDPs and humanitarian organisations continued to ship relief supplies to Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom). Throughout February, the RUF/AFRC occupied all the key towns in Kambia District and imposed an extensive system of house, traffic and trade taxation in those areas.

On 5 February, an RUF/AFRC member at Rosinor (Samu Chiefdom) beat and tortured a well-known riverboat captain by making knife cuts on his back and dripping rum onto the wounds.

RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom) on 11 February 1999, engaging Guinean ECOMOG forces at a checkpoint along the route. The RUF/AFRC established a base in Kambia Town, where they remained until late May 2001. Many of the town's residents and those of nearby villages towards Guinea, passing through Gbinleh Dixon Chiefdom towards the Pamelap border crossing. On entering Kambia Town, RUF/AFRC forces targeted prominent SLPP supporters and organisers in the town; they also burnt down many houses and stole property. Guinean ECOMOG forces established checkpoints near Kambia Town and at the bridge over the Great Scarcies River, intermittently firing artillery at RUF/AFRC positions in the town. The primary result of these bombardments was the destruction of civilian residences and other property.

RUF/AFRC forces informed those remaining in Kambia Town that they would not inflict havoc on the civilians in the town, as they may have heard from others. This reassured people, who began resettling in the towns and villages in the area. However, the RUF/AFRC forces soon started harassing people, asking them constantly for food and restricting their movement. To move from one point to another, people had to buy a "passport" from the RUF/AFRC forces, which initially cost Le 500 and later rose to Le 1,000. The rate of killing was not as high as the previous years and people were now mainly killed when they refused or were unable to give food or money. For example, in Kambia Town, a fisherman who came back from the sea without fish was killed by a member of the RUF/AFRC forces.

RUF/AFRC forces also attacked Mambolo Town (Mambolo Chiefdom), on the south bank of the Great Scarcies River, on 11 and 12 February. RUF/AFRC forces killed three civilians and raped one woman in front of her husband. They also looted shops and abducted civilians to carry the stolen property as they left the town towards Kamba, a village near Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom). Around this time, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Seed Multiplication Project near Mambolo, destroying much of the machinery and stealing around 5,000 bushels of rice, which they transported to Rokupr

Also on 11 February, RUF/AFRC forces entered Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom) searching for food items and valuable property. This mission was code-named "Operation Feed Yourself" and had not

(Magbema Chiefdom) and sold to traders.

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been designed to include the killing of civilians or the destruction of property. Two days later, RUF/AFRC forces retuned to Kukuna from the direction of Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces shot dead two civilians with mental health problems and raped a number of young women. A large amount of property was stolen. As a result of these actions, civilians fled from Kukuna to Guinea. While maintaining Madina as their Brigade headquarter, at some point after 13 February the RUF/AFRC deployed a force of between 20 and 50 in number to Kukuna.⁴¹¹

RUF/AFRC forces entered Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) on 25 February 1999 from the direction of Royanka and Kambia Town. Their entrance was unusual in that RUF/AFRC forces had tied pieces of white cloth around their heads and claimed to be seeking peace. Between Ahmaddiuua Muslim Secondary School and the wharf area of Rokupr, the town residents organised a procession to welcome the RUF/AFRC forces. The RUF/AFRC commander addressed a crowd in the Wongbo Hall, promising that any of his forces caught inflicting violence on civilians would be punished. By the beginning of March, however, the RUF/AFRC had commenced conscripting youths of the town into the RUF/AFRC and taking them to a training camp they had established at the nearby village of Kamba (Magbema Chiefdom). Residents of villages near Kamba were ordered to register with the RUF/AFRC command at Kamba, which meant that the village had to present at least Le 200,000 and a large amount of food and livestock to the RUF/AFRC command. With the exception of Rokupr Town, RUF/AFRC forces imposed a monthly tax of Le 1,000 per house in all villages in Magbema Chiefdom. RUF/AFRC forces publicly molested or confiscated the property of those who failed to pay the house tax.

At the beginning of March 1999, RUF/AFRC forces returned to Mambolo (Mambolo Chiefdom), and established a base in the town. As they had done in Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) on 25 February, RUF/AFRC forces entered the town peacefully, singing and dancing and claiming to want peace. Nevertheless, RUF/AFRC members stripped those civilians that joined the dance of quality clothing and jewellery. RUF/AFRC forces quickly occupied a number of houses in the town and established checkpoints at the Mambolo Wharf and on the Mange (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Mateite (Mambolo Chiefdom) Highway. To assist them with the administration of the town, the RUF/AFRC command also appointed numerous chairpersons and secretaries from among the town's residents. While in Mambolo, the RUF/AFRC stole civilian building materials and started rebuilding the Mambolo Jetty, constructing a number of roundabouts on which they painted the faces of the RUF/AFRC leadership.

Guinean ECOMOG forces counter-attacked RUF/AFRC forces in Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom) between 12 and 18 March, seizing parts of the town. The attacks were in response to reports that RUF/AFRC forces had taken control of a customs point on the border at Gbalamya (Gbinleh Dixon Chiefdom) and had advanced on the town of Pamelap, just across the border from Kambia Town. Town.

⁴¹¹ The command of the detachment in Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom) rotated a number of times between 1999 and 2001.

⁴¹² Kamba is about 8 miles north east of Rokupr, across the Mange-Kambia highway.

⁴¹³ The reason for this exception is unknown.

⁴¹⁴ AFP, 18 March 1999.

⁴¹⁵ African News Service, 12 March 1999.

Beginning in March, many RUF/AFRC came to Rosinor (Samu Chiefdom) from Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom), Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom, Bombali District) and other towns on the Great Scarcies River. They travelled northwards upriver, crossing the Guinean border and heading by night to the town of Dagagbay, the site of an important trade fair, where they robbed Guinean traders, killing those that tried to resist. At least until June, RUF/AFRC forces continued to come to Rosinor. The Guinean Government decided to strengthen its deployment of forces in towns like Bubuya, Koya and Funkdeh just within Sierra Leonean territory. Despite regular patrols and engagement with RUF/AFRC units at Rosinor, Guinean forces did not prevent RUF/AFRC forces from harassing civilians and stealing property. Indeed, the Guinean forces often turned back civilian river traders, suspecting them to be RUF/AFRC members. In general terms, whenever Guinean forces detected an RUF/AFRC unit travelling up river into Guinea, artillery fire would be brought to bear on the Great Scarcies River between Rosinor and Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom);many unidentified corpses were subsequently found floating in the river

On 16 May 1999, RUF/AFRC forces entered Kassirie (Samu Chiefdom) by motorboat from Mambolo (Mambolo Chiefdom). Kassirie is located at the mouth of the Great Scarcies River and, like other towns further upriver including Mambolo (Mambolo Chiefdom), Rokupr, Kambia (both Magbema Chiefdom) and Rosinor (Samu Chiefdom), is an important transit and trade route between Sierra Leone and Guinea. To frighten residents, RUF/AFRC forces fired in the air with AK-47s while going house-to-house kicking down doors and stealing property. A motorbike belonging to the local police post was also taken. The stolen property was loaded onto the motorbikes and taken to the RUF/AFRC base at Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces also attacked on Mapotolon (Samu Chiefdom), about 10 miles from Kassirie, where they captured two men.

In mid-May 1999, RUF/AFRC forces returning from missions in Port Loko District⁴¹⁶ captured six men from Rokamba (Masungbala Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC brigade commander later personally executed the six captives at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom).

Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May in the Togolese capital, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (Lomé Peace Agreement).

The second RUF/AFRC attack on Kassirie (Samu Chiefdom) occurred during the ceasefire period, in the evening of 11 June 1999. RUF/AFRC forces stole civilian property during the attack. Senior members of the RUF/AFRC command addressed the residents of Kassirie, informing them that they would punish any RUF/AFRC member who killed or stole. Shortly after this, the RUF/AFRC command in Kassirie appointed a civilian Chairperson to act as an intermediary, administering the collection of a monthly contribution to the RUF/AFRC from the civilian population. In early July, a helicopter gunship bombarded Kassirie, killing two civilians. On 16 July 1999, Guinean ECOMOG forces acting on information passed to them by residents of the town successfully ambushed

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⁴¹⁶ The RUF/AFRC Madina Brigade was involved in planning attacks in Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District) at this time.

RUF/AFRC forces entering Kassirie. ECOMOG forces killed at least three members of the RUF/AFRC and captured a number of others. RUF/AFRC forces retaliated in the following days and burnt down over 100 houses in Kassirie.

Following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, the RUF/AFRC began requiring the inhabitants of villages throughout Tonka Limba Chiefdom to pay money and feed the RUF/AFRC forces. On market day in Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom), which occurs every Friday, RUF/AFRC forces levied Le 500 and three cups of rice or oil from each house; those who defaulted were ill-treated. For example, at Kasuroh village, just north of Madina, RUF/AFRC forces broke the leg of an old man who refused to let them take his livestock. In Mapotolon (Samu Chiefdom), local youths responded to this ill-treatment by killing a number of RUF/AFRC members in the village. The RUF/AFRC forces in Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) launched a heavy attack on Mapotolon in retaliation, surrounding the village and burning down every residence.

On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone, to replace the previous observer mission and assist with the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement. ⁴¹⁷ The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) commenced deployment with the arrival of advance teams on 29 and 30 November; ⁴¹⁸ 4,500 UNAMSIL were troops were present in Sierra Leone by 10 January 2000. ⁴¹⁹

f) Events in 2000

In late April, UNAMSIL commenced long-range patrols in Kambia District, particularly around the border areas. UNAMSIL plans to continue deployments into Kambia District were interrupted when the RUF/AFRC disarmed and detained around 300 UNAMSIL peacekeepers in different locations across Sierra Leone. In early May 2000, RUF/AFRC forces disarmed a 100 strong Nigerian UNAMSIL contingent near Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom). They were released in Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) a few days later.

The RUF/AFRC moved the Kambia Brigade headquarters to Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) at some point in early 2000. On 26 May 2000, a Sierra Leone Government helicopter gunship bombarded Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), killing three people and wounding two others. Shortly before this, around late March or early April 2000, the same gunship had dropped leaflets telling the RUF to surrender and disarm to UNAMSIL, warning that the next time it would be bombs, ⁴²⁰ not leaflets. This practice was also carried out in Bombali and Tonkolili Districts. RUF/AFRC forces would shoot at civilians attempting to take one of the leaflets. After 26 May 2000, the helicopter gunship came regularly, which resulted in civilian deaths in Rokupr, Kambia Town (both Magbema Chiefdom) and Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). This continued until June 2000, when the Guinean forces bombarded Rokupr on numerous occasions, killing up to 17 civilians.

⁴¹⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999).

⁴¹⁸ BBC Online News, 29 November 1999.

⁴¹⁹ IRIN West Africa, 11 January 1999.

⁴²⁰ The leaflets refer specifically to Gatling machine guns, 57mm rockets, 23mm guns and 30mm grenades, accompanied by a picture of a Mi-24 "Hind" helicopter gunship.

In June 2000, RUF/AFRC forces harassed civilians in Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom). On 15 June, a member of the RUF/AFRC started beating any civilians who would not hand over their bicycles to him. Three days later, a man who had defaulted on a daily payment to the RUF/AFRC was beaten 300 times with an axe handle by RUF/AFRC members. He passed out and was then detained in a large box before being released.

Guinean forces started reinforcing the border areas and continued to bombard RUF/AFRC positions in Kambia District. The RUF/AFRC also established a "Combat Camp" at Gbalamuya (Gbinleh Dixon) using forces redeployed from Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom), Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom, Bombali District). On 6 or 8 September 2000, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Pamelap on the border in Guinea, stealing property and forcing people to carry the items back to Kambia Town and Madina. Two well-known Italian Xavarian missionary priests were also abducted at Pamelap and taken to Madina, where they were allowed by the RUF/AFRC command to continue their work. They were released at Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom, Bombali District), although the RUF/AFRC Kambia Brigade command was not informed, leading to a house-to-house search of Madina and surrounding villages, and a wave of arrests of RUF/AFRC officers. Those arrested were taken to Kamakwie, where they were severely beaten with canes with razor blades embedded in them.

The RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Pamelap on 10 October 2000. 421 Guinean forces reacted to the RUF/AFRC military activities in the Guinean towns of Pamelap, Moola and Tassin by bombarding all the towns along the Great Scarcies River from Pamelap and Madina Woula, Kassirie, Rosinor (both Samu Chiefdom), Rokupr, Kambia (both Magbema Chiefdom), Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom) and some locations in Gbinleh Dixon Chiefdom. Sustained periods of bombardment of these locations continued throughout October, as did. RUF/AFRC attacks within Guinean territory. During those attacks, RUF/AFRC forces killed or abducted many civilians and burnt down many houses. The entire Kambia District remained firmly under RUF/AFRC control.

In November 2000, many civilians fled Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) to nearby villages, fearing the consequences of being unable to continue paying money to the RUF/AFRC forces, who became concerned as there were progressively fewer civilians to provide them with food. RUF/AFRC forces sent a civilian chairperson to order people to return to Rokupr, otherwise RUF/AFRC forces would start amputating their limbs, as a result of which many people travelled to Freetown by boat.

Throughout 2000, Gbethis (CDF) were based in BKM Chiefdom (Port Loko District), on the south bank of the Little Scarcies River. Intermittently, they came into Kambia District and engaged RUF/AFRC positions. Their presence was thus a threat for the RUF/AFRC forces, who on one occasion learnt that the Gbethis had crossed the river. They therefore went to Mapolon (Masungbala Chiefdom) to confront the Gbethis and a battle took place, during which over 100 people, including civilians, RUF forces and Gbethis were killed.

g) Events in 2001

⁴²¹ BBC Online News, 10 October 2000 (17:51 GMT 18:51 UK).

Guinean infantry and airborne operations against RUF/AFRC positions in Kambia District continued into 2001. The RUF command in Kambia District commenced regular "contact group" meetings with representatives of UNAMSIL. On 3 January, the RUF leader met with UNAMSIL force commander and invited UNAMSIL to deploy to Kambia District. On 12 January 2001, the RUF opened the road between Mange (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom) 423. The road bridge over the Little Scarcies River would not be open until 22 March 2001 since it had been damaged significantly. On 25 February, the first formal UNAMSIL-RUF Contact Group meeting was held in Mange (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District). In early March, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees commenced negotiations with the RUF command and the Government of Guinea to create a demilitarised "humanitarian corridor" running from Forecariah through Pamelap and then Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom) to Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District). This would go some way to enable the secure passage of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Guinea to Sierra Leone.

On 22 March, the UNAMSIL force commander visited Rokupr and Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom) following the reopening of the bridge at Mange. As a result of this, UNAMSIL had expanded its patrols to cover Mange, Kambia and Rokupr by 30 March. In April, UNAMSIL gained access to Mambolo (Mambolo Chiefdom). At the ECOWAS-sponsored six monthly ceasefire review meeting held in Abuja, Nigeria, on 2 May, the RUF leadership agreed to withdraw from Kambia District by 30 May. Disarmament plans for Kambia and Port Loko Districts were also agreed upon in Abuja. Following this, UNAMSIL gained access to the towns of Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom) and Kukuna (Bramaia Chiefdom).

On 18 May, UNAMSIL opened a disarmament centre at Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom). A disarmament centre was also opened at the Court Barrie in Madina (Bramaia Chiefdom). On the same day, a Guinean helicopter gunship briefly bombarded Rokupr. The following day, the President of Sierra Leone and the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Sierra Leone travelled to Conakry to discuss the bombardment with the Guinean authorities, who said that their attack was "unfortunate" and was a consequence of a "communication gap". On 29 and 30 May, the 11th Battalion of the SLA and 30 SSD members deployed to Kambia Town. On 10 August 2001, a committee comprising representatives of the RUF, UNAMSIL and the Government of Sierra Leone declared disarmament complete in Kambia District.

⁴²² UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 5 January 2001.

⁴²³ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 12 January 2001.

⁴²⁴ UNAMSIL Press Release, 22 March 2001.

⁴²⁵ UN Security Council Press Release SC/7029, 8 March 2001.

⁴²⁶ UNAMSIL Press Release, 22 March 2001.

⁴²⁷ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 3 April 2001.

⁴²⁸ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 4 May 2001.

⁴²⁹ UNAMSIL Press Release, 19 May 2001.

⁴³⁰ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 22 May 2001.

⁴³¹ BBC Online News, 30 May 2001 (05:37 GMT 06:37 UK) and UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 1 June 2001.

⁴³² UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 14 August 2001.



3. Conclusion

** TO BE DRAFTED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE**

c. Koinadugu District

1. Introduction

Koinadugu District is located in the northwest of Sierra Leone. It shares a border with Guinea to the north and east, with Kono and Tonkolili Districts to the south and with Bombali District to the west. The town of Kabala is the Headquarter Town of Koinadugu District. There are eleven Chiefdoms in Koinadugu District:

Chiefdom Headquarter Town

Dembelia Sinkunia Sinkunia
Diang Kondembaia
Follosaba Dembelia Musaia
Mambolo (Kasunko) Fadugu

Mongo Mongo Bendugu

Neini Yiffin
Neya Krubola
Sengbe Yogomaia
Sulima Falaba
Wara Wara Bafodia Bafodia
Wara Wara Yagala Gbawuria

[geographical overview and summary of factual analysis to be drafted pending incorporation of comments from resource persons]

2. Factual Analysis

a) Events in 1992

On 29 April 1992, the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), led by Valentine Strasser and elements of the SLA, overthrew the government of the All Party Congress.

In the first half of 1992, Fadugu town (Mambolo) experienced an influx of civilians from Makeni town (Makari Gbanti, Bombali) and Kono District. On 2 May 1992 a local civilian militia was formed in Fadugu town (Mambolo). For this militia, local blacksmiths manufactured single-barrel shotguns known as "Chaka Bulla." Others were armed with sticks through which nails were driven, metal bars, axes and cutlasses. Reports indicate that the Government of Sierra Leone was setting up and recruiting for a civilian militia called the "Donsos," the headquarter of which was Koidu town (Gbense, Kono District). An unknown number of civilian militia from Mambolo chiefdom joined the Donsos.

In mid 1992 the SLA started reinforcing their positions in the eastern Chiefdoms of Neya and Mongo in the towns of Kumba Wullen Balia and Tumonia. In July 1992, in Mongo Bendugu

⁴³³ This town could be Tomania, Sengbe Chiefdom.

(Mongo), the Paramount Chief of Mongo met with a 12-man SLA unit and informed them that there was no problem with security in the entire chiefdom.

Between July and October 1992, SLA senior staff members visited all 11 chiefdoms in Koinadugu, urging local leaders to gather local hunters into a civilian defence movement. Paramount Chiefs recall receiving letters from the NPRC government echoing this request. At about the same time civilian militia started to be formed in various chiefdoms and were gathered to be trained by the SLA in the tactics of guerrilla warfare and ambushes in the headquarter town of Kabala, Wara Wara Yagala chiefdom. They were named the Tamoboros. They were to be used to fight alongside the SLA and SSD. The Tamaboros were operating under the political leadership of the then NPRC Minister of Defence, Mr. Komba Kambo. The field commander of the Tamaboros was Pa. Khanko Modi Samura, of Ghaya town in Sulima chiefdom. Local commanders were selected from the five tribes of Koinadugu, namely the Yalunka, Kuranko, Limba, Fullah and Madingo. In August 1992, 450 "Tamaboros" were deployed to confront RUF forces in Kono and Kailahun districts in the months following. It is likely that the bulk of deployment to Kono followed the RUF attacks on Koidu (Kono District) from 22-23 October 1992 onwards.

Recruitment to the Tamaboros continued through November and December 1992. In late November 1992, a member of the Sierra Leone Police entered the town of Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) with a message for the Section Chief from the Neini Paramount Chief ordering him to gather all hunters in the section and send them to Yiffin town within 7 days. Later, on 23 December 1992, 43 hunters left the town of Firiwa (Neini Chiefdom) for the town of Yiffin, further south in the Neini Chiefdom.

In September 1992, SLA forces were sent the headquarter town of every chiefdom in Koinadugu District. In September, at the SLA base in Yarawadu (or Yarawadugu, Neya Chiefdom), SLA troops detained a Guinean man suspected of being a member of the RUF. The hands and feet of the man were bound together behind his back, and he was suspended on a lateral stick, his head facing towards the ground. Within 24 hours the man had died. SLA forces ordered villagers of Yarawadu to bury the body, and blocked all roads out of the town until this was done.

For two weeks in November 1992, townspeople of Yiffin (Neini Chiefdom) saw large and continuous convoys of civilians travelling through the town. There were few vehicles. Those in the convoy said they were moving from Kono because of RUF attacks.

Across 1992 SLA forces were stationed on the border of Neya chiefdom with the Kono Chiefdoms of Toli, Lei and Sandor. There were SLA bases in the villages of Yarawadu and Durukoro to the extreme south-east, and in Kurubonla (Neya), Mansofinia (or Mansofenia, in Neya Chiefdom) on the main motorable road crossing the north of the chiefdom. The SLA soldiers were little paid or even unpaid for months, so there were some incidents of looting.

b) Events in 1993

In early 1993 there was a meeting in Yifin (Neini), between NPRC officials and the Chiefs to form a militia to help the NPRC government to fight the RUF. Following this, in 1993 the Tamaboros started to be deployed. Their effectiveness became a threat at government level where they were

perceived as a potential alternative source of power and therefore the then Minister of Defence Paul Nyuma prompted their dissolution.

In 1993 Tamaboros, moved to combat RUF forces in Kono District. The first battle took place in Sewafe River, in Kono District.

In June 1993, a group of SLA entered the village of Kumba Wullen Balia (Neya), abducted three people and took them to Tagbadu where they had to catch some animals to be slaughtered for food. The SLA forces left, releasing the people they had abducted.

On 15 September 1993 at a meeting in the community centre in Kabala town (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom) the Tamaboros were officially disbanded. Tamboros were given a half a sack of rice and some kerosene. The Paramount Chiefs were given a wall clock and a radio each.

c) Events in 1994

In March 1994 civilians fleeing Kono District started to arrive in the southern chiefdom of Neya, in the towns of Mansofinia and Kurubonla.

Following an attack on Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) on 1 November 1994, RUF forces moved eastwards along the main road through Bendugu (Sambaia Bendugu Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) towards Diang chiefdom and the town of Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom). This first group would attack Kabala by 7 November. A second RUF group would leave Mansofinia on 8 November and arrive in Alikalia by 11 November.

Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) was attacked by RUF forces moving from Bendugu (Sambaia Bendugu Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) between 1 and 5 November 1994. Two SLA soldiers organised local hunters, who were ordered by the Section Chief to gather their weapons, to move towards Bendugu (Sambaia Bendugu Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and ambush the advancing RUF forces. Two miles from Alikalia, this group engaged a large number of RUF forces, but were repelled by superior firepower and dispersed into the surrounding bush. RUF forces attacked Alikalia shortly after, burning 68 houses. Two members of the RUF forces were killed in the attack.

On 5 November 1994, a meeting was held in the southern town of Mansofinia (Neya Chiefdom) between RUF commanders during which an attack on Kabala Town was planned. This group would move north towards Kabala on 8 November.

Also on Saturday 5 November 1994 convoys of civilians moving from Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) passed through the town of Kondembaia (Diang Chiefdom) moving towards Kabala. Residents were informed that RUF were advancing on the town. SLA forces stationed in Kondembaia used long-range weapons to check the RUF advance, forcing a retreat to the town of Badala town on the Seli river, some 6 miles from Kondembaia. RUF forces had entered Badala earlier in the day, and had informed residents that they were safe, before commencing their attack. SLA forces moved towards Badala and blocked the bridge of over the Seli River, both halting the northward movement of RUF forces and preventing civilians from moving towards Kondembaia. Two hundred people were killed when RUF forces burned down the house they were in. The number of civilian deaths was high

because it was the Saturday market day (called "Lumor" locally). SLA troops were ultimately dislodged from the bridge.

Early on 6 November 1994 RUF forces departed Badala, and moved across the Seli river northwards towards Kabala, bypassing the town of Kondembaia, to where the SLA had retreated. They attacked a number of villages within a 10km area to the immediate south of Kabala. Surkurela (Dieng Chiefdom) and Kamadugu Sokurela (Neini Chiefdom) were attacked. RUF forces arrived in Fasowaya (or Fasawaia, Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom) early on 7 November and cooked a large amount of food. RUF forces were in three groups around the Fasawaya area. The first group was on a patch of farmland called Maworona, the second on the farm of Madam Fatmata Roko, and the third at a location called Centre Bolt's Garden.

In the afternoon of 7 November 1994, RUF forces moved from their Fasowaya encampment and attacked Kabala. Shortly before the attack, residents of Kabala recall hearing an announcement over the radio informing them that the SLA were about to test their AK47 rifles, and therefore nobody should worry. There was limited resistance from the small SLA contingent stationed in the town. Reports indicate that Guinean and Nigerian troops were also present. They would be reinforced on 11 November by SLA forces retreating from Kono District. During the attack, RUF forces killed a prominent former Tamaboro leader, beating him severely with metal bars before cutting his throat. At least four other civilians were killed by RUF forces. In addition to burning over 100 residences, RUF forces looted and destroyed public buildings, including the Police Barracks, the District Office, the District Council Hall and the hospital. Twenty civilians were abducted to carry stolen property. RUF forces also destroyed the businesses of many civilians thought to have been Tamaboros. Fleeing the battle much of the Kabala people fled the town of Kabala heading northeast towards Fadugu and Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) and also towards the town of Tomania (Mongo Chiefdom).

Following the attack, RUF forces left Kabala in the morning of 8 November 1994, moving directly southwards through the villages of Yisimaia (Sengbe Chiefdom), Fasawaya (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom) and Kamadugu Sokurela (Neini Chiefdom). In Fasawaya, 18 civilians were abducted to carry looted property. They continued southwards off the main motorable road, moving through Singbini (Neini Chiefdom) before veering westwards towards the town of Foria (Diang Chiefdom). A further 18 civilians were abducted in Singbina. Reports indicate that this RUF group, active in Diang chiefdom prior to the 7 November attack on Kabala, abducted over 3000 civilians.

By 10 November 1994, the RUF forces responsible for the attack on Kabala on 7 November reached Dondoya (Diang Chiefdom). Instead of taking the main motorable road from Foria (which continued south towards Alikalia and Yiffin) RUF forces headed to Darakuru (Diang). Darakuru is one of the main gold mining areas in Sierra Leone. RUF forces camped in Darakuru until 13 November 1994, during which time they received 300 ounces of gold from the residents of the village in return for not attacking Darakuru. This group of RUF moved into Tonkolili District.

RUF forces departed Mansofinia (Neya Chiefdom) on 8 November, moving to Yiffin on 9 November 1994. Before entering Alikalia on 9 November, RUF forces overpowered armed significant resistance from local militia. Eleven civilians and four local militia were killed by RUF

forces during this attack. Reports suggest that this second RUF group may have joined the RUF forces moving southwards towards Darakuru following the 7 November attack on Kabala.

d) Events in 1995

Throughout 1995, RUF and SLA activity was concentrated in the Neya chiefdom, to the extreme southeast of Koinadugu District. Across 1995, the RUF would push their line of operation westwards towards Freetown, staging large attacks on Moyamba Port Loko, Mile 91, Songo and Waterloo attacking Waterloo town in mid 1995. The RUF's presence in Koinadugu in 1995 was primarily a spillover from the war in Kono, where food supplies were running short.

"Food finding" missions were launched by both RUF and SLA forces around the towns of Mansofenia and Kurobonla, both on the main motorable road through Neya chiefdom. During RUF "Food finding" missions, there were incidents of rape and other violence against civilians, but nowhere near the intensity of the attacks in Neya, Neini and Diang chiefdoms in late 1994. In August 1995, a 50 civilian militia were mobilised in the south of Diang chiefdom. 434

On 16 February 1995, RUF forces arrived in Mansofinia (also Mansofenia, Neya) and requested to be fed and lodged by the villagers, who obliged. On 17 February, they abducted five villagers and moved to the village of Kamaya (Neya Chiefdom), arriving at towards midnight. Following a search of the village, RUF forces opened fire, rounding up the population of the village and performed a search of every residence. Early in the morning of 18 February, RUF forces had found and taken 15 five gallon tanks of palm oil, four bags of husk rice, two bags of husk groundnut, two bags of salt and one full bag of beans. On 19 February, villagers from Kamaya were ordered by the town chief to carry the stolen food items back to Mansofenia through Henekuma village (Neini Chiefdom). In Henekuma, more food items were stolen from villagers and two men were abducted to carry thm. On 20 February, the convoy returned to Mansofenia.

On 22 February 1995, RUF forces based in Mansofenia divided into two groups and also divided the property that had been taken the previous days. The first unit moved to nearby Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom). The second unit headed south towards Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District).

As a consequence of these incidents, the SLA were redeployed in the Southeastern chiefdom of Neya in the towns of Gberawalia and Kumba Wullen Balia. A number of incidents of looting by SLA forces are reporting between February and March 1995.

In February 1995, SLA forces entered the village of Nelikoro (also Nerekolo III, Neya chiefdom). Twenty civilian men were arrested and questioned about the location of livestock nearby the village. A farmer was tied up and forced to watch as his wife was raped by 5 members of the SLA. SLA forces then took some livestock and abducted an unknown number of Nelikoro residents to transport the livestock to Gberewaya (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District).

⁴³⁴ There is one report of an attack on Kabala, taken from a key person from another District, which is not corroborated by any record taken in Kabala town or in Koinadugu District, therefore it does not appear to be reliable.

In March 1995, SLA forces entered Kumba Wullen Balia. They abducted at least 5 civilians and took them to nearby Yirandu (Neya Chiefdom) where they were forced to kill and butcher a cow, and carry another cow suspended upside-down by its legs on a stick over their shoulders. Marching towards Mansofenia (Neya Chiefdom), SLA forces captured a further 5 civilians to assist with carrying the cow. On their arrival in Mansofenia (Neya Chiefdom), the civilians were locked in a building without food or water until the following day.

RUF forces came from Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom) to Mansofinia in May 1995 before moving to Seredu (Neya Chiefdom). In Seredu, they entered the town firing in the air, and arrested 10 women and 8 men. Many villagers fled into the surrounding bush. All 10 women were raped and then forced to fetch water and cook for the RUF forces. The men were forced to fetch firewood and palm wine. RUF forces also took palm oil, rice and poultry from farms in the surrounfing area. After five days, they returned to Yiraia, abducting 25 villagers from Seredu to carry property stolen in the previous days

In August 1995, reports reached the villages of Foria, Yanqulia, Soria and Kumunkaia (Diang Chiefdom) of renewed RUF activity in Yiffin town (Neini Chiefdom) and Neya chiefdom. All four villages are on the same road, running north to Kabala from Kono. Fifty hunters were mobilised, with only five single barrel guns between them.

Food finding missions by RUF units along the Mansofenia – Kurubonla road (Neya Chiefdom) continued into November and December 1995. RUF forces entered the town of Mansofinia on 13 October 1995 and took food items. The next day they also entered the villages of Kurubonla and Worokoro (Neya Chiefdom), searching for livestock. In December RUF forces again entered Mansofinia (Neya Chiefdom) and Daboroma, near Kurobonla. In Mansofinia they abducted 20 men and forced them to carry the loads to Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District) and also to Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom).

e) Events in 1996

In general, there RUF forces carried out raids in Neya Chiefdom and attacks on Foria and Aliakalia in Diang chiefom. There were frequent patrols from the town of Kurubonla into Mongo and Neya Chiefdoms. Food finding raids were carried out from Kaiyai (Sandor Chiefdom). The RUF forces had total freedom of movement throughout Neya chiefdom. RUF activity concentrated entirely in the southern chiefdoms, the most intense attack being on Foraya (Diang Chiefdom).

No incidences were recorded in first half of 1996. The first record of resumed RUF activities was a meeting in Kurubonla (Neya Chiefdom). On 13 June 1996, RUF forces commanded by three different commanders met in Kurubonla (Neya Chiefdom). A decision was made to split into two groups: one to go north to Bendugu (Mongo Chiefdom) and the other to head south to Mansadu, Kono District. Both groups claimed to be looking for a senior SLA officer. On 15 June 1996, the northern group headed towards Bengdugu (Mongo Chiefdom), staying in the village of Kamaron (Mongo Chiefdom), returning to Kuribonla (Neya Chiefdom) on 18 June. On 19 June, they departed Kurubonla for Koidu. During this mission, there were no reports of any violent incidents. The Chiefs of both Kamaron (Mongo Chiefdom) and Kuribonla (Neya Chiefdom) cooperated with the RUF forces, ordering villagers to provide food when requested by the RUF.

On 15 August 1996, RUF forces attacked Foraya (Diang Chiefdom) from Nyamulnya, (Diang Chiefdom) at the south end of the town. Foraya is on the main northern road to Kabala, between the towns of Alikalia and Kondembaia, both attacked heavily by RUF forces in 1994 prior to their attack on Kabala on 7 November. With five shotguns, civil militia mobilised in August 1995 managed to repel the RUF assault and capture three members of the RUF, who were taken to ECOMOG forces present in Alikalia. ECOMOG forces gave three AK47 rifles in exchange for the RUF prisoners. The fate of the prisoners is unknown.

The RUF forces moved from Kurabonla along the main towards Masadu (Mongo Chiefdom) on 15 September. In the evening they attacked the villages of Madine, Kumba Wullen Balia and Masandu. In Madine, two houses were burnt down, one man was shot dead, 10 men arrested and property was taken.

On 5 November 1996, RUF forces attacked Alikalia (Neini) RUF forces looted property, burnt houses and killed 13 civilians. RUF forces also raped an unknown number of women.

On 26 November, armed RUF forces arrived in Kurubonla from Kaiamy (Sandor Chiefdom) from Kono and stayed overnight in the village. The town chief provided them with food. On 27 November 1996, they moved south eastwards through the villages of Marilia (Neya Chiefdom) and Toria (Neya Chiefdom). In Toria, the village was surrounded and all the houses searched. Food items were taken and 25 villagers were abducted to carry the load back to Kurobonla, where the Chief offered the commander one cow for the safe return of the Toria abductees. From Kurobonla, the RUF unit moved to Mansofenia, where the 25 abductees from Toria were released. The Unit continued towards Kayia (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District).

In December 1996, 437 RUF forces attacked Mansofinia where they arrested 20 young men and forced them to carry loads of property to Kaiyma, in Kono district.

On 12 December 1996, RUF forces attacked Foraya (Diang Chiefdom) from the village of Kulanko (Neini Chiefdom) using heavy machine guns, mortars and RPGs. ECOMOG forces, SLA and local militia engaged the RUF, but were repelled and retreated from the town northwards towards Badala, a crossing point over the Seli river. RUF forces killed one SLA soldier and captured one Nigerian ECOMOG soldier, about whom there is no further information.

f) Events in 1997⁴³⁸

In April 1997, RUF forces established a base in Serekolia (Mongo Chiefdom). Then they moved on to attack Dolar⁴³⁹ and moved south to Kurubonla (Neya chiefdom. The ECOMOG forces occupied Kabala and moved on to Koinadugu, Sengbe chiefdom, searching for RUF forces.

⁴³⁵ It is possible that this incident took place at a hill called Gbakan, but this is not marked on the maps and requires further clarification.

⁴³⁶ It is not clear from the record whether this offer was accepted.

⁴³⁷ More clarification is required from the records on the date, specifically when during December this happened.

⁴³⁸ The records contain contradictory information on what happened in Koinadugu District in 1997. This whole section therefore requires further clarification, including verification through open source research.

In May 1997, RUF forces left Sengbe chiefdom towards a bordering chiefdom, apparently escaping from the advance of ECOMOG troops. Chasing the RUF forces the ECOMOG troops attacked Gberefeh (Sengbe Chiefdom) and Dolar⁴⁴⁰ to unseat the RUF/AFRC bases. During this month, CDF captured some members of the RUF and took them to the ECOMOG base in Mongo chiefdom.⁴⁴¹ The RUF/AFRC forces counterattacked in Serekolia and Gberefeh where they engaged in a battle against the Tamaboros.

There were RUF/AFRC bases in Sereya (Mongo Chiefdom), whose presence caused people to flee to Guinea. 442

In meantime, in the south eastern chiefdom of Neya, RUF forces attacked a number of towns, including Kurubonla, Porpon and Henekum, and set bases in Yiraia, Bendu, Kulia, Kumba Wullen Balia, Nerekoro, Mansofinia, Yarawalu and Konkowaboro. In these places they continued looting, killing and abducting people to carry their loads.⁴⁴³

In June 1997, senior RUF/AFRC commanders were based in Koinadugu town (Sengbe Chiefdom), where their men captured 80 young men, they raped women and girls in the bush and they killed 98 people. Then they moved on to Dankawali. 444

In June RUF/AFRC forces coming from Mongo and Neya Chiefdoms, went to Freetown, passing through the towns of Kurubonla and Mansofinia. In Mansofinia RUF/AFRC formed the G 5, mixed units of RUF forces and civilians who were charged with various administrative functions, and stayed in the district.⁴⁴⁵

In July 1997, RUF/AFRC forces occupied the eastern part of the District in Neya, Mongo and Sengbe chiefdoms, attacked many towns and villages and they planned the attack on Kabala town, at the time a stronghold of ECOMOG and CDF. The battle took place on 27 July 1997. 446

On 17 September 1997, RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Kabala. The RUF forces did not meet any resistance from SLA and many people were killed. The next day the SLA, who had apparently delayed fighting the RUF forces for strategic reasons, started firing on their position killing many RUF forces and their commander, who was subsequently buried in one of the main mass graves.

On 19 September 1997, an RUF commando group left Mansofinia and headed to Kulero. On the way, they attacked Sumaworia and Sondordu (both in Neya Chiefdom). In Sumaworia, they abducted everyone in the town, including men, women and children. The women were then taken

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⁴³⁹ The location of this town is not clear, although it is likely to be either Mongo or Sengbe Chiefdom.

⁴⁴⁰ The location of this town is not clear, although it is likely to be either Mongo or Sengbe Chiefdom.

⁴⁴¹ More information is required from the records about the location of the ECOMOG base in this chiefdom.

⁴⁴² More information is required from the records on this matter.

⁴⁴³ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁴⁴ This requires more detail, in particular whether all of these incidents took place on one day or over the month of June.

⁴⁴⁵ More information is required from the records here about the "G5" system.

⁴⁴⁶ More detail is required from the records about this battle and these incidents.

into empty houses and raped, while their husbands were forced to watch. Similar incidents took place in Sondordu. During that month a group, coming from Kumba Wullen Balia, attacked Kilimendu and Mansadu.

The RUF/AFRC forces operated in Neya chiefdom until the end of September 1997 in the towns of Kurubonla, Sangabania, Kamaron and Bumbunkoro, where they abducted everybody and forced men and women to work for them. During the night, women were raped all over the town. 447

In October one AFRC group attacked the towns of Koromandor and Kumba Wullen Balia. During the same month in Sengbe chiefdom a fight took place between two senior RUF/AFRC commanders, as a result of which one left the chiefdom. In November 1997, the RUF forces went from Makeni to Fadugu, Mangolo chiefdom, while in the first half of December another group of RUF forces attacked Kondodalema, Sangbania and Kurubonla in Neya Chiefdom.

RUF forces attacked Mansonia (Neya Chiefdom) on 26 December 1996, where they held a meeting and asked the people for food. On this occasion, they beat people and raped women. After four days they left the town forcing men and women to carry the loot to Kurubonla, where five vehicles came to collect them and left to Safaru in Kono district.⁴⁴⁸

In December 1997, AFRC, RUF and G5 were based in Sengbe chiefdom where they took property, abducted and beat people. The people were forced to cook, wash their cloths and build guard-posts. They were also sent in search of food. Many people would be flogged, especially when the RUF forces had casualties in a battle. RUF forces destroyed roads and bridges.⁴⁴⁹

g) Events in 1998

Intense RUF/AFRC activity and food finding missions staged from the two towns of Mansofenia and Kurobonla on the main motor road though Neya chiefdom continued. Following ECOMOG intervention, "Operation Pay Yourself", during which RUF forces stole property in many different locations at the same time, was reported across Neini, Diang, Sebeneh chiefdoms.

In early January, a 20-man RUF/AFRC unit entered the village of Kumba Wullen Baia. In nearby Bola Mamburia, RUF forces temporarily detained 15 people and took property from their premises. A man and his son were shot dead for refusing to carry loads of property. The unit left Kumba Wullen Baia for the RUF base at Mansofenia.

At some point before 5 January 1998, a 50-man RUF/AFRC unit entered Kuronbonla (Neya Chiefdom), describing their mission to the town Chief, as a "routine patrol". On 5 January, they left Kuronbonla heading southeast towards Yarawadugu (Neya Chiefdom), a border town with both the Republic of Guinea and Toli chiefdom (Kono District). On their arrival in Yarawadugu, RUF/AFRC forces sealed off the roads, fired shots in the air and went house-to-house removing the occupants and taking them into the streets. The Section Chief offered the RUF/AFRC forces some livestock to feed them for the duration of their stay.

⁴⁴⁷ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁴⁸ More detail is required from the records about this attack.

⁴⁴⁹ More detail is required from the records about this attack.

Around midday on 12 January, RUF forces used a machete to cut off four fingers from the right hand of the Section Chief. An unknown number of civilians in the town were whipped and beaten by RUF forces, who looted extensively. Twenty-six men and 15 women, all civilians, were forced to carry the looted property. RUF forces burned down four houses before departing Yarawadugu.

Between 12 and 13 January 1998, this RUF unit returned to Kurubonla from Yarawadugu passing through the villages of Tilikoro, Fasombnuya, Sandia, Tenkeya, Toroya and Marliya. In Tilikoro, two men were caught and their property taken away. In Fasonbnuya, three men were caught, and property including radios, casette tapes and a gun was taken. Five houses were also burned down. Many houses in other towns were also burnt down, including 10 in Sandia, two in Tenkeya, 10 in Toraya and 6 in Marliya. On 13 January, the unit arrived in Kurubonla, whereupon the people who had been abducted to carry stolen property on the patrol were released. A truck from the RUF base at Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom) was provided to carry the 50 man unit back to Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District).

On 15 January 1998, RUF forces burned a total of 11 houses in the villages of Dunamara, Fandala and Henekuma (all Neya Chiefdom) en route from Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District) to Mansofenia (Neya Chiefdom). In Mansofenia, RUF forces began to burn houses. Villagers report begin surprised, having been informed earlier by one of the RUF commanders that Mansofenia was an RUF base. That RUF commander shot dead another RUF commander with a pistol. 450

In February 1998, the combined forces of the ARFC and the RUF were driven out of Freetown by the Nigerian-led ECOMOG intervention force.

After 14 February 1998, a 1000-man RUF/AFRC unit known as "Junta One" arrived in Fadugu (Mambolo HQ town) and proceeded to attack many surrounding villages as part of "Operation Pay Yourself". Attacks were made upon Kagbasia, Kafogo, Kassasie, Thankorosidia, Madina, Kasandakoro, Kakayo and Kamanda. 451

On 15 February 1998, ECOMOG forces entered Fadugu town forcing ARFC/RUF forces to retreat towards Kabala. Fadugu town became the focus point for surrenders by RUF/AFRC forces present in the surrounding villages, as a result of which ECOMOG set up a screening process. At least two killings of surrendered RUF/AFRC forces by ECOMOG soldiers are recorded. ECOMOG cooperated with the CDF to set up a town defence plan that included civilians.

CDF forces had made the main route between Magburaka and Koidu impassable to retreating RUF/AFRC forces, so the main route used was through Bumbuna (Kalansogoia, Tonkolili) and Bendugu (Sambaia Bendugu, Tonkolili) into Neini chiefdom. After 14 February 1998, a large convoy of RUF/AFRC vehicles moved through the towns of Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) and Yiffin (Neini Chiefdom) through towards Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District). In both Alikalia and Yiffin,

⁴⁵⁰ More detail is required from the records on this.

⁴⁵¹ More detail is required from the records on these attacks.

⁴⁵² More detail is required from the records on the screening process.

until early March 1998, there are reports of continual harassment of civilians and their property being taken by RUF/AFRC forces as part of "Operation Pay Yourself".

Throughout March and April 1998 in Sebeneh chiefdom, the number of RUF/AFRC forces present grew. There are also reports of continual looting of civilian property and expropriation of dwellings to house RUF/AFRC forces and their families. Civilians in Kalkoia (Sengbeh Chiefdom) report seeing small ECOMOG patrols shortly after the arrival of the main ECOMOG 2nd Battalion reached Kabala in early March. Shortly after ECOMOG arrived in Kabala, RUF/AFRC forces occupied the town of Serekolia (Mongo Chiefdom).

After 13 March 1998, ECOMOG forces commanded by entered the town of Alikalia from the north. A company of ECOMOG forces remained in Alikalia, whilst a platoon was dispatched to Yiffin town (Neini Chiefdom), in pursuit of RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG met little resistance on entering Yiffin. In both Yiffin and Alikalia, ECOMOG forces and Section Chiefs accepted the surrender of unknown numbers of RUF/AFRC forces, who were issued with documents identifying them and then sent to Kabala or Makeni for further questioning by ECOMOG.

Immediately after entering both Yiffin and Alikalia, ECOMOG met with the Section Chiefs and requested that hunters be gathered together to assist ECOMOG troops. In Alikalia, 50 hunters were rapidly assembled and registered at the ECOMOG base. ECOMOG firstly provided training to those who registered in how to use an AK-47 rifle, and secondly ordered those trained to search the bush around Alikalia town for RUF/AFRC forces.

By 14 March 1998, ECOMOG troops had deployed to the northern town of Sinkunia (Dembelia Sinkunia Chiefdom) to the North of Kabala. Civilians in nearby Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) report arresting and tying up a local ARFC leader and handing him over to ECOMOG forces in Sinkunia. After 14 March 1998, ECOMOG forces arrived in Falaba town.

On 26 March 1998, an RUF/AFRC unit attacked the town of Kosaba in the Republic of Guinea, bordering Mondo chiefdom The previous day this unit abducted 40 civilian men in Kamaron and Kiridu (both in Mongo Chiefdom) to guide them through to Kosaba. Two civilians were killed during the attack. RUF/AFRC forces took items like foam mattresses, guns, radios and foodstuffs from Kosaba. The abductees were forced to carry the looted property back to the RUF/AFRC base in Mansofenia.

On 28 March 1998, ECOMOG forces stationed in Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) received reports of an RUF/AFRC buildup to the south of the town. A young boy reported that RUF/AFRC forces had captured his friend and killed him as a ritual sacrifice. An ECOMOG armoured car fired from Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) in the direction of Alia (Alieya Chiefdom) village. In the early hours of the morning on 29 March, RUF/AFRC forces responded and attacked Falaba town with heavy machine guns and RPGs, killing 18 civilians, looting and burning down over 50 houses. ECOMOG withdrew to their pre-existing position in Sinkunia. Falaba was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces again on 3 April, thereby securing RUF/AFRC control of Falaba until the arrival of Guinean troops in late May 1998. The Guinean contingent remained until late November 1998.

On 30 March 1998, ECOMOG in Alkalia received reports from civilians of a large concentration of ARFC/RUF forces around Worombaia in the southern tip of Neini chiefdom, bordering with Tonkolili District. ECOMOG forces based in the town and 40 local hunters were dispatched by ECOMOG from Alikalia. Failing to locate RUF/AFRC forces, they returned to Alikalia in early April 1998.

In early April 1998, a contingent of Guinean ECOMOG troops attacked Serekolia town (Mongo), entering from the direction of Kabala. Residents report seeing 13 trucks, an unknown number of ground troops and a helicopter gunship. RUF/AFRC forces retreated from Serekolia towards Kurobonla. ECOMOG moved through Serekolia, and established a base in the nearby town of Mongo Bendugu (Mongo). There are also reports that shortly after moving from Serekolia, RUF/AFRC forces established a base in the town of Seria (Mongo Chiefdom), close to Mongo Bendugu, and on the main road southwards to the other RUF/ARFC bases in Neya chiefdom. 453

On 11 April 1998, a large number of RUF/AFRC forces arrived in the village of Mansofenia (Neya Chiefdom). They had more than 20 Honda motorcycles and a large and a varied amount of weaponry including RPGs, LMGs, AK-47s, shotguns, mortars, grenades and bladed weapons. The town was sealed off by RUF/AFRC forces. On 13 April, a large meeting of civilians and all military forces was convened. The RUF/AFRC forces were divided into five groups, to be based at Mansofenia, Yiriaia, Kurobonla (Neya Chiefdom), Mansodugu (Mongo Chiefdom) and Alikalia (Diang Chiefdom). On 20 April, some of the RUF/AFRC forces moved towards Kurobonla, and a much smaller group moved to Mandodugu. The Alikalia and Mansofenia groups remained in Mansofenia.

Late morning on 27 April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Yiffin from the easterly directions of Krutor and Konombaia village (both in Nieni Chiefdom). 454 ECOMOG forces were ambushed with an RPG whilst setting up defences and retreated from Yiffin. The ECOMOG commander informed the Section Chief that the town should be evacuated because they were unable to defend against the RUF/AFRC attack. Many civilians fled the town into the nearby bush. RUF troops had red material tied around their heads and AFRC had white pieces tied around their heads. The house of the Town Chief was destroyed with an RPG. The chief was shot in the mouth but escaped to Alikalia. A number of the RUF/AFRC forces wore uniforms similar to that of ECOMOG and informed civilians that they should head to the centre of town where they would be protected. RUF/AFRC forces gathered between 200 and 300 people in a barn, firing into the building before setting it on fire. Later that afternoon, RUF/AFRC forces left Yiffin in the direction of Alikalia. On 28 April 1998, returning civilians buried over 200 dead civilians in a mass grave in Yiffin. Two ECOMOG forces were also killed in the attack, after which Yiffin was left undefended.

Around midday on 28 April 1998, RUF/AFRC troops attacked Alikalia. ECOMOG forces and hunters (specifically, two hunters and one ECOMOG soldier) were at that time dug into trenches, having been warned of the attack by civilians escaping the RUF/AFRC attack on Yiffin on 27 April. They exchanged fire for about four hours, before repelling the RUF/AFRC attack. On 29 April 1998, the ECOMOG platoon arrived in Alikalia from Yiffin.

⁴⁵³ More information is required from the records on this base and whether it in fact existed.

⁴⁵⁴ It is likely this groups moved from Mansofenia but further clarification is required from the records on this.

In early May, RUF/AFRC forces stationed in Mansofenia established a form of cooperation with civilians. Under the threat of their property being taken, civilians were ordered to provide a certain amount of livestock, palm oil, salt, groundnuts and other food items to support RUF/AFRC forces. Men from the village were to provide firewood and women were to deliver water and cook for RUF/AFRC forces.

In early May 1998, a large number of RUF/AFRC forces (possibly moving from Kurobonla to the south) attacked and occupied the town of Gberefeh (either Mongo or Segbeneh Chiefdom), at the beginning of a motorable road leading to Serekoilia town (Mongo Chiefdom). Local hunters engaged them, but ran short of ammunition and were driven into the bush. During the attack, RUF/ARFC forces set fire to a 10-wheel truck full of agricultural machinery and burnt down all the houses in the villages. Only the town mosque was left untouched. Two trucks of ECOMOG forces from the Guinean ECOMOG base in Mongo Bendugu were sent towards Gbefereh to engage the RUF/AFRC forces, but returned to Mongo Bendugu without having dislodged the RUF/AFRC forces from Gberefeh.

In the following days, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the villages of Dambafayi and Farama. In Farama, RUF/ARFC forces burned down all the houses, and killed a prominent town chief. There are reports that RUF/AFRC then stationed themselves in Serekolia town.

On 5 May 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered the town of Tomania (Mongo Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC commanders met with the local chief and elders, informing them that they intended to attack the town of Dankawali (Sengbe Chiefdom). Between 8 and 10 May 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Dankawali. Three Nigerian ECOMOG forces and eight civilians were killed during the attack. Civilians fleeing the attack moved eastwards to Tomania.

On 6 May 1998, the town of Badala, a crossing point over the Seli river, was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces from the direction of Dalakuru. RUF/AFRC forces amputated both hands of one man and disfigured the lips, nose, eyes and forehead of another.

On 9 May 1998, Kondembaia town was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces. Both hands of two men were amputated and seven girls were raped by RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG forces retreated to Fadugu town (Mabolo Chiefdom), to the north. Kondembaia was attacked again on 22 May from the direction of Diang Sokurela. Eleven people were killed in the attack and an unknown number of people had both hands amputated.

On 10 May, RUF/AFRC forces attacked ECOMOG forces stationed in Alikalia from the direction of Kulankor and Firawa in the north of Neini chiefdom. ECOMOG forces engaged the RUF/AFRC attack, which ceased after about 2 hours. Local militia were ordered by an ECOMOG commander to remove all undergrowth within a 300 metre perimeter around Alikalia. More trenches were dug, and for three weeks local militia and ECOMOG forces were placed on 24 hour-guard around the town.

By the early morning of 22 May 1998, a large number of RUF/AFRC forces attacking from the RUF base at Koinadugu village (Sengbe Chiefdom) had captured the town of Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom). The 40-man ECOMOG unit was briefly driven from town. One CDF member was shot dead and his body cut up by RUF forces. Eleven civilians were killed in the attack and an unknown number of houses were burned down. On the same day, by 1000, ECOMOG reinforcements from Kabala arrived, but were ambushed in Kafogo village, nearby Fadugu. On 23 May, ECOMOG, SSD and CDF forces attacked Fadugu with the assistance of air support. RUF/AFRC forces retreated towards Kabala. ECOMOG forces immediately performed a house-to-house search of Fadugu, during which civilian property was taken.

On 2 June 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered Yiffin (Neini Chiefdom), under heavy rainfall. Using cutlasses, they tore the corrugated zinc roofing from an unknown number of houses, claiming they were "repairing" the properties. RUF/AFRC forces remained in Yiffin until the next day, singing songs and harassing civilians throughout the night.

On 3 June 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kondembaiai (Diang). In this attack, RUF/AFRC forces cut off the limbs of an unknown number of children between the ages of three and five. The RUF/AFRC forces searched every house in town, with the exception of the mosque and the Roman Catholic church.

On 6 June 1998, RUF/AFRC forces coming from the direction of Yiffin and Kulankor (both in Diang Chiefdom) attacked Alikalia town. ECOMOG and local militia repelled the RUF/AFRC attack by midday on 7 June 1998. RUF/AFRC forces killed three civilian men in the bush nearby Alikalia and one woman was shot in the stomach while attempting to escape. On 9 June 1998, ECOMOG commanders in Alikali ordered a unit of 40 local militia to travel to Firawa (Diang Chiefdom), to establish the whereabouts of the RUF/AFRC forces that attacked Alikalia. On the road to Firawa, this unit stopped at Kulanakor and learned from residents that the RUF/AFRC forces had moved to Gbefereh (Senebeh Chiefdom) in search of livestock. On their return to Alikalia, on 10 June, ECOMOG ordered the local militia to return to the trenches, where they stayed until 17 June before being allowed to freely move around the town.

On 30 June and 10 July 1998, soldiers of the SLA 1st Battalion moved through Alikalia towards Yiffin, dislodging the RUF/AFRC forces, on way to engage RUF at Kayima (Kono District). ECOMOG in Alikalia were informed by the commander that SLA forces would remain in Yiffin as an advance defence for Alikalia. One company of SLA forces remained in Yiffin, whilst the remainder advanced to attack RUF/AFRC positions in Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District).

At the end of June 1998, Alikalia, Yiffin and Kabala were out of the control of the RUF/AFRC. On 24 June, the CDF was officially formed in Diang chiefdom.

In early July 1998, RUF/AFRC forces established combat bases in the villages of Koinadugu and Yamadugu (both in Sengbe Chiefdom).

Before 26 July 1998, reports reached the town of Firawa (Neini Chiefdom), immediately south of Koinadugu and Yamadugu (Sebeneh Chiefdom), that RUF/AFRC forces were gathered in the village of Banda Karafaia (Neini Chiefdom). On 26 July 1998, CDF forces laid an ambush for

RUF/AFRC forces on the road into Firawa. After 2 hours, CDF retreated into the town, informing residents that they should hide in the bush. RUF/AFRC forces entered the empty town, burning down 20 houses and killing one civilian. They remained in Firawa until 28 July, until they moved westwards towards the town of Foria (Diang Chiefdom)

In the evening of 27 or 28 July 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked and occupied Kabala town from the direction of Makeni. They were armed with AA guns, RPGs, mortars and other weapons and arrived in about 30 vehicles including Toyota land cruisers, Land Rovers and Mercedes Benz cars. While RUF/AFRC forces looted private property, there are no reports of violent incidents or burning of houses. Nigerian and Guinean ECOMOG troops stationed in Kabala secured their defensive positions and remained in town until they were reinforced. The occupation lasted until the evening of either 1 or 2 August, when RUF/AFRC forces were driven from Kabala by ECOMOG forces and the SLA 2nd Battalion. 455

Retreating from Kabala, RUF/AFRC forces settled in towns and villages on the arterial road leading eastwards from Kabala through Sebeneh chiefdom. These included Yamadugu, Koinadugu and Kalkoia (Sebeneh Chiefdom). Another unit moved further south, arriving in the town of Gberefeh (Sebeneh Chiefdom).

In the early hours of 11 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Fadugu (Mangolo Chiefdom) in an operation called "Operation Die." They were armed with RPGs, AK-58s and AK-47 machine guns. RUF/AFRC forces came through the Madingotown area of Fadugu, avoiding the ECOMOG checkpoint on the road from Kafogo and Kabala. ECOMOG forces engaged the RUF/AFRC forces but were unable to repel the attack. The Paramount Chief of Mambolo was shot dead at his home by RUF forces, who afterwards set fire to his corpse. Sixty-eight houses were burned down and eight civilians were killed, two of them being set on fire. The RUF/AFRC forces moved from the town later in the day on 12 September. The attack was primarily to loot ECOMOG ammunition dumps in the town.

On 18 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Karia (Diang Chiefdom) from the direction of Darakaru, in gold-rich area of Diang chiefdom. RUF/AFRC forces burned 36 houses and abducted 10 civilians. One hundred SLA soldiers were deployed to Karia at the request of the chiefdom elders.

On 23 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces left Kuronbonla (Neya Chiefdom) for the town of Kamaron (Mongo Chiefdom), arriving in the early evening. Twenty-five men and 15 women were detained by RUF forces in a church in the town. RUF/AFRC forces entered every house in the town and took property, including food items, livestock and domestic goods. The stolen property was loaded onto trucks and driven to Kuronbonla. Fifteen houses were burnt when the RUF/AFRC forces left Kamaron the next day.

On 8 October 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) from Firawa (Neini Chiefdom) in the north. Although CDF and ECOMOG resisted the attack, RUF/AFRC burned

455 Clarification is required from the records about the exact dates these incidents took place.
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down over 20 houses along their retreat route. CDF and ECOMOG forces pursued the RUF/AFRC unit over 2 miles out of Alikalia towards Firawa.

On 16 October 1998, RUF/AFRC forces moved from Kuronbonla (Neya Chiefdom) and destroyed the bridges over the Bafin and Bagbe rivers along the main road through Mongo chiefdom. This was to prevent ECOMOG forces stationed in Mongo Bendugu (Mongo Chiefdom) from entering the Neya chiefdom, and putting pressure on the RUF/AFRC bases in Kuronbonla and Mansofenia. At the Bagbe crossing point, they destroyed the concrete on both ends of one of the main support rails, causing the wooden slats that made up the bridges to fall into the river. The bridges were rendered impassable to vehicles.

On 28 October 1998, a large number of RUF/AFRC forces from Kurobonla attacked the ECOMOG base at Mongo Bendugu. Since they had earlier destroyed both bridges over the main road, the attack was carried out on foot. Two RUF/AFRC forces were sent into Mongo Bendugu to surrender to ECOMOG, distracting their attention away from the main attack, which came along the southern road from Seria. RUF/AFRC forces killed over 20 civilians and three ECOMOG soldiers. ECOMOG retreated from the town to an unknown location, leaving behind arms and ammunition. RUF/AFRC forces took possession of this weaponry, in addition to looting livestock and domestic goods from civilian residences. An unknown number of civilians were captured and forced to carry the stolen property over 30 miles to Kurobonla. 456

Between 1 and 7 November 1998, RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Alikalia. They were repelled by combined ECOMOG and CDF forces who, having received warning from a local farmer, engaged the RUF/AFRC attack a mile out of Alikalia. On 2 November 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kamarantak (Diang Chiefdom). SLA forces based in the village repelled the attack.

On 11 November 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered the town of Musaia (Follosaba Dembelia Chiefdom) and occupied the town for the day. An unknown number of civilians were beaten with iron bars, sticks and belts. An unknown number of civilians were tied up and left in the sun.

Early on 28 November, SLA forces retreated from Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District) through Yiffin, to Alikalia. Their commander reported to the ECOMOG commander that his unit had been ordered to move to Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) to defend the hydroelectric plant from attack.

On 8 December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Alikalia, meeting resistance from ECOMOG and local CDF. The engagement continued throughout the night. Around midday on 9 December 1998, the ECOMOG Commander ordered ECOMOG to retreat, because they had expended all their ammunition, so they retreated towards Makeni. The ECOMOG Commander further informed the CDF that this was a "brigade attack", so CDF forces retreated into the surrounding bush. RUF/AFRC forces burned down over 200 houses and discovered a large amount of ammunition buried beneath the former ECOMOG headquarters.

456 There are reports at this time of in-fighting within the RUF, which requires further information.

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Following the RUF/AFRC capture of Alikalia, Neini chiefdom was divided into two operational regions by RUF/AFRC. The towns of Alikalia and Firawa came under the control of the RUF/AFRC Brigade Headquarters at Gberefeh (Mongo to Sebeneh Chiefdoms). The towns of Banda Karafaia, Yiffin, Sumbaria and Drutor came under the control of the Brigade Headquarters at Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District). Committees of civilian intermediaries were appointed in all these towns, their role being to ensure the provision of foodstuff, manpower and other material needs of RUF/AFRC forces. These intermediaries were known collectively as "G-5" and were expected to cooperate fully with both resident RUF/AFRC units and new units entering and leaving town. In Yiffin (Neini Chiefdom), for example, the G5 were ordered to provide to the RUF/AFRC Kayima Brigade the sum of 800 cups of rice each month, in addition to 20 cups each day for the Commander. In Alikalia, G5 were to provide 900 cups of rice and 600 cups of beans to RUF/AFRC Brigade Headquarters at Gberefeh.

The capture of all the major towns in Diang, Neini and Neya chiefdoms refocused RUF/AFRC strategy away from bush fighting and raiding, towards occupation and consolidation of control. Patrols were send into the bush to encourage civilians to return to the towns.

h) Events in 1999

The RUF commander in Yiffin held a meeting informing the population that the RUF/AFRC had taken over the government and that President Kabbah had fled to Guinea. In February 1999, he ordered "G5" to gather the people from the bushes and these civilians were forced to work in a government farm for them. During this month of time civilians were subject to violence, tortures and forced labour, women were taken from them and raped, all huts burnt down. Another unit of RUF/AFRC was active in the Mambolo chiefdom and attacked towns and villages among which Madina, Dugbongbon, Kakarima and Fadugu. Around 10 January RUF/AFRC forces raided Kabala and went back to Fadugu. 457

On 12 January a group of RUF/AFRC forces reinforced Kumba Wullen Balia (Neya Chiefdom) from Kono District. The leaders of those forces were saying that they wanted to join the fighters at Makeni to launch an attack on Guinea, but ECOMOG and SLA were based in Kabala, blocking the most convenient route Guinea.

Around 15 and 20 January 1999, a very large RUF/AFRC force comprised of different units led by different commanders on their way to Freetown stopped in Fadugu, Mambolo chiefdom causing the population to retreat to the surrounding bush.⁴⁵⁸

On 28 January in Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom) there was a battle between SLA forces and ECOMOG against RUF/AFRC forces. 459

In February 1999, AFRC forces attacked Tomania (Sengbe Chiefdom) and then they skirted northwards on the main road avoiding Kabala, via Serekolia (Mongo Chiefdom), Gbenikoro (Sengbe Chiefdom), Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom), towards Makeni town. During this expedition, they were

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⁴⁵⁷ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁵⁸ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁵⁹ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

ambushed by CDF forces. In Tomania, they captured all the women and took them to a flat rock behind the town where they were sexually abused. They also abducted men and women to carry their looted foodstuff to Serekolia.⁴⁶⁰

Another RUF/AFRC unit was active in Wara Wara Bafodia chiefdom, where attacks were made on Magbgbe, Bafodia and Kakonsio. In Bafodia town, the RUF commanders gathered the population and divided it into three groups. One group remained in Bafodia, the second was deported to another village, possibly Katawuyia, and the third to Kakoyia After five days the RUF forces left for Kamawie.⁴⁶¹

From 15 to 20 February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces passing through Fadugu (Mambolo) on the way to Freetown, arrested civilians, captured them and killed some of them. Seventy houses were burnt down and women, both young and old, were sexual abused.⁴⁶²

On 16 February 1998, a large number of RUF/AFRC forces attacked Bafodia (Wara Wara Bafodia Chiefdom), where they spent the day. During the attack, the RUF/AFRC forces amputated the limbs of four civilians, including children under five years of age, and they raped five women. Two of the amputees died. They also took property and abducted five people to carry the loads.

Between March and April 1999, a battle went on in Gbenekoro and Fogo, (Diang Chiefdom) between RUF forces and CDF forces. Towards mid-April, in Bafodia (Wara Wara Bafodia Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces entered the town and introduced themselves as "SLA loyal forces" to the residents. After extorting money from them for three days, some of the RUF/AFRC forces left Katawuyia (Diang Chiefdom). 463

In Mambolo chiefdom, on 16 March 1999, RUF/AFRC forces were present in the villages of Kamandai and Kamajmbo. 464

On 28 April 1999, a high-command meeting was held in Firawa (Neini Chiefdom) to organise the RUF convention. A number of important commanders were present at the meeting, during which time property was taken from people in the town, who were also forced to undertake tasks for the RUF. 465

At the beginning of May in Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom), the RUF commander was replaced, after which the forces executed a looting operation known as "JAJA". The joined RUF/AFRC forces made preparations for an attack on Kabala. They attacked the town from different direction in Mambolo Chiefdom from the southwest and from the northwest through Yagala, but were repelled by SLA forces.

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⁴⁶⁰ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶¹ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶² More detail is required on these incidents.

⁴⁶³ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶⁴ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶⁵ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶⁶ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

On 18 July 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces attacked the gold-rich mining area of Binkokoh (Diang Chiefdom). In Foraya, the RUF forces killed 3 people, looted the whole village, demanded gold and abducted some young boys and girls to carry the stolen property. On 3 August, the RUF/AFRC forces moved from Binkokoh to attack Barakan and Dalakuru (Diang Chiefdom), which are also gold-mining areas. While in Dalakuru, the RUF/AFRC forces raped a woman.

In September 1999 the CDF attacked the RUF/AFRC position in Dondoya (Diang Chiefdom). In the southern Neya chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the towns of Dalawullay-feh, Bendu III and Yarawadu.

On 3 September RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kafogo and Fadugu, (Mambolo), where they, given their great number, overwhelmed the ECOMOG, CDF, SSD and SLA checkpoints and entered Fadugu carrying sophisticated weapons like RPG, AK47, AK58, G3 and AA guns. In Fadugu, the RUF forces burnt 80 houses, took all the property they could find, abducted some girls and boys to use them as forced labour and killed some people.

On 17 September 1999 in Diang chiefdom there were several attacks by RUF/AFRC forces, based in Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom). The RUF forces attacked Kombonkalia and Nyawulenya (both in Diang Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC forces were resisted by an organised group of youth⁴⁶⁸ in Nyawulenai (Diang chiefdom), therefore the town was totally burnt down while Kombonkalia (Diang Chiefdom) was spared because did not put up any resistance. The same day the CDF, based in Faraya, attacked RUF/AFRC positions in Dondonya (Diang Chiefdom).

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In October 1999, CDF-Kamajors coming from Kono district attacked Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom), an important RUF/AFRC base. The CDF took property and burnt down the town, but the RUF commander was not captured. Consequently, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the nearby town of Henekuma (Diang Chiefdom), where 27 civilians were killed, property was taken and the town was described as being completely destroyed.

On 16 and 19 October 1999, RUF/AFRC forces planned an attack on Kabala. They entered Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom) and looted all the surrounding villages in Mambolo chiefdom. Following this, they moved on to Kabala, but failed to occupy the town. The group was reorganized in Fadugu and moved towards Freetown. In the following days many locations in the chiefdom were looted by RUF/AFRC forces. 469

In November 1999, in Bafodia (Wara Wara Bafodia Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces engaged SLA forces. The RUF/AFRC forces were driven from the town and SLA forces subsequently left for Kabala. On 3 November 1999, one senior AFRC commander, coming through Folosaba Dembeia

⁴⁶⁷ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶⁸ More information is required from the records on this group, including who they were organised by and how old they were

⁴⁶⁹ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

Chiefdom via Musaia compound, attacked Kamasigie and then continued towards Kamakwie. In Neini chiefdom people were abducted and taken to mines in the Kono district.⁴⁷⁰

In December 1999 news arrived that an important RUF commander had been captured in Koidu town, Kono district. On 22 December, Kenyans troops from UNAMSIL (KENBATT) in transit from Makeni to Kabala were attacked by RUF forces in Fadugu, but nevertheless managed to reach Kabala.

i) Events in 2000⁴⁷¹

During 2000, the RUF/AFRC forces attempted to take control Kabala many times, but SLA and ECOMOG forces stationed in the town managed to hold it under their control. At the beginning of 2000, the SLA forces were also based in Makakura (Mambolo Chiefdom).

Deportation of civilians by RUF forces to the mining areas continued. For example, in January, RUF forces gathered the citizens of Kurubonla and Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom) to find people to be taken to work in Kono mines. Following this, they sent some civilians they had located to Kono district.

In February the UNAMSIL KENBATT coming from Makeni to Kabala were attacked by RUF/AFRC in Fadugu. The Kenyan troops were again able to reach Kabala.

On 16 February 2000, the RUF forces withdrew from Alikalia moving around the northern circuit road, avoiding Kabala, to Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) and then Senkunia (Mongo Chiefdom). In Falaba and Senkunia, RUF forces conducted food-finding missions, during which property was taken and civilians were abducted. In Firawa (Diang Chiefdom) RUF forces gathered 400 civilians to carrying items the RUF forces had stolen to Kono district.

On 10 March 2000, knowing that RUF/AFRC forces would be holding a meeting in Kurubonla (Neya Chiefdom), a Guinean helicopter gunship attacked the town. On 24 March, medical personnel from an unknown organisation visited Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) to carry out a program of immunisation but the RUF/AFRC Commander refused them entry and seized their vaccination kits. In April 2000, RUF forces moved to Ganya and Sinkunia (Mongo) from Alikalia, the headquarter town of RUF/AFRC.

In May 2000, RUF forces were redeployed thoughout Mongo chiefdom. They passed through Gbenikoro (Diang Chiefdom), Korifaia (Neini Chiefdom) and Morofindu before establishing bases in Gbenikoro, Gberefeh (Senebeh or Mongo Chiefdom) and Serekoro (Mongo Chiefdom). In Yalunka, there was an engagement between RUF and CDF forces. Also in Feraya (Neini Chiefdom) RUF forces gathered civilians together for a meeting, following which many people fled to Serekolia (Mongo Chiefdom).

In June 2000, CDF attacked Kanikoro (Diang Chiefdom), where they took civilian property.

⁴⁷¹ In general, more detail is required from the records on events that occurred in 2000.

⁴⁷⁰ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

Also in June 2000, RUF forces attacked several towns in Neya chiefdom, including Porpon, where they killed 25 people and burnt down 70 houses, taking property such as rice, corn, groundnut, guns, which were later transported to Yiraia. The RUF forces then attacked Tenkeya, killing four people, burning 15 houses and taking property. This unit also attacked Maraliya, killing two people, burning down 12 houses and taking all the property in the town. They then attacked Yarandor, Kekowafeh, Bondofeh, Bunbania and Terero II, in all of which houses were burnt down and all the property was taken away. Many villages in Sandoh chiefdom were burnt down like Farandala, Dunamaro, Waldu, Kayima and Teleya. 472

In July CDF-Kamajors attacked the RIUF/AFRC base at Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom) and Sumbaraya. The RUF commander managed to escape capture, but the Kamajors killed his mother, sister and nephew. The body of the RUF commander's mother was left hung on a stick above the road entering in the town. The town was completely burnt down, all fruit-trees were cut down and also the old zinc from the houses were punctured with nails to prevent their use as roofing. All the stolen property gathered from other villages were taken away by the Kamajors. 473

In Firawa (Nieni Chiefdom) RUF/AFRC forces captured about 400 young civilian men to be taken to Kono district for mining.

In August 2000, RUF/AFRC forces left Alikalia to surrender either to UNAMSIL or to ECOMOG troops in Kabala. ⁴⁷⁴ On 14 August a group of RUF/AFRC forces from Kono and Kailahum district passed through Alikalia on their way to attack Kabala. The town of Kabala was attacked on 17 August 2000, where they fought a battle against the SLA and CDF based in the town.

During this month, RUF forces regularly tried to attack Kabala, but were repelled by SLA forces. After the attack on Kabala, at the end of the month, RUF forces stormed Wara Wara Bafodia chiefdom attacking towns and villages such as Kapongo, Kassaye and Gbentu.

On 26 September 2000 Sinkunia (Dembelia Sinkuria Chiefdom) and Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) were attacked by CDF, who beat people and took most of people's belongings. In retaliation for these attacks, on 3 October 2000, RUF forces mobilized their troops and launched an attack on Falaba and Sinkunia and took over the towns and burnt them down and left, abducting 50 civilians including women and children.

In October 2000, RUF/AFRC forces entered Fadugu town (Mambolo Chiefdom), where a fight without casualties took place. Two days later, another group reached them.

⁴⁷² It is possible that these events took place in 1998. Further clarification is required from the records on when these events took place.

⁴⁷³ Clarification is required from the records on who took the property initially, the RUF or the CDF, and what happened to it after the CDF took it away.

⁴⁷⁴ More information is required from the records about the surrender, including how it came about and to whom they surrendered.

⁴⁷⁵ It is not clear from the records whether the people being beaten were RUF or civilians. Clarification is required from the records on this.

On 12 October, an unknown group of civilians with guns entered Musaia, (Follosaba Dembelia). They held a meeting with villagers who appreciated their intention to fight against government soldiers. At night, they started to fight and a battle took place. One house was burnt, people abducted and torture, and women and children were raped and property was taken.⁴⁷⁶

In November 2000, the RUF/AFRC forces were based in Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom). They launched several attacks on towns such as Kalkoia, Koinodug, Dankwalie and Falaba. In the same month, RUF forces moved from Badala and Alikalia to Falaba and Firawa. During December 2000, there was a fight among some of the AFRC and RUF forces. The group of RUF forces moved from Alikalia (Diang) to Yiffin, (Neini). In December in Firawa, operations geared for the ceasefire commenced.

j) Events in 2001⁴⁷⁷

During 2001, military activities started to decrease. Probably without a specific plan to seize power, the RUF forces tried to hold a fairly strong grip on the provinces to achieve a good bargaining power in eventual peace negotiations. The RUF groups went around in the district looting livestock and foodstuffs. In 2001, the disarmament process commenced under the supervision of UNAMSIL forces and despite a few sporadic incidents of fighting, mostly between the CDF and the RUF, fighting ceased.

Early in January 2001, RUF forces retreated from Alikalia moved to Kono district. However, they returned on 10 January 2001 from Kono to Firawa (Nieni Chiefdom) via Falaba (Serulia Chiefdom) and Gbindi. On their way they engaged in a battle against CDF. On 14 January, UNAMSIL troops visited the town of Alikalia and gathered the RUF leaders, taking them to Kabala for disarmament. On 26 March 2001, CDF-Kamajors arrived in Alikalia. On 4 July 2001 a group arrived in Alikalia, declared themselves RUF fighters and requested food from the civilians. The next morning they left to Gberefeh (Senebeh, or Mongo Chiefdom). This group, together with another based in Gberefeh attacked CDF positions in Sereya (Mongo Chiefdom). In Sereya they found a list of people registered with the Kamajors and they killed, wounded or amputated them all. Then they moved back to Gberefeh, where a MP loyal to Foday Sankoh ordered them to disarm. Guns were packed and taken to Alikalia. There, the RUF forces faced a serious attack from the Kamajors and were defeated, all properties taken away from them. They, then, left and went to Kabala where they pleaded to be reintegrated into civil society. On 16 August 2001 UNAMSIL troops arrived in Alikalia to overview the disarmament.

In February 2001, the RUF/AFRC forces based in Gberefeh (Senebeh or Mongo Chiefdom) organized a farewell party, packed all the property they had taken throughout the conflict and left to Alikalia to be finally demobilized and reintegrated into society. The trip took five days and when they arrived in Alikalia, CDF-Kamajors and UN troops entered the town forcing the RUF forces to disarm. This episode caused them to flee the town leaving behind all that they had looted from civilians since the beginning of the war in 1991.

⁴⁷⁶ More detail is required from the records on this incident, in particular on who the "civilians with guns" were (or were likely to be) and who did the raping, beating and burning.

⁴⁷⁷ In general, more detail is required from the records on events that occurred in 2001.

In March 2001, RUF/AFRC forces came from Kono district to Nieni chiefdom in search of food and they looted every house, then the RUF forces conveyed the looted properties to Kayima (Kono District). A similar incident took place in May 2001 in Firawa (Neini Chiefdom), with RUF forces coming from Sinkunia (Dembelia Sinkuria Chiefdom).

RUF/AFRC forces returned to Sinkunia on 15 June 2001, while another group, on the same day, went to Alikalia and held a meeting with G5 and the village chiefs announcing the end of the war and the beginning of disarmament and asking for people's political support to the RUF, soon to be transformed into a political party.

On 24 August 2001 RUF/AFRC went from Falaba, Sulima chiefdom to Kabala to submit to disarmament. This was the last group of RUF/AFRC forces to disarm in the District.

In November, CDF from the whole district went to Alikalia for disarmament. In December 2001, Kamajors led by Mohamed Mansaray fought a battle against RUF forces, shortly after UNAMSIL troops arrived, prompting disarmament.

This was the final episode of the decade long war in Koinadugu District.

3. Conclusion

[to be drafted pending incorporation of comments from resource persons]

d. Port Loko District

1. Introduction

Port Loko District is located in the north-west of Sierra Leone. It is bordered by the Western Area, Moyamba District and Tonkolili District to the south, Bombali District to the east and Kambia District to the north. To the west lies the Atlantic Ocean.

There are 11 chiefdoms in Port Loko District:

Chiefdom Headquarter Town

Bureh Kasseh Makonte (BKM) Mange Buya Romende Foredugu Dibia Gbinti Loko Massama Petifu Kaffu Bullom Mahera Kova Songo Maforki Port Loko Marampa Lunsar Masimera Masimera Sanda Magbolontor Sendugu Tinkatupa Makama Safroko (TMS) Malekuray A high quality, asphalted highway runs from the Western Area to Songo and Mile 38, passing through the densely forested Okra Hills area to Masiaka (all Koya Chiefdom). At Masiaka, the highway splits into two and the quality of the road declines sharply into intermittent stretches of soil track, unsealed road and broken asphalt. Seen from another perspective, all main routes from inland Sierra Leone converge on Masiaka, making it difficult to overstate the town's strategic significance. The road continuing east from Masiaka leads through Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) to Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and on to both Kabala and Kono Districts. The major routes to the Eastern and Southern Provinces converge on the Masiaka–Mile 91 length of road. The northern fork runs across the Rokel Creek to Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), from where both the District headquarter town of Port Loko (Maforki Chiefdom) and Lunsar Town (Marampa Chiefdom) can be reached.

The Masiaka–Ro-Gberray–Port Loko axis continues north through BKM Chiefdom across the long road bridge over the Little Scaries River at Mange, continuing into Kambia District and the Republic of Guinea. This is the only major road crossing over the Little Scaries River and handles the majority of road traffic between Conakry and Freetown, making it a considerable strategic and economic asset to whoever controls it. Moving west from Port Loko Town, the highway continues directly to Lungi, the coastal location of Freetown International Airport. Although there is an airstrip at Hastings (Waterloo RD, Western Area), Freetown International Airport is the principal airport in Sierra Leone. From Freetown to Lungi is approximately four hours by road; across the Freetown Estuary, the helicopter ride is less than 10 minutes. The Masiaka–Ro-Gberray–Lunsar axis continues through Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) towards Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District), the political and administrative centre of the Northern Province.

A secondary road network connects the chiefdom headquarter towns of Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom), Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom) and Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom). It is joined in Dibia and Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdoms by roads leading into Sanda Tendaren and Libeisaygahun Chiefdoms (both Bombali District), which bypass Makeni and re-join the arterial route to Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District).

Port Loko District was not affected directly by the conflict before 1995. In January 1995, RUF activity was focused in the four eastern chiefdoms of Port Loko District, bordering Bombali and Tonkolili Districts. RUF activity in early January concentrated on pressuring the two towns of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom), both on the arterial route between Freetown and Makeni. SLA forces were driven from Foredugu and Lunsar was under pressure for the whole of 1995. RUF activity in these areas followed from the extension of RUF forces into the western chiefdoms of Tonkolili District in late 1994. This was marked by a large attack on Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) in late December 1994 and RUF dominance of Malal Mara Chiefdom (Tonkolili District), in which the RUF established a brigade headquarters in the Kaitkant Hills. From here, RUF forces staged attacks on towns in both the north, moving into Kambia District, and the south of Port Loko District, facilitating their movement into the Western Area by May 1995. In June, RUF forces staged a large-scale assault on the District headquarter of Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom). RUF forces also attacked Mile 38 and Masiaka (both Koya Chiefdom) in June, in addition to staging ambushes on the main roads. The triangle formed by

Lunsar, Port Loko and Masiaka has been the crucible of the conflict in Port Loko District.

Following this, RUF activity in the District diminished significantly, with only a few ambushes and small attacks reported from July through to the end of the year. RUF attacks routinely included killings, torture and the abduction of large numbers of civilians to use as forced labour. Additionally, RUF forces routinely stole civilian property and burned civilian residences to the ground. In 1996, RUF forces continued to attack Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and staged ambushes on the highway north of the town. Generally, however, 1996 was a quiet year in Port Loko District. Elections were held in February, marking the end of four years of military rule and a peace agreement was struck between the elected government and the RUF in Abidjan in November 1996. At least until May 1997, the ceasefire provided for in the Abidjan Peace Accord appears to have been generally observed in Port Loko District. In May 1997, the AFRC - who were soon joined by the RUF overthrew the elected government and found itself in a tense standoff with Nigerian forces stationed in country. Following armed confrontations with the AFRC that resulted in large numbers of civilian deaths, Nigerian forces took over the international airport at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom), occupying Lungi and surrounding villages. Combined RUF/AFRC forces launched an operation to steal large amounts of civilian property in Masimera Chiefdom, calling it "From your hand to my hand; from your pocket to my pocket." RUF forces also attacked CDF positions at Mange and Barmoi Junction (BKM Chiefdom) and established a camp at Bainkoro, near the Little Scaries River between Sanda Magbolontor and Dibia Chiefdoms. The Little Scaries River, bisecting Sanda Magbolontor and BKM Chiefdoms, took on increasing significance at this time; running inland, it passes through the north of Bombali District.

ECOMOG was formally deployed in Sierra Leone in August 1997 and began training civil militia groups in Port Loko District in cooperation with traditional authorities. ECOMOG deployed in Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) and assisted the CDF in securing BKM Chiefdom. CDF forces deployed along the northern route to Mange and the route from Port Loko, through Kagbantama, to Barmoi Junction. The CDF also deployed along the south bank of the Little Scaries River in BKM Chiefdom, creating a defensive arc around the north of Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom).

In February 1998, ECOMOG intervened militarily against the RUF/AFRC, driving them out of Freetown. As a result, RUF/AFRC forces commenced "Operation Pay Yourself" in Port Loko District, stealing extensively from civilian settlements along their line of retreat through Mile 38, Masiaka (both Koya Chiefdom) and Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) towards Makeni. RUF/AFRC forces also attacked towns in the northern chiefdoms of Port Loko District. In March 1998, ECOMOG commenced provincial operations, moving from Port Loko Town, taking control of Masiaka and forcing the RUF/AFRC out of Lunsar, where they had killed civilians and destroyed much of the infrastructure. RUF/AFRC forces scattered throughout the eastern chiefdoms of Port Loko District, raiding villages for food. In April, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Masimera Chiefdom and commenced the amputation of limbs from civilians amid attacks of astounding ferocity. In September, the RUF/AFRC again began surrounding Port Loko Town, staging attacks in BKM, TMS and Maforki Chiefdoms. Assisted by the CDF, ECOMOG held onto the stretch of road between Port Loko and Mange (BKM Chiefdom).

In December 1998, RUF/AFRC intensified attacks on ECOMOG and pushed south into Koya Chiefdom, again attacking Masiaka and Songo. A large RUF/AFRC force attacked Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) between 28 December 1998 and 3 January 1999. By the time Port Loko was attacked, the RUF/AFRC had broken out of Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District) and Kailahun Districts and had taken every major town from ECOMOG en route to Freetown along the northern axis roads. The RUF/AFRC push towards the Western Area was along the main highway through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), Masiaka and Songo to Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). For the first three months of 1999, the Masiaka area was occupied by RUF/AFRC forces and was under constant attack from the CDF. In March, Gbethis hunted down suspected "collaborators", torturing and summarily executing significant numbers of the people they caught. Those villages that did not actively support the Gbethis were targeted and looted, their inhabitants subjected to torture or simply killed. Lunsar remained under the control of the RUF/AFRC.

Peace negotiations between the RUF and the elected government resulted in the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999. Subsequently, there were tensions between the RUF and the AFRC, resulting in clashes between the two, but not a complete severing of their alliance.

In early January 2000, UNAMSIL moved into positions throughout Port Loko District. A single Nigerian battalion was based at Freetown International Airport at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom) and a second covered Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom), Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) and Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), securing both the towns and the main highways. RUF/AFRC forces attacked many villages throughout the eastern and northern chiefdoms of Port Loko District, stealing food and property. In May 2000, the RUF/AFRC provoked a crisis by holding hostage over 200 UNAMSIL personnel at Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom). They also provoked the UK to send paratroops to Freetown and commence training the SLA. The SLA secured Masiaka in April 2000, but the RUF repeatedly attacked Port Loko Town from many different approaches. The RUF/AFRC also remained in control of Lunsar, despite SLA attempts to recover the town in June 2000. Attacks on civilian settlements across Port Loko District continued, although UNAMSIL maintained a "horseshoe" of security between Songo, Masiaka, Ro-Gberray (Maforki Chiefdom) and Port Loko Town.

An RUF/AFRC splinter group formed in October 1998 in the Okra Hills, an area spanning the lower part of Maforki Chiefdom, crossing southwards over the Rokel Creek into Koya Chiefdom towards the township of Magbeni and onto the stretch of highway between Mile 38 and Masiaka (all Koya Chiefdom). The West Side Boys, as they later became known, were formed primarily of ex-SLA forces that had aligned with the AFRC coup. They conducted an intense series of "hit and run" missions on settlements in this area, routinely killing and raping civilians and stealing civilian property and food. They abducted hundreds of civilians, inscribing "West Side Boys" on their bodies and executing them in retaliation for battlefield losses. On the highways within the Okra Hills area, they ambushed civilian and military traffic. At various points, the West Side Boys changed sides, allying with the RUF/AFRC during the 1999 Freetown invasion and then with the SLA in defending Masiaka from the RUF/AFRC in May 2000. The West Side Boys earned international notoriety for taking foreigners hostage, a tactic that resulted in their complete defeat by UK paratroops in September 2000.



2. Factual analysis

a) Events in 1995

RUF activity in Port Loko District in 1995 began in early January in Buya Romende Chiefdom. Between 1 and 5 January 1995, RUF forces moved from their base in the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara Chiefdom, Tonkolili District on the boundary with Marampa Chiefdom to the south of Buya Romende Chiefdom) and attacked the villages of Mabettor and Royana, where they burnt down an unknown number of houses.

RUF forces numbering around 500 attacked the headquarter town of Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) early in the morning of 2 January 1995. Foredugu is located on the main highway leading east to Makeni and south-west to Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom). Residents fled into the nearby bush on hearing heavy machine gun fire. SLA forces stationed in Foredugu were unable to repel the RUF attack. The surrounding villages of Robis Junction, Romende, Makinkiba, Handalai, Paiteful Junction and Gbomru (all Buya Romende Chiefdom) were also attacked. During these attacks RUF forces burnt down eight houses in Mabettor, five in Royana and 42 in Foredugu. RUF forces also killed nine people, mostly with guns, amputated a man's hand with an axe and abducted an unknown number of people.

From then until 5 January 1995, RUF forces moved north from Foredugu and attacked Rogberen Gberen, a settlement in the far north of Buya Romende Chiefdom. Hundreds of civilians were killed during this attack. The RUF forces established a camp at Rogberen Gberen and used abducted civilians to dig trenches. From Rogberen Gberen, RUF forces staged an attack on Mabureh village (Buya Romende Chiefdom), where they decapitated the Section Chief and a prominent businessmen. Before returning to their camp, RUF forces burnt down at least 50 houses and stole a lot of civilian property.

On 15 January 1995, around 45 RUF members moved towards the headquarter town of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, in the north-west on the boundary with Masimera Chiefdom). They came from the south of the chiefdom through the villages of Rokatic and Robom Limba. Before reaching Lunsar, they were repelled by SLA forces stationed in the town. The RUF exerted continuous pressure on Lunsar, staging numerous attacks on unknown dates between January and July 1995. On 16 February, the NPRC announced that it had commenced heavy bombardment of a medium-sized "rebel base" in the Lunsar area. The RUF exerted continuous pressure on the Ruffer announced that it had commenced heavy bombardment of a medium-sized "rebel base" in the Lunsar area.

The RUF delivered a letter⁴⁸⁰ to the residents of Kantia (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) towards the end of January 1995, announcing their intention to use the road passing through Kantia as a route to attack Kambia, the District headquarter town of Kambia District. The people of the town resolved to attack the RUF forces if they pursued this course of action. Consequently, male members of the Gbamgbani traditional society formed a local militia and established a checkpoint on the roads entering the village. A day after delivering the letter, RUF forces attacked Kantia. A local man confronted the RUF as they tried to pass the checkpoint; the RUF members tortured and killed him

⁴⁷⁸ This detail is reported by the key person as occurring on 1 January 1994, but cross-checking during analysis makes it clear that this refers to an RUF attack on Lunsar on or around 15 January 1995.

⁴⁷⁹ Xinhua, 16 February 1995.

⁴⁸⁰ There are many reports of the RUF leaving letters on the road for villagers to find.

with his own cutlass. On entering the village, RUF forces sought out the Local Court Chairman at his home and beat him to death with pestles⁴⁸¹ and sticks. The RUF forces remained in Kantia for at least a day before moving south to Kanokie village (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom), arriving there in the late evening. At Kanokie, the RUF forces divided and entered the village in two groups, taking palm wine from civilians and shooting dead a 12-year-old boy who was carrying a cutlass. The RUF commanding officer issued an order to the villagers stressing that anyone caught fleeing the village would also be shot. The RUF forces stayed overnight in Kanokie, leaving for Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District) before dawn the following morning. RUF forces looped southwest from Kanokie arriving in Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom, Kambia District) on 23 January 1991, before moving north to attack Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District) on 25 January 1995.

Around 21 January 1995, RUF forces coming from Bombali District passed through Dibia Chiefdom on the way to Safroko Section in the north of TMS Chiefdom. From Safroko Section (TMS Chiefdom), RUF forces moved through Rogbakai (six miles south-east of Maron), Rotombo, Maron and Roctolan along the road north towards the headquarter town of Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom). At this time, around 20 members of the SLA were stationed in Gbinti. In Gbinti, between 21 and 23 January 1995, RUF forces killed a number of people, burnt down at least 70 houses with petrol bombs, stole property and abducted civilians, including around 23 school children. After about four hours in Gbinti, during which there was fighting between the SLA and RUF forces, the RUF forces left with the people they had abducted and moved south to Roctolan (TMS Chiefdom).

RUF forces again attacked Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) between 3 and 5 March 1995, killing 12 SLA members in an ambush on the outskirts of the town. In response to this attack, the Government of Sierra Leone closed sections of the Makeni–Freetown highway to traffic as SLA forces combed the bush for RUF forces. As a section of the Makeni–Freetown highway to traffic as SLA forces combed the bush for RUF forces.

Through intense activity in Ribbi, Bumpe and Kaiyanga Chiefdoms (Moyamba District)⁴⁸⁴ immediately south of Port Loko District, the RUF were able to attack the town of Songo (Koya Chiefdom) by 7 April 1995. Songo is a located on the boundary between Port Loko District and the Western Area, just south of the main asphalt highway leading to Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) and the ring road around the Freetown peninsular into Freetown itself.

In the morning of 7 April 1995, about 100 RUF members, some in full military fatigues and others in casual dress, launched an attack with artillery and heavy machine gun fire on Songo. The attack came from the west end of the town, near the Roman Catholic Primary School, and was met with no

⁴⁸³ Xinhua, 7 March 1995.

⁴⁸¹ Club-shaped implements used for fine-pounding wheat and other granular foods in mortars.

⁴⁸² AP, 6 March 1995.

⁴⁸⁴ On 15 March 1995, RUF forces attacked Bradford (Ribbi Chiefdom, Moyamba District). On 17 March, RUF forces took control of Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom, Moyamba District) and Moyamba (Kaiyamba Chiefdom, Moyamba District). On 18 March, RUF forces clashed with SLA forces for control of the strategic Mabang Bridge over the Ribbi River. On 20 March, SLA forces counter-attacked the RUF at Bradford, but this did not halt the RUF westward movement and their crossing the Ribbi River to access Songo (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District).

resistance from SLA forces. Despite a build-up of SLA troops in Songo (Koya Chiefdom) in early April, those SLA forces previously stationed in Songo had withdrawn to nearby Mile 38 (Koya Chiefdom) before the RUF assault of 7 April. 485 News that the SLA had captured RUF members in Mabang (Ribbi Chiefdom, Moyamba District) and Mile 38 (Koya Chiefdom) had caused the majority of Songo's residents to flee the town, moving west into Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) and south into Ribbi Chiefdom (Moyamba District). Despite this, during their attack on Songo, RUF forces killed 20 people, including an unknown number of women and children. The Songo Police station was also looted and destroyed. On 8 April 1995, SLA forces counter-attacked, pushing RUF forces out of Songo and retaking control of the town. While this RUF group was displaced from Songo, attacks in the agricultural area around Newton (Koya RD, Western Area) intensified. 486

On 10 May 1995, the RUF forces again attacked Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom) from Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom. During this attack, the RUF forces burnt houses and killed civilians, in particular members of the youth movement, as a result of which the youth movement was destroyed. Between 14 and 18 May, RUF forces established a base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District), bordering Sanda Magbolontor and Dibia Chiefdoms in Port Loko District.

From the beginning of June 1995, there were rumours of an imminent attack on Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom). Consequently, many inhabitants left the town, moving to nearby villages and to Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom), the coastal location of Sierra Leone's international airport. On 7 June 1995, some RUF forces crossed the Lunsar-Makeni highway towards Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom), which is approximately 15 km from Port Loko. In Port Loko Town, members of the Civic Development Unit, an organisation primarily formed to clean roads and collect rubbish, started working with the SLA to increase security in the town. An SLA commanding officer responsible for Port Loko called a town meeting in the Court Barrie, where he reassured the population that the town was well protected.

Nevertheless, in the evening of 8 June 1995, the RUF attacked the Port Loko along two lines of advance. The first RUF group arrived from the north-east, moving through Burreh Section (BKM Chiefdom), attacking Port Loko Town in the early evening. The second group, numbering 150, arrived some hours later from the east having travelled the Malekuray road through TMS Chiefdom. Their advance along this route, which begins at Kamasundu Junction, makes it likely that this RUF group had a camp at Rogberen-Gberen or Kamasundu (both Buya Romende Chiefdom), from where attacks on the areas on the North-South axis between Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom) and Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) had been commonplace since January 1995.

The RUF group moving through TMS Chiefdom attacked a number of villages. In Robenkia (TMS Chiefdom), RUF forces shot dead a young civilian man wearing combat fatigue-style trousers and poured acid on another young man who was caught trying to escape. On 8 June, 30 SLA members in two 4x4 vehicles arrived in Malekuray village (TMS Chiefdom). The SLA commanding officer met with community leaders, requesting that they provide him with early warning when the RUF arrived in the town. During the meeting, residents overheard information passed to the SLA commanding

⁴⁸⁵ SLA forces had concentrated in Mile 38 following a successful ouster of the RUF from the town on 28 March

⁴⁸⁶ See Western Area analysis for 1995.

officer by radio informing him that the RUF had already bypassed the town and had arrived in Robat (TMS Chiefdom), to the west of Malekuray. The SLA moved from Malekuray and engaged the RUF near Robat, as a result of which three SLA members were killed and the remaining group were forced to retreat into the bush. The RUF forces then moved west from Robat over the road bridge to Romaka, through the villages of Ropolon, Rotombo, Tawa, Rolal I and II and then into Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) by the late evening.

During their attack on Port Loko Town, RUF forces killed an unknown number of people, burnt down around 30 houses and abducted up to 200 people, predominantly children. RUF forces ceased their attack in the early hours of 9 May, retreating in two directions when the SLA was reinforced.

One group of RUF retreated to Kamalo (BKM Chiefdom), on the boundary with Maforki Chiefdom, where they established a temporary base, killing a number of people and burning down some houses. Two days later, on 11 June 1995, SLA forces held a meeting in Port Loko with the Town Chief and some senior military officers who had come from Freetown. On 14 June 1995, Guinean forces deployed under the Mano River Union arrived in Port Loko Town. Using heavy artillery, they shelled the RUF base at Kamalo, forcing their withdrawal north towards Romeni (BKM Chiefdom), where the RUF forces put around 16 people abducted in Port Loko Town into a house and set fire to it. The following day, they made a ritual sacrifice and left Romeni northward along the main road. Three days later, on 18 June 1995, the RUF forces attacked Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom). After burning houses and stealing property in Gbinti, RUF forces moved to their base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District).

Another group of RUF forces retreated from Port Loko Town towards Rokatimpi (TMS Chiefdom) on 9 June, avoiding the main highways as they moved south towards Moyamba District. On 10 June, they went to Rosent (TMS Chiefdom), close to the boundary with Maforki Chiefdom. They stayed in Rosent for around 12 days, raiding the surrounding villages. From 16 to 20 June, Guinean forces based in Port Loko Town also fired long-range weapons towards Rosent. At the end of this period of heavy bombing, RUF forces moved in two groups from Rosent, dispersing throughout Tinkatupu Section (TMS Chiefdom) to avoid artillery barrages. One group fanned out through Romaka and the other group fanned out around Masangban and Worreh (all TMS Chiefdom). The two groups rejoined in Robat, near Rosent (but closer to the boundary with Maforki Chiefdom), where they abducted an unknown number of men and women. They then moved to Maranka, where they abducted more people before moving to Malekuray by 20 June. Here, RUF forces carried out a house-to-house search, destroying what private property they could find, defecating in houses and ruining food items like rice and palm oil. On the night of 20 June, RUF forces danced and fired into the air before leaving on 21 June, abducting at least six people. They moved south through Marforay and Mafira, resting close to Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) before attacking and driving the SLA forces out of the town. On the same day, RUF forces crossed the Rokel River south of Lunsar and continued to Masimera (Marampa Chiefdom). The RUF continued south into Yoni Chiefdom (Tonkolili District), before moving to Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom, Moyamba District) by 23 June.

RUF activity near the junction town of Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) continued as their forces retreated from Port Loko. On 16 June 1995, the RUF forces again attacked Masiaka and were repelled by the

SLA forces stationed there. This pattern was repeated on 18 June 1995 and again at other times during 1995.

Between 10 and 16 June 1995, RUF forces coming from the north-eastern part of Masiaka went to Mansumana, where they attacked the town and surrounding villages, including Masherry-Potho, which is nine miles from Mile 38 (all Koya Chiefdom). At this time, the RUF forces were searching for food. In the following days, there were more RUF attacks on Mile 38, after which they were driven out of the area by SLA forces coming from the western part of Mile 38 along the Freetown Highway.

RUF forces attacked both Masiaka and Mile 38 (both Koya Chiefdom) on 18 June, but were repelled by SLA forces. Fifteen civilians were killed in Mile 38. On 20 June, RUF forces ambushed SLA forces near Mile 38. On 22 June, RUF forces cut off the main highway near Mile 38 at two points by setting fire to large trailers and setting up a defensive position around their skeletons. On or around 28 June 1995, SLA forces again attacked Mile 38 with support from a Sierra Leone Armed Forces Alpha Jet, which bombarded the town. During this attack, a large number of civilians and members of the SLA were killed, houses burnt down and vehicles destroyed.

At this time, ambushes and fighting along this road were common, as a result of which the SLA forces mounted checkpoints along the road. In July 1995, the SLA set up a checkpoint at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), controlling traffic moving north along the arterial road from Masiaka and Mile 38 towards Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and other inland northern towns such as Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). Harassment of civilians by SLA and other government security personnel intensified at this checkpoint following the RUF assault on Port Loko Town. On 9 September 1995, RUF forces ambushed SLA forces on the highway at Karrfay (Buya Romende Chiefdom) killing two; one of whom was buried in Foredugu and the other was left on the highway. RUF forces took the property that was in the SLA truck and forced civilians to carry it for them. On 11 September 1995, seven Guinean soldiers travelling to Makeni in a military vehicle were killed in an RUF ambush on the east-west road between Foredugu and Madina (Buya Romende Chiefdom). RUF forces took the weapons and ammunition from the military vehicle before setting fire to it. 488

Towards the end of 1995, the RUF launched numerous attacks on Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), but were again repelled by the SLA forces based there. At this time, there were no fatalities in Lunsar, but RUF forces killed people in surrounding villages in Marampa and Buya Romende Chiefdoms, including Pan House, Marampa, Rogbele and Foredugu. In December 1995, the RUF forces were successful in dislodging the SLA forces. The RUF forces entered Lunsar and killed four people, raped an unknown number of women, abducted 10 people and burnt down 55 houses, although they did not occupy Lunsar at this time and left soon afterwards.

b) Events in 1996

⁴⁸⁷ AP, 15 September 1995.

⁴⁸⁸ Xinhua 15 September 1995.

During 1996, Sanda Magbolontor and Dibia Chiefdoms were free from RUF activity. Although the RUF maintained a base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District), bordering both chiefdoms, from there they concentrated on attacking towns in Bombali District;⁴⁸⁹ the RUF forces were also focusing on attacking towns in Kambia District in the run up to the 26 February elections. Koya Chiefdom, bordering the Western Area, was also free from RUF activity. Throughout the year, unspecified civil militia were deployed in Kasseh Section (BKM Chiefdom), which to a large extent prevented RUF infiltration throughout BKM Chiefdom.

In January 1996, an RUF force entered the north of TMS Chiefdom from Libeisaygahun Chiefdom (Bombali District). These forces passed through a number of towns, where they captured up to 300 civilians, in particular from Futa and Madina in the centre of the chiefdom. The RUF forces then moved to a hill called Fantima Hill, on the boundary with Buya Romende Chiefdom close to Makola Valley, in a forest called Kagberen-Gberem. TMS Chiefdom would remain mostly quiet from then until February 1998.

On 5 February 1996, RUF forces stole and destroyed two vehicles near Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom). They moved east from the direction of Robis (Buya Romende Chiefdom) along the Makeni Highway. Consequently, civilians mobilised themselves into a civil militia armed with cutlasses and launched an attack on the RUF forces but were repelled when the RUF forces open fire with machine guns. In March 1996, Guinean or Nigerian forces stationed in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) arrived in Foredugu, where civil militia joined them. It should be noted that throughout the year, the RUF forces continued to launch attacks on Lunsar.

On 26 February 1996, Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held in Sierra Leone. There are no reports of harassment of civilians prior to the election in Port Loko District. During March and April, RUF forces based in Masimera (Marampa Chiefdom) went south to Rokatic, where they took property and abducted some people; this would continue intermittently until the end of 1997.

NPRC-initiated peace talks commenced with the RUF in February, resulting in a ceasefire in May 1996. On 30 November 1996, the Abidjan Peace Accord was signed between the leadership of the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone, providing for the immediate and total cessation of hostilities. In November and December 1996, the Nigerian forces were deployed in Port Loko Town.

c) Events in 1997

During 1997, RUF/AFRC attacks appear to have taken place mainly on ECOMOG and Government positions, although very few incidents are reported. It is likely that RUF/AFRC forces were scattered all over the eastern chiefdoms of Port Loko District and were engaged solely in food-finding missions. At least until May 1997, the ceasefire provided for in the Abidjan Peace Accord appears to have been generally observed in Port Loko District.

However, there were exceptions. In April 1997, Kanokie (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) was raided by RUF forces, who spent a few hours in the town and stole various food items and livestock. Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom) was attacked on 20 May 1997 and 22 RUF members were seized by the

⁴⁸⁹ See the analysis for Bombali District, 1996.

SLA. 490 Residents of Gbinti began to participate more actively in civil defence initiatives as a result of this attack. In May 1997, prior to the coup, RUF forces attacked Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) from the Kantia–Sendugu road. In Sendugu, the RUF forces initiated a house-to-house search. At this time, at least one person was killed and several people were abducted, including the Chief Imam and a well-known teacher.

On 25 May 1997, elements of the SLA staged a coup d'etat and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC released an SLA officer from Pademba Road Prison, installing him as their leader and as Head of State in June. This prompted an intense standoff between the Nigerian forces stationed in Sierra Leone and the AFRC, which requested the RUF to join with it.

In the evening of 26 May, a large number of jubilant RUF forces entered Mile 38 and the nearby villages of Massherri-Potho and Masankara (all Koya Chiefdom), on the main highway towards the Western Area. They surrounded the village at the main junction and forced all the residents onto the streets to sing songs. This lasted throughout the night. In Rosint Buya (Buya Romende Chiefdom), after the coup of 25 May, RUF/AFRC forces lived alongside civilians. They stole property and forced civilians to carry their property and carry out domestic work like fetching water and pounding rice. People refusing to carry their load were beaten and one man from Rosint Buya was shot dead. It is also reported in general terms that children were conscripted into the ranks of the RUF/AFRC and girls were used for sexual purposes.

Freetown's position as a key logistic point for ECOMOG in Liberia meant that Nigerian forces had maintained a near continuous presence at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom) since 1990. In the days following the coup, Nigerian forces concentrated in the Western Area as their main base at Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD, Western Area) was reinforced. On 3 June, RUF/AFRC forces captured a number of Nigerian forces at Lungi after their abortive attempt to take full control of Freetown International Airport. Between 5 and 9 June, Nigerian forces regained full control of Freetown International Airport during an operation supported by heavy artillery from the Nigerian 231st Field Artillery Regiment. Nigerian and RUF/AFRC forces intermittently traded machine gun and mortar fire across 10 and 11 June, which left at least 5 people dead.

The standoff continued throughout 1997. On 9 July, there was a resurgence of heavy mortar fire between Nigerian and RUF/AFRC forces. The Nigerians sought to push RUF/AFRC forces back from the Lungi area and RUF/AFRC forces sought to prevent the pro-government FM 98.1 Radio Democracy broadcasting from inside the Nigerian perimeter. News reports show that 10 members of the Nigerian forces and 60 civilians were killed during this action. RUF/AFRC forces substantially looted villages around the International Airport during their assault on Nigerian positions in the airport. Significant exchanges of fire in the airport area occurred on 29 July; 10, 13, 14 and 23 August; 22 September; and 9 October. On or around 4 September, around 11 members of the Nigerian forces were killed when their vehicle ran over a landmine on the road near between

⁴⁹⁰ AFP, 20 May 1997.

⁴⁹¹ Xinhua, 11 June 1997.

⁴⁹² AFP, 9 July 1997.

⁴⁹³ AFP, 13 July 1997.

Lungi and Port Loko Town. On 22 November at Tagrin (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom), Nigerian forces released 28 RUF/AFRC prisoners of war captured at various points since 2 June.

After the coup, RUF/AFRC forces scattered throughout Masimera Chiefdom introduced a system of theft they called, "From your hand to my hand; from your pocket to my pocket", which encouraged the recruitment of more civilians into the CDF. Following this, CDF and ECOMOG were deployed together in Mange (BKM Chiefdom) and ECOMOG forces were also deployed near Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), from where roads lead to Koya and Masimera Chiefdoms. However, "loyal SLA soldiers" ⁴⁹⁴ fighting alongside ECOMOG were not trusted and, accordingly, were given only light weapons. During this period, RUF/AFRC forces were engaged mainly in food-finding missions, during which villages were looted.

RUF/AFRC forces coming from Kambia District attacked Barmoi Junction and Mange (BKM Chiefdom) after September 1997. Little resistance was offered by the Gbethis deployed at Mange, where RUF/AFRC forces burnt down 18 houses and stole property.

At the same time, Guinean troops deployed at the crossing-point over the Little Scaries River at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District) put severe pressure on the RUF/AFRC forces based in Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District). After July 1997, RUF/AFRC forces moved from Ro-Source to a new base in Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom), on the Mabole River between the chiefdoms of Sanda Magbolontor and Dibia (Port Loko District), just north of Gbinti. RUF/AFRC forces used canoes to cross the river and stage food-finding raids on nearby villages. Pressure was mounted on the RUF/AFRC base at Bainkoro by both ECOMOG and CDF; deployed over the river from Bainkoro, these forces were able to use artillery on the RUF/AFRC base. The RUF/AFRC retreated from Bainkoro in September 1997, reportedly moving north towards Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom, Kambia District).

From 27 August, Nigerian forces stationed in Sierra Leone were formally deployed as ECOMOG under the authority of ECOWAS. In August, ECOMOG forces were deployed in Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) and began encouraging the enlisting of youths into the CDF from that time. Chiefdom authorities were requested to send men to Port Loko Town for initiation. In BKM Chiefdom, for example, ECOMOG trained 250 men from Makonte Section, merging this force with other men trained in Bureh and Kasseh Sections. The CDF command in BKM Chiefdom was based in Mange.

d) Events in 1998

After the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown on 12 February 1998, the intensity of the war escalated in Port Loko District. Atrocities were committed throughout the District, especially during the first months of the year. Throughout 1998, RUF/AFRC forces deployed and took positions in all the chiefdoms and main towns of the District surrounding Maforki Chiefdom.

⁴⁹⁴ Meaning SLA not affiliated with the RUF/AFRC.

⁴⁹⁵ This section and the following sections on 1999-2001 do not include any incidents involving the West Side Boys, which have been dealt with in a separate section at the end of this chapter. This has been done for reasons of clarity and simplicity, since the West Side Boys operated in a limited area according to a pattern that was clearly identifiable and repeated throughout 1998-2001.

Starting in September 1998, the movement of troops in BKM, TMS, Masimera and Marampa Chiefdoms and the abduction of many civilians for recruitment demonstrate that RUF/AFRC forces were preparing an attack on Port Loko Town and were also probably already en route to Freetown. The chain of events accelerated in September 1998 and at the end of the year, Port Loko Town fell to the persistent RUF/AFRC attacks.

After the coup and throughout 1997 and 1998, RUF/AFRC forces were present in Masimera and Marampa Chiefdoms; it is reported that none of the 373 villages of Masimera Chiefdom were left without those forces entering or attacking them during this period. When RUF/AFRC forces attacked or entered a town or village, they burnt, stole, raped, killed and captured a number of people, forcing some to carry their loads. After the merger of the RUF forces with the AFRC forces, important bases were operated in the south of Tonkolili District (Yoni, Malal Mara and Kholifa Mabang Chiefdoms), at the south-east boundary of Port Loko District.

After ECOMOG commenced operations to remove the RUF/AFRC from Freetown on 6 February 1998, many RUF/AFRC forces regrouped in Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom) at the border with Dibia and Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdoms. From there, some deployed through Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bombali District). On 12 February 1998, an RUF/AFRC unit called Brigade Advance left Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom) for Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom, Kambia District), where they burnt down eight houses and abducted 50 civilians, who were forced to carry stolen property. On 14 February, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District), where they killed eight civilians, took property and burnt down an unknown number of houses. On 19 February, RUF/AFRC forces launched simultaneous attacks from Kambia Town on the towns of Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District) and Mange (BKM Chiefdom). CDF and ECOMOG forces based in Mange were overpowered by the RUF/AFRC forces and retreated to their headquarters in Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom). Six people were killed, 62 houses were burnt down and an unspecified number of people were abducted by the RUF/AFRC during the attack on Mange (BKM Chiefdom). The same day, RUF/AFRC forces returned to their base at Bainkoro. A Guinean ECOMOG contingent equipped with armoured tanks and accompanied by members of the CDF left Port Loko Town and moved on Bainkoro, but was repelled by RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG established a temporary base in Kabatha (Maforki Chiefdom), a key junction approximately five miles from Port Loko Town.

On 21 February, RUF forces left Bainkoro for Kasseh Section (both BKM Chiefdom). They attacked the villages of Rokon and Robath Kantakathe, where they encountered resistance from the Gbethis. RUF/AFRC forces were driven from the town and pursued by the Gbethis from Kasseh Section (BKM) to a village called Magbankitha in Malekuray Section (TMS Chiefdom). The CDF Commander in Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) called for air support from Nigerian ECOMOG, who bombarded RUF/AFRC positions, forcing them to retreat to an unknown location.

During the same period, in early 1998, RUF/AFRC forces were retreating from Freetown along the Freetown–Masiaka Highway through Koya Chiefdom. The general retreat north moved towards Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District), where

RUF/AFRC troops began arriving on or around 14 February. That day or the next, RUF/AFRC forces ⁴⁹⁶ attacked Masherry-Potho and Mile 38 (both Koya Chiefdom). In both locations, RUF/AFRC forces conducted house-to-house searches, forcing civilians to carry the stolen property. They chased civilians into the bush, flogged those they caught and killed those who refused to give information about the location of their possessions. In Masherry-Potho, around 25 civilians were killed during the RUF/AFRC attack; at least three civilians were also mutilated. RUF/AFRC forces amputated the left hand of a man abducted from Masherry-Potho to carry stolen property when it became obvious he was unable to carry the load. RUF/AFRC forces dug deep trenches across the Freetown–Masiaka Highway, presumably to hold up ECOMOG movement out of the Western Area. Following this, they retreated north towards Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), burning all the houses along their route. Many civilians were abducted and forced to carry stolen property. A man from Mile 38 (Koya Chiefdom) had both hands amputated by RUF/AFRC forces when he attempted to escape. He was left at the village of Ro-Lal (Koya Chiefdom) and instructed to inform President Kabbah that the RUF/AFRC would return to Freetown.

RUF/AFRC forces were seen in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and the surrounding villages between 14 February and 1 March 1998. ECOMOG military intelligence received reports that the RUF/AFRC were taking up strong defensive positions in Lunsar. During this time, RUF/AFRC forces launched "Operation Pay Yourself," which in essence was a widespread looting spree. RUF/AFRC forces established checkpoints in the Delco Compound, Mabesseneh and Tainratha areas of Lunsar and stripped passers-by of all valuable and tradable items. On 15 February, RUF/AFRC forces kidnapped three missionaries and two foreign aid workers from the Mabeseneh Hospital in Lunsar. They were taken to Camp Charlie, near Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), before being released in Masiaka on 27 February. RUF/AFRC forces stole civilian property, burned down many residences in Lunsar and killed and decapitated an unknown number of civilians, forcing other civilians to bury the corpses. The Catholic Mission, Murialdo Vocational Institute, the Sierra Leone Primary School, the Sierra Leone Muslim Brotherhood Primary School and other institutions in Lunsar were severely vandalised.

In the early evening of 1 March 1998, troops from the ECOMOG 24th Infantry Brigade entered Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) from Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom). They engaged RUF/AFRC snipers en route at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom) and exchanged fire with RUF/AFRC forces for about an hour as they entered Lunsar. Apart from that, ECOMOG met no resistance from RUF/AFRC forces in Lunsar. From Lunsar, ECOMOG forces staged an attack on Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District), taking hold of the town on 3 March 1998. Two days earlier, on 1 March, around 400 RUF/AFRC members surrendered to Guinean ECOMOG at Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom). ⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁶ Some of these forces were dressed in full combat fatigues, while others wore camouflage t-shirts with red handkerchiefs tied around their heads.

⁴⁹⁷ R..A. Adeshina, pp.36-8.

⁴⁹⁸ AFP, 15 February 1998.

⁴⁹⁹ R.A. Adeshina, pp.36-38.

⁵⁰⁰ AFP, 1 March 1998

In March 1998, RUF/AFRC activities resumed in TMS Chiefdom, although the three sections were concerned at different times: Tinkatupa and Safroko Sections as early as April and May and Makama Section in December. Tinkatupa Section is sandwiched between Safroko Section to the north and Makama Section to the south. In early March, Gbethis (CDF) deployed at Masangban, Rogbanneh, Romamboi and Robaka, all in Tinkatupa Section. Shortly after their arrival, Gbethi members started harassing civilians for contributions of money and food. It is also reported in general terms that during this period, Gbethis raped women and flogged men.

After Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) had come under the control of ECOMOG from around 1 March, RUF/AFRC forces were dispersed throughout Buya Romende Chiefdom. They settled in numerous locations including Buya, Ro-Sint Buya, Foredugu, Gbonsama and Massenebe (all Buya Romende Chiefdom). At this time, RUF/AFRC activity in the chiefdom focussed on Jar-Jar operations, which involved the formation of squads dedicated to the widespread robbery of civilian property, both for subsistence and enrichment. Squads of around 150 RUF/AFRC members roved around villages in the chiefdom on a daily basis taking food and valuables, flogging people and forcing civilians to carry stolen property to RUF/AFRC camps.

Between 17 and 19 April, around 300 RUF/AFRC forces moved from a camp called "Kenema" in Libeisaygahun Chiefdom (Bombali District) to TMS Chiefdom. They established a base at Maboko in the Safroko Section (TMS Chiefdom), from where they raided surrounding villages between 19 April and 5 May. It is reported in general terms that during these raids, RUF/AFRC force regularly killed civilians and abducted others to carry stolen property. On 25 April, an ECOMOG platoon and an unknown number of Gbethis deployed from Lunsar to Sendugu (TMS Chiefdom), close to the RUF position at Maboko. An ECOMOG soldier on a motorbike driven by a civilian sped through Maboko and then called for air support. An ECOMOG jet bombed this location and another location in Maron (TMS Chiefdom); this second bombardment killed four civilians. Another civilian was killed during a subsequent ECOMOG air bombardment of a nearby village called Petifu. ECOMOG deployed to Maron and Sendugu but despite this, the RUF/AFRC continued to operate from Maboko.

On a Friday⁵⁰² in April 1998, a series of killings took place in the village of Rosint (Masimera Chiefdom). In the late afternoon, sporadic gunshots were heard all over the village. Three different groups of RUF/AFRC forces entered the village from different directions. The group from Masimera Town (Marampa Chiefdom) were a "Born Naked" unit, because they only wore underwear and sandals. The Mile 91 group – self-styled "Death Squad", commanded by a Liberian – were dressed in mixed civilian-military attire. The Royeben group dressed in full military fatigues.⁵⁰³ The groups had apparently decided to determine who stayed in Rosint by gambling on the sex of an

⁵⁰¹ Most likely on the road from the Batkanu/Ro-Source area. In April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces, driven by ECOMOG from Makeni and Kamakwie started targeting and occupying towns situated on the east-west road from Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom, Bombali District) to Batkanu (Lebeisaygahun Chiefdom, Bombali District). Westwards movement into TMS, Dibia and Buya Romende Chiefdoms (Port Loko District) logically extends this pattern of attacks.

⁵⁰² Dating this incident at either 3, 10, 17 or 24 April 1998.

⁵⁰³ This unit may have been comprised primarily of ex-SLA.

unborn baby. Therefore, RUF/AFRC forces gathered 18 civilians under a tree close to the entrance of the village. These RUF/AFRC forces executed a pregnant woman by cutting through her lower abdomen and removing the foetus from her uterus. As the baby was female, the Royeben group withdrew from the village into the nearby bush; they had earlier gambled that the baby was a boy.

The remaining RUF/AFRC forces made preparations to amputate limbs from village residents, bringing a cutlass and an axe over to a log near the village mosque. RUF/AFRC members forced a woman to lay her hand across the log and, after a count of three, amputated her hands. RUF/AFRC personnel attacked her daughter with a machete and a female RUF/AFRC member cut her granddaughter in half. The left foot of an 8-month old baby was amputated and her mother was decapitated with a cutlass. RUF/AFRC members put the severed head on a pole near the village primary school. Another man was also decapitated with a long cutlass for being unable to provide the RUF/AFRC with five sheep. The RUF/AFRC forces punctuated the killing and amputation with song and dance. Thirteen civilians were detained overnight in a house under the threat of death.

Very early the following morning, RUF/AFRC members forced the detainees to pray at the mosque and then cook for them. The RUF/AFRC forces then resumed amputations, cutting the wrist of a women six times before succeeding in amputating her hand, then shooting her dead after she managed to escape; they forced the other abductees to laugh loudly. Following this, RUF/AFRC forces amputated the left hand of a woman. Her nephew was held down by four RUF/AFRC members and decapitated. The woman managed to escape into the bush, arriving three days later at Mabesseneh Hospital in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) where she received emergency treatment. Staff at the hospital reported that at least seven others from Masimera Chiefdom had arrived in Lunsar with amputated limbs.

In March or April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Makaytay (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC commander announced his intention to establish a permanent base in their chiefdom. RUF/AFRC members used a sharp knife to amputate the left ear of a pregnant woman, before sending her to Sendugu. Residents of Gbaneloko (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) gave her assistance in getting to the Sendugu Health Centre, where she related her story to residents. In mid March, RUF/AFRC forces entered Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom), firing machine guns for around two hours. A large number of civilians were abducted; one of the captives, a pregnant woman, was killed later on the roadside. Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom), a few miles south of Sendugu, subsequently came under attack by the RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG forces deployed in Dibia Chiefdom retreated to Kagbantama (BKM Chiefdom), on the road between Barmoi Junction (BKM Chiefdom) and Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom). Many civilians displaced due to the RUF/AFRC attack on Sendugu fled to Kabantama. ECOMOG advanced on Gbinti a week later, following reinforcements arriving from Port Loko Town.

Between 3 and 5 May, RUF/AFRC forces resumed activity in TMS Chiefdom, killing the Regent Chief of Makasi (TMS Chiefdom) by machete blows to the head and an elder of the village. Around 12 houses were also burned during the attack. At Rogbanthi and Ro-Gberray (both Maforki Chiefdom), houses were burnt and people were abducted. At Masengeh, where many civilians had sought safety from RUF/AFRC attacks in the area, two civilians were killed and all 30 houses in the village were burnt down. ECOMOG strengthened their Maboko position in Safroko Section (TMS

Chiefdom), with a 50-strong unit remaining in place until October 1998. During this period, members of ECOMOG killed a well-respected elder, frequently beat and harassed civilians and killed and ate their livestock and other food. Additionally, ECOMOG forces raped at least three women while in Maron (TMS Chiefdom). In October, ECOMOG were replaced by around 30 ECOMOG-trained Gbethis (CDF) from Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom). These forces remained in Maron until February 1999. During this period, Gbethis decapitated a businessman suspected of being an RUF/AFRC spy, dancing the severed head around the village, harassed civilians and confiscated their livestock.

Around 400 heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces with six vehicles moved from the Lunsar area between 17 and 18 May, engaging engaged Gbethis (CDF) stationed in Robaka (TMS Chiefdom). The Gbethis were driven from the town and sustained heavy casualties, including three deaths. RUF/AFRC forces burned 13 houses during the attack. From Robaka, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Masangban, Futa and Gbanah (all TMS Chiefdom), burning over 60 houses in total. Throughout June, RUF/AFRC forces carried out food-finding missions to the villages of Masu, Gbonah, Gbanneh, Kalangba and Rosent (all TMS Chiefdom).

On 4 June 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Masimera village (Marampa Chiefdom), killing four civilians and burning down 300 residences; an unknown number of civilians drowned fleeing the RUF/AFRC attack. ⁵⁰⁴ Beginning in August 1998, rumours of imminent RUF/AFRC attacks spread throughout Maforki Chiefdom. Seven vehicles were stolen during RUF/AFRC ambushes on the highway between Rokel Bridge and Port Loko Town.

RUF/AFRC forces established a temporary base at Kathente (BKM Chiefdom) in late August or early September 1998, from which they used canoes to cross Little Scaries River and raid many surrounding and nearby villages. During this period, Konika (BKM Chiefdom) was attacked and at least two civilians were killed. RUF/AFRC forces killed one civilian with a bladed weapon and amputated the forelimbs from a young mother. At Small Kambia village (BKM Chiefdom), the RUF/AFRC forces burnt down an unknown number of houses but no deaths were reported.

Very early on 6 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kagbantama (Kasseh Section, BKM Chiefdom), likely attacking from a temporary base in Kathente, rather than from their established base at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom), or Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces entered the village and mounted a heavy machine gun high up in a tree at the entrance the village. RUF/AFRC forces cut the throats of three young men, killing them. They stripped the zinc roofing from six houses, put bullet holes in other roofing and burned down a further 18 houses. Medical supplies and a large power generator were stolen from the hospital. Leaving Kagbantama, RUF/AFRC forces headed to their permanent base at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom). En route, they burnt and stole from civilian residences in the villages of Ma-Umaro, Marenka, Mayisna, Mahera and Tasso (all BKM Chiefdom). At this time, Gbethis (CDF) were not deployed in the Kasseh Section of BKM Chiefdom, although they were deployed to Kagbantama following the 6 September attack.

A 150-strong RUF/AFRC group attacked ECOMOG between 28 and 30 September at the key Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), killing 16 civilians and leaving over 30 wounded. ECOMOG

⁵⁰⁴ AFP, 4 June 1998.

forces suffered four fatalities and 16 wounded, forcing their retreat to Port Loko Town on 2 October. Following ECOMOG's retreat, the highway was closed to civilian traffic, severely restricting the movement and livelihoods of inhabitants of Maforki Chiefdom, by cutting off the main overland route from Port Loko Town both to Freetown and inland. In the months of November and December 1998, several attacks were launched on villages in Maforki Chiefdom. For example, in November 1998, at Ro-Gbesseh, a village hosting displaced persons, over 20 men were abducted, people were killed and some houses were burnt. At Ro-Gberray Junction in early December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces looked for able-bodied men to join their movement, capturing over 10 men for this purpose. Also in December 1998, an unknown number of civilian corpses were found in Makokbo, Ma-Purseh, Ma-Barrkay and Ro-Gbil (all Maforki Chiefdom).

During the last three months of 1998, RUF/AFRC forces using the Kambia–Port Loko route through Mange in BKM Chiefdom moved in the direction of TMS Chiefdom, burning down villages along that route (located mainly in Maforki Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces put continuous pressure on the Mange Bridge. Gradually, RUF/AFRC forces moved to cut off and encircle Port Loko Town in preparation for the large-scale assault on the town that would occur on 28 December 1998. Aside from Mayoyisor, which was burnt to the ground, many villages including Rogbonko, Kabatha, Malal, Konta, Kalie and Mathineh were also attacked. At Mathineh, an unknown number of civilians were locked in a house, which was then set on fire. RUF/AFRC forces reached TMS Chiefdom in late November and set fire to villages, including Maramba and Robat, where all the houses except the mosque were burnt down.

Bureh Section (BKM Chiefdom) and its main and strategic town, Mange, were attacked for the second time in October 1998. Between 7 and 11 October, CDF and RUF/AFRC forces fought for control of the long road bridge over the Little Scaries River at Mange;⁵⁰⁵ the CDF eventually took control. After this attack, RUF/AFRC forces spread to most of the villages in Bureh Section. "Loyal"⁵⁰⁶ SLA forces and the CDF,⁵⁰⁷ including Kamajors, were also deployed in Bureh Section. However, the combined RUF/AFRC forces eventually took control of the town of Mange, burnt some houses, took property and abducted young men and women. They also opened a recruitment centre for abductees and sent other abductees to Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District), which at this time was a major RUF/AFRC headquarters. People were also tortured and some civilians had their limbs amputated. RUF/AFRC forces then spread out to other villages in Bureh Section and began occupying villages in Makonteh Section. In November 1998, RUF/AFRC forces executed a group of CDF and threw their bodies into the river. At this time, Mange Hospital, which was receiving medicine from a Red Cross Helicopter, was used to treat wounded RUF/AFRC forces. SLA forces made several attempts to dislodge the fighters from Mange but were unable to cross the strategic bridge across Little Scaries River.

RUF/AFRC forces attacked Masimera Town (Marampa Chiefdom) in early December 1998. During this attack, many school children were abducted, women were raped and people were mutilated and killed. One group of armed men, dressed in military fatigue, pretended to be Government soldiers

⁵⁰⁵ 11 October 1998, BBC Online News.

⁵⁰⁶ That is, those members of the SLA who had not joined the AFRC but remained under the command of the elected President.

⁵⁰⁷ The CDF 14th Battalion. Detail only from All Africa News, 9 December 1998, "No Rebels at Gberay Bridge".
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coming to protect Masimera Town and came to Royeben village, where they asked for men to assist them. Ten men were provided and all of them left for Masimera, where they arrived late at night. The civilians were then ordered to return back home to their village, but were captured by a second group dressed similarly to the group that had come to Royeben. All of the civilians but one escaped and the group went to Masimera; on their arrival, the whole town was in flames. The next day, two people were killed with cutlasses for refusing to chase a fowl. Other villages around Masimera Town were burnt down, including Mapelise and Rosent. Four people were killed with cutlasses, among them a woman who had previously been raped many times by numerous members of the RUF/AFRC.

RUF/AFRC forces again moved on Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) throughout late November and December 1998. During the first attack, on 27 November 1998, the RUF/AFRC forces passed through Foredugu at night and attacked the town, but were repelled by ECOMOG forces. On their way back to Foredugu and Robis Junction (Buya Romende Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces captured and killed a pro-Government soldier

In early December 1998, the RUF/AFRC were positioned in Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom), on the main route through TMS Chiefdom, which they had used as a staging point for their first bid to capture Port Loko Town in June 1995. In Malekuray, they fired their weapons for some time and bayoneted a civilian. After this, the RUF/AFRC forces set fire to the town and left for the next village, Maforay (TMS Chiefdom), where they burnt some houses. They continued on towards Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), to reach a base at Masokoma, known as "Combat Camp".

Between 1 and 4 December, Nigerian jets bombarded RUF/AFRC positions near Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), killing at least 70 RUF/AFRC members. Following this, RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Lunsar before dawn on 5 December 1998 from the direction of Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) and Kumrabai (Marampa Chiefdom). A small company of ECOMOG and CDF forces managed to ambush RUF/AFRC forces at nearby Mamara but did not prevent RUF/AFRC forces from entering Lunsar. ECOMOG reinforcements arrived from Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and attacked RUF/AFRC with RPGs, mortar and heavy machine gun fire from an armoured vehicle. During the attack, three members of ECOMOG and an unknown number of civilians were killed. RUF/AFRC forces took large amounts of property and abducted an unknown number of civilians to carry the load. In addition, they managed to loot the ECOMOG battalion headquarters, stealing a number of new radio sets and ECOMOG uniforms, in addition to rifles and ammunition.

It is unclear whether or not RUF/AFRC forces took full control over Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) in mid-December, but they certainly remained in the immediate area. It is clear that on 8 December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Magbenthan and Mamusa, (both Marampa Chiefdom) on the highway between Lunsar and Ro-Gberray, burning all the houses. ECOMOG units displaced from fighting in other districts began arriving in Lunsar for redeployment after 15 December. ⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ AFP, 3 December 1998.

⁵⁰⁹ R.A. Adeshina, pp 130-2 ff.

⁵¹⁰ R.A. Adeshina, pp 130-2 ff.

RUF/AFRC forces began pushing south into Koya Chiefdom and on 7 December they assaulted Masiaka⁵¹¹ and Magbontoso, a village further west along the highway near Mile 38. RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Masiaka between 14 and 16 December.⁵¹² During this attack, RUF/AFRC forces were coming from three different areas with the main aim of dislodging the Guinean forces and to take their arms and ammunition. The RUF/AFRC forces burnt one armoured tank, some houses and the Guinean ECOMOG HQ, but were unable to seize any weapons. After a battle that night, which left over 20 civilians dead, the Guinean forces were able to repel the RUF/AFRC forces who, while leaving, abducted many civilians, including school children.

On 21 and 22 December, RUF/AFRC forces bypassed Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) and attacked the towns of Songo (Koya RD, Western Area) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). On 23 December, RUF/AFRC forces attacked and occupied Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). On 25 December, following a month long campaign of gradual encirclement, RUF/AFRC forces assaulted Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District), forcing ECOMOG to retreat northwards to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom, Bomali District), which itself fell to the RUF/AFRC on 30 December. The main road to Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Masiaka was left was left undefended as Guinean troops withdraw from Masiaka to defend Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) from an RUF/AFRC attack on or around 26 December 1998.

Gbethis (CDF) from Mile 91 came to Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) to reinforce the CDF and ECOMOG forces based in the town. Between 28 and 30 December 1998, very large numbers of heavily-armed RUF/AFRC forces converged on Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), midway between Port Loko Town and Lunsar. On 30 December, Nigerian ECOMOG retreated in full from Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), leaving the town in the hand of RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces then staged a major assault on Port Loko Town. RUF/AFRC units moved from Kambia Town and Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District), Mange (BKM Chiefdom) and Macoba (just north of Mange), but also from Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District).

In the late morning of 30 December, RUF/AFRC forces entered Port Loko Town and engaged the joint Nigerian and Guinean ECOMOG contingent positioned at the Falaba Primary School. During the attack on Port Loko Town, civilians were killed, including the Paramount Chief, women were raped and houses were looted. RUF/AFRC forces eventually captured the eastern part of the town, called old Port Loko, and fought for the control of the whole town. However, the bombing of RUF/AFRC positions from the air strengthened ECOMOG resistance. On 3 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces left the town using the same route to the east along which they had advanced. It is highly likely that the bulk of these forces moved into the Western Area in preparation for the 6 January assault on Freetown. In the wake of the RUF/AFRC retreat from Port Loko, ECOMOG and CDF groups stole a large amount of civilian property.

e) Events in 1999

⁵¹¹A strategic location where the main Freetown highway divides into two highways, one leading to Port Loko Town and the other to Mile 91.

⁵¹² First date from record, later date from AFP, 16 December 1998

⁵¹³ BBC and AFP, 30 December 1998.

RUF/AFRC forces invaded Freetown between 6 and 20 January. As noted, there were preliminary attacks in late December on the towns of Port Loko, Ro-Gberray, Lunsar, Masiaka, Songo, Newton and Waterloo in preparation for the 6 January invasion. ECOMOG forces pushed the RUF/AFRC back to Waterloo, where they remained in force until at least 25 February 1999. RUF/AFRC forces retained control over the arterial routes from Western Area running through Port Loko District throughout this time.

RUF/AFRC forces occupied Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) following ECOMOG's retreat on 26 December. Following the general retreat of RUF/AFRC forces from Greater Freetown (Western Area) towards Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) after 20 January, RUF/AFRC forces began building up in Masiaka. During the occupation of Masiaka, CDF forces surrounded the town and exerted constant pressure on the RUF/AFRC. Between 18 and 24 January there was a tense standoff between the two forces, resulting in a stalemate. After 24 January, RUF/AFRC units began occupying villages near Masiaka to increase the security of their Masiaka position and to break the deadlock with the CDF. Between 24 January and 15 February, at Ma-Kanry village (Koya Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces killed an unknown number of civilians, alleged to be hostile "collaborators". On 15 March, a RUF/AFRC splinter group called the West Side Boys 514 exchanged gunfire with regular RUF/AFRC forces based in Masiaka. This skirmish was reportedly caused by disputes about the division of stolen property. On 3 April, ECOMOG Alfa Jets commenced flypasses over Masiaka and nearby villages. RUF/AFRC forces reportedly rounded up civilians, placed them on the town streets and started using bladed weapons to carve the initials "RUF" on the civilian captives. On 17 April, Nigerian forces backed up by air support advanced on Masiaka, capturing the town on or around 29 April 1999. Withdrawing RUF/AFRC forces burnt down around 300 residences.

RUF/AFRC forces also occupied the town of Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) between 14 January and 22 April 1999. Mile 91 is about 30 miles east of Masiaka along the main highway on the first main road junction leading south to Bo and Kenema. As at Masiaka, RUF/AFRC forces were beaten back by a heavy ECOMOG assault. RUF forces established a sub-office responsible for monitoring military activities in the Maforki area at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom). In March 1999, RUF/AFRC activities resumed at Konta (Maforki Chiefdom), where an old woman, a man and a young girl pounding cassava leaves were given 100 lashes each by RUF/AFRC personnel. In April, three women from Masubah (Maforki Chiefdom) were taken away and raped by 15 men.

The Gbethis (CDF) strengthened their positions in Port Loko District during early 1999, particularly in the areas bordering Dibia Chiefdom and the RUF/AFRC base at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom). These positions would present an obstacle to activity spreading from RUF/AFRC-held territory in Sanda Tendaren and Libeisaygahun Chiefdoms (both Bombali District) bordering Dibia Chiefdom. Following appeals from the Regent Chief to the Paramount Chief of Port Loko Town, members of the Gbethi Society were sent to secure Kasseh Section (BKM Chiefdom) in February 1999. At first, these men had only shotguns, machetes and sticks. During a patrol on 3 February near Romeni, just north-east of Port Loko Town (both Maforki Chiefdom), the Gbethis captured an ex-SLA soldier suspected of being an RUF commander. They decapitated him and danced his severed head around

 $^{514}\,\mathrm{For}$ more information about the West Side Boys, see below.

Port Loko Town, demanding money and chanting, "Die dae, die nor dae. Rebel dae for die, die dae for rebel", meaning: "Death does not exist, death is for rebels and rebels are meant to die".

In March 1999, the CDF established a recruitment base at Kagbantama (BKM Chiefdom) and a training camp at Makomp, just north of Port Loko Town. Kagbantama is on the main road leading from Port Loko Town to Gbinti and Sendugu, the headquarter towns of Dibia and Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdoms respectively. ECOMOG had retreated from Dibia Chiefdom to Kagbantama in March 1998. At the Makomp camp, recruits to the CDF were instructed in the use of supernatural charms and clothes that could allegedly render them bullet-proof. Additionally, they were trained in the use and maintenance of a rifle. The main task of the CDF in Kasseh was to secure the east bank of the Little Scaries River, preventing southward RUF/AFRC infiltration from upstream towns like Bainkoro and other locations in Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom. After 18 February, SLA units deployed to Kasseh Section (BKM) but were driven from the section by civilians, following incidents of looting and poor discipline. In late March or early April, Gbethis at Makomp ambushed three SLA members who had been issued written permission to pass from CDF command in Port Loko Town. A CDF commanding officer cut one of the SLA members in half from head to pelvis. He was arrested by the CDF authorities, but returned to his unit after only two days of detention.

The traditional authorities of Safroko Section (TMS Chiefdom) turned down a request from the CDF in BKM Chiefdom in late March 1999 to establish a Gbethi Society. Consequently, Gbethis from Kagbantama (Kasseh Section, BKM Chiefdom) began to harass residents of Safroko Section (TMS Chiefdom) throughout March and April. For example, in March 1999, a CDF group came to Rosar (Safroko Section, TMS Chiefdom) and captured a civilian they accused of being a "rebel". Gbethis brought him back to Kagbantama, where they tied him up and dripped melted plastic on his body. On 5 April, Gbethis from Kagbantama retuned to Rosar, following a general report that the inhabitants were "all rebels". Gbethis formed a firing squad, lined 27 men into two rows and shot them dead. The next day, 6 April 1999, Gbethis from Kagbantama again attacked Rosar. During the attack they raped an unknown number of women, stole property and burnt down 45 houses in the village, leaving only the mosque standing. At Maron village (TMS Chiefdom) on 8 April, Gbethis killed a blind man and threatened to kill the Section Chief and elders because they had refused to join the Gbethi Society. The Gbethis consequently accepted Le 400,000 and some food items in satisfaction. On 9 April in Makapr (TMS Chiefdom), near Maron, Gbethis from Dibia Chiefdom shot a civilian man twice and amputated one of his hands. They also took property and burnt down seven houses. On 23 April, at Mafonkay (TMS Chiefdom), Gbethis shot dead two elders and a child. At Makili, they killed one man, raped two women and burnt houses, after having taken property from inside. These Gbethis came from Kagbantama but also from Kareneh (Dibia Chiefdom), following the orders of a commander who was moving from section to section, initiating people into the Gbethi Society.

By the end of March 1999, RUF/AFRC activities resumed in Makama Section (TMS Chiefdom). At this time, an RUF/AFRC patrol from "Combat Camp" arrived in Malekuray and announced to residents that their commander wanted to make peace with them and the nearby villages of Mafengbeh, Robenkia and Makaneh. For acceding to this localised "peace treaty", the village elders would be given a "clearance paper", which they were ordered to display should any RUF/AFRC

forces threaten the village or its residents. In return, the population had to contribute money and food to the RUF/AFRC. This arrangement was called "G5" and had been in operation in other areas of Sierra Leone held by the RUF/AFRC since at least December 1997. In brief, it provided the RUF/AFRC with a more rational, less strenuous way of extracting resources from the civilian population. On 13 April 1999, those residents of Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom) who returned to their chiefdom in accordance the terms agreed in the "peace treaty" met some Gbethis at Maforay (TMS Chiefdom), who killed two civilians. Shortly after, the CDF commander and over 100 Gbethis came to Malekuray. For making this deal with the RUF/AFRC, the CDF commander for the area threatened to kill all the inhabitants of Malekuray and use their bodies as roadblocks. The Section Chief, Imams, the headman and 10 elders were abducted and taken away to the CDF base. The Regent Chief of Masu eventually negotiated the release of those abducted, in return for which residents of Malekuray and surrounding villages would give the CDF food, livestock and Le 200,000. On 14 April, however, around 30 armed RUF/AFRC members from Combat Camp came to Malekuray. The "clearance paper" proved to be worthless. The RUF/AFRC forces shot dead five civilians; four other civilians were killed in the town, one wounded severely with a machete. Other people sustained knife wounds but survived. The RUF/AFRC forces said the attack was in retaliation for the village's support for the Gbethis. Caught between the RUF/AFRC and the Gbethis, most of the inhabitants left Malekuray for the bush or bigger towns.

Following the release of the RUF leader from Government custody on 15 April 1999, it was announced over radio that former SLA soldiers who had joined the AFRC regime should surrender to the United Nations Military Observers (UN MILOBS) for re-engagement. This resulted in infighting between RUF and AFRC forces. Nevertheless, disarmament started in November 1999.

On 7 May 1999, RUF/AFRC forces again attacked Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom), reportedly on a food-finding mission. They moved through the villages of Maimera, Makamasa and Badara, killing 13 people in total and burning 10 houses. The large build-up and coordination exhibited in the RUF's earlier assaults on Port Loko Town was not present in this attack. The Malian ECOMOG contingent resisted the RUF/AFRC attack, incurring 7 fatalities and 11 casualties; at least 20 RUF/AFRC members were killed during the attack. Few houses were looted during the attack and an unknown number of civilians were killed. By 7 May, Ro-Gberray (Maforki Chiefdom) was reportedly accessible to humanitarian organisations, having been cleared of RUF/AFRC by ECOMOG. On 13 and 14 May, Songo and Mile 38 (both Koya Chiefdom) were attacked by RUF/AFRC forces.

Despite the ongoing peace negotiations, RUF/AFRC forces continued to attack civilian settlements in Masimera Chiefdom. For example, after 20 June 1999 a chiefdom Police Officer was killed in his garden in Masimera. In nearby Mathilie, RUF/AFRC forces amputated the limb of a civilian man. In Makonton, RUF/AFRC members amputated a woman's limb; another woman was shot dead for refusing to have sexual intercourse with one of the RUF commanders. In mid-1999, Lunsar remained under RUF occupation. Following infighting between AFRC and RUF forces in Makeni (Makari Gbanti, Bombali District), AFRC forces decamped to Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), but shortly after were chased out by RUF forces.

⁵¹⁵ UN HACU, Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 1 - 17 May 1999.⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (Lomé Peace Agreement). Following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, a demobilisation centre was opened at the Lungi Military Barracks (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom) and in early November a centre opened near Port Loko Town. By 30 November, around 500 RUF personnel had registered as ex-combatants.⁵¹⁷

Throughout 1999, RUF/AFRC forces in Bureh Section (BKM Chiefdom) killed an unknown number of civilians suspected of being "spies" or Government forces. After the ceasefire on 24 May 1999, ECOMOG and UNOMSIL MILOBS were deployed to Government-held and RUF/AFRC-held areas in Bureh Section (BKM Chiefdom), including Mange and Mile 18. These foreign forces engaged in routine patrols, but were unable to access Makonteh Section because of the poor quality of the bridges and the difficulties imposed by the rainy season. RUF forces violated the ceasefire, often during food-finding raids; they looted villages like Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) and abducted people to carry the stolen property.

On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone, to replace the previous observer mission and assist with the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement. ⁵¹⁸ The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) commenced deployment with the arrival of advance teams on 29 and 30 November; ⁵¹⁹ 4,500 UNAMSIL were troops were present in Sierra Leone by 10 January 2000. ⁵²⁰

From October through to the end of 1999, a few isolated but brutal incidents are reported in Port Loko District. One Sunday in late October, RUF/AFRC forces in Magbankay (Masimera Chiefdom) killed a civilian man as a rite foreseeing their "peaceful stay" in the chiefdom. After he was killed, his genitals, tongue and eyes were removed from his body. These body parts were given to a virgin girl, who buried them near a small stream following a ceremony in Masimera Town. In another incident in Masimera, girls and women abducted in various villages near the Rokel River were raped, taken to a nearby bank of the river and shot dead.

In November, tensions between the RUF and the remnants of the AFRC led to a series of clashes in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom). By 2 November, Lunsar was reportedly under the sole occupation of the RUF. This was part of a wider RUF operation that established their dominance over Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). On 8 November, a number of ex-AFRC who had entered the demobilisation process in at a centre in Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom) rioted at a nearby market over the delayed award of financial incentives to disarm. In addition to demanding food, clothing and medical supplies from

⁵¹⁷ IRIN West Africa, 30 November 1999.

⁵¹⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999).

⁵¹⁹ BBC, 29 November 1999

⁵²⁰ IRIN West Africa, 11 January 1999.

⁵²¹ IRIN West Africa, 2 November, quoting ECOMOG sources.

⁵²² BBC, 9 November 1999; IRIN West Africa, 10 November 1999.

local traders, they looted numerous civilian residences.⁵²³ A number of small skirmishes were reported between ECOMOG and demobilised ex-AFRC in mid December.⁵²⁴ On 22 December, ECOMOG reported that its forces had shot dead three ex-AFRC members in the village of Matank (Marampa Chiefdom), near Lunsar.

<u>f)</u> Events in 2000

In early January, UNAMSIL moved into positions throughout Port Loko District. A single Nigerian battalion was based at Freetown International Airport at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom) and a second covered Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom), Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) and Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), securing the towns and the main highways. A Battalion of Kenyan troops was sent to secure Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Magburaka (Kholida Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). Nigerian forces deployed under ECOMOG would remain in county to provide additional back up to the incoming UNAMSIL forces. Zambian UNAMSIL forces commenced deployment to Sierra Leone, arriving in Lungi between 21 and 26 April coming to a full strength of 775 by 2 May 2000. April 2001.

Disarmament began in November 1999 in Port Loko District, but after some months, some combatants still in the bush refused to disarm and continued attacking villages in 2000 and 2001. During 1999 and 2000, RUF/AFRC forces camped at Foredugu Junction (Buya Romende Chiefdom), just north-east of Lunsar on the main highway from Makeni, at that point under firm RUF occupation until at least February 2001.

Between January and July 2000, RUF/AFRC forces had free movement along the main north-south highway running through Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom and consequently through the towns of Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) and Gbinti (Buya Romende Chiefdom). From Gbinti, the RUF could move freely south through Kamasundo (Dibia Chiefdom) to Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom); this would allow RUF forces to stage attacks on Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Ro-Gberray (Maforki Chiefdom).

RUF/AFRC forces coming from Makeni in January 2000 headed to Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom), abducting two people at Maron (TMS Chiefdom). They then proceeded to Gbinti, where they engaged Gbethis (CDF). The Gbethis were defeated and the RUF/AFRC forces stole property, burnt an unknown number of houses and advanced into Kambia District. In March 2000, RUF/AFRC forces entered Sendugu along the main north-south route through Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom towards Bombali District. They were around 120 in number, equipped with AK47s, hand grenades, cutlasses and knives. This RUF/AFRC Company carried out another series of looting operations dubbed "Operation Pay Yourself", camping for two weeks in Sendugu and stealing from the surrounding villages. At Rorange, they shot a woman who did not want to give them her bag of milled rice. The following day, Gbethis from Barmoi Junction (BKM Chiefdom) attacked Sendugu, forcing RUF/AFRC forces to retreat north-east.

⁵²³ UN HACU, Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 7 - 20 Nov 1999.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵²⁵ UN OCHA, Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 5 - 16 Jan 2000.

⁵²⁶ IRIN West Africa, 21 April 2000, 26 April 2000 and 2 May 2000.

In May 2000, the commander of both the RUF and AFRC forces in the Sendugu area ordered that any member caught trying to abscond and enter a DDR program would be shot on sight. That same month, near Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), RUF forces intercepted a convoy composed of civilians and RUF/AFRC members seeking to disarm. All the passengers were killed, including the RUF/AFRC members, who were accused of trying to join the DDR program in Port Loko. Consequently, civilians believed that most of the RUF/AFRC forces living in Maforki and Marampa Chiefdoms would not disarm.

RUF/AFRC forces attacked Thombo (Maforki Chiefdom) in May 2000, killing civilians and members of the CDF. At Rothawa, armed men dressed only in trousers killed a civilian and took property. RUF/AFRC forces also attacked Ro-Lal, where one civilian was killed and two houses were burnt down.

On 5 May 2000, 208 members of UNAMSIL's Zambian contingent were disarmed and captured by RUF forces based at Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom). RUF forces returned to Foredugu with vehicles, communication sets, weapons and uniforms stolen from the peacekeepers. By 28 May, following the series of events outlined below, UNAMSIL announced that virtually all the peacekeepers had been released by the RUF. On 8 May, the UK commenced "Operation Palliser", deploying to Sierra Leone the *HMS Ocean* and around 800 paratroopers from the Parachute Regiment. ⁵²⁷ Initially, UK forces secured the airport and Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom) and commenced the evacuation of UK nationals and other expatriates.

Between 8 and 14 May, RUF forces unsuccessfully attempted to gain control of Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom). At that time, Masiaka was defended by an unknown number of AFRC "loyalists" who had split from the RUF at the end of 1999 and realigned themselves with the elected government, in addition to regular SLA and CDF forces. 529 A contingent of Guinean UNAMSIL had withdrawn from the town.

RUF troops attacked SLA forces stationed in Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom) on 12 May 2000 with heavy machine gun and RPG fire. On 15 May, they advanced west towards Port Loko Town, where 500 RUF forces attacked the town in the early evening of 16 May 2000; Nigerian and SLA forces engaged the RUF, forcing their retreat soon after. During the attack, one member of the Nigerian forces was killed and six members of the SLA and five members of the Nigerian forces were injured.⁵³⁰

On the morning of 17 May, the RUF leader was captured travelling in a civilian vehicle in Freetown. The UK Secretary of Defence stated to the BBC that Sankoh was being held in "protective custody" by UK forces. ⁵³¹ Also on 17 May, RUF forces attacked UK positions 6 miles east of the International Airport at Lungi. Repelling the attack, UK paratroops killed three RUF members. ⁵³²

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⁵²⁷ On 24 May, members of the 42 Commando Royal Marines replaced the paratroopers.

⁵²⁸ BBC Online News, 10 May 2000.

⁵²⁹ BBC Online News, 10 May 2000.

⁵³⁰ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 17 May 2000.

⁵³¹ BBC Online News, 17 May 2000 (18:03 GMT 19:03 UK).

⁵³² BBC Online News, 17 May 2000.

On 18 May, Jordanian UNAMSIL peacekeepers were deployed at Masiaka and further north at Rokel Bridge.

Although this UNAMSIL action pushed the RUF/AFRC north, with subsequent attacks focussing on Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom) and Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), the RUF still maintained pressure on Port Loko Town, regularly staging probing attacks on SLA and UNAMSIL positions in the town area and arterial roads after 16 May. On 20 and 23 May, RUF forces engaged SLA forces in the Port Loko Town area from the Lungi Road. In the evening of 28 May, they again attacked from the direction of Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom), briefly penetrating the town centre. On 1 and 4 June, RUF forces staged evening attacks on Port Loko Town from Bureh Section (BKM Chiefdom); during the 4 June attack, an RPG fired by RUF forces killed one civilian and injured six. On 12 June, RUF forces attacking Port Loko Town killed a CDF member. On 22 June, a Sierra Leone Government helicopter gunship inflicted casualties on the RUF during an attack on Port Loko Town.

On 24 May, RUF forces ambushed an SLA truck near Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), killing four members of the SLA and two foreign journalists. On 1 and 2 June, combat troops from the Indian UNAMSIL contingent took up positions around Ro-Gberray Junction, taking full control of it by 5 June. The same day, the RUF staged a major attack on Ro-Gberray lasting 12 hours, during which three Nigerian peacekeepers, five civilians and 23 RUF members were killed. Also on 5 June, a 12-strong RUF squad led by a former SLA member attacked the village of Romonukeh (Maforki Chiefdom), burning six houses and abducting one civilian man.

Between 1 and 21 June, SLA⁵³⁵ and RUF fought for control of Lunsar (Marampa). After 8 June, Lunsar was reportedly under the control of the SLA, which repelled an RUF counter-attack on 13 June with the assistance of the West Side Boys.⁵³⁶ The RUF retook Lunsar on 21 June 2000,⁵³⁷ remaining in control of the town until 14 March 2001 when, on the invitation of the RUF, UNAMSIL deployed in the town.⁵³⁸

Two RUF attacks are reported in Makama Section (TMS) during 2000. On 29 June, 50 SLA members who had deployed to Malekuray (TMS) in March 2000 retreated, at which time RUF forces killed an old man. During the second attack on Malekuray, on 30 July, RUF forces were repelled by CDF forces and no casualties are reported. Both attacks came from the direction of Kambia–Makama, east along the road from Malekuray.

Before 10 July 2000, RUF/AFRC forces entered Kanokie (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom), some of them shouting "people of Kanokie, don't be afraid, we are on transit to Sendugu, your village is not our target". They left the village with no reported incidents of violence. From 10 to 13 July 2000, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Sendugu, burning down 11 residences and abducting an unknown

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⁵³³ BBC Online News, 25 May 2000 (06:55 GMT 07:55 UK).

⁵³⁴ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 5 June 2000.

⁵³⁵ It is unclear whether UNAMSIL troops assisted in the defence of Lunsar on these dates.

⁵³⁶ See below for more detailed information on the West Side Boys.

⁵³⁷ BBC Online News, 21 June 2000 (17:57 GMT 18:57).

⁵³⁸ UNAMSIL Press Release, 14 March 2001.

number of civilians. A few weeks after this attack, youths and elderly men formed the Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom CDF to increase security throughout the chiefdom.

RUF attacks on Port Loko Town continued between July and September 2000, with small-scale attacks on 2 and 11 July from the Lungi road. RUF forces attacked Port Loko on 2 and 20 August using the Malekuray (TMS) road and again on 27 August using the Lungi route. In August 2000, the RUF leadership formed peacekeeping committees in Buya Romende, Marampa and Masimera Chiefdoms, possibly to boost their credibility ahead of the talks with UNAMSIL that would take place in 2001.

On 20 August 2000, a small number of RUF forces attacked Massembeh (Maforki Chiefdom), killing two civilians and injuring two others. On 2 September at Yankasa (Maforki Chiefdom), four people were killed and 10 injured, including a pregnant woman. Two civilian girls were captured and the village was looted. RUF forces again attacked Port Loko Town on 1 September. One RUF group killed 20 SLA near Kabatha, while the SLA and UNAMSIL repelled without casualties a second RUF group that moved into Port Loko Town along the Lungi road. On 10 September, the RUF staged a final attack on Port Loko Town along the Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom) road, sustaining at least 50 fatalities and a high number of causalities. RUF forces withdrew to Makeni through TMS Chiefdom to Kamasundo (Dibia Chiefdom), killing one person at Robombo and raping women at Maron. They proceeded to Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom) and onwards to Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom, Bombali District). For the remainder of September and throughout October, no events of significance are reported.

RUF forces from Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) entered the villages of Bainkoro and Robaku in Tinkatupa Section (TMS Chiefdom) soon after 10 November 2000. They abducted three civilian men to use as guides. The group travelled to Makapr, shooting and injuring a civilian woman. Moving to Lunsar, they stole livestock and food items. At Magberi, RUF forces burnt down eight houses. Around 45 SLA forces stationed in Malekuray (TMS Chiefdom) engaged this RUF group near Masangban, recovering some of the stolen property.

g) Events in 2001

The RUF allowed UNAMSIL access to two important roads in Port Loko District on 12 January 2001. First, the RUF opened the stretch of highway connecting Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) to Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District). Second, the RUF opened the road between Mange (BKM Chiefdom) and Kambia (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District), ⁵³⁹ although the road bridge over the Little Scaries River would not be open until 22 March 2001. ⁵⁴⁰ The following day, the UNAMSIL Force Commander met with representatives of the RUF in Lunsar to discuss the humanitarian situation and the deployment of UNAMSIL to Lunsar. ⁵⁴¹ On 25 February, the first formal UNAMSIL-RUF Contact Group meeting was held in Mange (BKM). On 14 March, around 240 Nigerian UNAMSIL troops commenced deployment to Lunsar, ⁵⁴² increasing to 776 by 23 March 2001. ⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 12 January 2001

⁵⁴⁰ UNAMSIL Press Release, 22 March 2001

⁵⁴¹ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 15 January 2001

⁵⁴² UNAMSIL Press Release, 14 March 2001 and IRINWA, 16 March 2001

In Maforki Chiefdom, there were many incidents of RUF forces stripping corrugated zinc roofing from civilian residences. For example, in February 2001, some houses were unroofed at Rogbath, Robis, Masokor, Mathera, Rothudekun, Makambisa and Babara. In March, houses including the mosque were unroofed at Taindukum, Mabala, Rokoreh and Roforoad, all located in the lower part of Maforki Chiefdom. Similar operations were undertaken in April and June. During this period, there appears to have been no further theft, burning or killing.

Between 18 and 29 May, UNAMSIL opened a disarmament camp at Kabatha Junction near Port Loko.⁵⁴⁴ On 14 June, disarmament commenced in Lunsar. On 10 August, UNAMSIL, the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone issued a joint communiqué stating that disarmament was completed in throughout Port Loko District.⁵⁴⁵

Nevertheless, as disarmament proceeded, there were a number of violent incidents. In May 2001, a group of over 200 well-armed RUF fighters with vehicles seized from UNAMSIL peacekeepers at Makeni fought with the Gbethis (CDF) at Roctolon (TMS Chiefdom), killing some civilians and some Gbethis. The RUF forces then passed through Patifu, where they killed one man, and through Maron, where they stole civilian property before returning to Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District). In June 2001, RUF forces entered to Rosar and Maron, moving through Kagbantama (BKM Chiefdom). At Maron (TMS Chiefdom), they captured women, who were later raped, and went to Lunsar. On 21 October 2001, RUF members coming from the Lunsar area attacked the village of Maron in Safroko Section (TMS). This is the final recorded event of the conflict in Port Loko District.

h) The "West Side Boys": Okra Hills, Maforki and Koya Chiefdoms, 1998-2000

The Okra Hills is a densely forested geographical area between Makambisa and Gberibana in the lower part of Maforki Chiefdom, crossing southwards over the Rokel Creek into Koya Chiefdom towards the township of Magbeni and onto the stretch of highway between Mile 38 and Masiaka. Between 15 October 1998 and mid-2001, this area was subjected to patterns of attacks by an RUF/AFRC splinter group comprising mainly ex-SLA AFRC members. The forces involved from 1998 onwards share a common thread of leadership and following the RUF/AFRC general retreat from Freetown, they re-branded themselves the "West Side Boys", although there was no substantive change in their composition. Accordingly, the group shall be referred to as the West Side Boys throughout this section.

Between 15 October and 29 December 1998, the West Side Boys attacked over 30 villages in the geographical area between Gberibana and Makambisa in the lower part of Maforki Chiefdom, bordered by the Rokel Creek to the south. There is little to distinguish any of these attacks from

⁵⁴³ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 23 March 2001

⁵⁴⁴ UNAMSIL Press Release, 29 May 2001

⁵⁴⁵ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 14 August 2001

The following villages were attacked on the following days: Gberebana, Rofurawa, Gbontho-Yama on 15
 October; Mabala, Magbenthen, Rokoreh and Mapolie on 17, 21, 27 and 31 October respectively; Mamiekanuh, Robis, Kalukeh, Robala on or around 3 November; Rofindu and Roseinti on 7 November; Masawrie on 10
 November; Gbonkomayer and Mathule on 15 November; Pethunr on 29 November; Rokoith and Robemeh on 1
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one another. The attacks were all launched from camps near Foredugu and Magbeni (both Koya Chiefdom), in the dense jungle and bush of the Okra Hills area, adjacent to the stretch of the main highway running between Mile 38 and Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom). Following these attacks, the West Side Boys forces did not remain in the villages. Throughout, the West Side Boys were directed by one of only three commanding officers and no settlement was attacked twice during this period. The settlements were undefended by SLA, ECOMOG or CDF forces, yet the West Side Boys commenced each attack by laying down heavy machine gun fire into the village. Routinely, the West Side Boys inflicted serious damage on civilian residences and stole substantial amounts of personal property, livestock and food items from civilians. The West Side Boys forces killed a total of 16 people in 33 attacks, with two instances where civilians were killed by hanging. Members of the West Side Boys raped over 20 civilian women. In total, around 80 civilians, the vast majority being male, were abducted during the series of attacks.

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It is not possible to say that the West Side Boys did not fall under the command of the RUF/AFRC. However, the overall pattern of RUF/AFRC activity in Port Loko District between 15 October and 29 December 1998 suggests that the actions of the West Side Boys were only loosely connected with the RUF/AFRC's overall strategy. RUF/AFRC activity in other areas of Port Loko District was focussed on pressurising Port Loko Town and Ro-Gberray Junction (both Maforki Chiefdom), in preparation for the unsuspected RUF/AFRC breakout from Kono in December 1998 and the eventual invasion of the Western Area in early January 1999. As of September 1998, the RUF/AFRC forces occupied Mange Town (BKM Chiefdom), to the north of Port Loko Town, and controlled Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom, with access to the highway from Sendugu through Gbinti and Kamasundo (both Dibia Chiefdom) to Foredugu. By September 1998, RUF/AFRC attacked the key junction at Ro-Gberray (Maforki), intermittently cutting off Port Loko from road traffic from the capital. In early December, RUF/AFRC forces pushed south into Koya Chiefdom, attacking Masiaka and Magbontoso, a village further west along the highway, near Mile 38; AFRC forces again attacked Masiaka between 14 and 16 December. The West Side Boys do not appear to have taken part in these initial assaults, although they did have a presence in Masiaka until March 1999.

On 21 and 22 December, RUF/AFRC forces bypassed Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) and attacked the towns of Songo (Koya RD, Western Area) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) was occupied by RUF/AFRC forces following ECOMOG's retreat on 26 December. Between 28 and 30 December 1998, very large numbers of heavily-armed RUF/AFRC forces converged on Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), midway between Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) and Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom). On 30 December, Nigerian ECOMOG retreated in full from Lunsar, leaving the town in the hands of the RUF/AFRC forces. On 30 December, RUF/AFRC forces assaulted Port Loko Town. Again, the principal officers of the West Side Boys are not implicated directly in these attacks.

In the Okra Hills area itself, on 30 December, the dense pattern of hit-and-run attacks that had characterised the presence of the West Side Boys in late 1998 ceased entirely. After 22 December 1998, principal officers of the West Side Boys are identified as having taken part in attacks on

December; Rokonther, Robamblaie and Tiama on 7 December; Magbangbara, Madora, Masebeh, Makeleh and Masemur on 13 December; and Magbontho, Madegbar and Robarreh on 29 December. ⁵⁴⁷ BBC and AFP, 30 December 1998.

Waterloo, Hastings, Joe Town and Tombo (all Waterloo RD, Western Area) during the preliminary RUF/AFRC advance into the Western Area. It is not possible to confirm whether the West Side Boys also took part in the 6 January 1999 RUF/AFRC assault in Freetown.

By 20 January 1999, ECOMOG had regained control of the bulk of the Freetown metropolitan area, and by 25 February had driven RUF/AFRC forces from Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) After 25 January, RUF/AFRC and West Side Boys forces occupying Masiaka were under pressure from the CDF. Although the RUF/AFRC would not be pushed out of Masiaka until 29 April, the West Side Boys left the town on 15 March 1999.

In March, the West Side Boys attacked and captured the village of Magbeni and established a camp there. On 7 March, a week before their withdrawal from Masiaka, the West Side Boys attacked Gberibana and resumed their intense hit-and-run attacks in lower Maforki Chiefdom. From Magbeni, they made frequent attacks on traffic on civilian traffic between Mile 38 and Masiaka.

On 9 March, West Side Boys attacked Rufura; two days later, they attacked Magbangbara, and engaged Gbethis (CDF) defending the village, killing four of them. The West Side Boys⁵⁴⁸ attacked Masuba, south of Rokel Creek on 15 March 1999. Civilians fled to the nearby bushes and villages, but over 10 inhabitants were killed, including three children who drowned in the Rokel River while trying to escape. The West Side Boys harassed civilians who had fled to the bush, beat them and took their property. Civilians who were captured were forced to carry the loads to the West Side Boys' base. One man was told to have sex with his mother and when he refused, he was shot dead. In Masuba, the 56 houses of the village were burnt down. On the same day, West Side Boys attacked Laminaya and Romaforay. On 25 March, they attacked Romaforama and Mabassy.

In April 1999, around 20 civilians were killed publicly at their base in Gberibana in reprisal for an earlier CDF attack on a West Side Boys patrol at Magbanbara, which had left five members of the West Side Boys dead. In the forest nearby their base, there was a specific place where the West Side Boys would kill abductees, especially those who did not follow their orders. Some captured civilians also had the words "West Side Boys" inscribed on their backs. That same month, an attack took place at Maghailma⁵⁴⁹ in the late afternoon, during which 16 people were killed. The following day, they locked 73 people they had abducted from surrounding villages in a house, which they then set on fire.

In the evening of 17 May 1999, the West Side Boys fired on an ECOMOG vehicle patrolling the Mile 38–Masiaka highway. ECOMOG forces exchanged fire with the West Side Boys for about 2 hours until they ran out of ammunition and returned to Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom). Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire that entered into force on 24 May.

As peace talks continued in June 1999, a large number of civilians were burnt alive in their houses at Man'arrmah by the West Side Boys. Other villages attacked in June and July include Mathera, Rothuidekum, Makambisa, Makorobolie, Kasankor, Mekensebeh and Rotaindekun. At Mabonie on

⁵⁴⁹ The month is not specified, but this happened after the attack on Masimera Town in December 1998.

⁵⁴⁸ Some were dressed in military uniforms while others were dressed in civilian attire.

20 July 1999, the West Side Boys burnt down the entire village, raped girls, killed around 10 people and took food items. The peace talks led to the signing of the Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (the Lomé Peace Agreement).⁵⁵⁰

On 4 August 1999, the West Side Boys kidnapped a group of around 40 UNOMSIL, ECOMOG and civil society workers who had entered the Okra Hills area to negotiate the release of some 200 children being held by the West Side Boys. The group included the Bishop of Makeni and five UK officers serving as military observers in UNOMSIL.⁵⁵¹ The kidnap met with immediate condemnation from the United Nations Secretary-General⁵⁵² and a UK-led negotiation team was dispatched to Sierra Leone. Around half of the hostages were released on 9 August and the remainder released the following day; around 200 women and children were also released.⁵⁵³ The group reportedly said to negotiators that they were loyal to the AFRC, comprised of primarily ex-SLA and their key demand was the release from RUF custody of the AFRC leader. They did not refer to themselves as the "West Side Boys". A foreign journalist told the BBC that there were no RUF members present.⁵⁵⁴

Aside from this kidnapping, few attacks are noted between mid-July and December 1999. This corresponds with a sharp drop in the general levels of violence throughout Port Loko District. Additionally, disarmament centres had opened in Port Loko and Lungi. On 15 July 1999 the West Side Boys attacked Mekensebeh village and killed a civilian by hanging her. On the same day, they attacked Rotaindekun, killing four men and raping four girls. On 7 November 1999 they attacked Royabah and Marikor. One month later, the West Side Boys attacked Gbereh Thuraka, Mapoyen and Ropoyen, stealing civilian property, livestock and food items. Most of the civilians fled towards Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) and sought refuge in an IDP camp. Although attacks on villages became less frequent, the West Side Boys mounted many checkpoints along the main highway between Mile 28 and Masiaka, attacking both civilian and military traffic. Between 7 December and May 2000 there are no reported incidents of attacks on villages in the Okra Hills area.

Following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a larger peacekeeping mission, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), which replaced UNOMSIL. In May 2000, the RUF took hostage over 200 UNAMSIL soldiers at Foredugu, prompting a serious challenge to the peace process. The RUF again moved on Masiaka and Port Loko Town, failing to take control of either town. Between 1 and 21 June 2000, the West Side Boys fought alongside the SLA in (unsuccessfully) defending Lunsar from the RUF attack.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁰ The full text is available at http://www.usip.org/library/pa/sl/sierra_leone_07071999_toc.html.

⁵⁵¹ BBC Online News, 5 August 1999 (23:12 GMT 00:12 UK).

⁵⁵² UN Press Release, 5 August 1999, SG/SM/7089, AFR/162.

⁵⁵³ IRIN West Africa, 10 August 1999, quoting the Sierra Leone Information Minister.

⁵⁵⁴ BBC Online News, 6 August 1999 (07:23 GMT 08:23 UK).

⁵⁵⁵ OCHA Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 16-25 Jun 2000.

On or around 9 July 2000, State radio broadcast a message from the Government of Sierra Leone issuing an ultimatum to the West Side Boys to disarm to UNAMSIL by 16.00 on 11 July. ⁵⁵⁶ UNAMSIL military observers entered into negotiations with the West Side Boys to facilitate disarmament. However, on 11 July, UNAMSIL military observers in Masiaka reported that no West Side Boys had disarmed; ⁵⁵⁷ nine days later the situation still remained the same. ⁵⁵⁸ Before dawn on 22 July 2000, UNAMSIL carried out "Operation Thunderbolt". This operation, which focused on the Okra Hills area, ⁵⁵⁹ successfully cleared the roadblocks mounted by the West Side Boys on the main highways between Freetown and Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom). UNAMSIL strengthened patrols along the highways through the Okra Hills following "Operation Thunderbolt". After this operation, UNAMSIL reported that 40 West Side Boys had surrendered to the UNAMSIL Jordanian contingent for disarmament, bringing the total number of West Side Boys in the DDR program to 80. ⁵⁶⁰ By 9 August, around 200 had joined the DDR program. ⁵⁶¹ Nevertheless, vehicle hijackings and attacks on civilians along the Mile 38–Masiaka highway continued throughout this period.

Sporadic attacks in the Okra Hills area continued into 2000. Although the pattern follows the same formulaic style of attacks adopted by the West Side Boys in 1998, it is not certain that the West Side Boys carried out these attacks. At Masoka in June 2000, armed men in combat uniform and civilian dress entered the town firing their weapons, took palm oil and rice and burnt down three houses. At Matheperr, in the early morning, armed men killed one man, burnt two houses and moved around noon to Rothyah, where they burnt down three houses, captured two boys and took property. At Magbamgbara, armed men burnt down five houses but met SLA forces and five of the armed attackers were killed. On 7 July 2000, armed men attacked three villages, burning two houses at Robis; capturing two men and burning five houses at Ro-Mafomara; and burning seven houses at Rogbath. In August 2000, armed men attacked Magbembeh, burning down four houses and capturing three women. At Brebana, three houses were burnt, property was taken and one pregnant woman killed.

On 27 August 2000, the West Side Boys captured 11 soldiers from the UK Royal Irish Regiment engaged with the Short Term Training Team near Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and an SLA liaison officer. The patrol had taken an unauthorised deviation to visit Magbeni. On 29 August, a senior UK officer met with the leader of the West Side Boys, as a result of which the West Side Boys released five of the captives two days later. The leader of the West Side Boys called the BBC on a satellite phone and demanded their reintegration in the government army, the release of their supporters from jail and a review of the Lomé Peace Agreement; all these demands were immediately rejected by the Government of Sierra Leone. On 6 September, the UK deployed paratroops from 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment.

⁵⁵⁶ IRIN West Africa, 10 July 2000.

⁵⁵⁷ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 11 July 2000.

⁵⁵⁸ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 20 July 2000.

⁵⁵⁹ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 24 July 2000.

⁵⁶⁰ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 28 July 2000.

⁵⁶¹ Numbers taken from interceding UNAMSIL Press Briefings.

⁵⁶² Information revealed by a Ministry of Defence inquiry into the events: see BBC Online News, 14 September 2000 (20:45 GMT 21:45 UK).

⁵⁶³ BBC Online News, 31 August 2000 (19:59 GMT 20:59 UK)

At dawn on 25 September, UK Special Forces and Paratroops executed "Operation Barrass". Arriving by helicopter gunships and transport, they attacked the West Side Boys' camps at Gberibana (Maforki Chiefdom) and Magbeni, on either side of the Rokel Creek, rescuing the remaining hostages, killing 25 West Side Boys and incurring one fatality. The UK forces captured 18 West Side Boys, including the majority of the group's leadership. Over 30 West Side Boys who had abducted around 15 civilians to use as human shields were captured by Jordanian UNAMSIL. The town of Magbeni was deserted for three weeks because of the smell of human remains found in the surrounding bush.

Following "Operation Barrass" the total number and rate of entry of West Side Boys into the DDR program increased. By 15 September, UNAMSIL had registered 294 members of the West Side Boys at the DDR camp in Lungi. By 20 September, this figure had reached 371.

During 2001, attacks in the Okra Hills area were primarily made by demobilised former members of every faction looking for items to sell. Between 10 February and 11 June 2001, demobilised West Side Boys stole the corrugated zinc roofing from civilian residences in numerous villages. No further attacks by the West Side Boy are reported.

3. Conclusion

** TO BE DRAFTED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE**

e. Tonkolili District

1. Introduction

Tonkolili is one of the five Districts of the Northern Province, together with Bombali, Koinadugu, Port Loko and Kambia Districts. It is bordered on the north and east by Koinadugu District and on the south-east by Kono District. Kenema, Bo and Moyamba Districts compose its southern border, from east to west. To the north-west is Port Loko District and to the north is Bombali District. Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) is its headquarter town.

There are 11 chiefdoms in Tonkolili District:

Chiefdom Headquarter

Gbokolenken Yele Kafe Simira Mabonto Kalansogoia Bumbuna Kholifa Mabang Mabang Kholifa Rowalla Magburaka Konike Barina Makali Konike Sanda Masingbi Malal Mara Rochin

⁵⁶⁴ BBC Online News, 10 September 2000 (20:51 GMT 21:51 UK)

⁵⁶⁵ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 11 September 2000

⁵⁶⁶ In sequence, these are: Rogbath, Robis, Masokor, Mathera, Rothhdekum, Makambisa, Babara, Taindenkum, Rokoreh, Roforoad, Roseitn, Masawuri, Robala, Roseint, Gbpothoyama, Mapolie, Thekeyeh, Makoyeh, Matikor, Laminaya, Robouloh, Mayefura and Mamiekanuh.



Sambaia Bendugu Bendugu Matotaka Tane Yonibana Yoni

Its central position in the country would lead Tonkolili District to be affected by the conflict both from the Southern and Northern Districts. The main Sierra Leonean highway linking Freetown to Kono runs for a large part through Tonkolili District. An other major road, which runs through Tonkolili District link Freetown to Bo District and beyond, Kenema District. Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom), Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom), Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom) and Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom), all located on the main highway are the main towns of the District and their control would be a steady objective for the different fighting factions throughout the country.

Two major hilly areas are to be found in the District. Malal Mara Hills referred as Kaitkant Hills in the north-east of the country, at the border with Port Loko District and Kangari Hills in the south of the District, bordering Bo District. Those two areas are located at strategic positions, as they allow control of a wide region covering different Districts.

Tonkolili District is a gold mining area and gold can be found in almost every chiefdom, except Malal Mara, Kholifa Mabang and Yoni Chiefdoms in the south of the District.

2. Factual analysis

Events in 1993

Following the continuous influx of civilians fleeing the fighting in Kono District, civilians in Tonkolili District considered forming civilian militias in the chiefdoms. Their purpose would be to increase security in the chiefdoms by monitoring the movement of people.

In July 1993, the Paramount Chief of Kalansogoia Chiefdom⁵⁶⁷ organised a meeting of five elders from each of the 62 villages in the chiefdom. During this meeting, it was agreed to form a youth group in each village. This group would establish simple checkpoints across roads using a bush-stick gate, patrolling day and night to screen people coming into the villages. This was aimed at preventing RUF forces from infiltrating the chiefdom, at least from the main roads.

In September 1993, the youths who were organised in this way were officially called Civil Defence Units (CDU). The units, armed only with cutlasses and sticks, were answerable to the Paramount Chief and would refer cases where they were unwilling to let a traveller past a checkpoint to the Town Chief. Strict rules applied in the villages concerning the lodging of strangers. Anybody who lodged an outsider without referring first to the Town Chief was fined Le 10,000. This money was used to buy basic equipment like torches and batteries for the CDUs.

Events in 1994

Throughout 1994, RUF forces pushed west along the main road from Kono to the towns of Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) and Makeni (Bombali District). Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom) was the watershed of RUF attacks on this town in April and May. However, the RUF made the

⁵⁶⁷ Kalansogoia Chiefdom is to be found in the north of Tonkolili District, sharing border with Koinadugu District on the east and north and Bombali District on the west. Bumbuna, surrounded by hills, is the headquarter town.

highway severely hazardous for traffic due to the continuous ambushing of civilian travellers and convoys and likely began establishing a foothold in the Kangari Hills at this time.⁵⁶⁸ Between October and December, RUF forces pushed further west, establishing a brigade headquarter in the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara Chiefdom), from where they assaulted the strategic towns of Mile 91 and Yonibana. From this location, the RUF pushed into the Western Area and Port Loko in 1995. Tensions between civilians and the SLA were exacerbated by the formation of Civil Defence Units in the District as well as the stealing of civilian property, the looting of civilian premises and the extortion of money and property at checkpoints by the SLA, reportedly due to poor discipline.

In February 1994, news of an attack on Bendugu (the headquarter town of Sambaia Bendugu Chiefdom) reached the headquarter town of Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom). In March 1994, RUF forces were spotted in the bush of Konike Barina Chiefdom. On or after 25 March, two miners arrived in the headquarter town of Makali and related that while they were at Mondema, RUF forces had come out of the bush and stolen their bailing machine before returning to the bush.

People fleeing from Masingbi, the headquarter town of Konike Sanda Chiefdom (sharing a border on the west with Konike Barina Chiefdom and on the east with Kono District) reached Makali on 1 April 1994 with the news that Masingbi had been attacked. Many residents of Makali fled into the surrounding bush. Two days later, on 3 April, 200 members of the SLA from Makeni (the headquarter town of Bombali District) arrived in Makali, encouraging people to come out of the bush. They requested inhabitants to assist them by cooking and providing them with Le 100,000 to buy food from Magburaka.

On 9 April, RUF forces launched an attack on Makali from the direction of Makong, on the edge of the Kangari Hills, south-west of Makali. Earlier in the day, SLA forces had split into four groups and moved into the bush surrounding Makali, but were unable to repel the RUF attack. During the attack, a substantial part of the town was burnt down. Civilians returning to the town following the attack found many bodies in the town, including that of a policeman and a driver. On 11 April, 60 SLA forces moved from Makeni to secure Makali.

SLA forces arrived by helicopter in April at the SDA Primary School playfield in the headquarter town of Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom), in the centre of the District on the highway that leads directly to Kono.⁵⁷¹ Shortly after their arrival, the SLA forces moved out of the town to an unknown location. On 12 and 13 April, many civilians fleeing from Masingbi and Makali reached Matotoka, together with some SLA forces who were fleeing Makali. On 14 April, many of the residents of Matotoka left the town, which prompted the Paramount Chief and government officers to travel to Kabala (Koinadugu District) to request that local hunters from the north (known as Tamaboros⁵⁷²)

⁵⁷⁰ A device used to pump water from pits during excavation for minerals.

⁵⁶⁸ The Kangari Hills are located in the south of Tonkolili District across two chiefdoms and expand in the north of Bo District. The base was probably established in Konike Barina Chiefdom.

⁵⁶⁹ To the north-east of Tonkolili, bordering Koinadugu District.

⁵⁷¹ Thus, from Magburaka, to go to Kono on the highway, vehicles passed trough Matotoka (Tane), then Makali (Konike Barina Chiefdom) and then through Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom) before reaching Kono District. ⁵⁷² In early 1994, the Tamaboros who had been assisting the SLA in Kono District since 1993 went back to their District of origin, Koinadugu District. Those Tamaboros were believed to have very strong mystical powers.

provide security for the chiefdom. An unknown number of Tamaboros settled in the headquarter town on 3 May 1994, provided with machine guns and Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs) from the Ministry of Defence.

After 20 May 1994, 175 civilians from Mamurie and Makong villages gathered at Rowaka (Konike Barina Chiefdom). They intended to hunt for food at Rosimbec, ⁵⁷³ in the Mamure Section of Konike Barina Chiefdom, in the forested area 5 km south-west of Makali. The SLA commander at Makali had warned them that civilians should avoid this forest area, since RUF forces were suspected to be there; the earlier attack on Makali had come from this direction. As they approached Rosimbec, the civilians, some of whom were armed with cutlasses, met men in uniform whom they believed to be SLA forces. Although the armed men told the civilians they were SLA forces here to escort the group to Rosimbec, they turned out to be members of the RUF. They told the civilians to drop their cutlasses and go into some houses, which they then locked. The RUF forces killed all 170 captured civilians one after the other, stacking some of the bodies like bundles of wood and dumping others in a ditch. The bodies were later discovered by an SLA patrol sent to look for the missing civilians.

Makali was attacked for the second time in May 1994. After an intense gun battle, SLA forces drove away the RUF forces, with no reported casualties. On 3 June 1994, RUF forces attacked Mapakie, which is located near Matotoka. Tamaboros moved there to engage RUF forces. In the bush, they encountered men in military uniforms but did not attack them, believing them to be SLA personnel. On 11 July, an unknown number of RUF forces in full military dress attacked Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom). SLA and Tamaboro forces drove the RUF from the town, killing a female RUF member during the attack. After a short time and a quarrel with SLA forces about the weapons that the Government had provided them, the Tamaboros left the chiefdom.

The highway linking Koidu (Kono District) to Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom), passing through Konike Sanda, Konike Barina, Tane and Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdoms, was the scene of many ambushes during the conflict. For example, in mid-June 1994, a convoy of about 125 trucks left Magburaka and took the highway through Makaku to Kono. They were escorted by an SLA armoured vehicle and an unknown number of SLA members dispersed through the vehicles comprising the convoy. After 5:30 pm, as the convoy passed through Mamuri (Tane Chiefdom) and approached Rowaka (Konike Barina Chiefdom), it fell into an ambush, with RUF forces firing heavily on the convoy. The trucks attempted to turn back, but instead crashed into each other. Some people jumped out from the trucks. Many people were killed during that ambush, including the driver of a truck and two female passengers. The RUF forces ordered them out of the truck; two boys who tried to escape were shot and died. Passengers were asked to form a line and were searched for anything of value. Ten trucks were destroyed, although most were simply searched and luggage and other items were taken. A one month-old baby was taken from its mother and thrown into the bush because an RUF member said he was making too much noise. One man who had been wounded in the attack started crying for help. One of the RUF members offered assistance, but instead shot him three times. Passengers were then captured and told to carry the load the RUF forces had gathered from the vehicles back to Rosimbec, where 170 civilians had been killed one month earlier.

⁵⁷³ Also called Simbek.

On the initiative of the elders of the chiefdoms of Yoni and Kholifa Mabang, a 1000-strong Civil Defence Unit composed of youths was formed in June 1994. Members of the Poro, Bundo, Ojeh and Koffo secret societies were involved in setting up these CDUs. The same principles as those applied in Kalansogoia Chiefdom were employed: CDUs would control the main roads through the chiefdoms and check the identity of the people passing through. They conducted house-to-house searches at night, screening residences for strangers and levying a Le 20,000 fine on the house if they discovered someone who had not been reported to the town authorities. If CDU personnel had any concerns about a traveller, they would refer the matter to the town elders, who could order further screening by the SLP. The person would be escorted to the Police Station at Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom). CDUs were based in the areas immediately surrounding the towns of Mile 91 and Yonibana, but patrolled the smaller villages in the two chiefdoms.

In 1994, mistrust between civilians and SLA forces deployed to protect the chiefdoms came to a head. This mistrust was due to two beliefs widely held by the public. First, that some SLA forces at this time had defected from the army and joined the RUF. Second, that RUF forces in military fatigues often pretended to be SLA forces in order to attack villages by surprise. One incident that occurred in late June 1994 highlights the negative attitude civilians had towards the SLA forces at this time. Armed men claiming to be SLA were arrested by members of the CDU at Kumrabai Matuku (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) and brought to the Mile 91 Police Station for interrogation. Interrogators concluded that these armed men were genuine SLA members from Bo, which was reportedly confirmed by the SLA commander officer in Bo Town. The two SLA members remained in the chiefdom and installed two checkpoints at Mile 91, one on the road leading to Bo and the other on the road leading to Magburaka. Reports suggest that this was the sole SLA presence in Mile 91 until July.

A week later, in July 1994, two trucks loaded with SLA forces arrived in Mile 91 from Bo Town. After visiting the Paramount Chief at the nearby chiefdom headquarter of Yonibana, they returned to Mile 91. There, they reinforced the checkpoints established and operated by their colleagues. Nevertheless, the arrival of the SLA forces in Yonibana frightened some of the inhabitants of the town, who fled to the south of the chiefdom. At the checkpoints, SLA members started to take civilian property. In August 1994, the SLA commander came from Bo to try to resolve the matter. It was agreed with the elders that the community would feed the soldiers, with each household at Mile 91 giving the SLA forces Le 500 and two cups of rice per week.

In August 1994,⁵⁷⁴ armed men dressed in camouflage and country clothes decorated with charms and talismans and who identified themselves as "freedom fighters" coming to redeem the country, attacked Yele from a southern direction. Yele is in the south of Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, near the border with Valunia Chiefdom (Bo District) and Kamajei Chiefdom (Moyamba District). At the time of the attack, internally displaced persons (IDPs) were living in the area. The few SLA forces who were in the town at the time pulled out, overpowered and outnumbered. The RUF forces burnt the hospital and abducted young boys.

⁵⁷⁴ Although this information was reported as taking place in 1993, it is likely that it happened in 1994, since RUF forces were pushed back to the Liberian border around the middle of 1993 and the description of the attack coincides with an attack reported in open sources in August 1994: AFP, 29 August 1994.

During the final days of October 1994, RUF forces⁵⁷⁵ attacked the headquarter town of Mabonto (Kafe Simira Chiefdom, to the north of the District). During this attack many houses were destroyed, property was stolen and one member of a CDU was killed. They spent the night in the town before heading north-east to the headquarter town of Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom). Bumbuna was attacked in the late morning on 1 November 1994 by hundreds of armed men. As civilians escaped into the surrounding bush, the RUF spent the whole day burning and looting the town. Returning from the bush, civilians counted 193 houses burnt and found the bodies of four civilians.

On 2 November 1994, SLA forces deployed from Teko Barracks in Makeni (Makani Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and repelled the RUF forces from Bumbuna. RUF forces moved east towards Sambaia Bendugu Chiefdom, abducting civilians to carry the property looted from the town. The following day, RUF forces entered Sangonie, a village located four and a half miles from Bumbuna, with 15 people they had abducted from Bumbuna. They then passed by Kegbema Junction, where they captured more civilians. This large RUF force headed to Koinadugu District and attacked towns along the route to the District headquarter town of Kabala on 7 November 1994.

The RUF launched another wave of attacks in Yoni, Kholifa Mabang and Malal Mara Chiefdoms, ⁵⁷⁶ to the west of the District in December 1994. Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom) is a strategic location on an intersection between the roads going to Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District), Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) and Taiama (Kori Chiefdom, Moyamba District).

On 22 December 1994, rumours reached civilians in Yoni Chiefdom that RUF forces had crossed the Yele River. ⁵⁷⁷ Early in the morning of the following day, 23 December, armed men in military camouflage uniforms and others in black t-shirts with red headbands entered Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom, near the boundary with Yoni Chiefdom). The armed men gathered the inhabitants in the Court Barrie, introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" and said that they were on their way to attack Mile 91. The commander of the groups also said that if they were to encounter resistance in Mile 91, they would return to Mafolatha.

In the morning of 23 December 1994, this RUF group attacked Mile 91 along the main roads from Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) and Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District). RUF forces killed three civilians and burnt down eight houses during the attack on Mile 91; they initially captured the town, but were displaced shortly afterwards when SLA forces regrouped and counterattacked. Driven from Mile 91, RUF forces left the town in a northerly direction towards Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom, which is to the north-east of Yoni Chiefdom. SLA forces also moved out of the town, after kicking in the doors of many civilian residences and stealing civilian property. Shortly after this attack, other SLA forces coming from Bo Town⁵⁷⁸ were deployed at Mile 91.

⁵⁷⁵ These forces were dressed mainly in mixed casual attire, although some wore full military uniforms.

⁵⁷⁶ Yoni and Malal Mara Chiefdoms share a boundary with Port Loko District.

⁵⁷⁷ Yele River is probably the name given to the river that flows south of Yele Town, in the south of Gbokolenken Chiefdom, which shares a boundary with Moyamba and Bo Districts.

⁵⁷⁸ An SLA Brigade was deployed in Bo Town.

The RUF forces moved back to Mafolatha with the stolen property and the civilians they had captured at Mile 91. On 26 and 27 December 1994, the RUF group settled at Makelleh, three miles from Mafolatha in Yoni Chiefdom. Before leaving the town, they burnt down around 100 houses and abducted an unknown number of young men, women and children. On 27 December 1994, some houses were also burnt at Mafolatha.

On their way to their base at Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara Chiefdom), RUF forces entered many villages, burning, looting and raping. On 28 December, 16 houses were burnt and property was taken in Mabariwa, three miles east of Mafolatha. On the same day, Marokie village was attacked; 14 houses burnt down and property, including livestock, was taken. They stayed for two days (28 and 29 December) at nearby Rochain, where multiple RUF members raped three young mothers in the front of the village inhabitants, who they had gathered at the Court Barrie. Before leaving, RUF forces burnt down 30 houses, stole property and abducted an unknown number of people to carry their loads. In addition, an unknown number of young boys and girls all below the age of 18 were abducted to be trained as fighters.

During the final days of December, RUF forces launched an attack on Rokanrr (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom), in the north of the chiefdom near Malal Mara Chiefdom. The RUF commander told the people that they should show them the way to go to Kaitkant Hills, as it was the first time they were using that road. In Rokanrr, RUF forces tied a village elder to a tree and shot him in the head for having questioned the commander about what kind of contribution the farmers of the village could give to the revolution, given they were not combatants but merely farmers. Before leaving the village, RUF forces burnt eight houses and abducted six people. On their way to the Kaitkant Hills base, the RUF forces killed eight captives who had protested that the loads on their heads were too heavy to bear.

The small Malal Mara Chiefdom is comprised mainly of woodland. The Rokel River, coming from Port Loko District, bisects the chiefdom north to south. The Kaitkant Hills are located in the west of the chiefdom at the boundary with Marampa Chiefdom (Port Loko District). The Kaitkant Hills are a strategic location, surrounded by thick forest, from which Port Loko, Bombali and Tonkolili Districts can be easily reached. Following the attack on Mile 91 and the influx of fleeing people coming from Yoni and Kholifa Mabang Chiefdoms, tension increased in Malal Mara Chiefdom. The Paramount Chief sent messages to the eight sections of the chiefdom for the youths to organise themselves.

During the last days of December and following their attack on Mile 91, RUF forces dispersed and attacked many villages in the different sections of Malal Mara Chiefdom. On 27 December 1994, four armed men entered Ropollon village, followed shortly after by a large group of armed men accompanied by children and women. Inhabitants were chased from their homes, as a result of which most of them fled to the bush. Those who were found in the village were instantly killed. An unknown number of young men coming from Rochin (Malal Mara Chiefdom) were confined in a house and beaten to death by RUF members with clubs, machetes and sticks. When they returned from the bush, civilians discovered bodies bearing wounds inflicted by bladed weapons. Most of the dead were identified as displaced persons from Mile 91. Civilians buried 19 bodies in a mass grave at the side of the Islamic prayer ground. Two other people were buried in single graves.

In the evening of 27 December, RUF forces reached the headquarter town of Rochin (Malal Mara Chiefdom). After gathering inhabitants at the Court Barrie, RUF forces killed an unknown number of them with bladed weapons. On 29 December 1994, seven civilians from Rokimbie (located in the northwest of the chiefdom, within the Kaitkant Hills), including a pregnant woman, were taken to Rochin and locked in a room. While in the room, the captured civilians could hear the forces debating on whether they should be killed. They opened the room and asked the captives to go out one after another, attacking them with cutlasses; only one person survived. RUF forces visited Ropollon village again on 30 December 1994 and 2 and 4 January 1995, burning houses on each visit. During their final visit, on 4 January 1995, RUF forces told people to vacate the chiefdom, as the RUF were now "the owners" of it. On hearing this, many people left the area.

c) Events in 1995

In the first months of 1995, Malal Mara Chiefdom, especially Matanka Section in the west of the chiefdom within the Kaitkant Hills area, continued to suffer attacks from RUF forces coming from their base at Kaitkant Hills. This base was said to be the 3rd Brigade camp of the RUF and was used to control the Freetown–Bo highway, to cut off the supply of food and other items to the routes leading to the three Provinces and to spread into Port Loko District. The hills were also used to store the property that RUF forces took from villages and during ambushes.

In January 1995, RUF forces attacked many villages in Matanka Section, killing many people and unroofing houses for the zinc before burning them down. At Robina, RUF forces killed many civilians, who were then buried in a mass grave in the backyard of a civilian's house. Because many civilians decided to reside permanently in the bush, rather than return to their villages, RUF forces started trailing them in the bush. Those captured were used as forced labour, either to construct houses or as porters.

In February 1995 RUF forces based at the Kaitkant Hills again assaulted Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom. On 2 February 1995, in the late evening, RUF forces entered Mafolatha. The RUF commander told the gathered inhabitants that they had come to conscript young people to the "armed struggle". The following day, multiple RUF members raped two young mothers and a member of a Small Boy Unit raped another girl under 18. Thirty people were abducted and conscripted into the RUF. Inscriptions were carved onto their bodies with razor blades, or they were branded with hot irons.

Relations were deteriorating between the SLA forces and the residents of Mile 91 and Yonibana. SLA members, who had been deployed to Mile 91 in January 1995 to replace those who were moved to Ma-Sesay village on the main Freetown–Mile 91 highway, were operating the checkpoints; these checkpoints were opened to traffic entering and leaving the town only once a day, at 8:00 am. Civilians were used by the SLA forces to find food in the surrounding villages. During the night, it was common practice for SLA forces to break into civilian houses to find food. Civilians were also sometimes used to carry the food to Mile 91 for the SLA forces. This harassment was concentrated across February and March, which is the main harvest time for rice, groundnuts and maize.

Another RUF unit entered Gbagbai, near Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) on 2 February 1995. RUF forces shot one man in the head and two people had two of their fingers amputated.

They raped four women and abducted between 25 and 30 young people below the age of 18 to carry stolen property and livestock. RUF forces then headed for Masiprr (Yoni Chiefdom), where they stayed until 4 February. Seventeen houses belonging to civilians who were "insufficiently supportive" of the RUF were burnt. Five women were raped and many children under 18 were abducted for conscription into the RUF. The headman of the village was stripped naked and was given 24 lashes; on-looking children were told to clap. Before they left, RUF forces took cattle from the town, after which they left to go towards Malal Mara Chiefdom.

In March 1995, RUF forces crossed the Rokel River and entered Magbondo, north of Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom. Magbondo was very difficult for people to leave, because it is located near the river and is a swamp area. The RUF commander addressed the gathered inhabitants and told them they had information that SLA forces had planned to attack them at Kaitkant Hills and to use Magbondo as a launching point. Consequently, a group of RUF forces would now be stationed at Magbondo while the rest of the forces would head for Mile 91. Before leaving, three houses were burnt, six girls below 15 were abducted to be conscripted and one was raped. The headman was deposed and one of the RUF commanding officers was appointed as Town Chief. Two days later, the RUF commander returned with a new group of RUF forces. Shortly after, he went to Rokankrr, south of Magbondo, both to prepare an offensive on Mile 91 and to intercept SLA forces said to be heading there in preparation for an attack on the Kaitkant Hills.

RUF forces attacked Mile 91 between 15 and 28 March, taking property and abducting civilians to carry the load to their Kaitkant base. There are no reports of killings or destruction of property at this time.⁵⁷⁹ After the attack on Mile 91, SLA forces withdrew from the town to an unknown location, leaving the town undefended. It is also likely that the CDUs in Mile 91 and Yonibana were disbanded in March 1995 because they had proved ineffective in increasing security in the area. However, in April 1995, SLA forces were again stationed at Camp Charlie in the outskirts of Mile 91.

Between 13⁵⁸⁰ and 20 March 1995, four military trucks loaded with SLA forces came to Matanka Section (Malal Mara Chiefdom) to dislodge RUF forces from Kaitkant Hills.⁵⁸¹ After a first unsuccessful attempt the RUF forces evacuated the base in the last week of March following heavy bombardments from a helicopter and a Guinean military jet. Those forces scattered in lower Yoni Chiefdom, where they began attacking villages. During these attacks, property was taken and people were captured to carry the loads, but no civilians were killed. RUF forces then moved into the thick forest in lower Yoni Chiefdom, at the boundary with Moyamba District.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ AFP, 13 March 1995.

⁵⁷⁹ At the time of the attack, SLA forces were still deployed in Mile 91.

⁵⁸¹ It was stated that SLA forces came with some members of Executive Outcomes, the South African private military company, and that one of them was killed during the attack. At this time, however, Executive Outcomes, was not yet in operation in the country so this is probably a reference to the Ghurkas, who were briefly contracted by the Sierra Leonean Government prior to the arrival of Executive Outcomes.

⁵⁸² During the same period, RUF forces on their way to Freetown in Moyamba District were stopped in Bradford (Ribbi Chiefdom, Moyamba District)) and moved back to Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom, Moyamba District), from where they moved northwards to open a new base, called "camp Fol Fol", in an area at the junction between Bumpe, Ribbi, Kongbora Chiefdoms (Moyamba District) and Yoni Chiefdom.

Throughout March and April 1995, the RUF moved west through Tonkolili District, putting pressure on the Western Area.⁵⁸³ On 22 June, around 150 RUF members retreating from the 8 June assault on Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) entered Mathoir (Yoni Chiefdom). Here they barricaded a road and ambushed an SLA patrol they heard coming, destroying the SLA vehicles. It is unclear whether they inflicted any casualties on the SLA. They then moved South to Roroks⁵⁸⁴ and then onto Makondu (both Yoni Chiefdom) and finally into the town of Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom, Moyamba District).

In October 1995, RUF forces entered Rokankrr (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom), mainly to fetch food but also to accuse the people of having collaborated with pro-Government forces. The RUF forces said that the next time they suspected any collaboration, the civilians would "pay the price". People were required to give them food, as Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom is a substantial rice-producing territory. One man who refused to let RUF forces inside his house to take his property was tied up and beaten to death. Two women were raped, four young men abducted and seven houses burnt down.

RUF forces coming from Yoni Chiefdom in December 1995 entered Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) and surrounded the town. The sounds of heavy gunfire and Rocket Propel Grenades (RPGs) could be heard throughout the town. The RUF commander explained that they had come to find food. Every house in the village was searched and property stolen; some houses were burnt down. RUF forces stayed there for two days, during which time they shot one man dead and raped an unknown number of women. An unknown number of children were abducted for conscription into the RUF. Other civilians were abducted to carry the stolen property.

Two days later, the same RUF group arrived in Rochain Kamandawo (Yoni Chiefdom). RUF members caught four men trying to escape, branding them "Government Spies" before shooting them. At Mananie, the entire village was looted; even the doors and windows were taken from houses. Two women were raped and others were abducted for use for sexual purposes. Children under the age of 15 were abducted and able-bodied men were captured to carry the stolen property. Following this, the RUF forces moved east to their base in the Kangari Hills (Konike Barina Chiefdom), in the south of the District.

On 31 December 1995, RUF forces coming from Mafolatha attacked the village of Matuku 1, four miles east of Mafolatha. Three girls were raped and over 20 young men were abducted. The RUF forces burnt down 8 houses and took the contents of two trailers loaded with assorted goods. After encountering and giving chase to SLA forces based at the nearby Ferry Junction (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom), RUF forces returned to Matuku 1. When people came back to the village after the forces had eventually left, they saw the letters "RUF" and other things carved into the walls of the houses.

Events in 1996

In January 1996, civil militia known as the Gbethis mobilised in the Mabang area (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) and staged raids on villages in the Mara Section of Malal Mara Chiefdom, taking civilian property.

⁵⁸⁴ Also called Roruks.

⁵⁸³ See events in 1995 in the Western Area.

RUF forces staged a series of raids in the area around Kumrabai Junction⁵⁸⁵ in January 1996. Early in January 1996, RUF forces who, in late December 1995, had been in the Mafolatha area (in the extreme south of Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) continued their search for food in the area. The nearby villages of Matuku 2 and Kumrabai Junction were attacked on 5 January 1996. During these attacks, houses were searched for rice, some women were raped, young people were abducted to be conscripted and others were abducted to carry the loads.

On 10 January 1996, the same RUF forces entered Magbonto (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) three miles from Kumrabai Junction, north of the highway leading to Magburaka. The purpose of their visit was twofold: to search for food and to terrorise civilians by asking whether they wanted "peace before elections or elections before peace." The Section Chief of Mabang Section, who was at Magbonto at the time, pleaded with the RUF commander to return the cattle that the forces had taken. The Section Chief was captured and killed at Magbass Sugar Complex (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom). Another man was also killed in the village. Six houses were burnt, six children under the age of 15 were abducted and women were taken to be used for sexual purposes. Before leaving the town, the RUF forces promised that they would come back before the general elections, which were due to be held on 26 February 1996.

These same RUF forces re-entered Magbonto on 23 February 1996. The commander again asked the people whether they were supporting the election process. People answered they wanted peace before elections, fearing the reaction of the RUF forces. While the meeting was going on, a truck loaded with SLA forces entered the town; no fighting took place, which led people to think that the SLA were working in concert with the RUF. RUF forces also looted the town for food; they tortured and shot dead a man who asked how they could provide food when their town had been looted by the RUF on several occasions. Before leaving, RUF forces burnt four houses and abducted two women and eight boys under the age of 15. On leaving the village, RUF forces killed one boy as a warning to anyone who might challenge their authority.

Also in January, a group of RUF forces came to Rokankrr and asked the inhabitants the same question about elections. The RUF commander threatened that they would kill everyone in the town if they voted in the upcoming elections. RUF forces repeated this activity in Marunie (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom), eight miles from Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom).

The group that had attacked the Mafolatha area in December 1995 returned to Mafolatha from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom in February 1996, to look for food and for a three-day meeting. Commanders coming from different directions arrived in the town and held a meeting to decide on the action to take if the Government of Sierra Leone decided to go ahead with the elections. People from Mafolatha and the neighbouring villages were warned not to vote and threatened with death if they did. At Matuku 2, over 100 young boys were abducted and boys under the age of 15 were abducted to be conscripted.

⁵⁸⁵ Also called Kumarabai-Mamila, it is located at the crossroads leading to Yele (Gbonkolenken Chiefdom) and to Magburaka.

Two days before the elections, on 24 February 1996, heavily-armed RUF forces came back to Mafolatha to summon people to support peace before elections. The RUF group then headed for Magburaka, arriving there on 26 February, the day of elections. SLA forces were deployed on the roads leading to the town, but no counter-attack was made. RUF forces composed of about 200 members entered the town in the late afternoon, moved around for the rest of the night, captured civilians, including children, raped girls and killed civilians they found hiding in the bush. Before leaving, the RUF forces took property, which they made young boys carry. After the attack and after the RUF forces had left for an unknown direction, only a few SLA forces were found on the ground.

After the election process, RUF activities decreased in the District, except for Malal Mara, Kholifa Mabang and Yoni Chiefdoms. At this time, local hunter societies began to be organised in chiefdoms throughout the District, namely the Gbethis in the south and the Kamajors in the southeast; the Kapras would emerge in the north-east only in 1997. Following frequent attacks by the RUF and harassment by SLA forces, elders from the Kholifa Mabang, Yoni and Malal Mara Chiefdoms set up a civil militia called the Gbethi Society in February 1996. Composed of local hunters and youths who were organised to perform defence operations for the security of the chiefdoms, some Gbethis were armed with locally-made shotguns, but most possessed only machetes, cutlasses and other bladed weapons. Gbethies dressed country clothes known as "rook", wore charms and talismans around their necks and had two overall commanders, one representing Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom and one representing Yoni Chiefdom; Malal Mara Chiefdom did not have any commander.

The Gbethis conducted day and night patrols and house-to-house searches for any people who were not inhabitants of a particular locality, who were termed "strangers." Civilians were warned to give notice to the Gbethis of any stranger and if they failed to do so, they would be fined Le 20,000. Gbethis operated checkpoints together with SLA forces at Mile 91. However, in June 1996, a fight broke out between SLA forces and Gbethis, allegedly over property taken from civilians by SLA forces. The Gbethis said that the SLA forces had failed to give them their share. After this, the Gbethis were in charge of Mile 91 while the SLA forces remained at the nearby Camp Charlie SLA base. 588 Although this arrangement persisted, some Gbethis returning from a patrol along the highway entered a skirmish with SLA forces, during which two Gbethis were killed. Reinforcements for the SLA forces came from Bo Town to Mile 91 and the chiefdom elders organised a meeting with them to try to smooth the relationship between the two forces. However, the meeting was a failure because the commander of the SLA forces accused the Gbethis of laying ambushes for SLA forces, as a result of which the situation became tense, culminating in a fight between the Gbethis and SLA forces. Six Gbethis and their commanders were killed during this encounter and SLA forces also suffered some fatalities. Overpowered and outnumbered by the SLA forces, the Gbethis retreated from Mile 91 to Mabang (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom).

⁵⁸⁶ Kamajors would start to be very active in 1997 in Gbonkolenken and Tane Chiefdoms.

⁵⁸⁷ In June 1994, these chiefdoms established a 1000-strong civil militia called the Civil Defence Unit to provide security for Mile 91 and Yonibana. It appears that chiefdom authorities abandoned this particular initiative in March 1995, following attacks across the chiefdoms by RUF forces.

⁵⁸⁸ Camp Charlie is located in the outskirts of Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom).

On 9 March, the SLA announced 2 infantry brigades, supported by Nigerian and Guinean artillery units, had staged successful raids on RUF bases in the Kangari Hills. It was reported that over 30 RUF members were killed during the attacks.⁵⁸⁹

In the aftermath of the presidential elections, a ceasefire was signed between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF in March 1996 and negotiations for the signing of a peace agreement began. Shortly after, however, RUF forces inflicted serious physical violence on civilians in and around Magburaka. Remnants of RUF forces carried out raids in villages, looking for food, which led civilians to find refuge in an IDP camp; around this period, over 14,000 persons had found refuge at camps in Magburaka and Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom). Sp1

In mid October, Gbethis entered Rokanrr (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) with the intention to deploy throughout the Section. The commander of the Gbethis told inhabitants of the town that it was their responsibility to feed the Gbethis, as they were fighting for the people of the town. A man was then accused of being an RUF member after pointing out that this request would impose even more hardship on the civilians. He was tied up and beaten, but later released.

In the early evening on or around 20 October 1996, the headquarter town of Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom) was attacked for the second time; the attack lasted for a few hours. In collaboration with Executive Outcomes, SLA forces stationed at Bumbuna repelled the RUF forces. The RUF forces retreated along their line of advance to Kegbema 1, south of Bumbuna. In Kegbema 1, RUF forces killed the Town Chief and five other people. They also burned down 9 houses. The Italian workers were evacuated to Freetown. Executive Outcomes remained at Bumbuna to secure the Hydro Electricity Project Buildings from RUF attack and provide training for the SLA troops stationed there. The support of the SLA troops stationed there.

Civilians from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom were asked by SLA officials to leave the chiefdom in November 1996 and settle in a camp in the west end of Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom).⁵⁹⁴ A Kamajor representative from Konike Sanda Chiefdom visited this camp and called the men to join the Kamajor Society. Those who volunteered went with him to be trained. Kamajor members were issued with rules to abide by. For example, female Kamajors should not leave their heads uncovered,

⁵⁸⁹ AFP, 9 March 1996. This attack did not, however, totally dislodge the RUF forces from this base.

⁵⁹⁰ Open sources revealed that four women who refused to have sexual intercourse with RUF members had their vaginas and rectum sewed with fishing line while four men also had their rectum sewed, two men had their mouths clamped with padlock and one woman had her vagina clamped with a padlock: The Independent (London), 5 May 1996, quoting Amnesty International.

⁵⁹¹ AFP, 5 July 1996.

⁵⁹² Executive Outcomes was a private military company contracted in 1995 by the Sierra Leonean Government to assist the SLA in repelling the RUF forces, mainly by giving military training to SLA forces. They deployed mainly in Kono District.

⁵⁹³ It is interesting to note that during their stay in the country, Executive Outcomes were hired by mining companies in Kono and Moyamba Districts to provide security in the mining sites.

⁵⁹⁴ See Inter Press Service, 2 January 1997 for more on this IDP camp.

should not pound grain with a mortar and pestle after 18.00 and civilians should not sit on mortars.⁵⁹⁵

On or around 19 November 1996, Kamajors from Gorama Mende Chiefdom (in the north of Kenema District) followed RUF forces to their stronghold called "Booloko". Booloko Camp was a very large camp that was divided into four different sections labelled "Tenneh Ground", "Combat Camp", "Sullay Ground" and "Command Post." Tenneh and Sullay Grounds were named after a hero or heroine of the RUF. Civilians and non-combatant RUF were not allowed in Combat Camp. Command Post hosted RUF who were planning offensives. Other Kamajors from Kenema District joined the Kamajors from Gorama Mende Chiefdom, attacked the camp and killed 100 RUF members, sustaining some minor injuries themselves. A large quantity of weapons and ammunition were captured from the camp; one captured RUF commando was taken to serve as a firearms training instructor.

The peace negotiations, which started in the aftermath of the elections, reached their conclusion on 30 November 1996 with the signing of a Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Violations of this agreement were, however, rapidly reported.⁵⁹⁷

e) Events in 1997

In January 1997, renegade RUF forces went on the rampage, attacking and burning villages during food-finding missions. ⁵⁹⁸

In early 1997, a civil militia known as the Kapras was formed in Kafe Simira Chiefdom in the north of the District. Kapras wore brown country clothes called "rook" and were armed with single-barrel guns, cutlasses and sticks. They established and operated checkpoints all over the chiefdom. People in Kafe Simira Chiefdom assisted the Kapras by giving money or food. The chiefdom was quiet during that period, except for one RUF attack, when forces burnt a vehicle near the chiefdom headquarter town of Mabonto and then went to Nenekoro, in the east of the chiefdom, where they burnt down the village and killed over 20 people. Those people were buried in front of their houses, as the civilians who buried them were frightened to go to the cemetery that was in the bush.

Throughout 1997, relations between local militias and SLA forces were tense.⁵⁹⁹ On 7 March, Kamajor militia clashed with the SLA in Matatoka (Tane Chiefdom), killing 12 SLA members⁶⁰⁰ from the SLA's Rapid Deployment Force. On 23 April 1997, Gbethis intercepted SLA forces who

⁵⁹⁵ It is unclear from the records whether these rules were also imposed on the civilian population in areas secured by the Kamajors.

⁵⁹⁶ Booloko probably refers to the name of the camp the RUF forces had firmly established in the Kangari Hills, despite SLA attempts to dislodge them. It seems that "Booloko" is a generic term and was mentioned with different spellings in other Districts.

⁵⁹⁷ Since the signing of the Peace Agreement, around 15 civilians were killed by RUF forces during food-finding missions in Tane and Yoni Chiefdoms: Sierra Leone Bi-Monthly Information, 19 November - 16 December 1996. ⁵⁹⁸ AFP, 26 January 1997.

⁵⁹⁹ The kind of relationships the SLA forces had with members of the CDF was a result of the relationship they had with the various CDUs.

⁶⁰⁰ Xinhua, 7 March 1997.

were on their way to Lower Yoni at Yonibana (Yoni Chiefdom). After a battle, the Gbethis were overpowered and withdrew. SLA forces then broke into houses and shops, from which they took a lot of property, and forced civilians to carry the load to Mile 91 and Camp Charlie. 601

In one incident in early 1997, Kamajors from Kholifa Rowalla, Tane and Gbonkolenken Chiefdoms who were looking for RUF forces in the Tane Chiefdom took possession of various items, including guns, they had found in the bushes. This did not please the SLA forces and in May, they attacked Kamajors who were conducting a night patrol along Bo Road. In the same month, SLA forces dressed themselves in Kamajor attire and allegedly burnt the civilian residential camp near Matotoka; as a result of that attack, civilians fled the area.

In the middle of April, following the Abidjan Peace Agreement, around 50 malnourished RUF members who had been based for almost three years in the Kangari Hills surrendered in Magburaka and demobilised.602 On 6 May 1997, Kamajors from Gorama Mende Chiefdom (Kenema District) went back to "Booloko", the RUF base. During this attack, three members of the RUF forces were killed and 30 were captured and brought to Gorama Mende Chiefdom. These captured men were encouraged to give information about the camp; their response was described as "fruitful". On 24 May 1997, the Kamajors went to the RUF defence headquarters in the Kangari Hills. Thirty-eight RUF members were captured, including their commanders, and an unspecified number were killed. The Kamajors took a large number of weapons and ammunition back to Bo along with the captured RUF members. Those captured RUF members were still in Bo when the military coup took place the following day.

On 25 May 1997, elements of the SLA staged a coup d'état and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC released over 700 people from the Pademba Road Prison, including their leader, who was formally sworn in on 17 June 1997 as Head of State. 603 After the coup, the CDF were asked to disarm by the AFRC forces. 604 Gbethis from the upper part of Yoni Chiefdom and from Kholifa Mabang and Malal Mara Chiefdoms acceded to this request, but the Gbethis from the lower part of Yoni Chiefdom refused to surrender. Instead, they joined with Kamajors from the South and attacked Camp Charlie, but were beaten; some of them were killed during the battle. Following this attack on Camp Charlie, the Gbethis were given a deadline to surrender.

Following an order allegedly from the AFRC leader, the RUF commander announced that looting should stop and that any civilians or RUF/AFRC members caught looting would "face the consequences". These consequences became clear when three civilians were killed in the town square of Mile 91 for stealing property belonging to other civilians. In a separate incident, a civilian was also shot dead in the square for stealing a foam mattress belonging to another person.

⁶⁰¹ While open sources (Sierra Leone Bi-Monthly Information (OCHA) 15 April - 12 May 1997) mentioned Kapras clashing with SLA forces in Mile 91 on April 1997, there is no information in our records about Kapras activities in the chiefdom; only Kamajors and Gbethis are mentioned in this regard.

⁶⁰² Inter Press Service, 16 April 1997.

⁶⁰³ Xinhua, 17 June 1997.

⁶⁰⁴ The AFRC Chairman made an announcement over the radio that CDF members should lay down their arms and register at the nearest police station.

In May or June, Kamajors from Gbonkolenken and Tane Chiefdoms held a meeting at Yele, a junction town in the far south of Gbonkolenken Chiefdom. They decided to cut off the highway leading into Kono District, thereby preventing food from getting to the RUF in that District. On May 10 Kamajors units moved into to Tane Chiefdom and blocked the highway between Magburaka and Matotoka, at the place where the Pampana River crosses the highway. SLA forces tried to dislodge the Kamajors from their position so that they could reopen the highway, but were unsuccessful. The Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone eventually persuaded the Kamajors to clear the road. A Kamajor Society was also formed in Konike Barina Chiefdom in 1997.

In July 1997, as the deadline for the Gbethis to surrender expired in Yoni Chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces began house-to-house searches or screening patrols for Gbethis, using civilians who were familiar with the surroundings. As a result of this screening process, suspects were molested by the RUF/AFRC forces, publicly flogged with their hands tied behind their backs, forced to do frog jumps⁶⁰⁵ or to lie on their backs and look at the sun. In addition, the RUF/AFRC forces passed decrees applicable to both civilians and RUF/AFRC members. Night curfews were imposed and contraveners were fined Le 5,000; those who did not pay the fine were severely flogged. RUF/AFRC forces also used civilians during their food-finding missions and forced civilians to do menial tasks in their homes. In October, RUF/AFRC forces coming from the direction of Bo District brought various items, including Honda motorbikes, cars, bicycles and accessories they had stolen and sold them to civilians at Mile 91. They also established small-scale businesses such as hawking and barrow boys. As they moved freely from Mile 91 to Magburaka, Port Loko and Makeni, they would bring back stolen items to Mile 91 to sell them. They further explained to the population that they were stealing because they were not paid and that in any case, civilians should support them and share their food with them, since they had come to save the civilians. These business transactions were, however, sometimes marred by violence and were not conducted fairly; on more than one occasion, RUF/AFRC members required people to pay for the same goods twice. Stealing in the Mile 91 area was described as being as its peak around this period.

RUF/AFRC units with different responsibilities were put in place, including the Military Police and the Task Force. The Military Police were responsible for investigating matters related to the sale and purchase of items. However, if a civilian and an RUF/AFRC member had a quarrel or a disagreement, only the RUF/AFRC member would be allowed to explain their version of what happened.⁶⁰⁶

Sometime after the coup in 1997, RUF/AFRC forces settled in Magburaka. Civilians were harassed, women and girls were raped and children were abducted and forced to join the RUF/AFRC movement. Kamajors coming from the eastern part of the chiefdom attacked the town early in the morning, but were overpowered by the RUF/AFRC forces and retreated in the same direction from which they had come. In the afternoon, a member of the AFRC called together the civilians who

605 To "frog jump" or to "pump" is done by first holding on to the earlobes with two hands – the left hand holding the right ear lobe and vice versa– after which the person is required to jump up and down continuously on their haunches. This form of punishment was both physically and psychologically painful, because it is a punishment meted out mostly to children and it is considered shameful for an adult to be made to "pump".

had fled during the attack. At that time, some women were raped, some civilians were beaten, property was taken and captured Kamajors were executed and thrown into water wells and latrine pits. In the afternoon of the same day, the same AFRC member launched "Operation Pay Yourself", according to which the RUF/AFRC forces were free to take property belonging to civilians. 607

One event that took place in Malal Mara Chiefdom after RUF forces had established a base at Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) in June 1997 highlights the structures that RUF forces put in place to obtain food. Malal Mara Chiefdom is a strategic position, as it is the starting point of the road that links up with the road from Magburaka to Makeni through Bombali District. RUF forces were sent to Manewa Section, in the north of Malal Mara Chiefdom, to open a Task Force office to raise funds for their base at Makeni. To achieve this, civilians were required to pay taxes. Furthermore, whenever the base at Makeni needed something, this would be communicated to the Task Force units, who would contact their local administrative heads, who in turn would demand contributions from civilians. The collection of money and property was accompanied by harassment in an attempt to get the items quickly. This process lasted until 1999.

Despite the Peace Plan signed between the AFRC leader and the Government of Sierra Leone in Conakry, Guinea on October 1997, 608 RUF/AFRC violations were still reported in the District and RUF/AFRC forces embarked on upgrading the airstrip at Magburaka into a "fully-fledged airport for the illegal importation of arms and other supplies."

In December 1997, RUF/AFRC forces from Yoni Chiefdom realised that civilians were hiding their properties in the bush. An announcement was made that any civilian caught concealing property would be punished and the property would be taken.

That same month, Kamajors⁶¹⁰ unsuccessfully attacked Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom). This attack aimed at dislodging the RUF/AFRC forces from the town, considered as a springboard for Mile 91 and its environs. There were no reported casualties.⁶¹¹

<u>f)</u> Events in 1998

In early 1998, stealing carried out by RUF/AFRC forces continued in the District. In February, retreating RUF/AFRC forces from Freetown en route to Kono District using the Freetown–Kono highway passed by different chiefdoms in the District. On their way to Kono District, they launched the "Operation Pay Yourself", according to which RUF/AFRC forces would take food and other items from civilians to last them through their retreat. In addition, in February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces coming from different areas arrived in Mile 91. "Operation Pay Yourself" was also launched there and villages and towns in the chiefdom were looted, mainly for food although there were two secondary school girls were raped at this time. RUF/AFRC forces, however, avoided the lower part

⁶⁰⁷ This kind of operation, namely, massive stealing would be widely carried out in 1998 by RUF/AFRC forces retreating from Freetown and would reach unprecedented levels during that period.

⁶⁰⁸ During this meeting, it was agreed that RUF/AFRC forces would hand over power to the Sierra Leonean President on 22 April 1998.

⁶⁰⁹ Sierra Leone Situation Report (OCHA), 20 December 1997 - 20 January 1998.

⁶¹⁰ They were described as a faction of the CDF speaking Mende.

⁶¹¹ No more information was available on this attack.

of Yoni Chiefdom since it was a CDF stronghold. While they were advancing to Kono, some RUF/AFRC forces were attacked by Kamajors in Tane Chiefdom. However, the RUF/AFRC forces managed to repel the attack, killing eight Kamajors and wounding many others. Nevertheless, during this time, it appeared to civilians that there was no command structure within the forces and the RUF commander who was familiar to everyone was not around.

RUF/AFRC forces arriving in Magburaka by truck, Honda motorbikes and cars in late February also carried out "Operation Pay Yourself" in the town, had a lot of traders and many vehicles. In the early evening, some RUF/AFRC members saw a girl in the street and called to her, but she ran away. They followed her to her house. Her father came out and the RUF/AFRC members threatened to kill him if he did not give them his daughter. After begging them, the father told them to do what they had to do, for he had no alternative. One of the RUF/AFRC members then shot him in his left foot, cut off two of his toes and left. In another incident, RUF/AFRC forces met a man in the street, asked him about his money and followed him to his house. When the forces asked him why he did not have any money, he replied that the war had put him "back to square one". The RUF/AFRC forces shot at his house with an RPG, killing the man, who was inside at the time. The family of the dead man reported the case to one of the commanders, who later identified and shot the member who had killed the man. During the night, many girls were raped and some were taken to Kono District. RUF/AFRC forces burnt 50 houses in the town and executed Kamajors they had captured; their bodies were thrown in water wells or latrine pits.

On 5 March, ECOMOG forces entered Magburaka and its environs. Youths were asked to point out any RUF/AFRC member or collaborator and those suspected were detained at Magburaka's Local Prison. As ECOMOG left for Makeni, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the town before dawn on the following day, 6 March 1998, from the western part of the chiefdom. The RUF/AFRC forces burnt down 25 houses; some civilians were in their houses when they were set on fire and were burnt alive. Many others were killed and many women were raped and some were taken to be used for sexual purposes. Young people were forced to carry the property the RUF/AFRC forces had stolen as they left the town before daybreak towards the south of the chiefdom. ECOMOG then returned to Magburaka and threatened the civilians, accusing them of allowing RUF/AFRC forces to stay in their chiefdom. Property was taken by ECOMOG forces and it is also reported that civilians' wives were forced to have sexual relations with some ECOMOG members. At this time, ECOMOG forces also deployed at many checkpoints along the Magburaka–Kono highway.

⁶¹² From February to June, the number of civilians wounded or mutilated and arriving in Magburaka hospital increased considerably: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (UNOCHA), 1 - 22 May 1998 and 9 June - 6 July 1998.

⁶¹³ Following the intervention in Freetown in February 1998, a new ECOMOG Brigade – 24 Infantry Brigade – was designed for the expansion of its activities in the Provinces. After they had recaptured Lunsar (Port Loko District), ECOMOG forces headed for Makeni, where it was reported ousted RUF/AFRC forces had established their new base: Brig. Gen. R. A. Adeshina: *The Reversed Victory: Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc, pp 29 and 39. That could explain why ECOMOG forces did not stay in Magburaka that day. Accordingly, these ECOMOG forces did not belong to the same group who deployed in Bo and Mile 91.

⁶¹⁴ No more information was available on this incident.

⁶¹⁵ They notably deployed in Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom) on 6 April: Adeshina, op. cit., p 70.

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Kamajors⁶¹⁶ launched an attack on RUF positions on 5 March at Magbass village and Magbass Sugar complex, located in Mamuntha Section in the south of Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom. The head of the Kamajors held a stick wrapped in black and red cloth.⁶¹⁷ After the RUF forces sustained heavy casualties, their commander ordered his forces to withdraw towards Magburaka.⁶¹⁸ The Kamajors who had defeated the RUF forces began breaking into the factory and houses in the village, taking property and removing the zinc roof of the factory. They arrested 50 civilians who were hiding and asked them why they were supporting the RUF forces. The civilians were neither killed nor beaten, but were forced to carry the stolen property to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom. When they arrived in the Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, they were released and returned to Mamuntha Section.

Around 17 March, heavily-armed RUF forces⁶¹⁹ returned to retake their position in the south of Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom. At a village called Makorie, they launched the Operation "No Bush Shaking", which meant they would shoot in the direction of any grass that was moving, on the assumption that people were hiding there. At Makoray, they burnt down four houses and killed three civilians. At Maiekonko, they burnt all 15 houses in the village because they could not find any people there. On the same day, they went to Mayatha, dividing themselves into three groups to attack the village. Some Kamajors were captured, killed and cut into pieces. The next morning, RUF forces called people for prayers but nobody came, as they knew that this was a tactic used by RUF forces to gather civilians and kill them. In the afternoon, the RUF forces left the village, burning down 18 houses, and went back to Magburaka.

ECOMOG forces coming from Bo, 620 together with Kamajors from the southern Province, came to Mile 91 in March 1998. By then, the retreating RUF/AFRC forces had already left the town, heading further north. Many civilians fled with the retreating forces, allegedly frightened of being chased and treated as collaborators, since Kamajors considered that civilians in the upper part of Yoni Chiefdom and in Kholifa Mabang and Malal Mara Chiefdoms were all collaborators. Screening processes were organised by ECOMOG and Kamajors for the purposes of identifying collaborators. As a result of this screening process, ECOMOG forces killed six civilians in March. In addition to people, houses were screened and if any of the items found there led ECOMOG and the Kamajors to suspect that the house had in one way or another hosted members of the RUF/AFRC forces, the house was burnt down and the property was confiscated; up to 98 houses were burnt during this process.

Kamajors assisted by ECOMOG forces also organised patrols in the villages surrounding Mile 91 to search for "rebel collaborators". These patrols were accompanied by destruction of property, mostly done by Kamajors. For example, in Yonibana, 45 houses were burnt; 40 houses were burnt in Mawor; and 45 were burnt in Gaindema. ECOMOG forces and Kamajors also allegedly took civilians' property, which was then conveyed to Bo Town. Following these incidents, Gbethis from

⁶¹⁶ The Kamajors were equipped with cutlasses, axes and sticks and few of them had AK47s and RPGs.

⁶¹⁷ Red symbolised blood and black symbolised death.

⁶¹⁸ This RUF/AFRC defeat was explained by civilians through the intervention of the mystical power of the Kamajors who were believed to be able to stop the guns of the enemy.

⁶¹⁹ These RUF forces were fully equipped with a lot of RPG, AK47s, G3 and mortar bombs.

⁶²⁰ Those ECOMOG forces had arrived to Bo town from Kenema Town around 20-22 February 1998.

lower Yoni Chiefdom decided to confront the Kamajors, but ECOMOG forces managed to contain them and then charged them with ensuring the security of lower Yoni Chiefdom. 621

In April, some units of the RUF/AFRC forces were still in Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom. In one incident, a suckling woman who had given birth two weeks previously was raped after her husband refused to give his food to some members of the RUF/AFRC forces. Furthermore, the husband was given 36 lashes and was ordered to eat his own excrement. The following month, RUF/AFRC forces burnt down the houses that remained standing in Mafolatha when civilians refused to give them food. On or around 13 April, RUF/AFRC forces⁶²² arrived at Bolyin (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom), a village in the Mabang Section that was used as a hideout by civilians. They convened a meeting in the Court Barrie and explained that the purpose of their visit was to ask CDF (Gbethis) deployed in the area to join them to fight the CDF (Kamajors) in Bo District. The CDF refused to join them and the two groups battled for two hours. The CDF eventually overpowered the RUF/AFRC forces, who left the town, taking away food and domestic animals and burning down four houses.

Around this period, Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom), on the highway to Koidu (Kono District), hosted thousands of IDPs fleeing battles between ECOMOG and RUF/AFRC forces in Kono District.⁶²⁴

On 1 June, ECOMOG forces at Mile 91 announced that civilians who were in the bushes could come back in their houses, with priority being given to women. Following this announcement, women arrived at Mile 91 and were taken to the Caritas building, where they were accommodated for the night. During that night, four of them were raped by Kamajors. It is reported that at this time, ECOMOG forces were unable to control the Kamajors, who had their own command structure. Later in June, men were allowed to resettle back at Mile 91 and were thoroughly screened at checkpoints operated by ECOMOG forces and Kamajors. In July 1998, a suspected "rebel" was apprehended by Gbethis and taken to ECOMOG forces at Mile 91, where he was killed.

In June, CDF from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom came to Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom and liberated Mafolatha, Makelleh (Yoni Chiefdom) and the surrounding villages from RUF/AFRC presence. Since then, no further RUF/AFRC attack was sustained in this area.

Kamajors from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom went to Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom on 5 December and entered Mabom, around 10 miles south of Magburaka. They dislodged the RUF/AFRC forces who were there and, before returning to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, went on rampage, breaking into civilians' houses and abducting some young men and women. They took food, furniture like bed mattresses and building materials, burnt 15 houses and headed for another village called Masoria, where they asked civilians to point out the houses where RUF/AFRC forces used to live. They went in the houses identified by the civilians and searched for arms and ammunition. As they did not know how to operate the weapons they found – mortar bombs and anti-aircraft guns – they burnt

⁶²¹ It should be recalled that tension had existed between the Gbethis and the Kamajors since 1997.

⁶²² Some of those forces were carrying AK47s and RPGs while others were equipped with cutlasses and sticks.

⁶²³ At this time, Kamajors and ECOMOG forces had driven RUF/AFRC forces out of Bo District.

⁶²⁴ Inter Press Service, 8 July 1998.

them before returning to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, where they set up more checkpoints. People coming from Magburaka and crossing the border to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom were often arrested, tied with ropes called "FM"⁶²⁵ or detained in a cage where cattle slept, suspected of being a "rebel" collaborator. People who were found to be collaborators were killed, allegedly in the forest between Tane and Gbonkolenken Chiefdoms, near a stream called Nasi.

In late December, an important movement of troops were to be seen in different chiefdoms of the District. One group of armed men and women, around 300 in number, dressed in mixed military uniforms entered Mabonto (Kafe Simira Chiefdom) in December 1998. They came in a big green military truck with a foreign military plate, which was identified as belonging to ECOMOG forces deployed in Teko Barracks (Bombali District). The troops identified themselves as "Government troops" coming to protect civilians from the advancing "rebels". They then asked the inhabitants to cook for them and civilians realised that these troops were actually RUF/AFRC forces in disguise; most of them were speaking Liberian dialects and Mende. After one week, the whole town was controlled with checkpoints and civilians were required to have a pass if they wanted to leave the town. The next day, some of the RUF forces moved towards Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom). During their stay in Mabonto, the RUF forces instituted a Court and the most common crimes prosecuted in that court were rape and stealing. Three RUF/AFRC members were executed for these crimes. The remaining the rema

Kalansogoia Chiefdom was the scene of many ambushes and attacks carried out by RUF/AFRC forces. The Hydro Compound at Bumbuna was under construction and was therefore of interest, because there were lorries, fuel and other similar items. Thus six attacks were led by RUF/AFRC forces on the town. On 14 December, two ECOMOG members on patrol along the Bumbuna-Bendugu (Sambaia Chiefdom) road fell in an ambush staged by RUF/AFRC forces and were killed.

On 21 December 1998, a large number of armed men in dirty uniforms came from Kono District to Tane Chiefdom, telling people they were tired of fighting and they were no longer going to the bush. Some of these troops went towards Magburaka and Makeni while others stayed in Tane Chiefdom, following civilians into the bush in search of food or what was called Jar Jar, which means taking things from civilians by force. Small girls were taken as their "wives" and young men were abducted to carry their loads. They sent messages to civilians to come out of the bush as they said they were no longer fighting civilians or Kamajors, only ECOMOG forces. Following this, some Kamajors started to surrender. Twenty of them came and as nothing happened, more and more Kamajors came out, up to 80 in number. Those Kamajors who did not surrender went to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom. Many civilians went also to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, at this time a Kamajor stronghold, after the armed men had taken half of their property at gunpoint. Second

⁶²⁵ FM means "frequency modulation", for it was believed that once tied with this rope, which had two sticks on its edges used to tighten the rope around people's limbs, people began to speak.

⁶²⁶ Around this time, it was believed that combatants from Liberia, allegedly supported by the Liberian President, were taking part in the hostilities in Sierra Leone.

⁶²⁷ No more information was available on these incidents.

⁶²⁸ RUF/AFRC forces retook control of Koidu (Kono District headquarter) on 20 December.

⁶²⁹ No more information was available on these incidents.

Three days after the attack on Koidu Town, the headquarters of Kono District, hundreds of RUF/AFRC forces reached Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom, entering Magburaka Town on 23 December. 630 Previously, the RUF Battle Field Commander had been interviewed on the BBC and declared they would enter Freetown by road. While in Magburaka, the RUF/AFRC forces raped and killed people. For example, on 26 December, a boy working in a garage was threatened with death if he could not repair the Honda that some RUF/AFRC members had brought him the night before. As he became more and more distressed, the boy attempted to run away and was shot by the forces. The same forces pushed their Honda and asked another boy to help them. The boy was then left to hide at the corner of a house and, as he thought the fighters had left, he moved along the street. The RUF forces shot in the air and called out to the boy. When he turned around, the RUF forces shot him in the head. The same night, some members of the RUF/AFRC went to Bathmorie, near Magburaka, and attacked a house, thinking they would find girls. As there were none, they took a young boy to lead them to a house where they could find girls. The boy went to a house and told the girls to vacate the place quietly. When he came back to the RUF/AFRC members, he told them there was no girls there. The members went to the house to check what the boy had said and no girls were to be found. They then started hitting the boy on his back with their G3 guns, they then shot at his feet and shot him another time, killing him. At this time, the RUF commander told civilians that the RUF/AFRC forces would attack Freetown and many civilians were abducted for use in the fighting forces.⁶³¹

g) Events in 1999

Around 1 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces entered Kumrabai Junction (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) from the direction of Magburaka, en route to Mile 91. On their way, some of the RUF/AFRC forces were left at Kumrabai Station, Matuku 1 and Matuku 2. The relationship between the RUF/AFRC forces and the CDF was allegedly cordial and a civilian was appointed as an intermediary between the two groups. Two days later, however, other RUF/AFRC forces coming from Waterloo passed through Kumrabai Junction and headed to Ferry Junction, the crossing point at the boundary between Kholifa Mabang and Gbonkolenken Chiefdoms, asking what was the mileage to the headquarter town of Yele (Gbonkolenken Chiefdom). They started firing at CDF forces, who returned fire. This group of RUF/AFRC then moved to Magburaka.

Following this encounter, about 500 CDF members from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom attacked Robis, Kumrabai Junction and Ferry Junction and took property. They killed three people at Robis, four at Ferry Junction, and eight at Kumrabai Junction; raped four women; and abducted 15 boys under the age of 15, possibly for recruitment into the fighting forces.⁶³²

On 14 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces who had attacked Magburaka at the end of 1998 entered Mile 91 and overcame the Kamajors and ECOMOG forces, who retreated south in the direction of Bo District. The RUF/AFRC forces appealed to the civilians not to run away, as they were not their focus, which was the ECOMOG and Kamajors forces. For three days, however, a lot of property

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⁶³⁰ No battles with ECOMOG forces were reported. It seems that after they came back to the town in March 1998, ECOMOG forces did not stay the whole year, although it could not be ascertained when they left the town. RUF/AFRC forces would hold the town until 2002.

⁶³¹ Makeni (Bombali District) was attacked around 27 December 1998.

⁶³² No more information was available on these incidents.

was taken, before the RUF commander gave the order for it to stop. This attack on Mile 91 is believed to have taken place to cut off the highway that leads to Freetown, which had been invaded on 6 January and was still at least partly still under RUF/AFRC occupation. 633

The RUF/AFRC forces began operating checkpoints at strategic locations around the town and thoroughly screened people coming in to identify any possible CDF member. Civilians coming from Lower Yoni were closely checked, as their area was hosting Gbethis and Kamajors from the Southern Province. Small Boys Units were used to confiscate property from civilians, which was then handed over to their superior officers. RUF/AFRC forces carried out food-finding missions in the surrounding villages and civilians were used to carry the food to Mile 91.

On 28 January 1999, not long after the killing of the two ECOMOG forces during a patrol in late 1998, SLA forces deployed at Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom), establishing a brigade headquarter. On their arrival, the SLA forces dug trenches around the town and laid down landmines, escorting civilians to avoid them stepping on the mines. Bumbuna was a point of passage for RUF/AFRC forces coming from Kono District using the Kayima Road (Koinadugu District). RUF/AFRC forces coming westwards from the direction of Magburaka and Mabonto launched many attacks on Bumbuna; the fiercest one took place on 15 February 1999, between 7:00 pm and 7:00 am. RUF/AFRC forces were unsuccessful in dislodging the SLA and instead occupied all the villages along the border between Kalansogoia and Kafe Simira Chiefdoms, 634 chasing civilians in their hideouts for food and cattle and burning down houses in the villages. The aim of these attacks was mainly to capture the SLA arms and ammunition.

The presence of the SLA forces in Bumbuna brought some relief to the population. As the highway leading to Magburaka was under RUF/AFRC control, thereby preventing lorries from bringing food, the only way to secure food was for the civilians of Kalansogoia Chiefdom to go to Kabala (Koinadugu District), which was 76 miles away. As a result, civilians were mainly living on the food rations that were airlifted by helicopter from Freetown for the SLA forces. The commander in charge of the SLA forces was allegedly very strict with the forces under his command so that they would treat civilians cordially.

Throughout 1999 and 2000, the whole area surrounding Bumbuna up to Magburaka was under RUF/AFRC control. RUF/AFRC forces operated checkpoints on the Magburaka-Kono highway, issuing and asking civilians for travelling documents called "passes", which cost Le 500 and were valid for 72 hours. No other documents but these passes were accepted as valid travelling documents. People who produced "Government documents", namely documents issued by State Institutions, were arrested and detained, accused of being one of "Tejan Kabbah's people", namely a supporter of the Government.

By January 1999, almost half of the civilians from Tane Chiefdom had fled to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, where the Kamajors were very active. Kamajors from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, together with those who came from Tane Chiefdom, decided to attack the RUF/AFRC forces stationed in

⁶³³ See the events for the Western Area, 1999.

⁶³⁴ Kajida, Kabaray, Kasikoro and Yibai were thus occupied at this time.

⁶³⁵ It took civilians three to four days to reach Kabala.

Tane Chiefdom. In March, after some of the RUF/AFRC forces stationed in Tane Chiefdom had crossed the border to Madina (Gbonkolenken Chiefdom) and had killed one Kamajor during a fight, the Kamajors decided to cross the border between the two chiefdoms and attack positions in Tane Chiefdom. Both factions crossed the border many times, attacking each other in Yele and Matotoka. As a result, Tane Chiefdom was seriously damaged as many houses were burnt down. In April 1999 and following an RUF/AFRC attack on Yele that had left 10 houses burnt down, Kamajors went to Matotoka and burnt 50 houses, including the Paramount Chief's compound. On their way back to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, they set more houses on fire in Makenikoray (Tane Chiefdom). When they saw flames in Matotoka, RUF/AFRC forces burnt the remaining houses, thinking they were Kamajors' houses because they had been left standing by the Kamajors.

In March 1999, Kamajors together with Gbethis coming from Lower Yoni went to Mile 91 to attack the RUF/AFRC forces. A fierce battle took place at Yonibana but the CDF had to retreat, as some of them were killed during the attack. Following this attack, RUF/AFRC forces looted houses at Yonibana and forced civilians to carry the load to Mile 91.

Another attack was launched on Mile 91 in the middle of April 1999 by combined forces of Kamajors, Gbethis, ECOMOG and SLA. There was a lot of shooting during what was described as the heaviest attack on Mile 91 since the war started. The RUF/AFRC forces were forced to withdraw to the direction of Magburaka. After the attack, the bodies of 10 civilians, including four women, were found in the town. Thirty houses had also been burnt down. In addition, cases of rape were reported, although civilians were unable to ascertain with certainty the identity of the perpetrators. This control of Mile 91 enabled ECOMOG and Kamajors forces to reopen the highway to Bo Town, although the portion of the highway between Masiaka (Port Loko District) and Mile 91 was still considered insecure.

Subsequently, Mile 91 saw an influx of civilians coming from Makeni, Magburaka and other areas in the north that had fallen under the control of RUF/AFRC forces. These displaced people had no choice but to occupy destroyed dwellings, which they tried to fix.

Between March and May, following constant pressure from SLA forces and the CDF, a senior RUF commander issued an order to all RUF/AFRC commanders that all the young men in Makeni and Magburaka should be abducted and trained as fighters. The ground commander in Magburaka called his sub commanders to go and capture the young men of the town. Many young men fled in to the bush while this operation, which lasted two weeks, was carried out. On 10 March 1999, about 100 young men were captured and locked in the Train Store of Agriculture in Magburaka. These young men were then sent for training by vehicle to Burkina, which was the code name for Kailahun. After two weeks, the young men who were caught were fined Le 50,000 and, if they could not pay, were given 300 lashes as a punishment for hiding while the "recruitment" was being carried out. One month later, sometime in April 1999, RUF/AFRC forces in Magburaka faced a food shortage and

⁶³⁶ In May, serious fighting was reported in the area of Magburaka: IRIN West Africa, 24 May 1999.

⁶³⁷ It could not be ascertained whether those acts were committed by the RUF/AFRC forces or by the combined forces of ECOMOG, Kamajors and SLA.

⁶³⁸ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (UNOCHA), April 1999. Since March 1999, Bo District had been under Kamajor and ECOMOG control.

started attacking villages to take their food. During these attacks, young girls were also taken to become the "wives" of the RUF/AFRC forces.

Throughout the year, CDF forces from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom were also very active in Kholifa Mabang and Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdoms. It is reported that a lot of destruction was carried out in the villages, where property was taken, women raped and people accused of being collaborators or sympathisers of the RUF/AFRC forces were tortured. Killings of people suspected of being "rebels" or collaborators were carried out in the CDF base at Mamilla Gbla.

In one incident in March, three members of a group of Kamajors from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom who were attempting to attack Magburaka Town were shot dead by RUF/AFRC forces, who then sprinkled petrol on the bodies and set fire to them. As they retreated, the other Kamajors shot dead a man they had called out to but who had run into the bush.

In April 1999, following civilians' complaints about the flogging of civilians with up to 200 lashes, the rape of young girls and the killing of civilians, the commander in charge of the RUF/AFRC forces in Manewa Section (Malal Mara Chiefdom) was replaced by another senior RUF/AFRC commander. The new commander extended the RUF/AFRC's activities towards the north to Kiampkakolo Section, to the west to Mara Section and to the south, to Massathelel Section, deploying in the major villages of the sections. A senior AFRC commander imposed that everybody in the villages should register at the military police task force; any civilian that was not registered would be considered to be a spy for the elected Government. Furthermore, civilians were responsible for feeding the troops. Routine checks were carried out in the villages and if any person who was on the registration list were missing, the local authorities appointed by the RUF/AFRC would be beaten and fined. The movement of petty traders coming from other chiefdoms was controlled by the military police, who would search everybody and confiscate anything they wanted; anyone who complained about this was flogged. Some youths from the villages were used to carry items stolen during the looting activities called Jar Jar. Those who were unable to carry the load or who were sick during the journey were shot dead. Some of the youths who were forced to carry the load were cooperative and were promoted to the rank of small unit leaders and later on to local commanders, which entited many youths in the villages into joining the movement. The use of the youths enabled thus the RUF/AFRC forces to have access to all the hideouts, where they stole food and other domestic items.

After a ceasefire was signed in May 1999, the negotiations between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone reached their conclusion in the signing of a Peace Agreement in Lomé, Togo. Some relief was brought to the people of Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom at this time. ⁶³⁹

Starting in the middle of the year, after the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, RUF/AFRC forces from Magburaka on food-finding missions were attacked by Kamajors from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom. For example, following one food-finding mission where RUF/AFRC forces arrested and beat civilians for failing to give them rice, Kamajors moved from Gbonkolenken Chiefdom and blocked the highway at Pampana Bridge in Tane Chiefdom at the boundary with Kholifa Rowalla

⁶³⁹ Although this assertion is not accompanied with details, it gives an idea on the activities in the chiefdom at this stage.

Chiefdom. It is reported that the matter was referred to the RUF High Command, who ordered that the Kamajors be dislodged using an anti-aircraft machinegun. The Kamajors could not resist the attack, during which 20 CDF members were killed and most of them run away. The RUF/AFRC forces threw the bodies into the Pampana River. However, they managed to capture two Kamajors, who were stripped naked and had ropes tied to their backs; these ropes were then also tied behind the lorry that was carrying the anti-aircraft machine gun. When they arrived at Magburaka, the two Kamajors were dead, their bodies severely mutilated; the RUF/AFRC forces later burnt their remains. Here

In October 1999, Gbethis attacked villages in Malal Mara Chiefdom, targeting both the RUF/AFRC positions and civilians. Cases of looting, rape and killing of civilians were reported. Young people were forced to carry the stolen property and since it was the harvest season, civilians were taken to their farms to carry out the work of harvesting.⁶⁴²

In early October, tension between RUF/AFRC forces⁶⁴³ escalated and an in-fight arose in Makeni (Bombali District) between RUF forces on one hand and AFRC forces on the other hand. A senior RUF commander came from Magburaka to attack AFRC forces based in Makeni. It seems that the RUF forces were first not able to dislodge the AFRC members and withdrew from Makeni to Magburaka, where they were allegedly attacked the next day from the "Old Town" section of the town. The fighting lasted for two days. Eventually, in late October, RUF forces from Magburaka and backed up with forces coming from Kailahun District dislodged the AFRC forces from Makeni and occupied the town. ⁶⁴⁴

On 22 October, the UN Security Council established a 6,000-strong UN peacekeeping force for Sierra Leone in support of the Lomé Peace Agreement. According to the resolution, the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) would be deployed throughout the country. However, the first batch of UN peacekeepers from the Kenyan contingent were denied access to Magburaka by local RUF commanders, although the peacekeepers were carrying letters of authority from the RUF leader.

At some point in 1999, RUF forces came back to settle at Makali (Konike Barina Chiefdom) and asked the CDF to come and join them, which some CDF members did. Junior RUF members were sent on food-finding missions; later, however, they asked civilians to feed them before they began

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⁶⁴⁰ The person tasked with carrying out this assignment would later become Foday Sankoh's bodyguard.

⁶⁴¹ In October, the situation around Magburaka and Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom) was still insecure, as civilians were forced to give food to the Paramount Chief who in turn gave the food to RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces also went directly to the civilians to take food: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (OCHA), 3 - 9 October 1999.

⁶⁴² No more information was available on these incidents.

⁶⁴³ Following the retreat from Freetown in February 1998, the relationship between the RUF and the AFRC forces was often tense, culminating on some occasions in infighting: for more information, see the analyses for Bombali and Kono Districts.

⁶⁴⁴ It is alleged that this infighting was of a personal nature, because the senior RUF commander who originated from Makeni did not tolerate that the AFRC senior commander in charge of Makeni looted his home town.

⁶⁴⁵ The number of peacekeepers would increase over the subsequent months.

⁶⁴⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (OCHA) 6 - 19 December 1999.

looting and using children to work for them, in particular to go on food-finding missions. People reported the matter to senior RUF commanders, who then came to the town and advised the civilians to make a war committee, which they did. Later on, the RUF leader came and declared that the war was over. 647

In the middle of November, RUF forces reopened to a certain extent the Magburaka-Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom), which at that time was still under their control. Vehicles that had been stolen by RUF members were driven along this highway as commercial transport; the vehicles were generally driven by civilians under the control of RUF members. However, potential passengers were frightened to board these vehicles and continued to use bush paths on foot.

h) Events in 2000

In January, United Nations Military Observers (MILOBs) started patrolling in the Northern Province and in particular in Magburaka. 648 By the middle of the month, the deployment of UN peacekeepers was near completion. 649 During this period, it was hoped that the disarmament camp would be open soon in Magburaka so that the disarmament process could properly start.⁶⁵⁰

In mid January 2000, one of the well known RUF commanders was shuttling between Malal Mara Chiefdom, Makeni and Magburaka, which led the people of Malal Mara Chiefdom to think he had other assignments elsewhere. At the end of the month, another group of RUF forces arrived, headed by a different commander. During the same period, more youths joined the Gbethi Society in the chiefdom.

RUF/AFRC forces from Magburaka spent much of January and February in most of the areas in the chiefdom where Kamajors had been, then went through the western part of the chiefdom to attack Mile 91. On their way, they abducted many young men in Magburaka to carry their arms and arrived at Kumrabai Junction, where they met strong resistance from the Kamajors and had to withdraw. On their way back, they passed by Masoko, where they asked civilians to show them where the Kamajors were. Despite one boy telling them there were no Kamajors in the village, the RUF/AFRC forces burnt down 10 houses and killed three civilians whom they suspected of being Kamajors. They then passed by Mayossoh, where they burnt 13 houses, and Robinkie, where they burnt down 11 houses together with the factory.

A Guinean Battalion of United Nations peacekeepers deployed in Mile 91 around March. During the same period, the DDR camp was still under construction in Magburaka. 651 The situation in

649 IRIN West Africa, 11 January 2000. One Kenyan Battalion was deployed in Magburaka and Makeni.

⁶⁴⁷ By the end of the year, the RUF leader and the former AFRC Chairman went to the Provinces to engage the disarmament process.

⁶⁴⁸ IRIN West Africa, 6 January 2000.

⁶⁵⁰ On 20 October 1999, the Sierra Leone President had officially launched the start of the Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) program during a ceremony at Wilberforce Barracks in Freetown. The start of the DDR program had been briefly delayed as it was originally planned to take place within six weeks of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999.

⁶⁵¹ IRIN West Africa, 17 March 2000.

Tonkolili District, however, was tense and deteriorated rapidly. In April 2000, RUF forces asked the UN peacekeepers to dismantle the reception centre⁶⁵² for combatants in Magburaka.⁶⁵³

Around 2 May 2000, the RUF/AFRC regional commander for the Northern Province came to Magburaka and ordered the ground commander that all the members under his command should take up arms to attack the UN peacekeeping forces in their areas of deployment, which were the Arabic College along the highway and the Water Works Campus. The regional commander also declared that any RUF member failing to take up arms would be killed immediately. The ground commander for Magburaka mobilised his men and launched a first attack on the UN peacekeepers deployed at Water Works Campus. The fight lasted for three hours and, later, a gunship came to rescue the peacekeepers based at the Arabic College, who were then able to escape towards Mile 91.

However, the situation was more complicated for those based at Water Works Campus as they were surrounded by RUF/AFRC forces. The situation became extremely difficult as they run out of food and water. After an attempt to negotiate with the RUF/AFRC forces through the intermediary of the Paramount Chief had failed, they regrouped in their armoured vehicles and left their camp using the Makeni road through the Rokel River Bridge to Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom), ⁶⁵⁵ where SLA forces were deployed. ⁶⁵⁶ On their way, one of their armoured cars had an accident and two peacekeepers died. In Magburaka, RUF forces also destroyed the DDR camp.

Shortly after the demonstration outside the house of the RUF leader in Freetown in May 2000,⁶⁵⁷ RUF/AFRC forces from Malal Mara Chiefdom crossed the Rokel River and went to Magbondo (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom), where they burnt down eight houses and took food. They moved on the same day to Rokankrr (south of Magbonto), where they took property, burnt houses and told the people they would "pay the price" for the death of their leader, as they thought he was dead following the public demonstration. The CDF who were allegedly there left the town, as they were insufficiently armed to confront the RUF/AFRC forces. The commander ordered his men to go on the rampage: they burnt nine houses, abducted eight women, raped three and took 20 young men for recruitment and to carry the stolen property to the RUF/AFRC base in Malal Mara Chiefdom. ⁶⁵⁸

In May 2000, a Government gunship flew over Magburaka and fired on the Central Market, killing five civilians. The gunship went on to fire also on the Adams Hotel, which was the RUF

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⁶⁵² The reception centre is the first place where combatants were to go to disarm: they were to register and to give their weapons in there before being orientated in the DDR camp.

⁶⁵³ According to UNAMSIL, the RUF forces on the ground asked for the dismantlement because they had not been informed about this centre by their leader: IRIN West Africa, 26 April 2000.

⁶⁵⁴ These attacks coincided with the final departure from the country of the ECOMOG. BBC Online News Archive 3 May 2001. These attacks against were nation-wide, for similar actions took place at the same time in Bombali, Kambia and Kailahun Districts. Unsuccessful attacks on Mile 91 and Camp Charlie (Yoni Chiefdom) may also have taken place.

⁶⁵⁵ Reports for Mabonto, located on the highway between Magburaka and Bumbuna confirmed that UN peacekeepers passed by the town in armoured vehicles towards Bumbuna.

⁶⁵⁶ Around 10 May, Kenyans UN peacekeepers arrived in Kabala (Koinadugu District). IRIN West Africa 11 May

⁶⁵⁷ See the analysis on the Western Area for 2000.

⁶⁵⁸ No more information was available on these incidents.

headquarters in the town. However, many civilians were near the hotel and some fatalities were reported. Furthermore, as also happened in Kambia District, the gunship dropped leaflets intended for the RUF/AFRC forces, which explained that this time, the Government forces had come with minor weapons but if they had to come a second time, they would destroy the entire area. As a result of these leaflets, many people left the area and went to Mile 91, where there was an IDP camp hosting thousands of people. On the way to Mile 91, which is 35 miles from Magburaka, some civilians died from starvation while others were killed by Guinean forces, who considered people coming from Magburaka to be RUF/AFRC members. In the IDP camp, a diarrhoea epidemic started and as a result, children and adults died, before Médecins sans Frontières came into the camp to control the disease.

During that same month, a lot of vehicles and armoured cars came during the night to Makali (Konike Barina Chiefdom) with about 150 Zambian peacekeepers, who had been captured by RUF/AFRC forces in Bombali District. The UN peacekeepers were packed in a storeroom under a two-storey building. Most of the RUF/AFRC forces guarding these peacekeepers appeared to be under the age of 15. After four days, two senior RUF commanders came one night, loaded these Zambians onto a truck and took them away. Civilians were told that they were taken to Burkina, which was a codename for Kailahun.⁶⁶¹

RUF/AFRC forces had occupied the headquarter town of Mabonto (Kafe Simira Chiefdom) since 1999. Civilians were still harassed, mainly for food, and some basic structures were put in place. Civilians were forced to give away their food and other items and a G5 committee⁶⁶² was established. A system of passes was established and civilians had to pay Le 500 for these passes, which enabled them to cross at checkpoints. Furthermore, mining villages in the chiefdom were asked to contribute 200 carat of gold dust every month or to pay the equivalent money if there was no gold dust. Allegedly in May, a senior RUF commander based in Magburaka came to Mabonto to oust one of the commanding officers posted there, who then moved towards Makeni with his forces. On one occasion, one member was killed by firing squad for raping a civilian. During the same period, a Government Jet bombed one house at Mabonto, injuring some civilians.

Many battles took place at Tonkolili Village, on the boundary between the Kalansogoia and Kafe Simira Chiefdoms. RUF forces killed during those skirmishes with SLA forces from Bumbuna were buried in mass graves in the village. Other attacks were carried out in the area, like Thamsoberic, where some civilians were killed. Some acts directed towards civilians were still reported. For example, one man at Makama, north of Mabonto had his food taken away and his son was killed because he refused to tap palm wine for the RUF/AFRC forces. Every night, houses were searched for food and girls. One man was shot as he pleaded with some members not to cut the stomach of a pregnant woman to find out the sex of the baby.

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⁶⁵⁹ The Government dropped such leaflets in various locations across the Northern Province.

⁶⁶⁰ Since fighting resumed in the Northern Province, Mile 91 hosted thousands of IDPs. For example, in early June, 22,000 IDPs had found refuge in Mile 91. This was the greatest concentration of IDPs in the north: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (OCHA), 6-10 June 2000.

⁶⁶¹ No further information was available on this incident.

⁶⁶² Members of those G5 committees were appointed by the RUF/AFRC forces.

⁶⁶³ No further information was available on these incidents.

In June, RUF/AFRC forces coming from Malal Mara Chiefdom came again to Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom, to a village called Marunia. They held a meeting in the village, the purpose of which was to enquire about the deployment of SLA forces, since they wanted to attack the highway. It is reported that those RUF/AFRC forces were furious because their leader had been arrested. At this time, the RUF/AFRC forces burnt eight houses, raped four women and abducted 40 young men to be used in the fighting forces. While RUF/AFRC forces were taking property in the village, one man refused them entry into his house. The matter was reported to the RUF commander, who ordered his men to kill anybody who would challenge his authority. Before they left the town, RUF/AFRC forces tortured and killed 20 people and mutilated the hands of two others. The 40 young men who had been abducted were forced to carry the stolen property.

The security situation in the Mile 91 area was delicate, for the influx of civilians did not allow the UN peacekeepers to control the area properly. As RUF/AFRC forces were approaching the area in June, the UN decided to strengthen the number of peacekeepers deployed in Mile 91.665 On 23 June, a group of heavily-armed RUF/AFRC forces equipped with armoured cars seized from peacekeepers came from Magburaka to Kumrabai Junction, after burning the remaining houses at Robis and Ferry Junction. These forces were planning to attack Mile 91 and at Kumrabai Junction, they killed eight people. The Gbethis passed information about this plan to the UN peacekeepers, who sent a helicopter gunship to Kumrabai Junction. However, they mistakenly bombed a village called Mamanso Kabla, hitting four houses and killing six people. This attack led the RUF/AFRC to move back to Kumrabai Junction, where they killed four people, and then to Mamilla Gba, a CDF base, where they burnt seven houses, killed five people, took property and abducted 10 boys below the age of 15 for recruitment into the fighting forces. They later on moved to Mathinka Bana, near Mamilla Gba, where they killed 18 civilians and dumped the bodies into an old water well. Most of the people who were killed were IDPs from Magburaka and Makeni. The RUF/AFRC forces left and crossed the River Rokel, in the north of the chiefdom. 666 In late June, a convoy of UN peacekeepers were ambushed near Mile 91 by RUF/AFRC forces. One of them died and four others were wounded.667

Between June and July, RUF/AFRC forces from Malal Mara Chiefdom tried to find common ground with the Gbethis in the chiefdom in order to avoid any confrontation. After a first attempt in June, both factions agreed in July on the establishment of a system by which each faction should not cross for any reason to the other faction's area. A buffer zone was thus created and the areas of each faction were separated by the Rokel River, although it did not prevent civilians from moving from one area to the other, either to meet relatives or to undertake business activities. It therefore seems that the RUF/AFRC forces concluded this deal with the Gbethis to be able to have total

⁶⁶⁴ The RUF leader was arrested shortly after the events of 8 May, when his bodyguards opened fire on the crowd that had gathered to demonstrate outside his house.

⁶⁶⁵ UNAMSIL press briefing, 23 June 2000 and IRIN West Africa. 26 June 2000.

⁶⁶⁶ During a UNAMSIL press briefing on 28 June, the UNAMSIL Force Commander who had made an air tour in the area disclosed that he did not see any burnt village.

⁶⁶⁷ BBC Online News Archives, 1 July 2000. During this period, the area between Masiaka (Kowa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Mile 91 was under constant RUF/AFRC threat and attack. Masiaka was attacked on 3 June 2000: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (OCHA), 26 June - 9 July 2000.

control over the civilians in one area. ⁶⁶⁸ Contributions required from civilians continued unabated and new forms of contributions were put in place. Civilians from one village were forced to push a truck loaded with stolen items to another village, where the lorry would be taken over by civilians from the second village. This continued until civilians reached the main road that links Magburaka to Makeni. The RUF commander in Malal Mara Chiefdom also planned to attack CDF in Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom and for this purpose, ordered civilians from Marokie, Manewa and Mamama to construct boats to cross the Rokel River. ⁶⁶⁹ Youths were actively trained for this planned attack, while acts of violence against civilians continued. Women were raped, more property was stolen and more dues were levied on the civilians to feed and equip the RUF/AFRC members. This attack was not carried out and in January 2001, a new commander was put in charge of Malal Mara Chiefdom; he did not behave as his predecessor had and neither imposed harassment on civilians nor tolerated it in this forces, who were punished if they behaved this way.

In August, an Indian contingent of UN peacekeepers replaced the Guinean contingent at Mile 91. Around this period, the situation in Yoni Chiefdom as well as in the Magburaka area appeared to be rather calm and little information was reported for the remaining months of 2000. UN peacekeepers encouraged the free movement of basic items like condiments, especially in RUF-controlled areas, for they told the civilians that if they could not obtain those items, the RUF forces may attack them. Sometimes after this deployment, a member of the RUF/AFRC was sent to Mile 91 to inform UNAMSIL that they were ready for peace. The member was intercepted by Gbethis, who brought him to the commander of the UN peacekeepers. A Gbethi was sent to Magburaka to convey a message about peace process.

However, the situation in Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom) was alarming at this time, as thousands of civilians reached the SLA-controlled town in early August. Those civilians had fled the RUF/AFRC attacks and the Government bombing in Magburaka and Makeni (Bombali District) in May and June and had lived in the bush before reaching Bumbuna. Over the subsequent months, the humanitarian situation would deteriorate: civilians from surrounding villages that were under RUF control continued to arrive in Bumbuna, where food could only be supplied by air. 670

The Lomé Peace Agreement was reactivated on 10 November in Abuja, Nigeria, where the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone signed a ceasefire agreement. The main provision of this agreement was the disarmament of the RUF forces and the deployment of UNAMSIL forces in RUF-held areas. On 8 December 2000, a meeting gathering RUF officers, ⁶⁷¹ SLA forces, Gbethis, Kamajors and UN peacekeepers was held at Ferry Junction (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom). The RUF engaged to reopen all the roads in the RUF-controlled areas, to hand over all the remaining United Nations' equipment seized in May, to allow UNAMSIL deployment in RUF-controlled areas and to allow access to humanitarian assistance.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁸ For civilians, the RUF commander revealed "his true colour" after the agreement with the Gbethis.

⁶⁶⁹ During the rainy season, the main rivers in Sierra Leone cannot be crossed by foot.

⁶⁷⁰ See among others, Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Reports (OCHA) 25 July - 07 August 2000, 28 August - 18 September 2000 and 28 October -13 November 2000, UNAMSIL press briefing, 4 October 2000.

⁶⁷¹ The records only mention RUF, not AFRC or "Juntas". The UNAMSIL delegation comprised six officials and was led by the Force Commander while the RUF delegation comprised 14 members and was led by the RUF interim leader: UNAMSIL press briefing, 8 December 2000.

⁶⁷² Idem.

In December 2000, the RUF regional commander for the Northern Province came to Mabonto (Kafe Simira Chiefdom) with over 200 armed men and women. At this time, the relation with civilians was bad as 10 cases of the rape of girls aged between 12 and 15 were reported. The RUF senior officer settled this problem and a G5 committee was set up; one of its roles was to collect rice and money for the forces. However, looting was still carried out by both the RUF and CDF forces. Youths were forced to carry the rice to the RUF/AFRC forces' houses while women were forced to pound the rice and to fetch water. The situation in the town continued to get worse as the most basic cooking and food items were becoming scarcer. Civilians were also forced to rehabilitate the road that lead to Mansoberie and Maranda, both of which are located in a mining area.

On 4 May 2001, a meeting to review the ceasefire signed on 10 November 2000 was convened between the RUF, the Government of Sierra Leone, UN representatives and the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council, again in Abuja, Nigeria. On 15 May, the Government and the RUF agreed that accelerated and simultaneous disarmament of the RUF and CDF would be done District by District and that meetings would be held⁶⁷³ for them to decide which districts would follow after this program began in Port Loko and Kambia Districts.⁶⁷⁴

As a sign the peace process was progressing, the different fighting factions organised football matches in July. The first match was played at Magima (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom). That same month, five RUF members came to Camp Charlie and had a meeting with the UN peacekeepers. However, a few skirmishes were still reported and on one occasion, on 5 September, RUF forces prevented SLA forces from bringing supplies to Bumbuna. Nevertheless, a supply convoy escorted by UN peacekeepers was able to reach Bumbuna on 26 September and go further to reach Kabala on 3 October. October.

During the sixth meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR on 11 October, the parties agreed to have accelerated disarmament in Tonkolili District simultaneously with Pujehun District from 1 to 14 November. The DDR camp was located at the Mathora Government Girls' Secondary School. On 13 November, the UNAMSIL Force Commander witnessed the final phase of the disarmament and 2,911 combatants had disarmed in the District by 20 November.

3. Conclusion

To be drafted

⁶⁷³ Further to this meeting, tripartite meetings of the Joint Committee on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration would be held every month.

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⁶⁷⁴ UNAMSIL press briefing, 3 July 2001.

⁶⁷⁵ No more information was available on this meeting. It seems that this forum was organised to discuss the peace process and the disarmament program.

⁶⁷⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 1 - 30 September 2001.

⁶⁷⁷ UNAMSIL press briefing, 12 October 2001.

⁶⁷⁸ UNAMSIL press briefing, 2 November 2001.

⁶⁷⁹ UNAMSIL press briefing, 16 November 2001.

⁶⁸⁰ Of these, 1,534 were RUF combatants and 1,377 were CDF combatants: UNAMSIL press briefing, 20 November 2001.



D. Eastern Province

a. Kailahun District

1. Introduction

Kailahun District is one of the three Districts in the Eastern Province of the Republic of Sierra Leone. It has a strategic position due to the fact that it shares borders with the Republics of Liberia on the east and Guinea on the northeast. It is also bordered by Kono District on the northwest and Kenema District on the west. Its headquarter town, Kailahun Town, is located in Luawa Chiefdom, in the north of the District a few miles from the Parrot Beak, the Guinean area that advances into Sierra Leone. This area would be greatly affected by the conflict, originally because it hosted thousands of refuges and later as it became the theatre of RUF cross-border attacks.

There are fourteen chiefdoms in the District:

Chiefdom Headquarter Dia Baiwala Jawie Daru Kissi Kama Dea Kissi Teng Kangama Kissi Tongi Buedu Luawa Kailahun Malema Ioioima Mandu Mobai Njaluahun Segbwema Peje Bongre Manowa Peje West Bunumbu Penguia Sandaru Upper Bambara Pendembu Yawei Bandajuma

The geographical position of Kailahun District made it a strategic location for the entry of RUF/NPFL forces from Liberia into Sierra Leone. The District occupies about half of the border area between the two countries and is connected with the diamond-rich District of Kono. This made it possible for the forces to access funds easily through the sale of produce, diamonds and gold, with which they procured weapons and other logistics for the forces. It is therefore not surprising that the District was at least partially occupied throughout the whole period of the conflict. Two main roads allow penetration into the District from Liberia: in the north of the District through Kissi Teng Chiefdom and in the centre through Upper Bambara Chiefdom.

Kailahun District, particularly in the north and east, is composed of dense jungle, which affected the fighting in the District. Furthermore, the road that links Kenema Town to Kailahun Town, trough the main towns of Segbwema, Daru and Pendembu, is virtually impassable during the peak of the rainy season from July to August. The Moa River, which finds its source in the ocean in Pujehun District, flows in Kailahun District from the southwest to the north. The control of the few bridges spanning this river would be of the utmost importance, as is illustrated by the case of Daru (Jawei Chiefdom), where the town is separated from the SLA Moa Barracks by a bridge.

Aside from its mining activities, the wealth of the District comes mainly from the harvest of cash crops like cocoa and coffee. From the beginning of the conflict, the presence of the RUF in the District and their control over those resources would have dramatic economic consequences for the whole country.

The ten or more years of conflict that took place in Sierra Leone first started in the border towns of this District in 1991. The fighting forces coming from Liberia entered through border villages both in Upper Bambara and Kissi Tongi Chiefdoms. Initially, Sierra Leoneans and most of the outside world regarded these attacks not as the start of a conflict as such but more as cross-border raids by the Liberian forces waging war in Liberia. However, these two incursions into Sierra Leone – together with a third one that took place shortly after in Pujehun District – were the starting point of a systematic occurrence of several events leading to a large-scale conflict that spread throughout the country and lasted for over a decade.

The District was affected by the conflict through three discernable phases. The first one, which ran from March 1991 to the end of 1993, was characterised by the progression of RUF/NPFL forces into the District and their direct confrontation with SLA forces based mainly at the Moa Barracks in Daru (Jawei Chiefdom). RUF/NPFL forces would follow the same pattern when attacking and entering a village: they would gather the civilians in the Court Barrie and hold a meeting, introducing themselves as "freedom fighters" and deposing and replacing local authorities. Their arrival and stay was accompanied by the infliction of physical and mental violence on the people of the village, the killing of some people, in particular relatives of civilians working for the Government, as well as the abduction of members of the population, including children, for use as forced labour, as fighters, as cooks and as "wives". RUF/NPFL forces also engaged in widespread theft and property destruction, notably the burning of houses. Some members, mainly belonging to the NPFL, engaged in massive rounds of killing, raping and cannibalism, which led to infighting between the RUF and the NPFL forces. Throughout this first phase, SLA forces engaged the RUF/NPFL forces in their various positions and by the end of 1993 to the beginning of 1994, they had confined the RUF forces to the extreme east of the District. These military victories over the RUF/NPFL forces were accompanied with violence against civilians, in particular against alleged RUF/NPFL members or "collaborators". Screening centres were established for this purpose.

The second phase of the conflict encompassed 1994 to May 1997 and is characterised by a change in the RUF tactics. By 1994, most of the fighters were belonging to the RUF as the NPFL had withdrawn to Liberia. The RUF engaged in guerrilla warfare, took control of the bush, began to regain control of the areas previously under SLA control and raided villages. In 1996, Kamajors emerged in the District and, together with the SLA, defeated the RUF in some areas of the District. Although the Abidjan Peace Agreement was signed on 30 November 1996, fighting between the RUF on one side and the SLA and Kamajors on the other side resumed in early 1997.

During the third phase, which ran from May 1997 to the completion of the disarmament process in January 2002, RUF forces came out of the bush and merged with the AFRC regime. Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces retreated to Kailahun District, where they established a War Office, the administrative headquarter of the forces. Around

this time, more men were initiated into the Kamajor society. ECOMOG forces deployed in the District and engaged the forces on land and by air. Assisted by Kamajors, they obtained victories over RUF/AFRC positions but were unable to take over their main strongholds. RUF/AFRC forces continued attacking villages and ECOMOG positions; following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999, disagreement between senior RUF members emerged over the disarmament process. RUF opposition to this process reached its peak in May 2000 with the abduction of UN peacekeepers. Throughout 2000 and early 2001, RUF/AFRC forces were still active in the District and engaged in cross-border raids into Guinea.

It should be borne in mind that unlike other Districts, the information available for Kailahun District was often chaotic and incomplete, especially for the period following 1994, partly due to the massive displacement of the population. Indeed, from the start of the conflict, a lot of inhabitants of this District fled to neighbouring countries (Guinea, Liberia) and did not come back for years, while others, although they stayed in the District, regularly moved from one chiefdom to another, fleeing attacks. The figures of the rate of internally displaced people in the District throughout the conflict was very high; indeed, OCHA reports show that Kailahun District was one of the most affected Districts in terms of internally displaced people (IDP). Furthermore, as Kailahun District was the only District to have always been controlled to varying degrees by RUF/NPFL, RUF and, later, RUF/AFRC forces, people who stayed were forced to live with them for such a long time that single events are often blurred in more general information.

2. Factual analysis

<u>a)</u> Events in 1991

On 23 March 1991, the first group of RUF/NPFL forces from Liberia entered through the border town of Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) in the central part of Kailahun District and proceeded further south. A second group crossed the border with Liberia on 27 March 1991, entering the border town of Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) in the north-eastern part of the District. These forces opened two distinct entry points into the District and would join up at Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) in April.

The forces that launched these two flanks were composed by a majority of National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) members, ⁶⁸² a fighting force that had been challenging the Liberian Government since 1989, together with about 230 Revolutionary United Front (RUF) members trained in Liberia ⁶⁸³ at Camp Namna. ⁶⁸⁴ The Sierra Leoneans within the movement who were trained in Liberia were called "Vanguards", as opposed to the new recruits who were called "junior commandos".

Those attacks surprised civilians, who thought this incursion would not last long and was only a cross-border raid form the forces fighting in Liberia who were in search of food. Hundreds of these

⁶⁸⁴ For more information on those fighting forces, see section [X].

⁶⁸¹ OCHA Sierra Leone Encyclopedia: http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/slis.

⁶⁸² It is estimated that at the time of the first attacks, those NPFL forces were roughly 5,000 in number.

⁶⁸³ In 1989, the NPFL emerged in Liberia under the leadership of Charles Taylor and began an uprising against the Government of the then President Samuel Doe. In 1990, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sent a peacekeeping force to Liberia and the President, Samuel Doe, was killed by a splinter group of the NPFL. The Economic Community of West African States Cease Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) forces deployed a battalion near Freetown at the International Airport in Lungi as a rear base for their forces in Liberia.



civilians fled their villages both within the territory of Sierra Leone and outside its borders into Liberia.

The first group attacked the border town of Bomaru (south-east of Upper Bambara Chiefdom), which had little military manpower in terms of Sierra Leone Army (SLA) forces deployed along the Liberian border. The RUF/NPFL forces⁶⁸⁵ killed eight civilians and three SLA members as they captured the town. The SLA forces were overpowered and left the town, heading for the Moa Barracks⁶⁸⁶ in Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), the most important SLA deployment in Kailahun District. On 25 March, the RUF/NPFL forces proceeded further south to attack the towns of Baiwala and Sakiema (Dia Chiefdom). The RUF/NPFL forces entered Baiwala coming from two distinct directions: some forces passed through Seinga, a town located close to the border with Liberia, while others came from Bomaru. They encountered stiff resistance from the SLA forces, but eventually, as had happened at Bomaru, the SLA retreated and the RUF/NPFL forces were able to take control of the town. At Baiwala, the RUF/NPFL forces set some houses on fire, raped young girls⁶⁸⁷ and killed people whom they considered to be important personalities, on the accusation that they were "APC people". Breaking down doors using the butts of guns and then looting the houses was also common, as forces were looking for money and other items they needed, although the forces presented their actions as a way to make sure there was no enemy hiding in the houses. They also wrote the letters "RUF" on the walls of some houses. Following this attack, civilians packed their belongings and headed for Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), as the SLA base appeared to be safer.

At Sakiema (Dia Chiefdom), some civilians who had escaped from Baiwala found a brief respite in the bush, thinking that the forces would only use the main road as their announced goal was to go to Freetown. However, they were discovered by RUF/NPFL forces, brought to the town, put under gunpoint and ordered not to move, or they would be shot. The RUF/NPFL forces gathered some civilians at the Court Barrie and asked them whether there was any of "Momoh's soldiers" in the town. When the civilians answered that the SLA forces were at Daru, the RUF/NPFL forces stated they would kill all of them if they found any SLA member or heard any weapons being fired. The commander told the civilians that from now on everything in the town belonged to the "RUF Government", dismissed the Town Chief and appointed a Town Commander together with a Town Mother. Civilians in the town were forced to contribute to the "revolutionary effort" by providing the forces with food as well as going in search of food and processing palm oil. When food was not available, RUF/NPFL forces would tie up the appointed Town Commander and beat him. The RUF/NPFL forces also introduced a set of laws, which were explained to the inhabitants by the RUF commander. One of these laws was that any civilian captured by RUF forces should not attempt to leave the area under their control for areas controlled by SLA forces. Civilians were also told to go to the bush and bring back to the town their relatives who were in hiding; the RUF

⁶⁸⁵ These forces were comprised of Liberian mercenaries speaking Liberian languages like Mano, Pele and Gio, while others were Sierra Leoneans, speaking the Mende, Temne and Krio languages. They wore country clothes, carried talismans and other charms and had red bandanas tied around their heads.

⁶⁸⁶ The Moa Barracks are strategically located at the entrance of Daru on the road to Kenema town and to access it from the north-east, one has to cross the Moa River. It would be a RUF/NPFL target throughout 1991 and beyond.

⁶⁸⁷ Their ages could not be ascertained from the records.

⁶⁸⁸ The President of Sierra Leone was at that time J. S. Momoh and accordingly, this term refers to SLA forces. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

commander stressed that anybody caught in the bush would be considered as an enemy and, accordingly, would be killed.

From these towns located in Dia Chiefdom, RUF/NPFL forces advanced westwards to the headquarter town of Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom). This town was captured on 11 April as the SLA forces had apparently left the town earlier. The RUF/NPFL forces entered the town with an armoured tank they had captured from the SLA forces. As most of the civilians were indoors, the forces banged on the doors to make people come out of their houses, threatening to kill them or to burn their house. Most civilians, including children, were imprisoned in the town mosque. The Chiefdom Speaker, a regular policeman and a court clerk were killed. The fighting forces introduced themselves as the "Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone" and explained that they had come as "freedom fighters" to free the country from APC oppression. During the time of their stay in the town, they passed a strict rule that no one was allowed to call on the name of God or to pray; anyone caught violating this law would be tortured and killed. Furthermore, all property was declared to be owned by the "Revolution". Some of the RUF/NPFL forces began raping women and young girls. They also took property of the people in the town. During the following days (12 and 13 April), a lot of other civilians were killed. On 13 April 1991, the Paramount Chief of Mandu Chiefdom was brought from Levuma (north of the chiefdom) to Mobai and killed two days later. He was the first Paramount Chief to be killed by the RUF/NPFL forces. The killing of the Chief caused the civilians to lose confidence in the revolution, as the RUF/NPFL presented and called themselves. Similarly to what happened in the other towns, civilians were told to bring their relatives out of the bushes. For example, on 23 April, six people who had left their hiding places in the bush and came back to the town were accused of being spies and were killed. This incident was later reported to the RUF leader when he came to visit his troops in May.

Although the exact dates could not be ascertained, towns located in Jawie Chiefdom were attacked and captured at around the same time between April and June, including Benduma (Jawie Chiefdom), a town close to Daru. In order to counteract any attempt by the SLA forces based in Daru to recapture the town, the RUF/NPFL forces also established a defence base at Baiima (Mandu Chiefdom) on the road leading from Daru to the east and the north of the District. Another defensive position was established at Potoru (Jawie Chiefdom), where there is a bypass bush road leading to Benduma. Some of the RUF/NPFL forces settled at Kuiva (Jawie Chiefdom), which is on the main highway to Daru, and at Patama, a small village on the road leading to Daru via Bombohun (Jawie Chiefdom). When they entered Benduma, the RUF/NPFL forces gathered the civilians in the centre of the town and forced them to kill their animals and to cook for them. Some civilians who managed to escape the town went to Daru to pass on the information about the attack to the SLA forces. During that time, Guinean troops came to reinforce the SLA forces based at the Moa Barracks at Daru. 689 Shortly after their arrival, those Guinean forces succeeded in repelling the RUF/NPFL forces from Benduma by using mortar bombs, although neither the Guinean forces nor the SLA forces then deployed at Benduma. The repelled RUF/NPFL forces went to Gbiima (Jawie Chiefdom), which was already under their control.

⁶⁸⁹ As early as 1991, foreign troops, namely Guineans and Nigerians, fought alongside the SLA, pursuant to bilateral treaties between their respective states and Sierra Leone.

The RUF/NPFL forces entered the chiefdom headquarter of Jojoima (Malema Chiefdom, south of Mandu Chiefdom) on 12 April 1991. Before the attack, Jojoima was overcrowded with civilians fleeing the areas under RUF/NPFL control and chiefs in the town had received letters from the RUF that they would come to the town on 12 April. In the town, the forces met with a rich farmer and asked him for money. The forces then apparently left the town for some days before returning on 19 April 1991. When they came back, they killed the renowned master farmer and his wife together with many other civilians. The forces also stole property, raped young girls aged between 14 and 20, whom they made their "wives" and conscripted children. Young men were forced to carry loads for them, mainly to Liberia, and they would be killed if they failed to do so. From Jojoima, they raided the surrounding villages, forcing civilians to lead them on these raids. At Sembehun village, for example, they stole one diamond dealer's land cruiser.

On 15 April, the RUF/NPFL forces entered Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) from the direction of Bomaru in the south of the chiefdom, firing gunshots as they entered. As they did in the other towns, the RUF/NPFL forces gathered the civilians in the Court Barrie, introduced themselves as "freedom fighters", explained that the town was now under the "RUF Government" and asked the civilians whether there were any SLA forces or police officers in the town. Civilians were subjected to severe harassment, their property was taken and they were beaten, raped and killed. For example, an RUF member shot two boys because they did not obey a command he had given them. Several other killings were done during the two weeks they remained in the town. One civilian was asked to show the direction to Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom) to one young RUF/NPFL member, who then rode a bicycle to Kailahun Town (17 miles north east from Pendembu) to tell the other front who had entered through Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) and who had reached Kailahun Town to meet the south flank at Pendembu. Shortly after, still in April, RUF/NPFL forces from Kailahun Town came to join the other group at Pendembu.

The second group mentioned at the beginning of this chapter had entered the country in the northernmost part of the District in order to establish a base at Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) on 27 March 1991. They also came from Liberia and killed a first army officer at a customs town called Beidu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom). On the same day, they reached Koindu, a strategic international commercial market centre close to the borders with Liberia and Guinea and located on the highway that leads to Kailahun Town. During this wave of attacks, this group captured all the main towns on the highway. Koindu was renamed "Kuwait" by the forces due to the valuables that it had and for two days they killed people, stole their property and burnt down houses. At this point, civilians began leaving the town and went to Guinea or inland seeking rescue. It is reported that these fighters called themselves "freedom fighters", claiming to be fighting in order to liberate Sierra Leone.

On 29 March, some RUF/NPFL forces advanced into Kissi Kama Chiefdom (west of Kissi Teng Chiefdom). At Dia (Kissi Kama Chiefdom), one Fullah⁶⁹⁰ businessman was killed. At Njaah in April, RUF/NPFL forces entered the town firing indiscriminately. They killed one SLA member who had retreated from Koindu, beheaded him and displayed his head on top of a big stone to the civilians

⁶⁹⁰ The Fullah are an ethnic group living mainly in the north and east of the country who were targeted, together with civilians originating from Lebanon, by the RUF/NPFL forces, who believed they were the cause of inequality among Sierra Leonean citizens.

they captured in the village. They gathered the civilians, explained they were "freedom fighters" and appointed a Town Commander. Those communications were made with the assistance of an interpreter, as the commander was Liberian.

On 1 April 1991, two trucks loaded with SLA forces headed for Koindu through Kangama (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) to launch an attack on the RUF/NPFL forces.⁶⁹¹ The first battle between the two forces took place the same day at Dambo, a town on the main highway close to Koindu, in Kissi Kama Chiefdom (west of Kissi Teng Chiefdom). The RUF/NPFL forces overpowered the SLA forces, who had to retreat to Kangama. Dozens of SLA forces were killed during this battle. They were further dislodged from Kangama after several unsuccessful attempts to repel the RUF/NPFL forces from Koindu. Some of the retreating SLA forces arriving at Kangama created panic among the civilian population as, similarly to what was happening in the southern part of the District, the SLA forces were quickly overpowered and did not put up strong resistance to the invading forces. Some of these SLA forces were reported to take off their uniforms, hide their weapons and flee to Guinea with the thousands of civilians who were on their way. Other SLA forces withdrew to the chiefdom headquarter of Buedu (south of Kissi Teng Chiefdom).

RUF/NPFL forces captured Kangama on 6 April 1991. While in the town, RUF/NPFL forces began inflicting violence on civilians and their property. The house of the Paramount Chief was burnt down and his property taken away. The RUF/NPFL conscripted young boys and girls, whose age is unclear, ⁶⁹² who were then trained and given arms and ammunition. Cases of sexual violence were reported and in one instance, an old woman from Liberia who had found refuge in the town was raped by one of the RUF/NPFL commanders; her body was later found in the bush. The first man to be killed in the town was a Fullah businessman. Seven people were also killed by the RUF/NPFL commander allegedly for having close links with SLA forces or because they had once been in the SLA; their bodies were subsequently burnt.

In the evening hours of 10 April 1991, the RUF/NPFL forces armed with sophisticated weapons like Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs), AK47, AK58 and other guns launched an attack on Buedu. At this time, SLA forces had withdrawn from Koindu and large numbers of civilians had started to flee to Guinea. The next day, the SLA forces retreated to Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom) after losing three men in the battle. The RUF/NPFL forces shot and killed seven civilians and burnt down public buildings and some private houses.

On 13 April, RUF forces entered the District headquarter, Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom), in the north of the District. RUF/NPFL forces on their way to Kailahun Town killed the Town Chief at Sandeya (Luawa Chiefdom). From this date on, Kailahun Town would be nicknamed "Burkina Faso". The RUF/NPFL forces entered the town from the two main roads heading east towards Buedu and Koindu. ⁶⁹³ From Kailahun Town, the RUF/NPFL forces spread across Luawa

⁶⁹¹ Those SLA forces probably came from Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) to reinforce SLA forces based at Koindu. However, according to one source, those SLA forces at Koindu were new recruits who were still undergoing training.

⁶⁹² In the Sierra Leone context, the term "young people" could refer to anyone up to their mid to late thirties, but probably does not include people under 15.

⁶⁹³ No information concerning the fatalities for Kailahun Town was reported.

Chiefdom. At Sandeya on 20 April, for example, RUF/NPFL forces told civilians to go to Kailahun Town, where they were lined up and given rice the forces had stolen from shops to take back to their villages. However, one man who had brought rice to his family, who were hiding in the bush, and who came back to ask for more rice was accused of giving rice to hidden SLA forces and was shot dead. Another civilian was also killed that day near the town clinic, accused by the forces of stealing some drugs. Civilians then returned to their various villages but without their youths, as young men and girls, including children, were kept by the forces to be trained at a training base opened in Kailahun Town shortly after the RUF had taken control of the town. Those who tried to escape were killed. Since its inception, the RUF movement was organised and had an internal structure; one RUF commander, occupying the "G5" position, was in charge of opening new training bases as their territory gains progressed and as they moved further inland. It should be noted that this massive opening of training bases did not prevent the establishment of smaller ones, often at the war front by the commander in charge of the area.

During the three months following their entry into Sierra Leone, the RUF/NPFL forces were stealing, raping and abducting people and training those abductees for battle. Many women were abducted to be slaves, their heads shaved so that they could be easily identified and could not run away. Abductees who tried to escape were beheaded by RUF/NPFL forces and their heads were put on sticks at checkpoints as a warning to others.

During the first months of the conflict, most of the commanders were members of the NPFL and therefore spoke a different dialect than that spoken by Sierra Leoneans. Civilians were frightened of these forces and they did not dare to tell them they could not understand what they were being asked, although some people were killed for answering the "wrong way". For example, on 27 April 1991, on the highway that leads to Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom), two men who had come to Pendembu to buy salt were interrogated at a checkpoint. As they could not understand the Liberian English spoken by the NPFL forces in charge of the checkpoint, they were mistaken for spies. The NPFL commander told the two men to step back six feet from them and shot them with an AK47. Their bodies were then decapitated and their heads put on sticks to frighten other people.

The leader of the RUF came from Liberia to visit his troops at Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), Sakeima (Dia Chiefdom) and Baiwala (Dia Chiefdom) in late April or early May 1991. He visited his troops at Mobai, where he presented himself to the civilians as the leader of the revolution, claiming that they were fighting to remove the incumbent APC regime from power and stating that he would fight until he reached Freetown. He further promised the civilians that he would bring facilities such as free education and free medical care to the people of Sierra Leone and that equal rights would be given to all Sierra Leoneans. On this occasion, the Public Relations Officer appointed by the RUF/NPFL forces at Mobai explained to the RUF leader that his members were killing people for no good reason, with reference to the six people killed on 23 April. However, although the RUF leader told the civilians that he had not instructed his men to kill civilians, this statement sounded false to the civilians who did not believe in his sincerity.

From Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) SLA forces recaptured Benduma (Jawie Chiefdom), forcing the RUF/NPFL forces to retreat to Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom) and its environs where they forcefully conscripted young men and women into their movement. The RUF/NPFL forces established a

training base at Baiwala to train young men and women whom they called "junior commandos". ⁶⁹⁴ At first, RUF/NPFL forces appealed to the civilians to join them voluntarily, which some did, but as their number was not sufficient, they started arresting young men and women. At Baiwala and Sakiema (Dia Chiefdom) for example, young men and women were lined up and anybody who tried to refuse joining the forces was seriously beaten, some being instructed to roll on the ground while RUF/NPFL forces fired in the air or close to the person on the ground, killing some of them. In the process of recruiting junior commandos, the girls were used as sex slaves and some were trained as junior commandos. This prompted a lot of young men and women to flee into the bush. In several cases the forces opened fire on the civilians in the bush and food and many other items were taken from them.

The RUF/NPFL forces extended their attacks to other villages in Luawa and Kissi Tongi Chiefdoms, crossed the Moa River that divides the District in two and advanced on Peje Bongre, Peje West, Penguia and Yawei Chiefdoms. At Dawa, a border town in Kissi Tongi Chiefdom, RUF/NPFL killed nine civilians on 15 April. Some of the bodies were cut into pieces and cooked for the forces to eat that day. During the same attack, some houses were burnt down. Dawa became important for the RUF/NPFL forces, as it was located on one of their supply routes. On 17 April, RUF/NPFL forces attacked Kodu Bendu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), firing indiscriminately and killing civilians. Some civilians, including children under 15 years old, were abducted to join the forces. 695

Between 18 and 27 April, RUF/NPFL forces captured Manowa (Peje Bongre Chiefdom), the first chiefdom headquarter encountered after crossing the Moa River. During their attack on the town, they killed some civilians and burnt some houses. Peje West Chiefdom (west of Peje Bongre Chiefdom, bordered on the west by Malegohun Chiefdom in Kenema District) was also affected during the same period. Peje Bongre Chiefdom in Kenema District (Peje Bongre Chiefdom) was also affected during the same period.

On 1 May, the G2 commander⁶⁹⁸ in Kailahun Town ordered general looting as his men needed to eat and goats and sheep were taken away. During that process, vehicles were also taken away. Some women were raped, civilians killed, houses burnt and men trying to oppose the RUF/NPFL actions were severely beaten. Shortly afterwards, another RUF commander in charge of the Bandajuma Sinneh area (Luawa Chiefdom) declared that those stealing, raping and killing actions should stop and any commando involved in such actions would be killed in the presence of the civilians. Therefore, on 27 May, one commando who raped two women who had gone in the bush to fetch firewood was taken to Bandajuma and killed by the commander, who expressly stated that this kind of action should stop. However, this incident did not please other RUF/NPFL forces and soon after, another group invaded and burnt down Bandajuma and Sandeya, killing four people.

⁶⁹⁴ One report mentions that this training base was opened in May but this needs to be carefully considered, as there is no exact date for the information preceding the opening of the training base.

⁶⁹⁵ For both of these attacks, reports mentioned that the fighting forces came from Liberia. However, it could not be ascertained with certainty whether this meant that those forces were coming directly from Liberia when they launched those attacks or whether this was a general reference to the RUF/NPFL forces who had originally entered Sierra Leone from Liberia.

⁶⁹⁶ No further details could be obtained on this attack.

⁶⁹⁷ RUF/NPFL forces reached this chiefdom between April and May.

⁶⁹⁸ See section [X] for a description of the hierarchy within the RUF forces.

On 4 May 1991 RUF/NPFL forces entered Tangabu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom), led by a Liberian commander. This commander killed one man in the village as he said that since he started fighting in Liberia, he kills one person per day. By this time, RUF/NPFL forces had already spread to the Kissi Chiefdoms (Kissi Kama, Kissi Teng and Kissi Tongi) and Luawa Chiefdom. The commander gave orders to his forces to rape young girls in the village; old women were forced to pound rice and go fishing. Six of the members raped a 10 year-old girl on 8 July 1991, who later died from her wounds. Around this time, the RUF leader also visited his troops at Buedu, where he outlined to the civilian population the aims and objectives of his revolution. According to him, the main target was to eliminate the APC regime and its followers and, further, to liberate Sierra Leoneans from mental slavery and other acts imposed on them by the APC government. By June 1991, Kissi Teng Chiefdom was already under the control of the RUF/NPFL forces.

The RUF/NPFL also opened a training base at a small village called Bayama, three miles from Tangabu town. The training base was located at the school and young boys were forced to join the training; those who refused were tied up and imprisoned.⁶⁹⁹

In early May, RUF/NPFL forces reached Yawei Chiefdom, in the northeast of the District, remaining there until the end of the year. From there, they patrolled the surrounding villages, such as Massayema in the south of the chiefdom and Ngeblama in the centre of the chiefdom, west of the chiefdom headquarter of Bandajuma. When they first arrived, most notably at Baraka, they introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" coming to redeem Sierra Leoneans from the tyranny of the APC regime. This statement inspired some civilians who had indeed suffered from the APC regime to welcome the arrival of the forces and some voluntarily joined them; this happened not only in this chiefdom but in many other chiefdoms as well. However, as soon as people heard or witnessed the first killing or other acts of violence committed against the population, most of them withdrew their initial confidence in the RUF movement.

Thirty RUF/NPFL members entered Woloma (Penguia Chiefdom) in mid May and forced civilians to gather in the Court Barrie, hitting some old men and women in the head with the butts of their guns. They stayed in the town for two days before 20 of them headed for surrounding villages together with some young men and women from Woloma. In the nearby villages, as they could not find young men and women, they beat elderly people, hoping that those people would ask their children to come out of their hiding places, as a result of which two of the elderly people were killed. A week later, they went to Sengema, a small village near Woloma, where the commander killed two boys and drank their blood. The RUF/NPFL forces were leaving Woloma on a daily basis to search for food, money and young people to conscript in the surrounding villages, returning to Woloma in the evening. At Sengema, young men and women were trained for three hours a day on how to use their weapons. In mid June, this group was reinforced by a group of 50 men coming from Kailahun Town. The commander of this new group immediately requested a "black goat", referring to human beings killed and eaten by the RUF/NPFL forces. Two days later, as a punishment for the escape of two civilians, the RUF/NPFL forces killed four people by cutting their throats, drank their blood and cooked and ate parts of their bodies. Among the RUF/NPFL forces, this practice was mostly

⁶⁹⁹ It seems that the term "imprisonment" used to report this event refers to the action of locking a civilian up somewhere. No more information could be obtained on this event.

⁷⁰⁰ Yawei Chiefdom is bordered on the north by Gbane Chiefdom (Kono District).

carried out by the NPFL members. About two weeks later, SLA forces launched a successful attack on the town and repelled the RUF/NPFL forces. However, a large number of well-armed RUF/NPFL forces later returned, overpowered the few SLA who were in the town and recaptured it. The raids in the neighbouring villages started again.⁷⁰¹

One of the main missions given by the NPFL leader to his forces who entered Sierra Leone was to capture and dislodge the SLA forces from the Moa Barracks at Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), in order to deprive SLA and Economic Community of West African States Cease Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) forces based in Sierra Leone of one of their most strategic locations and, consequently, to restrict ECOMOG activity in Liberia. However, it appears that after the initial attacks on Sierra Leone territory, NPFL forces lost this objective for a while and were more engaged in stealing property and inflicting violence on civilians as is demonstrated by the events described above.

After a first unsuccessful RUF/NPFL attack on Daru Town, the forces that led the attack had to retreat to Baiima (Mandu Chiefdom) and SLA forces based at Moa barracks were reinforced by Guinean forces. A lot of food items were stolen during the retreat and brought to RUF/NPFL bases at Mobai and Baiima, where many civilians accused of being government collaborators were killed. SLA forces began launching canon and dragon missiles on RUF/NPFL positions at Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom) and beyond, at Baiima. Some of the rockets hit private dwellings and in one incident at Baiima, some civilians were killed and others wounded when a rocket hit their house. In June, the RUF/NPFL forces led by a well-known NPFL commander regrouped their forces from different positions in Mandu and Dia Chiefdom at Baiima (Mandu Chiefdom) from where they launched their attack on the Moa Barracks. This attack was not successful as they were repelled by the SLA and Guinean forces. During this attack, the NPFL commander was killed on the bridge that separates the barracks from the town. Total

Following this general attack, the RUF/NPFL forces would launch many more attacks, sometimes using bypass roads such as the one through Malema Village (Jawie Chiefdom) without managing to capture the Moa Barracks. At this time, Mandu Chiefdom (east of Jawie Chiefdoms) and some villages and towns of Jawie Chiefdom such as Kutoma, Bombohun and Benduma were under RUF/NPFL control. Those three villages were used as informants' places to pass on information to the RUF/NPFL strongholds in Gbiima, Moiba and Mandu (Mandu Chiefdom), where the RUF/NPFL had retreated after the unsuccessful attack on the Moa Barracks. The RUF/NPFL forces lost a lot of their members during these continuous attacks and a lot of civilians were killed. In December, at Gbaama, a village close to Moa Barracks, the RUF/NPFL forces killed 62 civilians, who were later buried by SLA forces from the Moa Barracks.

⁷⁰¹ The exact dates of these events could not be obtained from the records or from open source materials.

⁷⁰² It has to be remembered that at the time of the March attacks, Sierra Leone territory (Lungi Airport) was used by the ECOMOG forces as a base to fight the NPFL forces in Liberia.

⁷⁰³ It appeared that this commander was killed by one of his colleagues, another NPFL commander, who at the time was a battalion commander.

In Macca Kpakpeibu (Yawei Chiefdom)⁷⁰⁴ on 21 July, a group of 110 RUF/NPFL⁷⁰⁵ members entered the town with heavy firing and assembled the 60 inhabitants, including children, in the Court Barrie. Some civilians were told to bury the 20 people the RUF/NPFL had killed so they dug a big pit, put the bodies in it and covered it over. This group made daily patrols of the surrounding villages, capturing civilians who were then sent to Kailahun Town or Geima (Luawa Chiefdom) to be trained or used to work for the forces by carrying loads. On one occasion, those RUF/NPFL forces gathered 800 civilians and sent them to Geima to work in farms. During their stay, they sexually assaulted women, including the elderly. In mid August, some SLA forces from Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) came to the village and repelled the RUF/NPFL forces from the village, as at the time of this attack, the SLA were 200 in number while the RUF forces were only 30. The SLA did not, however, stay in the village and instead went back to Daru.⁷⁰⁶

During the harvest season, civilians from Senguma (Penguia Chiefdom) were forced to work for RUF/NPFL forces and had to carry the produce of the harvest on their heads to Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom). Fifty RUF/NPFL members entered Baraka on 10 May and stayed in the village for some months, raiding the surrounding area in search for food. During their raids, they always took civilians with them to carry the property they would take.

On 10 October, RUF/NPFL forces attacked Levoma (Yawei Chiefdom), gathered the civilians and appointed some to carry the property they had just taken to the chiefdom headquarter of Manowa (Peje Bongre Chiefdom, south-east of Yawei Chiefdom), which was used by the RUF/NPFL as their route to Camp Zogoda⁷⁰⁷ in Geima. One of the civilians who could not carry the load that was allocated to him, as it was too heavy, was severely beaten. Other civilians were told to bury the people the RUF/NPFL forces had killed in the village, among them an old woman, who was killed in her house, as she was unable to run.

For two months between October and December, the RUF/NPFL forces transferred their base from Kailahun Town to Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), which was also their headquarters. ⁷⁰⁸

Following the retreat after the attack on Moa Barracks in late June, NPFL forces who had established strong positions on the east side of the Moa River embarked on massive looting, raping and killing of civilians, together with acts of cannibalism. These practices were carried out by NPFL forces at the end of 1991, throughout 1992 and part of 1993 and not the RUF forces. Different

⁷⁰⁴ This town is located on the road that links Bandajuma, Yawei Chiefdom headquarter (and further north, Kono District) to Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom) and Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) in the south of Kailahun District.

⁷⁰⁵ The two forces were dressed differently as the NPFL members were dressed in "Ronko", namely country clothes, while the RUF members were wearing civilian attire with red bandanas tied around their heads. Some of the NPFL members were from Burkina Faso.

⁷⁰⁶ It is possible that this attack took place in August 1992.

⁷⁰⁷ This means 'land of freedom'.

⁷⁰⁸ Pendembu would remain their headquarter throughout 1992 and part of 1993.

rounds of practices called 'Tap' were accomplished throughout this period, starting with Tap 20 in late 1991.⁷⁰⁹

RUF vanguards and junior commandos, inferior in number - even if by October 1991, almost 2,000 new recruits had already been trained – were unable to prevent or protest against those NPFL practices. However, in October 1991, the RUF leader welcomed the idea of an RUF commander opening a jungle base unknown to the NPFL forces. This hidden base was opened near a village called Gborworbugao, about 16 miles from Kailahun Town and about 150 new recruits (captured civilians) began to receive training in conventional and guerrilla warfare.

b) Events in 1992

In January 1992, the RUF leader visited his troops at Baraka (Yawei Chiefdom) where he had a meeting with the troops and the civilians. He explained to the civilians the objectives of his movement and later instructed the troops to be always on the offensive. Also in January, a new base was opened at Jborbu Gao (south of Luawa Chiefdom) but was never used.

On 3 January 1992, RUF/NPFL forces based in Tangabu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) killed four men from Luawa Chiefdom who had entered Tangabu without passes; their bodies were burnt and thrown into the bush. They further explained that any civilian found not staying in the area where they lived would be killed. Later, in April, a woman was killed for having more than one lover. At the beginning of June 1992, the first boys who had been trained at this base were sent to the warfront, leading and showing routes to the RUF/NPFL forces and also assisting them in identifying the civilians who used to hold any position within the APC regime. Thus, in this area composed of the three Kissi Chiefdoms, the RUF/NPFL forces had control and no fighting with SLA forces was reported. However, internal fighting arose between forces from the RUF and those from the NPFL, which marked the start of a split between the two factions, leading to the withdrawal of the NPFL forces from Sierra Leone.

A reinforcement group entered from Liberia in February 1992 through the border town of Batwoma (Luawa Chiefdom), south of Kailahun Town. This group held a meeting with the civilians at Ngebgema (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) at which they informed them about the aims and objectives of their movement. They stated that the town was now under their control and chose a private dwelling to host their office. The commander in charge of this group asked one of the civilians to point out all the APC government personnel such as police officers, SLA members, civil servants and foreigners, including the Lebanese. However, as Ngebgema was a small village, none of those categories of persons were to be found in the village. The movement of civilians was restricted and none of them was allowed to leave the village without a pass signed by the commander.

⁷⁰⁹ It should be noted that the information from the records is rather confusing on the identification of those groups as the different groups and the dates of those events are mixed. What is clear, however, is that there was no difference between those different groups with respect to the type of violence they committed against civilians.

⁷¹⁰ Despite many living in Sierra Leone for generations, the Lebanese – who make up the majority of businessmen in the country – are more often than not unable to obtain Sierra Leonean citizenship and are therefore referred to and treated as foreigners.

In early March 1992, the RUF leader visited this group at Ngebgema, the civilians having been gathered at the Court Barrie for the occasion, and he mentioned that about 15,000 men and women had now been trained to fight in Sierra Leone. The RUF leader explained how the APC regime was a corrupt one and how it had toured the country giving privileges to foreigners, especially businessman, rather than to Sierra Leoneans. He made it clear that civilians were no longer under the authority of the APC government but under RUF control, that every civilian had to obey RUF commanders in their controlled areas and that whatever was obtained by his RUF forces at the war front was for them, as they were not paid. He concluded his statement by saying that all young girls and boys had to join the movement for their country. The commander of the group therefore forced young boys and girls to join the RUF to be trained, to serve as carriers or, for the girls, to become "wives". The interesting to note that the RUF appointed teachers to educate the children they had abducted, allegedly as part of their will to be and to behave as a new rulers of Sierra Leone.

In March, an NPFL member coming to fight the SLA troops at Daru entered Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), where he killed a civilian as a human sacrifice for his upcoming battle. At Manowa (Peje Bongre Chiefdom), RUF/NPFL forces made another human sacrifice. The forces had captured a large group of civilians from various towns and villages and gathered them in the town. One out of every ten people was killed as a ritual sacrifice and their bodies were thrown into the river.

In an attempt to repel the NPFL forces out of Sierra Leone, some RUF vanguards decided to use the services of the Poro society,⁷¹³ a male secret society at Mende Buima (Peje Bongre Chiefdom), which was full of NPFL forces using it as an assembly area in Kailahun District. The principle of this society is that when the poro devil is outside, whether day or night, only the initiated or recognised of the society are allowed outside to take part or join the group in the ceremony. This society therefore would arrest the NPFL forces since they were not members of it. However, a woman went to tell the RUF/NPFL forces about this secret society, which annoyed them and, in retaliation, the NPFL forces killed 100 civilians and burnt 200 houses.

Furthermore, around the same time, the NPFL forces discovered the existence of the hidden RUF base opened late in 1991 and a lot of RUF vanguards and junior commandos were arrested and taken to Camp Namna in Liberia. The Some of the top vanguards were jailed for three to four months as a result of this operation. A lot of RUF junior commandos were killed by NPFL forces while others went into hiding in the bush. The ones kept in custody in Liberia were released after the RUF leader intervened on their behalf with the NPFL leader.

In the north of the District, a combined force of SLA and local militia (Donsos from Kono District) attacked RUF/NPFL forces, recapturing towns and villages under RUF/NPFL control, including

⁷¹¹ The age of those recruits was not specified.

⁷¹² No more details on the circumstances surrounding this killing could be obtained.

⁷¹³ The Poro society and its equivalent for women, the Bondo society, are Mende societies where the initiation process gives social identities to its members. Those societies are based on common beliefs about the living, the dead and the gods.

⁷¹⁴ This camp is located in the Lofa County.

Sandaru (Penguia Chiefdom).⁷¹⁵ While at Sandaru, the SLA forces destroyed and took property and beat and killed people.⁷¹⁶ The troops also succeeded in driving the RUF/NPFL forces out of the Luawa Chiefdom, except for the town of Geima.

SLA military successes were however reported, including a few successful attacks for at least the first half of 1992. In February, SLA forces attacked and retook towns and villages in Penguia Chiefdom, including Senguma. They stayed in the area for four months, patrolling the area but also inflicting violence on civilians⁷¹⁷ and taking civilians' property, as a result of which some of the civilians went to Guinea. However, RUF/NPRL retook the area as they were advancing further north. SLA and Guinean forces from Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) also made some attempts to repel RUF/NPFL forces from Mandu Chiefdom and to capture Mobai, Baiima, Kuiva (Mandu Chiefdom) and Baiwala (Dia Chiefdom). Two fronts were launched, one going to Kuiva and the other one moving towards Baiima. However, both groups were defeated and had to retreat back to Daru. The RUF/NPFL position at Kangama (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) was also attacked and captured for a short while, although the forces subsequently regrouped and recaptured the town. During their stay, the SLA forces forced the civilians to break down all the houses that were close to the bush and to uproot all the coffee and cocoa plantation. The zinc taken from the houses was used to make fences around swamps. The SLA forces also recaptured other towns in Kissi Teng Chiefdom, such as Tangabu.

By mid 1992 the RUF/NPFL forces in the North had conquered the major towns and established bases. An important base was Baraka (Yawei Chiefdom), which was a strategic town on the way to Kono District. Later on Baraka and Geima (Luawa Chiefdom) were among the RUF/NPFL forces' strongest holds in the North. In particular, Geima was also an important training camp. Even towns like Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom) and Segbwema came under attack, although they were not captured.

One morning in April 1992, RUF/NPFL forces⁷¹⁸ led by a Liberian commander launched an offensive on the chiefdom headquarter of Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom). As they entered the town, people panicked and started fleeing to the bush. The combined forces put some people in a house and set the house on fire. They then assembled the remaining civilians in the Court Barrie and killed one pregnant woman who refused to join them. The forces used the town as a base from where they patrolled the surrounding villages in search of food and other items. During their stay, 10 school-going girls (classes 4 to 6) were raped. Bunumbu at this time was the front line as it also allowed for further advances into Kenema District, particularly into the diamond area located at Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District).

In Malema Chiefdom in the south of the District, SLA forces encouraged the formation of vigilantes, composed of young people who were given basic training, to assist the troops in prosecuting the war in the District. Most of the chiefdoms were contributing funds called "war efforts", as well as willingly giving their brothers and their young people to be trained. The successes

⁷¹⁵ Those local hunters were very active in the south-east of Kono District, in particular in Soa and Fiama Chiefdoms.

⁷¹⁶ No more information could be obtained on this incident.

⁷¹⁷ No specific incidents were reported for this period.

⁷¹⁸ These forces were dressed in military combat red t-shirts with palm fronds tied around their foreheads.

of the SLA, however, did not last long. At this time, Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) was under constant RUF/NPFL attack. The only areas the SLA forces controlled were Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom) and parts of Mandu, Jawie and Malema Chiefdoms. Following the overthrow of the President of Sierra Leone by the SLA on 26 April 1992, SLA forces began more intensive attacks on the RUF/NPFL forces, defeating a large number of them. However, at that time, they did not succeed in removing the RUF/NPFL forces completely from the various areas and their actions were more of a sporadic nature, killing and torturing captured RUF/NPFL members. Furthermore, their behaviour towards civilians began to deteriorate as SLA forces on patrol started to take away civilians' property, such as domestic animals and household items.

Civilians coming from areas under the control of RUF/NPFL forces were taken to the Moa Barracks in Daru for screening purposes; a lot of civilians were killed during this process, accused of being "rebels" or "rebel collaborators". As an example, one young man from Yawei Chiefdom was arrested by SLA forces patrolling the chiefdom and was killed in the Moa Barracks. Later on, a committee made up of the elders from the 14 chiefdoms of the District was formed so that they might identify the civilians brought to the barracks and avoid the killing of innocent civilians.

The RUF/NPFL forces continued their persistent attacks on towns and villages in both the northern and central chiefdoms of the District, including the Moa Barracks.

The "Tap 20" group, consisting of the Gio-speaking tribe of Liberia (NPFL) was active in Kissi Kama, Kissi Teng, Penguia and Luawa Chiefdoms. Their local commander gave an order to his troops that all civilians captured should be killed because for him they were "without blood", i.e. less than human. This group frequently engaged in cannibalism in these chiefdoms. In Penguia Chiefdom in May, members of Tap 20 killed and ate people selected due to their larger size. Furthermore, they often engaged in sexual assaults against women, who were raped by many men at one time.

In Ngiehun (Luawa Chiefdom), NPFL forces dropped hot melted plastic into people's eyes. Furthermore, one of the "sentences" they carried out was to put human beings in a large cooking pot with red palm oil; this kind of sentence was imposed when, for example, they thought a civilian was not obeying their commands. In Kissi Teng Chiefdom, the members of this group used to kill people and eat their flesh; babies were usually pounded in mortar to provide the type of food they liked. On 30 June 1992, a man was killed in the chiefdom and his body eaten. This caused many civilians to flee to neighbouring Liberia.

The Tap 20 group was replaced by another group of NPFL members called Tap 40 during the last months of 1992. At this time, most of the top ranking NPFL commanders were recalled to Liberia by their leader as they were encountering serious attacks in Liberia from a fighting force called the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO). The Tap 40 group also killed many civilians and often cooked and ate their flesh. One such incident happened in the Kissi Kama Chiefdom on 9 October 1992, when two civilians caught escaping were killed, cooked and eaten. Another incident of cannibalism was reported about a civilian caught trying to escape from the

⁷¹⁹ The conditions surrounding this killing could not be ascertained.

⁷²⁰ No more details could be obtained on this bit of information.



RUF/NPFL forces in Fobu (Luawa Chiefdom) on 5 October 1992. A man caught crossing the Guinean border was stripped naked and later killed; most of his body parts were cooked and eaten by some NPFL members. Again around this time, some RUF junior commandos were killed and eaten by those NPFL forces. There appeared to be two main reasons for these practices. First, it was simply a way to get food. Second, the forces believed that when they ate human flesh, they obtained the strength of the person they were eating; accordingly, they would first eat young, healthy, good looking men. Eating enemies was also practiced. However, reports mention that persons of any age and any gender were also eaten, including children. Indeed, in some places in the District like Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), Mende Buima (Peje Bongre Chiefdom), Kuiva and Baiima (both in Mandu Chiefdom), NPFL forces were living in separate compounds from RUF forces where they practiced cannibalism.

In Nyadahun Bambabu in March-April, the NPFL forces were the only ones living in this town. When they went on patrol, they abducted people to carry stolen goods back to their town. Upon returning to the village they then killed and ate the people they had abducted. When these NPFL forces were withdrawn from Sierra Leone to fight the advancing ULIMO forces in Liberia, the RUF forces sent to this town found a very large cauldron with three legs set up in the town mosque. These pots were usually used to cook food for large numbers of people when it was harvest time. However in this case the cauldron had been used to cook people for the NPFL forces. All around the cauldron on the floor of the mosque were the dismembered skeletal remains, including the skulls, of around 40 to 50 people. Each of these persons had been shot in the head.

In the south of the District, SLA forces were more successful in containing the RUF/NPFL forces, due to the presence of the ULIMO troops⁷²¹ in Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom) and the Guinean troops in Daru (Jawie Chiefdom). However, on 25 December 1992, RUF/NPFL forces identified by civilians as being the "Tap 20" group launched an attack on Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom), coming from the chiefdom headquarter of Manowa (Peje Bongre Chiefdom), the other road going to Segbwema and passing by Daru (Jawie Chiefdom). They entered the town through the hospital, where they beheaded one doctor after he had given them some drinks and money, hoping this would make them leave without killing him. Many drugs were taken away from the hospital and some people were captured. For seven hours, this group battled with SLA and ULIMO forces before being eventually repelled. Shortly after this incident, Guinean forces based at Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) came to Segbwema.

Civilians escaping RUF/NPFL attacks in Yawei Chiefdom tried to find refuge in Gbane Chiefdom (Kono District) located to the north of their chiefdom. Some of those fleeing civilians were thoroughly screened by SLA forces at the chiefdom headquarter of Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom, Kono District). A young man, accused of being a "rebel collaborator" was doused with petrol by the SLA forces, who then set fire to him and let him burn. Furthermore, some animosity was prevailing between Kailahun civilians, who were mainly Mende, and Kono inhabitants. Furthermore, as the RUF/NPFL forces entered Sierra Leone through Kailahun District, civilians coming from this area were viewed as suspicious and were not welcome.

⁷²¹ This fighting faction, which emerged and fought the NPFL in Liberia, also fought on Sierra Leonean territory, alongside the SLA.

⁷²² It is more likely that this group was actually Tap 40, who replaced the Tap 20 group in late 1992.

At Kuiva (Mandu Chiefdom), RUF forces established an execution centre for the whole District. At this centre, alleged criminals were killed and buried in mass graves. The centre was maintained throughout the war period.⁷²³ From December until March 1993, an RUF training base was opened at Manowa (Peje Bongre Chiefdom).⁷²⁴

In December 1992, an Eastern Region Civil Defence Committee comprised of representatives from the three Districts of the Eastern Province – Kono, Kenema and Kailahun – and from Freetown was formed in a bid to assist the SLA forces. "Well-meaning" Sierra Leoneans were to register for the Committee and to fulfil the work of vigilantes for the SLA.

c) Events in 1993

In early 1993, some RUF forces that were repelled by SLA forces from Pujehun District⁷²⁶ briefly joined the RUF forces in Kailahun District, passing through the Golan Forest at the border between Kenema District and Liberia. Furthermore, as ULIMO forces were active and inflicted serious losses on NPFL forces in Liberia, the supply route for arms and ammunition and other items for the RUF/NPFL forces in Sierra Leone through Vaahun (Liberia) and Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) was cut off, leaving the RUF forces unable to resist the SLA and Guinean forces.

Following the setting up of a Civil Defence Committee in 1992, local hunters began fighting with SLA forces, notably in Jawie Chiefdom. At this time, however, no formal initiation as such was taking place. Rather the "renowned man" who was behind the establishment of the Committee played the role of a catalyst or organiser for the local hunters.

On 18 March 1993, the RUF/NPFL attacked Bandajuma (Yawei Chiefdom) from their base in Baiima. Seventy-eight RUF/NPFL members were killed; eight civilians and four SLA members were wounded. The RUF/NPFL forces were, however, repelled by the SLA forces.

Throughout 1993 and part of 1994,⁷²⁷ an RUF training base was operational at Dia (Kissi Kama Chiefdom). Furthermore, following the retreat from Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District) in January 1993, RUF forces established their headquarters at Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom).

In April 1993, some RUF commanders discovered that some RUF members together with civilians from Ngiehun (Luawa Chiefdom) had talks with SLA forces to arrange for the arrest of the RUF leader. When they learnt this, RUF forces went to Ngiehun, surrounded the town and killed an unspecified number of civilians. One of the practices they carried out at this time was to pour boiling palm oil in the ears of the men and in the vaginas of the women so that they would

⁷²³ No more details could be obtained on this centre.

⁷²⁴ This base would be transferred for one month only in early 1993 to Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom, Kono District).

⁷²⁵ BBC, 22 December 1992.

⁷²⁶ In December 1992 and early 1993, RUF forces launched an offensive on Pujehun District but were soon defeated by the SLA forces, assisted by ULIMO and Guinean forces.

⁷²⁷ This base was operational until SLA forces repelled the RUF forces and confined them in Kissi Teng Chiefdom.

acknowledge the planned plot against their leader. Among the people killed were one prominent businessman and his family, two teachers and two well-known women.⁷²⁸

The SLA forces proceeded to capture Kailahun Town and also captured other towns, such as Baiima, Kuiva (Mandu Chiefdom), Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) and Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom), probably in April. The RUF/NPFL retreated first to Dia Chiefdom, east of Mandu Chiefdom, but as SLA forces also advanced into Dia Chiefdom and recaptured the headquarter town of Baiwala, RUF/NPFL forces withdrew from the rest of Dia Chiefdom. 729 During this retreat, similarly to other Districts, notably Kenema District, retreating RUF forces frightened the civilians by telling them that if they stayed, they would be considered to be "rebel" collaborators by the SLA forces, as a result of which many civilians fled with the RUF forces. Thus, on 6 May 1993, Baiwala (Dia Chiefdom) and Bomaru (south of Upper Bambara Chiefdom, a few miles from Baiwala) were captured by SLA forces. Some SLA forces went to Vaahun, a Liberian town eight miles from Bomaru along on the motorable road used by RUF forces to enter Sierra Leone, to exhort the civilians who had found refuge there to resettle in Dia and Mandu Chiefdoms.

SLA screening bases were operational throughout Kailahun District, including in Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) and in Daru (Jawie Chiefdom). Civilians who returned from Vaahun were taken to Daru to check whether they were RUF members or collaborators. Following interviews in these screening bases, those people who had been appointed to any position by the RUF/NPFL forces were kept in custody and sometimes killed. In May, the SLA forces succeeded in completely repelling the RUF forces from Jawie Chiefdom.⁷³⁰

In the same wave of counter attacks in which they recaptured Mandu and Dia Chiefdoms, SLA forces proceeded further north and recaptured Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) in May as well as towns in Luawa, Penguia and Yawei Chiefdoms. SLA forces occupied Ngiehun, a town located on the main road between Pendembu and Kailahun Town, and entered Kailahun Town with heavy firepower in September. From Luawa, they moved on to Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom).⁷³¹ In Penguia Chiefdom, SLA forces encouraged civilians to come out of the bushes and to resettle. Following the SLA capture of these towns, an announcement was made on the radio that all civilians and RUF members in the bush should come out and that RUF members should surrender. SLA force also went on "mopping up" operations in the bush searching for RUF forces; civilians who were discovered were sent to the screening process.

During the same period, the SLA commander gave orders to demolish houses in Mandu Chiefdom. Most houses within the chiefdom were then unroofed, including a hospital building. Civilians were forced to work for the SLA forces, mainly to brush the roads and to cut down foliage around the towns to prevent RUF forces from taking them by surprise.

⁷³¹ No detail could be obtained on those attacks.

⁷²⁸ Although the precise number of fatalities could not be ascertained, it appears that a lot of people were killed during this incident.

⁷²⁹ No figures on the fatalities during these attacks could be obtained.

⁷³⁰ This chiefdom would be free of RUF incursion throughout the following years, until the AFRC coup where RUF forces came out of the bush and merged with AFRC forces.

The same SLA group that had recaptured Mandu and Dia Chiefdoms in April and May launched an attack on RUF/NPFL positions at Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) in June 1993. SLA forces entered the town by using the main motorable road from Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom, west of Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) and battled with RUF/NPFL forces before the latter fled the town, retreating back to Liberia and to the border town of Dawa (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom). While retreating, they shot and killed some civilians at Dawa, raped some women and captured youths. Some civilians were also killed during the battle. After the recapture of the town, the commander in charge of the SLA forces exhorted the civilians to tell their children who had been conscripted into the RUF to come out of the bush and settle peacefully in the town. However, one night, the commander ordered that 27 of those RUF members who had come out of the bush be killed and the 27 young men⁷³² were tortured to death by the SLA forces. This incident created panic among the civilians and some of them left Buedu for the neighbouring countries of Liberia and Guinea. The SLA troops further successfully recaptured Koindu⁷³³ (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) and pushed the RUF/NPFL forces back into Liberia, while some escaped to Kono District. Thus by 1993, SLA forces, together with ULIMO and Guinean forces had confined the RUF forces to the extreme east of the District, in the north of Kissi Teng Chiefdom.

Tap 40 was also active in 1993, notably in Kissi Teng Chiefdom. 734 One of their commanders used to kill people by cutting into their flesh until they died, including a refugee from Liberia who failed or refused to bring palm wine for the NPFL commanders. On 21 January 1993, a woman was killed and her body cooked and eaten in Tangabu Town. Members of Tap 40 raped young girls and forced boys to carry their loads from Tangabu to Liberia. In Kangama, a woman in her fifties coming from Liberia in February was raped by many of those NPFL members; she later died in March as a result and her body was thrown into a big pit near Kangama. In April, three men previously appointed as Town Commanders in three different villages were killed for failing to provide food to the commanders. On 3 February at Mano Sewalu (Kissi Kama Chiefdom) there was a fierce battle between RUF and Tap 40, as a result of which many civilians escaped into the bush. Many other civilians were killed together with some of the RUF fighters, their bodies thrown into a pit. In Kissi Teng Chiefdom, a senior RUF officer gave the order to RUF junior commandos to hunt and kill NPFL forces. Accordingly, NPFL forces left Sierra Leone between February and May and, while retreating, burnt down many houses and killed civilians. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in August 1993 an internal fight occurred within the RUF between two of the most senior officers belonging to two different tribes, the Mendes (from the East and South) accusing the Temnes (i.e. the RUF leader's tribe) of destroying their land.⁷³⁵

In a bid to win the support of civilians, the RUF appointed a G5 group consisting of civilians and RUF members, which served as a mediator and settled disputes between civilians and RUF forces.⁷³⁶

After losing much ground to the SLA forces, the RUF/NPFL were cut off from their supplies coming from Liberia. Furthermore, when the NPFL forces withdrew to Liberia, they took with

⁷³² Their ages could not be ascertained.

⁷³³ This probably took place in November.

⁷³⁴ It is believed that they entered the chiefdom in November 1992.

⁷³⁵ No more information could be obtained on this event.

⁷³⁶ See section [X] for more information on the hierarchy and organisation of the RUF forces.

them all their weapons, including those captured from the SLA and Guinean forces in 1991-93. Indeed, all heavy weapons, artillery, war tanks, armoured cars, small arms and vehicles were taken to Liberia. As they could not depend on irregular supplies from Liberia or on the weapons captured from the SLA forces, the RUF forces engaged in trade and barter with Guineans and Sierra Leoneans along the border towns of the two countries, in particular in Luawa Chiefdom, which was a significant black market location. They traded mostly in agricultural products like cocoa, coffee and palm oil but also in valuable items such as tape recorders, gold and diamonds. Even members of the Guinean forces protecting the borders of Guinea were involved in the trade, as well as members of ULIMO forces. However, RUF forces did not deal directly with the Guineans but traded with their own contractors who took commissions. Any property acquired through this border trade was considered to be "Government property", i.e. belonging to the RUF movement. This system enabled RUF forces to procure weapons and other logistics. Thus, while in the bush, RUF forces forced civilians they had captured to process palm oil, cocoa and coffee they would then use to trade for arms and ammunition. Another way of raising funds was through the establishment of a tax in the District, namely requiring each town or village under their control to contribute a certain amount of products, particularly coffee and cacao, depending on the size of the village.

In the latter part of the year, with persistent attacks on SLA positions in the Kissi Teng Chiefdom, the RUF/NPFL forces succeeded in driving them from the chiefdom entirely. In addition, on 1 December 1993, the then Head of State, Capt. Strasser, declared a unilateral ceasefire. Further to this declaration, a lot of SLA forces left their positions thinking the war was over, which allowed RUF forces to redeploy in certain areas, mainly in the south of Kenema District⁷³⁷ and, in 1994, in Kailahun District.

d) Events in 1994

At the end of January and following renewed RUF attacks, notably in Kenema District, the Government of Sierra Leone declared "total war" against the RUF. The Head of State engaged in a massive recruitment of SLA forces and from 3,000 men in 1991, they would reach around 12,000 in 1994.

By 1994, following the successful SLA attacks and territory gains in 1993 and the retreat of the NPFL forces, the RUF now consisted of one and a half brigades composed solely of Sierra Leoneans. These RUF forces realised that they could no longer engage the enemy in face-to-face battle or conventional warfare, due to the strength and superior firepower of SLA and foreign forces. The RUF therefore decided to engage in jungle warfare in 1994 and an Operations order on jungle or guerrilla warfare was drafted and distributed to the front line commanders. Those front line commanders were trained for two weeks in guerrilla tactics and provided with first aid and a basic stock of food supplies plus arms and ammunition before they were sent in various directions into the jungle. The commanders' individual and newly mastered skills were passed onto the squad, platoon, company and battalion levels. During the training phase, they were taught the basics of squad to battalion tactics, namely tactical deployment in diverse terrains, combined arms training, urban warfare skills, ambushes, infiltration techniques, deception operations, advanced reconnaissance and fighting patrolling.

⁷³⁷ See the factual analysis for Kenema District where massive and successive attacks were launched in the southeast of the District in December 1993.

SLA forces were occupying most of the District for the first months of the year and there were some incidents of harassment of the civilian population. In one incident in Penguia Chiefdom in February 1994, an SLA member was arrested and killed on the orders of the SLA commander for having raped a 13 year-old girl. The commander made it clear to the civilians and the SLA forces that this kind of behaviour was not acceptable.

Towards the end of March and the beginning of April 1994, RUF forces started launching massive and successful attacks on SLA positions in the District. A group from Liberia attacked the town of Koindu. A second group from Liberia entered the town of Gbolabu in the Upper Bambara Chiefdom. This group conscripted children in and around the township. In Geima (Luawa Chiefdom), a large quantity of arms and ammunition were captured from SLA forces.

Once the RUF forces took the jungle and rapidly started to gain positions throughout the country, ⁷⁴⁰ Kailahun District, in particular the eastern part of the District, became a stronghold and was completely under RUF control. At sometime in 1994, RUF forces captured a large number of arms and ammunition from the SLA forces at Geima (Luawa Chiefdom) and SLA forces withdrew from Luawa Chiefdom. However, throughout 1994, 1995 and 1996, Mandu and Dia Chiefdoms remained under the control of SLA forces.

In May 1994, RUF forces came to the township of Sandaru (Penguia Chiefdom) from the direction of Kono District and dislodged the SLA forces based there. They informed the civilians that all of Sierra Leone was now under their control and that civilians should not hide or they would be chased and killed. They forced young boys and girls they had captured to take illicit drugs, claiming that it was new medicine meant to develop them and make them strong. RUF forces used Sandaru as a base to patrol and raid the villages in the chiefdom and came back regularly to the town with food, stolen property and more captured civilians, so that the number of their forces was greatly increased. Most of the captured women and girls were sexually assaulted, often publicly.

RUF forces were also to be found in the 'Peje' Chiefdoms, namely Peje Bongre and Peje West Chiefdoms. In one incident in August 1994, while patrolling in Peje West Chiefdom the RUF forces discovered a group of civilians in the bush, raped two suckling mothers, whom they subsequently killed. However, Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) and Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom), where a camp for displaced persons was opened, remained under SLA control, thereby blocking strategic access to the rest of the country.

The RUF were dislodged briefly from the town of Kangama (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) by joint forces of the SLA, regrouping and recapturing the town later in the year.

As RUF forces intensified their ambushes on the Freetown-Kenema highway in late 1994, life became even more difficult for civilians in Kailahun District. They lacked essential items to live and the daily number of deaths of civilians in the District and in the refugee camps in Liberia was high.

⁷³⁸ Already in January 1994, RUF forces captured an SLA base, east of Pendembu.

⁷³⁹ No more information was available on these incidents.

⁷⁴⁰ By 1995, all the Districts had come under RUF attacks.

Although RUF forces made serious gains in the country, fighting mainly in the bush and laying ambushes, it was perceived in Freetown as a "disintegrated organisation". Furthermore, during the same period, a large number of SLA members were missing without grounds in war affected areas. 742

e) Events in 1995, 1996 and 1997

Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) was fiercely attacked and recaptured from SLA forces by RUF forces in January 1995. In February 1995, RUF forces attacked Jojoima (Malema Chiefdom), which had been under SLA control since 1993.⁷⁴³

In Penguia Chiefdom, many civilians who were abducted from the surrounding towns and villages were mistreated; women were sexually abused in public by RUF forces. Those who refused to have sexual intercourse with RUF members were killed.⁷⁴⁴

By the end of 1995, RUF forces from nearby Periwahun launched another unsuccessful attack on Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom), where they were repelled by the SLA forces. The SLA forces were successful in repelling RUF forces' attacks on the Mandu and Dia Chiefdoms in 1995. Nevertheless, throughout 1995 and the following years, the RUF would launch attacks on these chiefdoms, occasionally controlling some areas.⁷⁴⁵

At the end of January 1996, prior to the elections to be held at the end of February, the one-week ceasefire declared by the RUF allowed voter registration in the District, particularly in four chiefdoms considered at that time to be unsafe, namely Jawie, Mandu, Malema and Upper Bambara. Nevertheless, in RUF-controlled areas, civilians were not allowed to vote in the February General elections. 747

In 1996, the Kamajor society, which had begun initiations in Bonthe District and developed all over the Southern Province, reached Kenema and Kailahun Districts. Similarly to other Districts where local hunters were operational, young energetic men were nominated by the Chiefs and, more often, the elders of the chiefdoms⁷⁴⁸ to be initiated into the society. Dia Chiefdom for example, was asked to send 50 men for initiation. The appointment was done at the section level and each section was at

 743 No details on the civilian fatalities – if any – could be obtained. It is only reported that over 20 RUF members were killed during this attack.

⁷⁴⁸ As the Chiefs had been targeted by the RUF since the start of the war, most of them had fled while others were killed.

⁷⁴¹ AFP, 16 September 1994.

⁷⁴² *Ibid*.

⁷⁴⁴ No details could be obtained on this information, either from the records or from open sources.

⁷⁴⁵ No details could be obtained on this information, either from the records or from open sources.

⁷⁴⁶ SLBS radio, a national Sierra Leone radio station, quoted the elections officer for Kailahun District: BBC, 30 January 1996.

⁷⁴⁷ The RUF-controlled areas were mainly the chiefdoms located in the east of the District, i.e. Kissi Teng, Kissi Tongi, Kissi Kama, Luawa and some parts of Penguia and Yawei Chiefdoms. No more information on what happened prior, during and following the elections could be obtained from either the records or from open source materials. In this respect it is interesting to note that the only serious incidents reported during the elections took place in Bo and Kenema Towns. While not wishing to minimise the intimidation of the voters carried out by the RUF forces prior to the elections, their scale may not have reached the levels sometimes described in the media.

least initially responsible for the welfare of the men they nominated and who came back to their various areas after the initiation. In Dia Chiefdom, the Kamajors worked with the SLA forces. The Kamajors from Jawie Chiefdom, under the leadership of a well-known commander who was also operational in Kenema District, began challenging RUF positions in Njaluahun Chiefdom.

However, around this time, Kamajors began to harass civilians. In Penguia Chiefdom, for example, civilians were forced to contribute to feeding the Kamajors and if they failed to do so, all their property would be taken away and they would be beaten. A man who had just lost his wife and was about to bury her refused to go and fetch wood as requested by some Kamajors, as a result of which they beat him severely. Again in Penguia, a businessman at Palima Village had his property taken by Kamajors and had to hide in the bush for two weeks with his family.

In March 1996, a combined force of SLA and CDF (Kamajors) who came from Baiwala (Dia Chiefdom) attacked a major RUF base in Geima (Luawa Chiefdom), also called "Camp Burkina Faso". They overpowered the RUF forces and killed eight of them; 26 civilians were also killed during the attack. The RUF forces, however, recaptured the town four days later. The Kamajors also attacked another RUF base, established in Kailahun Town at the National Secondary School. The school was completely bombed down and some civilians were killed. Four days after the attack on Geima, RUF forces counter attacked the Kamajors and SLA forces, some of them being killed in the attack. Following this counter attack, SLA forces and Kamajors were repelled.⁷⁴⁹

Around this time, RUF forces started opening schools in the areas under their control, such as at Kangama (Kissi Teng Chiefdom). The school was not only for children but also for the civilians living in the areas under RUF control. The teachers were paid with seven cups of rice and two beer bottles of palm oil every three months.

However, unlike what happened in the South and especially in Pujehun District, following the elections and the start of the negotiations between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone, civilians originating from Kailahun District and living in displaced camps or in neighbouring countries did not return to the District.

The peace negotiations that started in February 1996 reached their conclusion in the signing of a Peace Agreement between the RUF leader and the Sierra Leonean President at Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, on 30 November 1996. A few days before the signing of this agreement, the RUF leader had visited his troops near Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom) to talk about the peace process.⁷⁵⁰

Despite the signing of the peace agreement, a few incidents between Kamajors and RUF forces took place in the Segbwema area (Njaluahun Chiefdom) in early December, where some fatalities are reported on both sides. Nevertheless, it appeared that those skirmishes initiated by the RUF were motivated by their search for food.

SLA forces were still molesting civilians they suspected of being "rebels" or "rebel collaborators". On one occasion, a civilian from Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom) accused of being a "rebel" was sent to

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⁷⁴⁹ No more information could be ascertained on these events.

⁷⁵⁰ See, for example, AFP, 25 November 1996.

Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), tied up, had pepper put in his nostrils, was hit with a bayonet and kept in a guardroom for six days before being released. He was given a clearance document that would allow him to return to Mobai.

At the beginning of 1997, the RUF forces in the south of the District came under fierce attacks by SLA forces, thus breaking the ceasefire provided in the Abidjan Peace Agreement. Their positions, notably in Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom), were attacked and they had to retreat to their base at Baiima.⁷⁵¹

On 21 January 1997, Kamajors who were deployed in most previously RUF-controlled areas in the country proceeded further east in Kailahun District and retook Kailahun Town. Nevertheless, RUF forces managed to keep control in the furthest eastern area of the District in Kissi Teng, Kissi Tongi, Kissi Kama and parts of Luawa Chiefdoms. Buedu (Kissi Tongi) thereby became a headquarter base of the RUF. Don 20 February, Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), now under SLA control, was attacked by RUF forces who were defeated by the SLA, who were reinforced by their colleagues from Daru (Jawie Chiefdom). The killings of three RUF members, one SLA member and one civilian were reported. Also in February, the SLA forces rescued some children, once conscripted by the RUF but then living in the bush unaccompanied and malnourished.

Due to those skirmishes in the District between the SLA, Kamajors and RUF forces, the resettlement program put in place following the Abidjan Peace Agreement was stalled in Kailahun District. The demobilisation process had not even started, as United Nations observers were unable to deploy. Around 10 May, between 20 and 60 civilians were killed during an RUF attack on the border town of Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), highlighting once more the deterioration of the security situation in the District and the country as a whole, as many attacks were reported for the same period in the Northern Districts.⁷⁵⁶

Thus, shortly before the events of 25 May 1997, the RUF forces were mainly controlling the far east of Kailahun District, even if skirmishes with SLA and Kamajors were reported in other parts of the country, in the Kangari Hills (south of Tonkolili District) and in some parts of Moyamba District.

Early 1997, following the signing of the Abidjan Peace Agreement on 30 November 1996, one of the people the RUF leader had sent to Freetown to represent him during the implementation of the peace process declared himself the interim leader after the RUF leader's arrest in Nigeria.⁷⁵⁷ This declaration was unilateral and did not obtain the support of the RUF forces. During a visit to

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⁷⁵¹ Many press releases relate RUF statements in January condemning the Government of Sierra Leone as having "dashed aside" the Abidjan Peace Agreement: see, for example, AFP, 22 January 1997.

⁷⁵² Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 1-31 January 1997. This report was prepared by the Office of the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator in Sierra Leone.

⁷⁵³ Pendembu would be attacked again on 6 April and reports mention there were a lot of fatalities but no more details could be obtained.

⁷⁵⁴ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 1-28 February 1997. This report was prepared by the Office of the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator in Sierra Leone

⁷⁵⁵ See, for example, AFP, 4 March 1997.

⁷⁵⁶ AFP, 15 May 1997 and Africa News, 26 May 1997.

⁷⁵⁷ Philip Palmer announced his self-proclamation in a press release on 15 March 1997.

Kailahun District in April to hold meetings with the RUF forces, this self-proclaimed interim leader, together with other RUF members, was arrested and kept in custody by some of the most senior RUF commanders.

Following the overthrow of the Government on 25 May 1997, RUF forces came out of the bush and merged with AFRC forces. In early June, one senior RUF commander moved to Kenema Town with 300 of his men. Shortly after RUF forces joined the AFRC forces, some of them went to Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom) where they looted shops and stole property belonging to civilians and to the ICRC. However, few incidents were reported in the District for the period covering May 1997-February 1998, when ECOMOG forces ousted the RUF/AFRC from Freetown, as attention was mostly concentrated on Freetown, where 600 RUF members from Kailahun District were believed to have joined the AFRC members.

Further to this overthrow and the merging of RUF forces with AFRC forces, Kamajors from Penguia Chiefdom took the bush or went to Guinea, fearing to be killed by the RUF/AFRC forces who were chasing them.⁷⁶⁰ It should be recalled that shortly after the events of 25 May, the AFRC leader had ordered the members of the CDF to lay down their arms and surrender to the nearest police station to be disbanded, an order most of the Kamajors did not obey.

After May 1997, and throughout 1998 and part of 1999, civilians in Yawei and Penguia Chiefdoms suffered constant harassment by RUF/AFRC forces. During these years, RUF/AFRC forces killed, raped, tortured, amputated limbs and burnt houses down, as a result of which, many of the inhabitants fled to Guinea. At Baraka (Yawei Chiefdom) for example, the RUF/AFRC forces unroofed many houses and took property, which was brought to their various bases. Innocent civilians were accused of hating the forces and killed as a result. Many civilians fled to Liberia and Guinea.⁷⁶¹

A combined force of Guinean forces, SLA and CDF attacked and dislodged the RUF/AFRC forces in the towns of Bunumbu and Manowa.

In September 1997, Kamajors from Jawie Chiefdom successfully repelled RUF/AFRC forces from different areas of the chiefdom. Shortly after, two weeks after the start of their operation in September, the entire chiefdom was under Kamajor control. During these attacks, many RUF/AFRC forces were killed by the Kamajors. However, in December and during an attack they launched on Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), 100 Kamajors were allegedly captured by RUF/AFRC forces⁷⁶² and brought to Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom), an RUF/AFRC stronghold.

<u>f)</u> Events in 1998

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⁷⁵⁸ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 02 - 03 June1997 REG. NO. 97/0218

⁷⁵⁹ It was earlier mentioned that a camp for displaced people was operational in Segbwema.

⁷⁶⁰ It is reported that at the time of the May Coup, the SLA forces numbered 14,000 while the Kamajors were roughly 37,000 in number: AFP, 29 May 1997.

⁷⁶¹ No further details are available on events during this period.

⁷⁶² Xinhua News Agency, 29 December 1997.

On 8 February 1998, the President of Liberia reportedly visited RUF/AFRC forces in Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom) to meet with the field commanders. A meeting was held at the Court Barrie, where he told the forces that produce from the District, particularly cocoa and coffee, must be transported to Liberia immediately to be sold for the procurement of weapons and other logistics for the fighting forces. He also spoke about disarmament and further warned all combatants not to disarm until they heard from him in Liberia. The supply routes for arms and ammunition coming from Liberia ran through Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) and Foya (Liberia) or Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) and Vaahun (Liberia). When they needed ammunition, RUF forces would send a large vehicle with a top senior commander carrying some diamonds to the Liberian President. On their way back to Sierra Leone, they were escorted by Liberian security officers and had documents similar to clearance papers that would allow them to reach Kailahun District without encountering any problems. From Kailahun District, the arms and ammunition were distributed and dispatched to other places. The construction of an airfield at Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) was also begun, made feasible due to the increased numbers of the RUF forces, particularly the civilians they had taken with them when they retreated from Freetown. However, due to persistent air raids conducted by ECOMOG, the construction stopped.

After being pulled out from Freetown, a lot of AFRC members went to Vaahun in Liberia through Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) while the majority of the RUF forces took back the bush, which they were used to due to having conducted warfare there from 1994 to 1997, unlike the AFRC forces. When they left Freetown, the retreating forces could not take many things with them, which led to their searching civilians in Kailahun District and taking their property. "Operation Pay Yourself", meaning take what you need from civilians, was declared in the whole country but there is little direct information on its implementation in Kailahun District. Nevertheless, when they came back from Freetown, RUF and AFRC forces engaged in killing, raping and, above all, looting actions, which prompted a lot of civilians and especially those in Upper Bambara Chiefdom to leave their farms and to go to Liberia. However, RUF/AFRC forces captured civilians whom they forced to work, to go in search for food and to dig holes on the main road of the chiefdom to prevent ECOMOG forces from advancing with their armoured tanks.

In Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom), the then Chief Security Officer (CSO) of the RUF invited all returnees to a meeting in which he encouraged the CDF to identify themselves so they might broker peaceful co-existence with the RUF/AFRC forces in the township. Seventy-six Kamajors identified themselves to the RUF/AFRC forces in response to the appeal and the CSO told them that they were "brothers" and that they would work together to rebuild Luawa Chiefdom. However, the CSO then ordered his forces to arrest and detain the Kamajors. The CSO set up a court in which the Kamajors appeared, summary investigations were carried out by the RUF commander appointed as chairman of the court and his verdict was that they should all be released and handed over to their family who would sign for them. While this verdict appeared to be accepted, the CSO nevertheless ordered that those Kamajors should be kept in jail and their families authorised to come and visit them. This continued for few days, until two senior RUF commanders and other RUF members arrived in town. One of the senior RUF officers killed ten of the Kamajors and ordered his men to kill the other Kamajors still being held captive. Three days later, the CSO gathered people in the town and stated that those Kamajors were Government spies and had been preparing to launch an attack on the chiefdom. He ordered the burial of the bodies in two holes behind the police station.

Throughout 1998, Bunumbu (south-east of Luawa Chiefdom) was the main training base for RUF/AFRC forces. This base was most likely set up in April following the establishment of the War Office at Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) as RUF forces needed more manpower.

In March 1998, CDF forces and a Nigerian contingent of ECOMOG from Kenema District came to Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) through Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom),⁷⁶⁴ supported by alpha jets and each fighting faction led by a different commander. One civilian was killed at the centre of the market area by one of the bombs launched from the airplane. On their arrival, the CDF and ECOMOG forces engaged in battle with the RUF/AFRC forces. Civilians were killed during the crossfire and houses suspected of belonging to RUF/AFRC family members were set on fire by the Kamajors. Throughout their deployment and attacks on RUF/AFRC positions in the District, ECOMOG and CDF forces would use missiles and other long-range artillery, sometimes missing their targets and destroying property and killing civilians. In Kissi Tongi Chiefdom⁷⁶⁵ during the course of the raids, civilians were killed and property destroyed by the bombs dropped by the ECOMOG jets.⁷⁶⁶

In early March, ECOMOG and CDF forces fell into an ambush two miles from Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom) while on their way to recapture Macca Kpakpeibu (Yawei Chiefdom). In this ambush, some of them were seriously injured and the ECOMOG forces lost one armoured car, which was burnt, four machine guns and a truck loaded with arms and ammunition.

The ECOMOG forces assisted the Kamajors' further advances into the District and on 12 May, launched two attacks on Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) and Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), killing over 150 RUF/AFRC supporters. From there, they then proceeded to capture Kailahun Town, although their progress was slowed by the thick forest surrounding the town. Thus, by 20 May 1998, ECOMOG forces would claim to control Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom), Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), Mobai (Mandu Chiefdom), Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom), Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) and Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom). However, those attacks did not free the District from RUF/AFRC presence and throughout 1998, Kailahun District would still be qualified as their stronghold in the media. Due to

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⁷⁶³ In 1999, after RUF/AFRC forces captured Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District Headquarter), the training base was moved to Yengema (Kono District).

⁷⁶⁴ In February 1998, ECOMOG forces deployed in Kenema Town (Nongowa Chiefdom, Kenema District) advanced further in Kenema and Kailahun Districts. On 22 March, two ECOMOG battalions left the Freetown Peninsula to reinforce the contingent already deployed at Daru and to prepare the assault on Kailahun Town: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 10 - 30 March 1998. REG. NO. 98/0031. In the same report, it was also revealed that a lot of "ex-Junta" men surrendered to ECOMOG forces. In this context, "Junta" probably refers only to the members of the AFRC and not to the RUF forces.

⁷⁶⁵ Kissi Tongi Chiefdom would remain under RUF/AFRC control until disarmament started in 2001.

⁷⁶⁶ The date of this (these) bombing(s) could not be ascertained.

⁷⁶⁷ AFP, 12 May 1998.

⁷⁶⁸ No more information could be obtained on these killings.

⁷⁶⁹ AFP, 20 May 1998.

this intense fighting, thousands of civilians fled the area and found refuge in Liberia (Lofa County) and Guinea (Gueckedou region, Parrot Beak).⁷⁷⁰

After the reinstatement of the President of Sierra Leone in March 1998, more men from the District, many of whom had found refuge in Guinea, were initiated in the Kamajor society. Some from Penguia Chiefdom went to Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District) for the initiation. Kamajors from Penguia Chiefdom were successful in repelling the RUF/AFRC forces from some sections of the chiefdom as far as the Moa River (south-east of the chiefdom) but the RUF/AFRC forces regrouped and retook control of some areas previously held by Kamajors, including Sengema, Kumantandu, Sandaru, Lalehun and Bagibu. The RUF/AFRC established themselves in particular in the Nimmi Hills, an area rich in gold mines. Sengema became their base in the chiefdom, as it is located on a hill. Raping, looting and the unroofing of houses was common in 1998 and the commander in charge of the area was ordered by the Battle Field Commander not to have mercy for civilians who did not support them. On one occasion and following a meeting organised at Woroma by the RUF/AFRC commander in the chiefdom, eight men and four women accused of being supporters of the Government of Sierra Leone were killed and burnt by the RUF/AFRC forces, which led civilians once again to flee to Guinea. However, shortly afterwards in June, the commander ordered to his men to kill any civilian caught attempting to cross the Moa River or the Menni River to go to Guinea. Some civilians were therefore killed and some of them drowned in the rivers, which were swollen due to the rainy season. Furthermore, another order passed by this commander was for his men to check for tattoos on the men's bodies, as this would be proof of belonging to the Kamajor society. Besides pursuing RUF/AFRC positions, the Kamajors in Penguia Chiefdom chased and killed those they suspected of being "rebel" collaborators. ⁷⁷¹ Kamajors from Peje West and Peje Bongre Chiefdoms were also attacking RUF/AFRC forces in their chiefdoms.

The town of Neama (south of Jawie Chiefdom, near the border with Kenema District) was considered a safe place where many civilians from the surrounding chiefdoms were seeking refuge. The town was under the command of the CDF and was an important ECOMOG and CDF base. RUF forces attacked the town and over 300 civilians were killed; it took three days to bury them in mass graves.

When the chairman of the AFRC and his government were driven out of Freetown by the ECOMOG forces, he sought temporarily refuge in Kangama town⁷⁷² (Kissi Teng Chiefdom), four miles from Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), the headquarter of RUF/AFRC. Indeed, Buedu in 1998 became the War Office⁷⁷³ and a very important centre for supply routes, smuggling of produce and diamonds and for training. All these activities became rampant throughout the year and enabled the

⁷⁷⁰ Between March and June, 237,000 Sierra Leoneans fled the country to Liberia and Guinea and over 50,000 IDPs were living in camps: UN News Archive, 26 June 1998. Since the ECOMOG intervention in February, it was believed that 27,000 IDPs were leaving in the Eastern Province (Kailahun, Kenema and Kono Districts) and 113,000 in the Northern Province while there were no new displacements in the Southern Province. Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 9 June – 6 July 1998. REG. NO. 98/0068.

⁷⁷¹ No specific incident was recalled on this information.

⁷⁷² He was seen during the same period in Kono District, en route to Kailahun District.

⁷⁷³ Although ECOMOG forces claimed to have recaptured Buedu in 1998, it is clear from the records and other open source materials that the war office was open in Buedu at the latest in April 1998. Accordingly, either ECOMOG forces attacked but did not capture the town or captured the town only for a short period of time.

RUF/AFRC forces to strengthen their positions and strongholds in the entire District. The War Office was the administrative headquarters where all the operational orders were given and throughout 1998 to 2001, all the important meetings for the top ranking commanders took place there. There was only one War Office and the other headquarters were subsidiary to that office. During this time, a lot of civilians were tortured, raped, killed and conscripted into the fighting forces. Also children under 15 were conscripted,⁷⁷⁴ as the forces were increasing their number not only to resist and fight ECOMOG and CDF forces but also in preparation for the planned attack on Freetown.⁷⁷⁵ On one occasion that probably took place in April, the senior RUF officer in charge of the War Office at Buedu brought back about 100 machine guns from Liberia.

Kailahun Town and the Geima camp became important training bases for the RUF/AFRC. RUF commanders regularly shuttled between Kono District and the rest of the deployment areas in Kailahun District and were able to procure more weapons from Liberia. Weapons were stored at Foindu (Peje Bongre Chiefdom) with the aim of engaging in simultaneous attacks on Bunumbu, Segbwema and Daru. Mamboma (Peje Bongre Chiefdom) was the identified base for the attacks. Main RUF/AFRC positions in the District included Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), Kuiva (Mandu Chiefdom) and Geima (Luawa Chiefdom).

Throughout 1998 and 1999, until peace talks started, the RUF/AFRC launched several unsuccessful attacks on the ECOMOG/CDF forces based at Daru, often surrounding the town. One of these attacks took place on 25 May 1998 but no fatalities were reported. The commander of the Kamajors admonished his men not to loot houses in Daru, but his order was defied as Kamajors engaged in much stealing in the township. Furthermore, the Kamajors recruited children to be initiated into their society to fight the RUF/AFRC forces still in the east of the District.

Besides their attack on Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) the RUF/AFRC forces assaulted ECOMOG and CDF positions in different places in the District, including Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom) and Benduma (Jawie Chiefdom).

During the second half of the year, ECOMOG successes in the District appeared to have come to a halt and to be hampered by the RUF/AFRC activities. In September, the ECOMOG spokesman stated that they needed at least 2,000 more troops, "real fighters, as well as logistical support" to put an end to the conflict. However, massive ECOMOG air raids in the District killed a lot of RUF/AFRC members in November in Pendembu, Kuiva and Geima. Furthermore, according to

⁷⁷⁴ No specific dated incident could be obtained, apart from this information of a general nature.

⁷⁷⁵ It should be recalled that when they were ousted from Freetown in February 1998, the RUF/AFRC stated that they would return.

⁷⁷⁶ It seems that ECOMOG and CDF forces did not succeed in capturing Kailahun Town during their attack in May.

No more information could be obtained on these events.

⁷⁷⁸ According to a Kamajor field commander quoted in an IPS press release on 29 June 1998, Kamajors "have 3,000 child Kamajors... These kids are very brave on the frontline... children are unadulterated and ... they follow the laws governing the conduct of the militia like abstinence from sex, drugs and looting when in combat...We don't trust adults quite (as) much because many have breached the rules governing our militia group and so they get killed by the enemy."

⁷⁷⁹ See, for example, AFP, 30 September 1998.

ECOMOG forces, they attacked and killed many RUF/AFRC forces in villages on the border with Liberia in November and December.

On 30 December 1998, the RUF/AFRC forces launched an attack on the combined forces of ECOMOG and CDF based in Segbwema⁷⁸⁰ (Njaluahun Chiefdom), where they battled for over nine hours, during which a lot of civilians were killed and houses were set on fire by the RUF/AFRC forces. The RUF/AFRC forces captured the town and established a base there. Apparently this was a strategic plan by the RUF/AFRC forces to cut off ECOMOG forces based at Daru and so prevent them from undertaking any counter attack while they were heading for other Districts and the capital.⁷⁸¹ Furthermore, it allowed further advances towards Kenema Town (Nongowa Chiefdom, Kenema District), which would be attacked in early March 1999.

g) Events in 1999

In 1999, the population of Kailahun District was cut off from the reach of Kenema District despite ECOMOG deployment at Daru (Jawie Chiefdom).⁷⁸²

The strategic town of Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom) became a battlefront for the greater part of 1999. On 6 April, CDF troops from Kenema District unsuccessfully attacked the RUF/AFRC positions there, during which one RUF/AFRC member was killed.

Two days before the ceasefire provided for in the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999, a massive RUF/AFRC group attacked the Moa Barracks, Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), without being able to dislodge the ECOMOG forces who had been based there since March 1998.

On 17 July 1999, CDF forces planned an attack on an RUF/AFRC position at Daru Junction (Jawie Chiefdom). On their way, they fell into an RUF/AFRC ambush and three Kamajors were killed. The CDF forces were, however, successful in capturing Daru Junction, where they made a temporary base. RUF/AFRC forces launched an attack on this base on 29 September 1999. They succeeded in dislodging the CDF, who again launched a further attack on Segbwema, but were once again unsuccessful. During their withdrawal, a lot of Kamajors as well as civilians were killed by the RUF/AFRC forces. At this time, Pendembu, Kailahun Town and Buedu were the RUF/AFRC main bases in the District.

In August at the War Office in Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), a senior RUF commander sent one of his subordinates to Liberia to bring back all the AFRC members to Buedu⁷⁸³ so that an arrangement could be made to launch an attack on ECOMOG positions. While he was there, a

⁷⁸⁰ Segbwema is located on a strategic position in Kailahun District, as it allows for further advances inland towards Kenema District. It is almost a compulsory point of passage as there is only one other road to leave Kailahun District through Manowa Junction (Peje West Chiefdom). However, this road leads to Kono District while the Segbwema road leads to Kenema District and accordingly puts Freetown within much closer reach.

⁷⁸¹ This information has to be read in conjunction with what happened in December 1998 in Kono, Bombali, Magburaka and Tonkolili Districts and in Freetown on 6 January 1999.

⁷⁸² It could not be ascertained whether ECOMOG deployed in other towns, although it is known that from Daru, they were launching long-range missiles up to Kissi Tongi Chiefdom.

⁷⁸³ Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown, while some AFRC members dispatched in the provinces, others went to Liberia.

woman came from Liberia and informed the commander that she had seen his subordinate at the ECOMOG base in Monrovia. On his return, the subordinate was arrested and tortured at Buedu until he explained the purpose of his visit to the ECOMOG base. The subordinate denied having visited the ECOMOG base in Monrovia and he further stated that if anyone had given such information about him it was false. He even went on to say that if that were true he would not have come with over 100 AFRC members to Buedu from Liberia. His defence never convinced his commander, who eventually killed him.

In mid October, RUF forces captured personnel of the World Health Organisation (WHO) who were on a vaccination mission in Segbwema. At that time, even if Segbwema was still a RUF stronghold, no major security threat was perceived, as illustrated in the report of the interagency humanitarian assessment mission that took place in the District between 29 September and 1 October. In this report, it was stated that "relief agencies can now move into [towns assessed by the team in the District] provided that prior information on their itineraries is made available to the Organisation for the Survival of Mankind (OSM) leadership", which was the humanitarian wing of the RUF, based at Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom).⁷⁸⁴

Also in October, the RUF leader went to Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) to exhort his troops to disarm, accompanied by members of ECOMOG and the United Nations Observation Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL).⁷⁸⁵ This visit was part of a general tour throughout the country. By the end of the month, however, hundreds of RUF members led by one senior RUF commander left the District and went to Makeni (Bombali District), where an internal fight, most likely of a personal nature, took place with the AFRC forces based there.⁷⁸⁶ This event took place almost at the same time as the first UN peacekeepers arrived at Lungi, the international airport, marking the first step of their country-wide deployment.

Immediately after the RUF leader left Buedu, the Battle Field Commander and second in command to the RUF leader based at Buedu convened a meeting in Buedu and Kailahun Town to which he invited all the RUF vanguards, namely those who were trained in Liberia before the start of the conflict in 1991. At those meetings, he openly challenged the orders of the RUF leader and requested his men not to disarm to the Nigerian-led ECOMOG forces they had been fighting for almost a decade. He further claimed that as the Battle Field Commander, he was the only one that could order disarmament and not the RUF leader. He sent the Chief Security Officer and his bodyguard to Liberia to secure more weapons and when this officer came back, he sent him with loyal troops, mostly vanguards, to persuade the RUF members not to disarm. Furthermore, in early December, two Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) workers were abducted by RUF forces in the District, in a bid to focus the attention of the international community on the disagreement of RUF forces with the DDR process. The NGO workers were released two weeks later, unharmed. He remains the remaining the remaining the remaining to the r

⁷⁸⁴ IRIN West Africa, 15 October 1999.

⁷⁸⁵ The peacekeeping operation was established by UN Resolution 1181 on 13 July 1998 to monitor the military and security situation in the country; the UNOMSIL mission initially had a six-month term, which was extended.

⁷⁸⁶ IRIN West Africa, 29 October 1999.

⁷⁸⁷ He notably gave an interview to the BBC on 30 November 1999.

⁷⁸⁸ IRIN West Africa, 16 December 1999.

The RUF men sent by the Battle Field Commander went to Pendembu, a brigade headquarter, and to Segbwema, having been requested by the Battle Field Commander to appoint new commanders in these towns that were loyal to him. At Segbwema, following the arrest of one RUF member caught trying to send a message to the RUF leader, the Battle Field Commander gave the order to arrest all the officers loyal to the RUF leader and to destroy two bridges on the way to Kono District. Those orders were never carried out as, in the meanwhile, the RUF leader ordered the arrest of those men sent by the Battle Field Commander. Those men were tied up, tortured and taken to Koakuima, the second brigade headquarter in Kono District. The RUF leader also ordered the arrest of the Battle Field Commander. However, on hearing his men had been arrested and that the RUF leader had given an order for his arrest to another senior RUF officer, the Battle Field Commander fled to Liberia with his family and 200 RUF members.

On 20 December, the CDF forces launched another attack on Segbwema. They received support from the ECOMOG forces based in Daru who sent their alpha jet to bomb RUF positions. This attack was again unsuccessful, as was another one that took place on 25 December, following which the CDF forces retreated to Kenema District. Two days after this last attack, CDF from Kenema District went to Fola village (Njaluahun Chiefdom) in the hope of attacking the RUF/AFRC position in Segbwema. At Fola, ceremonies were performed to enable the troops to capture Segbwema. The CDF troops fell into an ambush close to Segbwema, where one Kamajor was killed, but they continued nevertheless and launched a fierce attack on Segbwema. During this attack, which was eventually unsuccessful for the Kamajors who went back to Kenema District, a lot of houses were destroyed during the crossfire. The CDF, however, were successful in capturing the town of Pendembu Njegbla (Njaluahun Chiefdom) and made a base there.

In late December 1999 or early January 2000, the first UNAMSIL troops - part of the Ghanaian battalion, also deployed in Bo and Kenema Towns - were sent from Freetown to Daru Barracks.

h) 2000 and 2001

The demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) of the estimated 45,000 combatants in the country was slower than had been envisaged at the launch of the DDR program on 20 October 1999. For Kailahun District, where the DDR camp was located at Daru, the RUF leader stated that the slow process was due to the lack of the necessary structures, namely no ceasefire committees and no logistics. ⁷⁹¹

In early January, the RUF commander in Makeni mobilised his fighting forces and went to Buedu to attack and arrest the RUF Battle Field Commander. However, the Battle Field Commander was nowhere to be found as he had earlier left for Liberia with his loyal troops, his bodyguards, some civilians and a lot of property, including FM radio broadcasting equipment, radio communication sets, computers, fax machines, arms and ammunition. A large number of civilians were maltreated and killed by the RUF commander who came to Buedu at this time.

⁷⁹¹ IRIN West Africa, 31 January 2000.

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⁷⁸⁹ This senior RUF officer was going to be the next Battle Field Commander.

⁷⁹⁰ It should be noted that the start of the DDR program had already been delayed since it was meant to take place within six weeks of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, i.e. by 18 August 1999.

In March 2000, the position of the RUF leader towards the DDR program changed, as far from appealing his men to disarm as he had done in late 1999, he stated that he would not order his men to disarm unless the other fighting forces simultaneously disarmed. However, soon after, 2,000 UNAMSIL peacekeepers from the Indian Battalion known as INDBATT, arrived in Kailahun Town with six unarmed military observers (MILOBS). Both RUF members and civilians in the town warmly welcomed this group. Within a short time, the troops had proved to be very friendly to the people of the township, engaging themselves in various activities.

Some Sierra Leoneans who had found refuge in the Parrot Beak area in Guinea returned to Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) where UNAMSIL was deployed. They were registered and screened at the entry points by the CDF, the Kailahun District Development Foundation (KADDF) and an international NGO.⁷⁹⁵

In early April, UNAMSIL personnel engaged in speeding up the disarmament process, together with the RUF leader, a representative of the ex-AFRC leader and other personalities went to Segbwema (Njaluahun Chiefdom). However, on 3 May 2000, a UN helicopter and its crew were captured by RUF forces in the District. This abduction of UN troops was not isolated, as at the same moment, UNAMSIL personnel were seized at Makeni (Bombali District) and a 23 man-unit was surrounded at Kuiva (Mandu Chiefdom). Although the helicopter and its crew were released shortly after, the rate of UNAMSIL forces' abduction grew, with over 300 estimated abductions by 5 May 2000.

Within Kailahun District, the UNAMSIL troops, including their commanders, were prevented from moving outside their compound in Kailahun Town following an order from the RUF's Chief Security Officer. All their vehicles and all other property were taken and conveyed to Geima (Luawa Chiefdom). The Chief Security Officer also ordered the arrest of the MILOBS in Geima. All of their property was taken and they were conveyed to the District barracks in Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom) and were then brought to the UNAMSIL compound. The RUF Chief Security Officer also stopped the UN helicopter from bringing food and other logistics for the peacekeepers and instructed the Indian commander of the peacekeepers deployed at Daru to bring food for the prisoners by road. The situation of the 224 Indian peacekeepers and 11 MILOBS was similar to their colleagues at Kuiva (Mandu Chiefdom) as none of these groups was allowed free movement and were surrounded by RUF forces. They were supplied with food coming by truck from Daru (Jawie Chiefdom) but on various occasions, the RUF allowed only half of the load to be supplied or none at all. On 29 June, the UN troops from Kuiva were released and transferred to Monrovia before being airlifted to Freetown, their arms and ammunition being kept by the RUF forces.

⁷⁹² IRIN West Africa, 16 March 2000.

⁷⁹³ It took more than one attempt for the UNAMSIL troops to reach the town as in early March they were stopped by RUF forces on their way to the town.

⁷⁹⁴ It was not clear why the RUF forces were happy to see UNAMSIL.

⁷⁹⁵ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 11 – 31 March 2001.

⁷⁹⁶ On 3 April, nearly 22,000 combatants were disarmed, out of the total estimated 45,000 combatants, according to the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR): IRIN West Africa, 11 April 2000.

⁷⁹⁷ IRIN West Africa, 4 May 2000.

⁷⁹⁸ Others peacekeepers were also captured in May in different places across the country, in Kambia, Bombali and Tonkolili Districts.

UNAMSIL engaged in diplomatic and political negotiations for the release of its personnel but as those negotiations failed, around 15 July 2000, UNAMSIL helicopters bombarded the RUF position in Kailahun Town. The sound of those bombardments could be heard all over Luawa Chiefdom and beyond. During this aerial attack, the peacekeepers and MILOBS pulled out of Kailahun Town with their weapons, some being airlifted, the majority going on foot to Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), some unarmed but with air protection from helicopters. On their way to Pendembu, they were engaged by RUF forces who also fired at the helicopters. Two members of the UNAMSIL Indian Special Forces team and seven of the released members were injured while the RUF forces suffered heavy fatalities in Pendembu and Kailahun Town. The helicopter gunship afterwards made frequent trips to view the areas in and around Kailahun. Following this rescue events and the resulting fighting, nearly 5,000 civilians from the surrounding area fled to Daru.

Following the rescue of the UNAMSIL personnel, the disarmament process resumed at Daru (Jawie Chiefdom), one of the two operational DDR camps in the country, but on a lower scale, as RUF activities were still being reported in the District. For example, although they had signed a recent agreement with the CDF forces to allow commercial trucks to use the Kenema-Daru road, in early August RUF forces captured three trucks and three taxis at Segbwema.

Starting in September 2000, RUF forces were seriously engaged in cross-border attacks into Guinea, in the area known as the Parrot Beak in the east and at the border with Kambia District in the north. As a result of those attacks, Sierra Leoneans who had found refuge in Guinea returned to Sierra Leone and to Kailahun District; between February and April 2001, around 12,500 people arrived in Daru on foot.⁸⁰¹ In addition, some Guinean troops set up positions inside the territory of Sierra Leone to protect the Guinean border, notably in Kissi Teng Chiefdom. Furthermore, at this time Kailahun District became widely affected by the renewed hostilities in Liberia.⁸⁰²

As RUF forces still controlled areas in the District, a one-month ceasefire was signed on 10 November, known as Abuja Cease-Fire, thereby reactivating the disarmament process, which had been interrupted following the events of May 2000. Its main provision was the disarmament of the RUF forces and the deployment of UNAMSIL troops in RUF-held areas.⁸⁰³

In mid March 2001, UNAMSIL peacekeepers conducted a patrol to Kailahun Town, the first since the rescue operation the previous year. They left from Daru and on their way to Kailahun Town, passed by the RUF-held towns of Kuiva, Moiba (Mandu Chiefdom) and Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom), where they met with the RUF commanders and "secured their firm commitment towards collaboration with UNAMSIL". At Kailahun Town, they met with the RUF High Command and raised issues concerning the deployment of UNAMSIL personnel, including

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⁷⁹⁹ The other camp was in Lungi (Port Loko District).

⁸⁰⁰ IRIN West Africa, 10 August 2000.

⁸⁰¹ IRIN West Africa, 25 April 2001.

⁸⁰² Since 1998, fighting resumed in Liberia with the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) fighting to overthrow the Liberian Head of State

⁸⁰³ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 14 November - 6 December 2000.

⁸⁰⁴ UNAMSIL press briefing, 16 March 2001.

the freedom of movement of UNAMSIL patrols and the opening of the Daru-Kailahun road. Around 19 April, UNAMSIL troops eventually deployed in some RUF-held areas and dispatched regular patrols to Kailahun Town. 805

In early 2001, clashes between the CDF and the RUF/AFRC forces persisted along the Yawei Chiefdom bordering Gandorhun Chiefdom (Kono District). At one point in April or May, a group of CDF from Guinea⁸⁰⁶ who had earlier captured towns in the Penguia Chiefdom proceeded to attack Manowa and Bunumbu to cut the RUF/AFRC forces off from Kono District.

A meeting between the RUF, the Government of Sierra Leone, UN representatives and the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council to review the cease-fire signed on 10 November 2000 was convened on 4 May 2001, again in Abuja, Nigeria. The main points of concern related to the acceleration of the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration of the remaining RUF forces, the release of child combatants and the freedom of movement of persons. Furthermore, during a meeting between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF on 15 May at UNAMSIL headquarters in Freetown, both parties agreed to consider the establishment of a DDR camp in Kailahun Town. During the following weeks, an official disarmament ceremony including the release of children was held in the District. In October 2001, during a meeting of the Joint Committee on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR), comprised of the Government of Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL and the RUF, the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF agreed on a schedule for the completion of the disarmament process. This accelerated disarmament was to take place in Kailahun District between 15 and 30 November 2001.

Following fresh negotiations with the RUF, 170 peacekeepers from the Pakistani Battalion (PAKBATT II) were deployed in the District on 26 October; shortly after, the main body of 800 men was airlifted to the District. Both in Kailahun and Kenema Districts, the disarmament, which stalled for three weeks, began in earnest around 10 December. Since the third phase of disarmament started in May 2001, the figures of the disarmament process by mid December were as follows: a total of 37,654 combatants had disarmed, among them 12,546 RUF, 24,699 CDF and 400 Others. In Kailahun, 2,936 combatants had disarmed: 1,994 RUF and 942 CDF.

The PAKBATT II contingent sensitised the RUF forces on the urgent need for peace in the country and encouraged them to disarm. The attitude of the peacekeepers made civilians and RUF members become very friendly and cooperative. However, a senior RUF commander sent instructions that the

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⁸⁰⁵ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 01 - 19 April 2001.

⁸⁰⁶ In late March 2001, Kamajors coming mostly from Kono District who had found refuge in Guinean refugee camps and were armed by the Guinean authorities launched simultaneous attacks in Kono District and in the north of Kailahun District. Accordingly, this action in Kailahun District has to be read in the light of the factual analysis for Kono District during this period.

⁸⁰⁷ UNAMSIL press release, 15 May 2001.

⁸⁰⁸ The schedule for the completion of the disarmament was agreed as follows: Koinadugu and Moyamba Districts by 22 October; Bo and Bombali Districts by 31 October; Western Area between 1-7 November; Pujehun and Tonkolili Districts between 1-15 November; and Kenema District between 15-30 November: IRIN West Africa, 12 October 2001.

⁸⁰⁹ With the deployment in November of Nepalese peacekeepers in Moyamba District, the UNAMSIL mission reached its authorised ceiling of 17,500 troops: IRIN West Africa, 20 November 2001.

fighters of Luawa Chiefdom, indeed the whole of Kailahun District, should not disarm until the arrival of their leader. This instruction was never obeyed as even the Chief Security Officer did not stop anybody from disarming. Those who disarmed were protected and looked after of by the peacekeepers. The senior RUF commander later visited Kailahun District in early December together with the UNAMSIL force commander and the formal order for disarmament was issued.

The disarmament process successfully continued in the District until early January 2002; on 11 January 2002, senior RUF commanders symbolically turned in their weapons to the Force Commander of UNAMSIL in Kailahun District. The eighth and final tripartite meeting between UNAMSIL, the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone took place on 17 January 2002: "Both groups called for the extension of government authority throughout the country, the reintegration of fighters back into society and they supported the on-going Community Arms Collection and Destruction Programme. They appealed for the international community to continue its support to the DDR." ⁸¹⁰

3. Conclusion

The first batch of RUF forces, at that time fighting alongside the NPFL, entered the District through the two motorable roads that link the District to Liberia and the last RUF members were disarmed in early January 2002. Kailahun District was the only District where RUF forces, first with the NPFL, then alone and subsequently with the AFRC, established strong positions throughout the war. They were never completely repelled outside the boundaries of the District.

The first major incursion into Sierra Leone was carried out concurrently in Kailahun and Pujehun Districts, where the main roads between Liberia and Sierra Leone are located. The headquarters of the RUF/NPFL were established in Kailahun District from the beginning of the conflict and remained in the District throughout the conflict, although defensive headquarters were opened in Makeni and Kono, as the RUF/AFRC controlled these areas, making Kailahun District the RUF stronghold.

During the first years of the conflict, the RUF/NPFL forces directly engaged the SLA forces but never succeeded in dislodging them from their strategic position in Daru. These years were marked by the initial progression of the RUF/NPFL throughout the District, which was later halted by the SLA. Attacks and counter attacks from both sides made it difficult to have a clear picture of who was in control of any given area. However, the main SLA victory took place in late 1993, at which time they confined the RUF forces to the extreme east. This SLA progression led the NPRC Chairman to declare a unilateral ceasefire on 1 December 1993.

This ceasefire was soon violated, when in March 1994, RUF forces, alone this time as the NPFL had earlier withdrawn to Liberia to defend their positions in the Liberian conflict, changed their military tactic to that of guerrilla warfare and began retaking positions from the SLA. Shortly before that, in December 1993, the RUF forces had launched a massive and successful offensive in the south-east of Kenema District and by March 1994, were scattered throughout the Kenema District. In 1994 also, the south-east flank of Pujehun was clearly reopened and RUF forces spread across the District. This new development of the conflict left the three bordering Districts almost under RUF

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control and allowed further incursions in the rest of the country. The scale of this second wave was acknowledged by the NPRC Chairman himself, who declared "total war against the rebels". By 1995, all the Districts of the country were directly affected by the RUF incursions.

From 1996 onwards, Kamajors emerged and fought the RUF and later the RUF/AFRC forces in the District. Although they retook control of some RUF-held areas, they never succeeded in taking control of the whole District.

Following the merging of the RUF with the AFRC forces, those CDF members, as in other Districts of the country, went underground before challenging the RUF/AFRC positions by late 1997 but particularly in 1998, following the ECOMOG deployment in Daru. As in 1998, Kamajors were in total control of Pujehun District and the Southern Province in general, thereby cutting off one of the supply roads from Liberia, although not the main one, which was through Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) in the north-east of Kailahun District. This strong grip over the Southern Province and especially over the Freetown-Kenema and Freetown-Pujehun highways blocked the retreating RUF/AFRC forces from Freetown, preventing them to go to Liberia through Pujehun District and forcing them to reach Kailahun District through Kono District

RUF/AFRC forces had control over certain areas of Kailahun District, mainly in the north-east of the Moa River and continued engaging the Kamajors, who at that time were assisted by ECOMOG forces. Around this time, many RUF/AFRC forces had regrouped in the District before launching their offensive on Koidu (Kono District) in December 1998. As part of this massive operation, which ended in Freetown on 6 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces retook position of Segbwema, a strategic town on the main road to Kenema District thus blocking ECOMOG at Daru.

The period following the invasion of Freetown was mainly characterised by political negotiations and reached its conclusion by the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999. Although the RUF leader exhorted his members in the District to disarm, a senior RUF officer, then Battle Field Commander and CDS categorically refused and engaged in actions to put a stop to the disarmament process. RUF forces furthermore engaged in cross border raids in the Parrot Beak in Guinea. This action was not isolated as another Guinean flank was open in Kambia District. The peace process was reactivated in November 2000 but more than one year was necessary to complete the disarmament in the District and to declare the war over in January 2002. Kailahun was amongst the last Districts to be disarmed.

b. Kenema District

1. Introduction

Kenema District is one of the three Districts composing the Eastern Province, together with Kailahun and Kono Districts. It is bordered on the north by Tonkolili District and, mainly, by Kono District, on the east by Kailahun District, on the southeast by Liberia, on the south-west by Pujehun and on the west by Bo District. Its headquarter town is Kenema Town in Nongowa Chiefdom, in the centre of the District. Kenema Town is located on the highway that goes to Koidu (Kono District Headquarter) in one direction and to Bo Town (Bo District Headquarter) and further on to Freetown in the other direction. As in the other Districts of the country, control of the highway was

of fundamental importance as it is the only way to bring necessary daily items for civilians in the District.

There are 16 chiefdoms in the District:

Chiefdom <u>Headquarter</u> Dama Giema Dodo Dodo Gaura Ioru Gorama Mende Tongi Gbando Kandu Leppeama Koya Baoma Ya Baima Langrama Lower Bamabara Panguma Malegowun Sembehun Sendumei Niawa Nomo Faama Nongowa Kenema Simbaru Boajibu Small Bo Blama Tunkia Gorahun Wandor Faala

The Moa River, which takes its source in the ocean in the south of Pujehun District, flows through the southern parts of Kenema District (Koya and Dama Chiefdoms). The Sewa River, coming from Bonthe and Bo Districts, reaches Kenema District in the central east in Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom and continues towards the north, reaching Kono District through Simbaru, Wandor and Gorama Mende Chiefdoms. On its eastern edge, at the border with Liberia, Kenema District is bordered by the Golan Forest.

After Kono District, Kenema District is one of the most important diamond mining areas of the country. The main diamond area, Tongo Field, is to be found in Lower Bambara Chiefdom, but other chiefdoms are also mainly mining areas, such as Kandu Leppeama and Gorama Mende Chiefdoms.

Kenema District was affected by the conflict through three discernible phases. During the first phase, which encompassed 1991 to the end of 1993, Kenema District was attacked by RUF/NPFL forces coming from the south and the east. This phase was marked by widespread violations committed primarily by RUF/NPFL forces, but also by SLA forces. Initially, in the south, there was little resistance put up by the SLA, who were also inflicting violence and terror on the population as part of their "screening" of the population for "rebels". However, towards the middle of 1992, the SLA regrouped and mostly drove the RUF/NPFL forces from their positions back towards Liberia. In the east, the fighting and infliction of violence and terror on the population was more intense, in part because there was a greater concentration of SLA forces due to the location of the SLA brigade headquarter in Kenema Town.

The patterns in both incursions were remarkably similar: the RUF/NPFL forces would gather the people of the villages in the Court Barrie and hold a meeting, toppling the existing authorities and setting up new power structures. Their arrival and stay was accompanied by the infliction of physical and mental violence on the people of the village, as well as the abduction of members of the population, including children, for use as workers, as fighters, as cooks and as "wives". RUF/NPFL forces also engaged in widespread theft and property destruction, notably the burning of houses, particularly when the people had fled the village prior to their arrival. Indeed, there was much internal displacement within the District as some people fled their villages ahead of the arrival of RUF/NPFL forces until mid to late 1992, when the combined SLA and ULIMO⁸¹¹ forces began retaking control of the District and driving the RUF/NPFL forces out.

The second phase spanned from the end of 1993 until May 1997 with two concurrent incursions, one from the north and one from the south. This period saw the birth of the Kamajors, who were local hunters initially coming together in informal groups before coming under the wing of the CDF. The "Kamajors" began to fight the RUF, alongside the SLA. During this second phase, a lot of civilians were killed, abducted, forced to carry property and work in the diamonds mines; the number of rapes increased. The RUF also set up a number of camps throughout the District, from where they launched attacks on surrounding chiefdoms. These camps were also the sites where they brought abducted civilians and inflicted physical and mental violence on some and trained others to be fighters, including children. Atrocities were mostly carried out by RUF forces but also by SLA members who were actively engaged in mining activities and, to a lesser extent, the Kamajors.

The third and final phase of the conflict in Kenema District ran from May 1997, the date of the Coup that saw the AFRC seize power, until 2002, when the war officially ended across the country. During this time, there were still many incidents of violence against the population both by the RUF/AFRC forces and, to a lesser extent, by the Kamajors. This violence was most pronounced just after the Coup in May 1997, but continued throughout this phase, tapering off towards 2000 in the north, when disarmament began across the District.

2. Factual analysis

a) First Phase: 1991 – end of 1993

The war began in Kenema District as early as 1991, when RUF/NPFL forces entered the District in Tunkia Chiefdom, in the south, from Pujehun District and Liberia, and in the east from Kailahun District, where they entered Malegohun Chiefdom, which shares a boundary with Kailahun District.

Southern incursion

In April 1991, armed men identified as RUF/NPFL fighters (the NPFL, by their Liberian accent) entered Tunkia Chiefdom⁸¹² in the south of the District from Pujehun District through the Golan forest and, to a limited extent, from bordering Liberia. After gathering people at the Court Barrie or

⁸¹¹ This fighting faction, composed mainly of supporters of the late previous Liberian President, Samuel Doe, emerged in May 1991 to fight the NPFL, which was led by Charles Taylor.

⁸¹² The chiefdom headquarter is Gorahun, located on the Kenema–Bo Waterside (Pujehun District) road. Gegbwema and Jao are two major towns in the chiefdom.

in a school field, these forces introduced themselves as the people's "redeemers and liberators" from the APC Government.

Coming from Makpele Chiefdom (Pujehun District) in April, RUF/NPFL forces attacked the chiefdom headquarter of Gorahun. Some of these forces had leaves tied around their wrist. This is a symbol of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party⁸¹³ (SLPP) and it is reported that this was done to gain the support of the people of Tunkia Chiefdom, since it was common knowledge that Tunkia was an SLPP stronghold. After taking control of the city, the RUF/NPFL appointed new chiefdom authorities and began looting houses. SLA forces from Kenema Town repelled them for a while but they came back shortly afterwards.

RUF/NPFL forces also entered the chiefdom from Liberia, through Tolo, and rapidly advanced into the chiefdom, harassing and molesting the population, inflicting physical violence, looting, killing and raping. When they arrived at Tolo, where RUF/NPFL forces stayed two days before proceeding further, they burnt some houses and killed civilians. At Tigbwema, RUF/NPFL forces burnt houses but did not meet the inhabitants as they had already left the town. At Mano Jeigbla, one man was shot and wounded and two young women were taken as "wives". 814

At this time, SLA troops had recently arrived in Gegbwema, in the north of Tunkia Chiefdom, to brief the local authorities on security issues. However, when the RUF/NPFL forces approached the town and started firing, the SLA left Gegbwema, allowing RUF/NPFL forces to take control of the town without any armed opposition. One of the commanders of the RUF/NPFL forces told the people that they had come to unseat the APC Government. The day after they had arrived, chiefs from Jao (located in the centre of the chiefdom), Kamasu and the surrounding villages came to the town, unaware that the town had fallen into the hands of the RUF/NPFL, because they had previously been called upon for a meeting by the SLA Major. When they arrived, they were arrested by RUF/NPFL forces, undressed and forced to lie on the ground and look at the sky for a long time. These authorities were then told to go back to their towns, escorted by RUF/NPFL forces, and return to Gegbwema with food items.

On their arrival in Jao, one group of RUF/NPFL forces settled there due to the large number of cattle in the town. During their stay at Jao, they forced civilians to cook for them and an unknown number of women were forced to have sex with RUF/NPFL personnel. Joru, Gaura Chiefdom headquarters was attacked many times during that period but without success. In June, Guinean forces⁸¹⁵ who were deployed at Joru launched heavy missiles on RUF/NPFL positions in Tunkia Chiefdom. This led RUF/NPFL forces to leave the chiefdom for Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom, Pujehun District), together with some civilians.

After their departure, people started coming back out of the bush to their villages and SLA and ULIMO forces were deployed at Jao and Gegbwema. However, many people were afraid to leave

⁸¹³ At this time, the SLPP was the opposing party to the APC regime.

⁸¹⁴ A term used by RUF/NPFL forces to denote women who they would abduct and force to perform domestic tasks and have sex with them.

⁸¹⁵ Guinean and Nigerian forces, deployed in the country under bilateral treaties with Sierra Leone, fought alongside the SLA.

the bush, because the RUF/NPFL had told them that the SLA would kill them if they found them in places previously occupied by RUF/NPFL forces. As a result of their belief that they would be killed by the SLA, some people went to Zimmi with the RUF/NPFL forces.

Furthermore, there was also harassment of civilians by the SLA. In one incident, SLA forces assaulted a civilian from Jao, accusing him of being a "rebel", beating his head with the butt of a gun and threatening to cut his throat. An SLA commander who knew him intervened, saving his life. At that time, Jao was hosting thousands of people who had come from various villages to avoid RUF/NPFL forces. During their stay, SLA forces routinely carried out a practice known as "screening", checking that people coming to the villages were not "rebels". During the rest of the year, there were two other attacks on Gorahun where SLA forces repelled the unidentified assailants.

In July 1991, the chiefdom was attacked again at Gorahun. SLA forces fought RUF/NPFL forces before withdrawing. Subsequently, SLA forces deployed at Jao and Gegbwema also withdrew. Consequently, thousands of civilians left the chiefdom for safer havens such as Kenema Town, where they received information of attacks and the burning of villages in the chiefdom. In September, the SLA mobilised its troops, driving the majority of RUF/NPFL forces from positions in the chiefdom back to the Liberian border. After these last attacks, Tunkia Chiefdom was quiet for two years until hostilities resumed in December 1993.

Eastern incursion

In 1991, Kenema Town was an SLA brigade headquarter and the Major in charge was responsible for arms and ammunition for the war front in Kailahun District.

In May 1991, the war, which had previously been contained in Kailahun District, spilled over into Malegohun Chiefdom (north of the District, sharing a border with Kailahun District). A few days after they had taken control of Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom, Kailahun District), RUF/NPFL forces entered Ngiehun (Malegohun Chiefdom). Before their arrival, a lot of people had left, hearing terrific news such as killing of sick people to save them from suffering or killing of the most frightened ones so that they do not create fear in the others. Fighters searched the bushes to bring back civilians to the town. Following the usual pattern of gathering the village in the Court Barrie, a Town Commander, a Deputy Commander and a clerk were appointed and a committee was set up. Two men were executed and some women were taken to become their "wives".

The Town Commander conscripted manpower, swelling the ranks of the RUF/NPFL forces and enabling them to take control over other sections (the chiefdom has seven sections). After taking Konjo Buema Section, RUF/NPFL forces controlled Konjo Njagore and Konjo Yematanga Sections.

Following a disagreement with the Town Commander,⁸¹⁶ a local RUF commander removed all the people he had previously appointed from power. Four days later, his forces came back to the town to arrest the elders. However, the elders had left and the town was deserted, so the RUF/NPFL

⁸¹⁶ On hearing that the Town Commander had sent two of his men to remove chairs from the College at Bunumbu for his house, a more senior local commander followed these two men and killed them, entering Ngiehun with his men the following day.

forces burn down 19 houses. The RUF/NPFL forces who were in Ngiehun moved to Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom, Kailahun District) and intermittently patrolled the three sections in Malegohun Chiefdom that were under their control.

After these first attacks, 1992 saw RUF/NPFL activities expanding mainly in the chiefdoms of Koya, Dama and Niawa in the south of the District. Some activities were also reported in the chiefdoms of Small Bo, Gorama Mende and Lower Bambara, in the east of the District on the boundary with Bo District.

Several civilians were killed in February 1992 during SLA attacks on the headquarters of the three sections of Malegohun Chiefdom under RUF/NPFL control. SLA forces remained there, fighting to repel RUF/NPFL attacks. When SLA forces cleared Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom, Kailahun District), Ngiehun became calm and people began to return from the bush.

Gorama Mende Chiefdom is a hilly and forested chiefdom, bordered on the west by Bo District, on the north by Tonkolili District, on the east by Kono District and on the south by Wandor Chiefdom. Its location near Kono District, its forest vegetation and the wealth of its soil, in particular the diamonds, made the chiefdom ripe for bush warfare. However, like Lower Bambara and Small Bo Chiefdoms, Gorama Mende was barely affected during the first phase of the conflict. In February 1992, five armed men coming from the direction Jaiama Sewafe (Nimiyama chiefdom, Kono District) reached Punduru, a large town at the border with Nimiyama Chiefdom. Their mission appeared to be have been to carry a message informing people of the aims and objectives of the RUF/NPFL, as they stated people should not be afraid because they had come to redeem them from the oppressive ruling party. However, when they had entered the village, an old woman who threw verbal insults at the RUF/NPFL forces was shot dead.⁸¹⁷

Niawa Chiefdom in the south-west of the District was attacked for the first time in 1992, ⁸¹⁸ although the headquarter town of Sendumei was not affected. On 22 April, RUF forces ⁸¹⁹ coming from Kandorhun (Barri Chiefdom, Pujehun District) through Langrama Chiefdom attacked Gandorhun in the south of Niawa Chiefdom. Upon entering the town, they appointed new Town Commanders for Gandorhun and its surrounding area. After going back for couple of days to Potoru (Barri Chiefdom, Pujehun District), they returned to Gandorhun, from where they launched attacks in villages in the south of the chiefdom and in the north of Langrama Chiefdom. ⁸²⁰ All these attacks took place in April. After this first visit in Gandorhun, RUF fighters came back to the town three days later, as they had promised they would.

At Ngolahun Vaama, civilians were killed, some houses were burnt and six girls together with five underage boys were taken away. At Gandorhun, young girls were raped and a ten year-old girl was

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⁸¹⁷ Although no RUF presence was noted in Nimiyama Chiefdom (Kono District) in early 1992, it is possible that a pocket of RUF members coming from this direction reached Punduru.

⁸¹⁸ In Niawa Chiefdom, the following villages were assaulted by RUF/NPFL forces: Ngolahun Vaama, Woroma, Kponima, Kerga, Menila and Buwema.

⁸¹⁹ NB: On the identification of the fighters, key persons mention only the term "rebels" and RUF. No mention of NPFL. However, it is said that one of the commander was a Liberian.

⁸²⁰ In Langrama Chiefdom, as well as Yebeima, which is the first village after the border, Wanjama, Menima Langrama and Marker were attacked.

killed. Her father was also threatened with death if he ever smiled any time they came back to the town. In another place, civilians were killed, some women raped and taken as their wives and few houses were burnt. In all the villages, property was taken. At Ngolahun Vaama, some houses were burnt and two people in two houses were burnt. Hearing that SLA forces were preparing to attack them, some of the RUF/NPFL forces went to Ngolahun Menila, hiding their identity, and were told that inhabitants were waiting for the SLA forces, for whom they had prepared food. Following this, RUF/NPFL forces attacked the town, inflicting physical violence on people, breaking doors and taking property. There were few killings at this time, apparently because the commander was mainly looking for the Chief to join their movement. A civilian who had been appointed the Town Commander of Gandorhun was killed during the attack, allegedly for hiding his people (civilians) whenever RUF forces came to the town. It is reported that the new Town Commander was doing what the rebels asked him to do. During his term, many young girls were raped and the stealing of food was commonplace.

Lower Bambara Chiefdom, located in the north of the District at the border with Kono District, comprising seven chiefdoms is well known for cash crops including cocoa, coffee and palm oil and, above all, for Tongo Field, its diamond area. Villages within this area such as Bomi, Gehama, Tokbombu, Tongola, Lalehun and Vandema are devoted to mining activities. Lower Bambara Chiefdom was affected to a limited extent during the first phase of the war and few incidents are reported, one around May 1992 and the other one at the end of the year. During the May attack, fighting forces wearing military uniforms and t-shirts and writing "RUF" on the walls of the houses attacked the diamond-mining town of Weima from Malegohun Chiefdom in the east. Civilians were killed and others were forced to carry loads.

Shortly after the overthrow of the APC Government, Dama Chiefdom authorities made an appeal to the Defence Minister to send SLA forces to the chiefdom. Dama shares a boundary with Jawei Chiefdom (Kailahun District). SLA and ULIMO forces were deployed to Konia, on the border with Nongowa Chiefdom and Jawei Chiefdom (Kailahun District), where they established a base. Soon after, Tawahun was attacked by RUF forces, most of them speaking Krio and coming from Jawei Chiefdom. Most of the forces were dressed in civilian attire, with some in military fatigue, as the RUF had begun to use military uniforms in 1992. During this attack, some civilians were killed, one woman's breast was cut off and a family was burnt in their house.

Around May 1992, Sahun and Sherif Jembehun were also attacked. An unknown number of civilians were killed and all the important buildings were burnt down. Also in 1992, a civilian vigilante movement started operating in the chiefdom under the command of the SLA. They were armed with axes, cutlasses and single barrel guns, sent to checkpoints and asked to shout when assailants were approaching.

However, despite the presence of SLA forces in the chiefdom, attacks were still carried out until the early days of 1993, during which RUF forces mutilated civilians, including carving "RUF" on their bodies. 821

⁸²¹ This statement is general and unique and no more information is available on it. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

In September 1992, ULIMO forces launched a powerful attack on Gandorhun (Niawa Chiefdom) and retook control of both Niawa and Langrama Chiefdoms. Almost two months later, they handed over their base to SLA forces, who were still stationed there when RUF forces attacked the chiefdoms again in March 1994.

During the end of the year, a large number of RUF/NPFL⁸²² forces attacked Konjo (Lower Bambara Chiefdom), but were repelled by SLA forces. A lot of civilians and RUF/NPFL forces were killed during the encounter. RUF/NPFL forces took a lot of property and the people of the nearby villages, such as Njaiagbahun and Venema, fled into the bush for several weeks. By the end of 1992, the population of Small Bo Chiefdom swelled as displaced people fleeing Barri Chiefdom (Pujehun District) sought refuge there.

An Eastern Region Civil Defence Committee, comprised of representatives from Kailahun, Kenema, Kono Districts and Freetown Peninsula was formed in December 1992, aiming at supporting the SLA by gathering "well-meaning" Sierra Leoneans, whose role would be of a vigilante nature.⁸²³ The youths' knowledge of the terrain would be used to lead the SLA.⁸²⁴

In 1992 and 1993, ULIMO forces used Blama (Small Bo Chiefdom) as their base to fight RUF forces in other chiefdoms and were living peacefully with the population there. However, in 1992, coming back from Yibeima (Langrama chiefdom), some ULIMO members, to manifest their bravery, displayed severed male genital organs, claiming they were those of "rebels" they had killed. However, it is reported that this claim was later proved to be false and that the people who were killed were actually civilians. Although following this event, people of the chiefdom wanted them to leave, they were sent back in mid 1993 by the NPRC Government.

Koya Chiefdom, in the south of the District, was left in the hands of the RUF forces, as no SLA or ULIMO forces were stationed or deployed there. People of the chiefdom felt totally neglected. Koya would later be notorious for hosting one of the main RUF bases, Camp Zogoda, meaning "Land of Freedom." Starting in May 1992 until 1994, there were massive violations committed in various villages in Koya Chiefdom, resulting in the death and abduction of hundreds of civilians. RUF forces entered the chiefdom headquarter town of Baoma in May 1992, gathered the population in the Court Barrie and opened fire, killing about two hundred people. Women are reported to have been raped "at will" and the town was set on fire before they left. The forces then proceeded to other villages and towns, where they repeated the same course of action: killing dozens of civilians, raping women and looting and burning houses before leaving. They stayed in Nyadehun from June until September and then moved to Pelewama, where they occupied the town until December. In each of these towns, before killing people, they asked civilians to tell them where SLA members were. In January 1993, they crossed the Moa River and occupied Serabu and its surroundings until September 1993 before moving to Kamasu until December.

824 Youths in the context of Sierra Leone could refer to anybody aged over 15 up to their mid to late 30s.

⁸²² It is specified that some of the assailants were talking with Liberian dialect.

⁸²³ BBC: 22 December 1992.

⁸²⁵ The report does not specify in which of Sierra Leone's languages "Zogoda" has a meaning. Most likely Mende or Tempe

⁸²⁶ Borgboabu, Giema, Maporma, Segbwema, Gorahun, Njaluahun, Bongor and Nyadehun.

Because SLA forces had driven almost all the RUF/NPFL forces from most of the District by the end of 1992, 1993 was relatively calm until the end of the year. The last months of 1993 mark the beginning of what can be labelled the second phase of the conflict, with the resumption of RUF/NPFL activities in Tunkia, Nomo and Gaura Chiefdoms.

b) Second Phase: End of 1993 – May 1997

This second phase started in December 1993 when RUF forces entered Nomo Chiefdom, on the border with Liberia. Those forces rapidly spread over the south of the Moa River, which flows from Pujehun District to Kailahun District through Koya and in the west of Dama chiefdom, and expanded their activities further north by crossing the river. Concurrently to this southern incursion, RUF forces entered the north of the District, attacking Lower Bambara Chiefdom. 827

Southern incursion

During this phase, Moawama area, made up of Nomo, Gaura, Tunkia and Koya chiefdoms, was the first area to be affected. The majority of villages in these chiefdoms were devastated and most of the civilians moved to Kenema Town and further north.

On 1 December 1993, the Head of State unilaterally announced a one-month ceasefire, which allegedly led many SLA forces to leave their positions thinking the war was over. However, towards the end of December 1993, RUF/NPFL forces crossing the Mano River from Liberia attacked Nomo Chiefdom, *Solve Bordered on the east by Liberia. Shortly after their attack on Faama in the west of the chiefdom, RUF/NPFL forces proceeded further into the District and had reached Tunkia, Gaura and Dama Chiefdoms by early March 1994. When RUF forces attacked Faama, civilians and SLA forces who were deployed there suffered heavy losses. The SLA forces retreated, leaving a large cache of arms and ammunition in the hands of RUF forces, which would allow the RUF forces to spread all over the District. Doubts were also raised among civilians and some people were suggesting that SLA left this cache of arms on purpose.

On the following days, other towns in Nomo Chiefdom came under attack, including Kpendebu, Madina and Loawoma. During these attacks, civilians were killed and others were forced to carry stolen property, some to the border town of Dambala. At Madina, civilians gathered in the Court Barrie were forbidden to sleep in their houses for three days and were threatened to be killed if they were caught trying to escape. One young trader accused of carrying out reconnaissance for the SLA was shot dead. The town was surrounded and property was taken.

Beleibu (Tunkia Chiefdom) was attacked during the same period on Christmas Day in 1993. Some civilians were killed and half of the village was burnt down. The same day, RUF forces advanced

⁸²⁷ It could not be ascertained whether the north attack derived from the south one or whether the North and the South constituted two different fronts. As no troops movement from the south-east of the District to the north (Lower Bambara Chiefdom) was recorded, it could be concluded that those two attacks constituted two different flanks. However, if those flanks were autonomous, the north attack would have come from Kailahun District where no movement of troops were recorded and where RUF forces started to gain territories on the SLA around March only, i.e. two months after the attacks on Lower Bambara Chiefdom. Furthermore, it cannot be inferred from the reports whether these forces joined at one point.

⁸²⁸ Nomo has only nine villages and its headquarter town is Faama.

towards Jao (Tunkia Chiefdom). On their way, they found two Kamajors, one at Nomo Tunkia Junction and another one at Kokoru, both of whom were instantly killed. At Jao, inhabitants were gathered and forced to sit on the ground; some were stripped naked, kicked and beaten. After looting Jao, RUF forces moved to Gegbwema where they burnt the military post and some went to Tijoyeima, where they burnt some houses. Before reaching Gegbwema, they stopped at Jewahun where they looted and burnt houses. Nobody was killed, as the inhabitants had left the town before their arrival.

Also in December 1993, Gaura Chiefdom came under attack. The chiefdom headquarter of Joru, where the SLA was stationed, was the setting of many attacks and counter attacks. SLA forces from Joru fought the assailants in the chiefdom and came back to the town with the head of a man, who they claimed was an RUF fighter, hanging on the front on their vehicle. Two other members, both from Burkina Faso and fighting for the NPFL, were captured and placed in custody. 829

SLA forces coming from Moa Barracks, Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District) recaptured Faama (Nomo Chiefdom) from the RUF, who launched another unsuccessful attack in mid January 1994. Some civilians who had previously returned to Faama were trapped by RUF forces and killed.

At the end of January 1994, the Head of State declared "total war" against the RUF and engaged in a massive recruitment of SLA forces; from 3,000 men in 1991, they reached around 12,000 in 1994.

The behaviour of SLA forces towards civilians was not acceptable to some of the chiefs and other elders who had stayed in the chiefdom, who were arrested and detained to answer allegations of "collaboration". Some civilians were also regularly beaten up in Faama for allegedly convening a meeting without giving notice to the SLA.

Early 1994, RUF forces regrouped at Kokoru and bypassed Joru to attack Venima (5 miles west of Joru). They were then led by a civilian who took them to other villages, including Gboyama, Madina, Tanima and Verma, where they were hosted by the Town Chief and another local authority. ULIMO forces coming from Joru repelled the RUF forces and brought the two local authorities from Verma back to Joru, where they were stripped naked. The Town Chief allegedly faced a firing squad but he did not die, was tied up and taken into custody. The other local authority was brought to Kenema Town then to Freetown, where he was imprisoned. In April 1994, the villages of Sandaru, Nyandeyama, Mendekelema and Seifula (Gaura Chiefdom) came under RUF attack. The only actions reported concern Sandaru (north of the chiefdom), where RUF forces captured some young men, whose age could not be ascertained, to carry the property they had stolen. When they left Sandaru, RUF forces promised that they would come back at night or the next morning, returning early the following day.

On the walls of the houses at Faama (Nomo Chiefdom) and Madina, RUF forces inscribed the acronym "RUF".

829 What happened to them after during and after their custody was not reported.

Dama Chiefdom, west of Gaura Chiefdom and where many civilians from Moawama had taken refuge at one time, came under RUF attack in 1994.830 At Torgboru, some civilians were killed by these forces. Gbewubu and Loppa were attacked. At Loppa, an unspecified number of civilians were killed with automatic guns and others were captured. During those attacks, some of these RUF members had their faces painted so they would not be recognised, because some of them were former SLA members. Other villages including Lelema, Konnehla, Kpandebu, Korma and Konia were attacked, mainly for looting purposes and civilians were most often forced to carry the loads. The RUF forces also killed a number of people, inflicted physical violence on the population and engaged in property destruction. At Konnehla, for example, men were captured to carry stolen property and one man who became tired and unable to continue carrying the load was killed. Korma was burnt down and at Kpandebu many people were killed, either shot or beaten to death. Some civilians were told to bury the bodies. At Konia, one pregnant woman was raped and gave birth instantly after. At Mano in June, RUF forces who were dressed in combat uniforms gathered the inhabitants in the Court Barrie and requested that they stand, placing guns very close to the civilians' ears and then firing, killing one old man. The RUF also forced the people of the village to lie down on the ground and look at the sun. Three civilians were killed when they attempted to run away. As they left the village, RUF forces took away all the cattle and poultry.

According to their inhabitants, Small Bo, Niawa and Langrama Chiefdoms form a block such that events occurring throughout this phase in one of these chiefdoms have a link with what happened in another one. RUF forces reached these chiefdoms early 1994 and launched attacks on many villages throughout the year, which led the population to flee the area for displaced camps in Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District), Gerihun (Boama Chiefdom, Bo District) and Taiama (Kori chiefdom, Moyamba District).

In early March 1994, RUF forces crossed the Moa River in Koya Chiefdom and attacked Jai and Menima (Koya Chiefdom). From Menima, at the border with Niawa Chiefdom, RUF forces divided into two groups, both going to Niawa chiefdom, the first one heading for Ngandorhun in the south of the chiefdom and the second one going to Bandawor at the border with Koya Chiefdom.

While on their way to Ngandorhun, the first group of RUF forces ambushed and killed a prominent local hunter with sticks and knifes. They then moved to Yibeima, in the north of Langrama Chiefdom by the Waanje River. They attacked the town for the first time on 6 March. RUF forces entered Yibeima heavily armed with AK47s, RPGs and grenades and killed three civilians; one person was killed because he was speaking a language that the fighters could not understand. The RUF forces then returned back to Ngandorhun after making a promise to Yibeima inhabitants that they would come back on 8 March, which they did.⁸³²

⁸³⁰ The months when the reported attacks took place could not be ascertained. Furthermore, although no precise example was reported, it was however stated that the same kind of attacks also happened in 1995.

⁸³¹ The fact that many reports mention this date adds to the confusion concerning Koya chiefdom as according to the report for Koya, RUF forces had crossed the Moa River, before March 1994. Furthermore, the group that came to Niawa and Langrama Chiefdoms in March 1994 was different from the one allegedly in Koya Chiefdom.

⁸³² No details were given for this second attack and fatalities – if any – are not specified.

They then moved to Woyema (Langrama Chiefdom), where they made a base from which they could attack the surrounding villages. Their intention in Woyema appeared to be to capture the Section Chief, but as he was nowhere to be found, six houses were burnt, 10 men and women captured and one civilian, a carpenter, was killed. They also entered Menima (Langrama Chiefdom), where they killed two civilians, raped three women, burnt some houses and captured civilians. They then returned to Woyema and killed one Muslim leader because he was praying day and night for his village not to be attacked. While in Woyema, people were forced to do community work like brushing the area and preparing the rice farms. Window frames and doors were used as cooking wood. From Woyema, RUF forces launched attacks on Small Bo Chiefdom.

The second group that headed for Bandawor, at the border with Koya Chiefdom, used a bush footpath through Nyandehun, where they killed three civilians, raped some women and burnt some houses. Sendumei was attacked on 4 March 1994 early in the morning, when residents heard a heavy exchange of fire with SLA forces. During this attack, civilians were killed and girls were raped. The heavily armed RUF forces entered Bandawor in the afternoon, set the town on fire and gathered civilians under a tree near the main street that leads to Small Bo Chiefdom. A few armed men guarded the gathered civilians while others went into the town, raped, looted and killed nine civilians.

In the forest of Bandawor (Koya Chiefdom), the RUF forces built a camp they named Camp Zogoda. This camp was a strong base, where the RUF leader allegedly stayed in 1994. An airfield was also established between Menima and Jai (both located in Koya Chiefdom). The RUF forces used this camp to launch attacks on Small Bo Chiefdom and they also laid ambushes on the Bo-Kenema highway, despite vehicles being escorted by SLA vehicles, and on the roads going through rural areas. Many civilians were killed during these attacks, property was taken and vehicles burnt. Serious doubts were raised among the population as to the identity of those assailants.

One of these ambushes, which took place in April 1994 at a hilly position close to Joru (Gaura Chiefdom) called Kwalekpehun, is illustrative of how RUF forces were operating at that time. RUF forces hiding in the bush used RPGs to attack convoys of passenger vehicles that were escorted by SLA forces. The commander ordered the passengers to lie down on the ground and an exchange of fire followed, during which three civilians were killed. When the firing stopped, the civilians boarded and no sooner had the vehicle ascended the hill than firing from the bush resumed. During this second attack, the SLA members left the convoy to get some reinforcements from Joru. Some civilians were killed, some injured and others were captured, pushed out of the vehicle and beaten with the butts of rifles. In the bush where they were taken, they met other civilians. All the passengers were searched for anything valuable or of interest to the forces. Two young men believed to be Fullah traders were shot at a close range. One died instantly and had his stomach cut open. One of the captives was asked to take the names of all the captured civilians who were allocated different jobs like conveying the wounded fighters to Gegbwema, carting the goods looted from the vehicles or taking the armour boxes. Another example occurred in March 1994, when an ambush was laid between Blama and Lungima, a town two and half miles from Blama. A trailer carrying load of rice was looted and the 350 bags of rice taken away. In another incident on 14 March 1994, one

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⁸³³ Since June 1994 in particular, the Bo-Kenema highway came under repeated ambushes, putting pressure on Kenema Town: Inter Press Service, 10 August 1994

driver was killed while driving his vehicle from Bo to Kenema. Stolen property and captured civilians were taken to Camp Zogoda.

Blama, the headquarter town of Small Bo Chiefdom, is located at a strategic crossroad to Kenema Town, Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom, Bo District) and Potoru (Barri Chiefdom, Pujehun District). On their way to Blama Chiefdom, RUF forces passed by Topanda Ngovokpan, Kpatema and Yawuema. Between March and April, they attacked Blama six times. At this time, SLA forces were deployed at Blama, some ULIMO members were patrolling in villages and civilians from the surrounding villages had deserted their homes to come to Blama, the headquarter town. Vigilante groups⁸³⁴ controlling checkpoints in Small Bo Chiefdom were monitoring the movement of people entering and leaving the chiefdom and reporting persons suspected of being "rebel" collaborators or spies to the head of the vigilante unit, who in turn reported to the SLA Commanding Officer in Blama. On 5 March 1994, a man suspected of being an RUF spy was apprehended at Blama, taken to the Police Station and shot dead in public by a member of the military police. On 6 March, another man was captured in Blama and taken to the Police Station. He denied being a collaborator and declared that RUF forces had planned to attack the town. The man was not killed but left in the cell and the information was passed on to Kenema SLA Brigade Headquarter with a request for reinforcements, but none was sent.

Despite repeated efforts, RUF forces were unable to capture Blama but established a base at Yawuema, from where they raided surrounding villages, leaving civilians caught between RUF activities and SLA activities at Blama. SLA forces were using the Blama men to carry property they had stolen to Kenema Town and were forcing women to marry them. Civilians were also punished for minor reasons, such as failing to carry out work assigned to them by an SLA member. Punishments ranged from beatings to detention in a guardroom for a day or two without food. Curfews were also declared, particularly when the SLA was going on "looting missions", with civilians forced to stay in their houses from 5.00 p.m. until 11.00 a.m. the following morning. Furthermore, life for Small Bo inhabitants was made even more difficult due to the continuous ambushes laid on the Bo-Kenema highway, rendering the highway unusable for trucks and thus depriving them of necessary daily items.

In April 1994, civilians returning to Tunkia Chiefdom assembled mainly in Jao and Gegbwema where ULIMO forces were deployed. It is believed that around 15,000 civilians regrouped at Jao and around 30,000 at Gegbwema at that time. However, ULIMO forces were committing violent acts against civilians, ranging from harassment, such as asking people to go indoors during the day without any reason, to detaining or shooting dead those who ignored their orders. ULIMO forces would also draw up lists of alleged "rebels" for execution, such as seven young men from Mani village who were executed in front of their parents, accused of being "rebels". At Jao, in May, ULIMO forces gathered 15 civilians, explaining they were to be sacrificed for them to win the war and also for the death of one of their colleagues. One civilian was killed at close range, while the remaining 14 people were saved through the intervention of the Section Chief.⁸³⁶ In another

⁸³⁴ These vigilante groups were equipped with clubs, spears, single barrel guns and slings.

⁸³⁵ RUF forces reportedly attacked Blama six times between March and April.

⁸³⁶ It seems that the reason given by the ULIMO forces was untrue, as it appeared instead to have been a way to obtain palm oil from civilians.

incident, ULIMO forces brought inhabitants from Giewahun to Jao, executed four of them and killed three Imams. ULIMO forces based at Gegbwema displayed the same behaviour; for example, 12 young men from Damawuro, branded "rebels" or collaborators, were arrested and executed, as were seven men from Tolobu. During this period, people were living in very poor conditions and lacked food because the only vehicles that could drive on the roads were ULIMO vehicles.

Gaura Chiefdom was also the scene of the death of civilians killed by ULIMO forces. After an attack on Sandaru in 1994 and following the death of a ULIMO commander, another ULIMO commander from Joru decided to take reprisal for this death and bombed the prison, leading to the death of all the inmates. All these inmates were coming from a small village outside Joru. In another incident in May 1994, a ULIMO member was ordered to take an RUF member captured during an attack on Joru (Gaura Chiefdom) and "bath" him, meaning to execute him.

Around July, Tilorma (Tunkia Chiefdom) came under RUF attack at dawn while some people were praying at the mosque. Some people were put in one house that was set on fire. This latest development urged many civilians out of the 45,000 residing at Jao and Gegbwema to leave the chiefdom and to head for Kenema Town. On their way to Kenema at the bank of the Moa River in Dama Chiefdom, civilians heard that the RUF forces were on their back, which urged them to cross the bridge. This panicked and disorganised movement of people resulted in the death of many civilians, who drowned in the river.

These attacks on the Moawama area (Nomo, Gaura, Tunkia and Koya Chiefdoms) left the civilians in total disarray. Most of them fled into the bush for safety and the behaviour of the SLA forces, who put up little or no resistance to the RUF forces, increased their doubt as to their loyalty to the Government. It was also believed that some of the SLA forces had completely defected and joined the RUF. This disarray was further enhanced by the fact that when escaping RUF advance, civilians also had to look out for SLA forces who often shot on sight anybody coming from the direction of a place hold by RUF forces, as they were suspected of being a "rebel". Indeed, SLA forces from Dama Chiefdom were instructed to kill anybody coming from Tunkia, Nomo or Gaura Chiefdoms as civilians from those chiefdoms were considered to be "rebels" or were believed to have made their children join the RUF forces.

Throughout 1994 and 1995, those chiefdoms were under sporadic raids, mainly for looting purposes carried out by armed men whose identity could not be ascertained with certainty, for people suspected SLA forces to be responsible for some of these raids. Young men and girls continued to be abducted. During these raids, houses were looted and burnt and people killed, although most of the civilians had fled the villages. Intermittent raids carried out by RUF forces took place throughout 1995 on Sandaru, north of Gaura Chiefdom. During these raids, people were taken to carry the stolen property.

In April 1995, ambushes took place on the Kenema-Dama road, mainly to take food from Dama farmers who were bringing their produce for sale in Kenema. In one incident, a young boy who escaped the ambush explained that four of them who attempted to escape had their throat slit as deterrence to others who might plan to escape.

The few people who stayed in the chiefdoms hid in the bushes and built huts called "sorquehun". Armed men believed to be both RUF fighters and SLA forces who were in the chiefdoms were creating havoc, often going into the bush to find the hiding places and to loot them. People were forced to carry out tasks for the RUF forces and some were killed. The death of one Imam at Gondama (Tunkia Chiefdom) shocked people, as he was well known for being "brilliant and brave". At Damawulo (Tunkia Chiefdom), one man who refused to join the RUF movement was killed. At Jeneh, a prominent chiefdom elder was also killed by RUF forces. Even the civilians who had earlier fled the chiefdoms were coming back regularly to get news and to find food. Those who were caught by RUF forces were often killed, alleged to be spies⁸³⁷ for SLA forces.

At Gorahun (Tunkia Chiefdom) where SLA forces were stationed, civilians were harassed and intimidated, obliged to contribute to the feeding of the SLA. Civilians also had to pay the SLA a "landing fee" to be allowed to sell extra food items.

Northern incursion

Similarly to what happened in the Moawoma area, RUF fighters attacked all the chiefdoms in the north of Kenema District in early 1994. 838

On 30 January 1994, RUF fighters attacked Tongo (Lower Bambara Chiefdom) from Peyama. Throughout this second phase, Peyama was an RUF stronghold whereas Tongo became the SLA base. Following this attack, the RUF forces scattered all over Lower Bambara Chiefdom and launched attacks on Malegohun and Nongowa Chiefdoms, often coming in high numbers. In January 1994, Peyama and Tongo were attacked. Before coming to Peyama, RUF forces had earlier sent a letter to the inhabitants warning them they would attack their village. When the village was attacked, the identity of the assailants was not clear for people as they were wearing military uniforms. However, no doubt remained after the RUF fighters identified themselves by writing inscriptions on the walls.

After Peyama, RUF forces moved on to Tongo, where they were repelled by SLA forces. During that battle, a lot of civilians were killed and property was stolen. The precise identity of the forces responsible was unclear, as both were wearing the same attire. From Tongo, RUF forces went to Lalehun, where they abducted hundreds of adults and children, forcing some to carry loads, and burnt down a lot of houses. In February, RUF forces attacked Ghana and killed almost everybody; later on, they moved to Talamah, where they killed a lot of civilians and burnt few houses. At, Talamah, they also wrote on the walls on the houses inscriptions to identify themselves.

Largo (Nongowa Chiefdom, south of Lower Bambara Chiefdom) was attacked early one morning in February 1994 by heavily armed RUF forces. People were killed and houses looted and burnt. It is reported that one of the commanders vowed to kill any living thing he saw in the town. On the same day, Mano Junction, a strategic town and major business centre at the crossroad leading to Kailahun, Tongo and Kenema, was attacked; civilians were killed and massive looting was carried out before

⁸³⁷ Note that at this stage, it is not possible to explain with certainty what happened in Koya Chiefdom.

⁸³⁸ However, it cannot be ascertained whether the attacks on most of the chiefdoms located in the North of the District were carried out by the group that had attacked Lower Bambara Chiefdom or by the Southern group who had entered Nomo Chiefdom.

some houses were burnt. Villages on the Mano Junction – Kailahun Road, mainly located in the Lower Bambara Chiefdom, were attacked during the same period, including Talia, Bo Ngeiya and Kangama. At Talia, some civilians were killed and at Bo Ngeiya, the Town Chief and other civilians captured by the forces were ordered to lie on the ground and their throats were cut, because they were accused of supporting the Kamajors and Government forces.

RUF forces coming from different directions attacked Panguma, the chiefdom headquarters town in the west of the chiefdom, at the border with Dodo Chiefdom. They captured some civilians and put them in one house, which they set fire to, killing all the people inside. Around 80 civilians were killed during that attack on 12 March 1994, including an Irish priest and a Dutch doctor, together with his wife and daughter. Houses in the town were destroyed and looted as well as the hospital, where drugs worth millions of Leones⁸³⁹ were stolen. Again in March, Talamah was attacked and RUF forces fought the SLA. During the indiscriminate firing by both forces, many civilians were killed. At Kornia Kpindima, in late March, a large number of RUF fighters coming from Foindu and Yombuma killed some civilians, looted and burnt houses and forced many civilians to carry the loads. During a second attack on this town in April 1994, the Town Speaker and his family were captured, molested and tortured; the Town Speaker was later killed at Yombuma.

RUF forces attacked Koi town (Nongowa Chiefdom) early one morning in mid 1994, reportedly to terrorise the inhabitants, whom they accused of supporting the Kamajors. They fired indiscriminately and many civilians were killed and others were wounded. The town was looted and people were forced to carry the stolen property to Peyama.

Jormu Town (in the east of Nongowa chiefdom) was attacked three times in 1994, the first being on 28 March in the early hours of the morning by RUF forces coming from Peyama. During this attack, which resulted in looting and the abduction of many people to carry the loads, civilians suspected there was collaboration between SLA forces based there at that time and RUF forces because both factions were firing into the air, rather than at each other.

Soon after, Combema was attacked and burnt down. Some civilians were killed and a man was seriously wounded in his arm. RUF forces, who sketched a map of Sierra Leone showing areas under their control on the blackboard of the primary school, did not stay long. Before leaving, they took nearly all of the food and other valuable items in the village, forcing people to carry those items to Jormu.

Jormu was attacked for the second time few months later and RUF forces fired indiscriminately at civilians, who were running here and there, dazed and confused, killing dozens. Many houses were burnt and massive looting was carried out, with people of the town being forced to carry the stolen property. As the RUF forces left the town, they painted graffiti and writings on the walls, naming some of their commandos.

839 As a very rough guide, one million leones is approximately equivalent to 500 USD. This should be placed in the context of Sierra Leone's position at the bottom of the Human Development Index: between 1991 and 2000, 57% of the population lived on less than 1 USD (2.000 SLL) per day and 74.5% lived on less than 2 USD (4.000 SLL) per day: see UNDP Human Development Report 2003, http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/indicator/cty_f_SLE.html, last visited on 30 December 2003.

SLA forces based in Tongo Field also carried out massive looting and harassed large numbers of civilians suspected of being collaborators. Civilians were also forced to work for the SLA at mining sites and many people were shot at these sites. Girls and women were raped and Chiefs and community leaders were molested and tortured, suspected of being "rebel" collaborators or sympathisers. SLA also sent messages to civilians who had earlier deserted the area to come back to the town. Checkpoints were mounted and were used to take away money and valuable items from civilians intimidated with guns and daggers. This situation remained the same under the authority of successive commanders. Besides these activities, SLA forces also undertook ambushes.⁸⁴⁰

Thus, at that time, civilians were under the pressure of both RUF and SLA forces, even if from time to time there was fighting between the two factions. Relief came in mid 1994 when a group of local hunters from Malegohun Chiefdom (east of Lower Bambara Chiefdom) established bases in Lower Bambara Chiefdom. They fought RUF forces but sustained heavy losses. At the beginning, these local hunters worked directly with the SLA forces but were later on disarmed by SLA forces.⁸⁴¹

The third attack on Jormu (Nongowa Chiefdom) took place during the last months of 1994, apparently mainly for the purposes of obtaining food. Civilians were abducted and taken to the nearby village of Saami, where they were forced to harvest the rice fields. Shortly after this third attack, RUF forces searching for "pro-Government", i.e. SLA, forces attacked Vaahun Town. A door-to-door search operation was carried out and people were gathered in the centre of the village. One young man suspected of being a Kamajor was shot in the Court Barrie in front of all the villagers, who were told by the commander to clap for him and laugh.

At Potehun (Nongowa Chiefdom), people were killed and many were taken away to work in the diamond fields. The continuous attacks on Jormu and its environs drove the inhabitants out of their villages. Sanguahun, Nyandeyama, Nekabu, Baoya, Damawulo, Guabu and Ngeyawamie were attacked during the last months of the year but few civilians were to be found. Most of these villages were burnt and RUF forces coming from Saami started looking for people in the bushes to increase the number of workers for the harvest.

Kenema Town was attacked on Christmas Day in 1994. A high number of heavily armed RUF forces⁸⁴² from Camp Zogoda launched the attack from the south-eastern part of the city, known as "Reservation side". The battle lasted for eight days but SLA forces were unable to protect the town, although a financial contribution to help them had been asked and obtained from the inhabitants. During this attack, which lasted several days, many civilians were killed and a lot of young boys and girls were abducted. Among those killed was a prominent lawyer, whose death struck people as far away as Freetown. However, up to now, doubts still remain about the identity of those who killed him.

⁸⁴⁰ This information was related in such general terms and no specific example can be given.

⁸⁴¹ These events happened in 1994 and probably 1995. See above, note 165.

⁸⁴² It is believed they were 400 in number.

Throughout 1994 and 1995, villages all over Lower Bambara⁸⁴³ came under persistent attacks. In all the attacks, people were routinely molested, tortured, killed, forced to carry stolen property and forced to join the RUF. Girls and women were raped and many houses were looted and burnt. In December 1994, RUF forces coming from Peyama killed fourteen civilians and two SLA members. People were slaughtered with knives and some of their bodies were put in pots. At Lowoma (Lower Bambara Chiefdom), also in December 1994, some houses were burnt, some civilians taken away and a few others were killed. Those who were killed were thrown into water cells, which became contaminated and caused diseases. During 1995, schools, clinics, mosques and churches throughout the chiefdom were unroofed.

In February 1995, RUF forces attacked the mining town of Kpava (Nongowa Chiefdom), asking whether any Kamajors or SLA forces were in town. Following indiscriminate shooting, around 15 civilians were killed. The town was then looted and some civilians forced to carry the load to Peyama, the main RUF base in Lower Bambara Chiefdom. People who were caught trying to escape faced severe beatings with sticks and car tyres until they died and very young girls were routinely raped.

Government forces based in Lower Bambara Chiefdom ambushed a lorry between Ngiehun and Lalehun in May 1995. During this attack, 14 civilians, mainly businessmen, were killed. Civilians from Lalehun were forced to take the bodies and bury them in a mass grave in Lalehun. The following month, some women of Kenema Town decided to go and plead with RUF forces stationed at Tabulay Junction. On their arrival, RUF forces opened fire and many of the women died on the spot. Others sustained bullet wounds or were taken to the RUF base and raped.

In November 1995, local hunters equipped with short guns, cutlasses and knives coming from Kenema Town attacked RUF positions in Lower Bambara Chiefdom, ⁸⁴⁴ repelling RUF forces who, while retreating, burnt down some villages. Civilians who had earlier fled to the bush started to come back to their villages. These local hunters at this time were not undertaking initiation as such and reporting to a man called a prominent Doctor. ⁸⁴⁵

Throughout 1995 and 1996, RUF forces were coming sporadically to Nongowa Chiefdom. Fewer incidents are reported, possibly due to the fact that many people were living in the bushes and that many villages were already destroyed. During this period, RUF forces used to bypass Jormu where Kamajors and SLA forces were based, launching raids on villages out of their reach like Kpalu and Konabu.

On Election Day in February 1996, RUF forces singing "RUF says no election" attacked Kenema Town early in the morning. Among the people killed on that day was a final year student at Fourah Bay College. On the same day, the RUF launched systematic attacks on towns and villages in Dama Chiefdom, as they did not want the election to take place. An unspecified number of people were

⁸⁴³ These villages include Torpombu, Foindu, Kamboma, Komende, Bumpe, Kornia, Sahaha and Jagor.

⁸⁴⁴ These positions were located at Kornia Kpindima, Foindu, Kamboma, Largo and Kombuy.

⁸⁴⁵ Initiation of Kamajors did not take place in Kenema District before 1996. However, these local hunters, as in other places in the country, were organising themselves to protect their chiefdoms, mainly equipped with bladed weapons and local guns. The registration process will require further clarification.

killed on that day. In some instances, the RUF forces attacking villages on that day were dressed in military fatigues. Nevertheless, despite these incidents, the elections went on as planned.⁸⁴⁶

After the 1996 elections, more SLA forces came to Foindu, Kamboma, Largo and Bendu Junction (Lower Bambara Chiefdom). At checkpoints, civilians without a written document called a "pass" were not allowed to continue their journey. They were often molested and detained for long periods of time. In another incident, in June 1996, the SLA forced a lot of civilians to brush the area near Peyama. As Peyama was a RUF base, many civilians fell into an RUF ambush and were killed.

The North-west of the District

Coming from Lower Bambara Chiefdom through Dodo Chiefdom, RUF forces reached Simbaru Chiefdom in February 1994; Wandor and Kandu Leppeama Chiefdoms were affected shortly after. These chiefdoms will be examined together as it appears that the same RUF commander was in charge of the RUF forces operational in these chiefdoms. As for Gorama Mende Chiefdom, the northernmost chiefdom of the District, it is likely that RUF forces who reached it came from two different directions and the actions of one group may be linked with what happened in Kandu Leppeama, Simbaru and Wandor Chiefdoms (south of Gorama Mende Chiefdom) while the other actions that affected mainly Punduru (north-east of the chiefdom), were directed from Kono District.

In February 1994, an RUF group called "Tay Go" entered Simbaru Chiefdom and rapidly established a camp under the Lomie Hill they called Joe Bush. Before establishing their camp, RUF forces attacked Goma. They entered the town with sporadic firing while people were fleeing. The RUF forces stayed for three days in the town and abducted some civilians. The civilians who came out of the bush after the attack counted 15 bodies. The houses were unroofed and young men were forced to carry the stolen property, including food, poultry and personal items such as radios, recorders and clothes to a site that became an RUF camp. Before leaving, they set the town on fire, burning down all the approximately 123 houses of the town.

Shortly afterwards, the first group was reinforced by a second group called "Death Squad", which also came from Lower Bambara Chiefdom. On their way to Simbaru Chiefdom, this second group passed by Dodo Chiefdom, east of Simbaru Chiefdom. At Guala (Dodo Chiefdom), they shot and killed nine civilians and burnt 18 people alive. After spending two days in the town, they continued towards Simbaru Chiefdom and reached the Hydro Electricity Power Dam, located in Simbaru Chiefdom at the border with Dodo Chiefdom. They vandalised the dam and killed civilians who stayed with the Security Police who were stationed there. Civilians who went to the dam afterwards counted 16 bodies, including women and children. Eight civilians were also mutilated and four young boys, allegedly below the age of 15, had melted plastic dripped into their eyes while they were being interrogated by the RUF forces.

⁸⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that very few reports mention RUF disturbances on Election Day. Furthermore, besides Kenema Town (Nongowa Chiefdom), the other area affected was Dama Chiefdom, to be found south of Nongowa Chiefdom, Kenema Town being located nearby the border with Dama Chiefdom.

⁸⁴⁷ Joe Bush was a generic name given to training bases, like "Camp Lion" in other places. Other camps called Camp Joe Bush were to be found at other places in Kenema District.

The RUF used Camp Joe Bush as a training camp and as a permanent base to attack the whole of Simbaru Chiefdom and the surrounding chiefdoms. Civilians who had been captured were taken to the camp, where they were subjected to physical and mental violence. One example of this was called "Gunproof society". During the course of this action, captives were first forced to dig deep pits and to collect over 150 different kinds of leaves from the bush, where they had been escorted for this purpose. Captives were then obliged to lie down in the pit, where they were covered with the sticks and boiled leaves they had collected, which were then set alight for the captives to be smoked. After this, civilians were forced to wash themselves with the water in which the leaves had been boiled. They were then covered with burnt oil on their whole body and forced to sit for hours under the sun. Following this, RUF members shot them to prove they were "gunproof", as a result of which many people died. In addition, people who had been captured and brought to the camp were shot dead and their flesh cooked by women captives.

From this camp, RUF forces started attacking villages, systematically molesting, torturing, killing, raping and abducting people and looting and burning houses. The scale of these acts was very high. The following incidents describe the actions carried out during this period.

The first village to be attacked from the camp was Lomabu (Simbaru Chiefdom), where RUF forces killed 13 people, set the village on fire and captured some men and women. They then divided into groups to visit the whole chiefdom, coming back after the attacks to their camp with stolen property and captured civilians. Patrol groups undertaking these actions in various villages were given descriptive names such as "Operation No Mercy" and "Operation Fire".

At Borboru, a section headquarter in Simbaru Chiefdom, people fled as the RUF entered the town, firing their weapons. Those people who were caught were either captured or killed; this attack resulted in the death of 27 civilians, including children. The village was massively looted and civilians were forced to carry the stolen property, which included animals, clothes and zinc, back to the camp. The RUF forces remained in Gbangeima for nine weeks, during which time they mutilated civilians, raped women and girls, burnt people alive, skinned people alive and ate the flesh of their victims. Top commanders were given the most beautiful girls and the other women who had been caught were distributed among the junior commandos. Two young girls were buried alive as a sacrifice at the river bank. People were forced to work and cook for them. At the entrance and exit points of the town, they mounted checkpoints at which they displayed human heads. At one point, they started burning furniture instead of gathering wood and moved all the captives to the camp. Before leaving, they set the village on fire, destroying almost all the houses. People who managed to escape from the camp later found the village destroyed and over 40 bodies lying on the ground.

Deima Town (Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom, south of Simbaru Chiefdom) was attacked many times during this period, as it was a diamond rich area. In March 1994, the RUF group called "Tay Go", wearing combat attire and red berets, attacked Deima, killing 20 civilians on the spot and abducting many young girls. The heavily armed RUF forces attacked and raided many villages in the chiefdom. The RUF group then settled for a while at Bouajabu, from where they attacked other villages. At Bouajabu, 15 people were captured and forced to carry stolen property. At Jenneh, many civilians drowned in a deep stream as they tried to escape an oncoming RUF attack, of which they had been warned by an inhabitant of the village. RUF forces stayed in Jenneh for three days, killing civilians

and raping girls. When they entered the town, the RUF forces met a student from Milton Margai College with his aunt. Accusing him of being a SLA member, RUF forces dragged him away, beat him, wrapped him in rice bags and a bed mat and set fire to the mat. His aunt was then taken away and sexually assaulted by more than one member of the RUF. She was taken with them, forced to cook for them and they said that she was now their "Mammy Queen", forcing her to have sex with them. This woman managed to escape later during a fight between the RUF group and SLA forces that took place at Gbando.

Other villages in Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom - such as Motorma, Banda and Leppeama - also came under attack in March 1994. Civilians were killed and houses were burnt down. At the headquarter town of Gbando, one young man from Levuma who had been sent by the acting Paramount Chief to report on what was happening in the surrounding villages saw members of a fighting force wearing combat uniforms and identifying themselves as RUF forces. Many houses in the town were on fire and bodies were lying in the backyards of some houses, while other inhabitants who were in houses that were on fire were crying.

RUF forces raided other villages in Simbaru Chiefdom before reaching the chiefdom headquarter of Boajibu. During those raids, they vandalised and took everything they came across, including cattle and poultry, and took away civilians to carry what they had just taken. At Tawalun, they looted extensively, including domestic animals, burnt down the village, captured 19 strong young men to carry the load, killed two civilians with machetes and threw three people into a burning house. At Kpetema, where they arrived in the evening hours, they entered the village with heavy fire and captured eight men to carry their load. At Peyeila, a village of 98 family houses, they vandalised the houses and took all the property they found, including household items, cash, money, clothes and cattle. They captured civilians to bring all the items to Camp Joe Bush, set the whole village on fire and mutilated seven civilians, namely three women, a three year old girl and three young men. One woman who was six months pregnant had her belly cut open to settle an argument the RUF forces were having about the sex of the baby she carried.

On 17 March 1994, the same group launched an attack on Simbaru Chiefdom headquarters, Boajibu, known to be a business centre for the neighbouring chiefdoms and containing the offices of many dealers in diamonds and gold. Before entering the town, they laid ambushes on all the entrances. Seven hundred and sixty-nine civilians were captured and divided into four groups, each of which was to be given a section of the town to burn down. Each day civilians were killed; they were burnt alive, dropped in boiling water, shot or had melted plastic dripped into their eyes. The bodies of their victims were cooked and eaten; this human flesh was called Yanimi. Many people were mutilated and dozens of women and girls were often raped by numerous RUF members. Relief came from SLA forces from Komboya Chiefdom (Bo District) who attacked the town after 17 days of RUF occupation, repelling the RUF forces. SLA forces then returned to their base in Bo District.

RUF forces began a looting spree on 29 March 1994 at Konta (Gorama Mende Chiefdom), a town known for its business transactions. RUF forces entered the town at dusk with heavy firing and, as

⁸⁴⁸ The direction the RUF forces came from cannot be ascertained with certainty. As Konta is located at a nodal point on a road coming from the south (Wandor Chiefdom), it is likely that those forces came from Wandor Chiefdom. However, information collected for Wandor Chiefdom does not mention any troops movement late NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

civilians had already fled, undertook systematic looting and burning of the houses. Two people were killed: one man, described as insane, who did not leave the town was stabbed to death because RUF forces were suspicious that he did not leave and an old man was burnt alive in a house the RUF forces had set on fire. Those RUF forces then continued their looting spree in the surrounding villages and captured civilians were forced to carry the stolen property on their heads. At Palima, five civilians were killed and 20 houses left in ashes. The RUF forces went back to Konta, where they killed and ate domestic animals.

Three days later, the RUF forces left for Modema, which is on the road that leads to Tonkolili District, in the north of Gorama Mende Chiefdom. On their way to Modema, RUF forces burnt many houses: five houses at Gbandi, six at Kortuhun, three huts at Fulawahun and 20 at Kenyema. At the Kenyema Bridge, one civilian who was wearing a t-shirt with a NPRC logo was stabbed to death. Another civilian was captured at the bridge and joined the captives. Modema, a periodical market centre located in an area producing coffee and cocoa, was attacked on 1 April 1994. During this attack, all the public buildings were burnt down and one civilian caught trying to flee was killed. Houses were also burnt down in the surrounding villages. The RUF forces left Modema for the road leading to Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). SLA forces came to Modema late April, unsuccessfully pursued the RUF forces, stayed in the town for some days and looted what was left before leaving.

In April 1994, RUF forces entered the north-east of Gorama Mende Chiefdom. At this time, vigilante groups static composed of local hunters and volunteered civilians trained in basic military tactics were active in the chiefdom. Those vigilante groups were to serve as local observers assisting the SLA forces and were sometimes used for reconnaissance (RECE). One of those vigilante groups had its first encounter in April 1994 when, hearing that RUF forces coming from Nimiyama Chiefdom (Kono District) were near Punduru, they ambushed those RUF forces in Kemuya forest, killing one of them and injuring others. Following this incident, RUF forces entered Kemuya and killed five civilians, including women and children, and burnt 10 houses. On their way back to their base in Nimiyama Chiefdom, those RUF forces went through Ngorgbedehun, on the east bank of the Sewa River, where they raided the houses and burnt down two of them.

On 8 May 1994, SLA forces came back to Modema (Gorama Mende Chiefdom), claiming they had been deployed to protect civilians. They taxed the people of the town and on 9 June they left, allegedly for another military assignment. Three days after they had left, Modema was attacked but the inhabitants could not tell whether the assailants were RUF or SLA forces. During this attack, five people were killed and the armed men located the civilians in their hiding places, beat them and took their property.

The situation prevailing in Simbaru Chiefdom also affected Wandor Chiefdom, north of Simbaru Chiefdom. Beginning in June 1994, small groups of RUF forces were coming from Simbaru

March 1994, only in May 1994. It could nonetheless be deduced that the troops who passed by (and only bypassed) Wandor Chiefdom in May 1994 are the same as the one who attacked Konta (Gorama Mende Chiefdom) and that one of these two dates is not completely exact.

⁸⁴⁹ These vigilante groups were equipped with traditional weapons like swords, lances, knives and short guns (local hunters).

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Chiefdom, initially at least led by the same commander who had been leading the "Tay Go" group. Before these regular visits of small groups, hundreds of RUF forces passed by the chiefdom in May 1994, en route to open a new base further north, killing two people as they passed through Gendema. In June 1994, RUF forces coming from Boajibu (Simbaru Chiefdom) arrested the Town Chief and killed him in a nearby village, on the basis that the inhabitants did not feed them well. His wife was raped and the RUF forces took two young girls away with them as they moved from village to village to take food. In December, on a food-finding mission, they went to Kpangbaru, where they mutilated a man they identified as being a vigilante. While he was still alive, his stomach was slit open and his organs removed and eaten.

At one point (reports vary between June 1994 and the end of 1995), SLA forces were based at Boajibu (Simbaru Chiefdom). When they arrived, they asked people to come out of the bushes and those who did not were later forced to come out. Civilians were forced to stay indoors from 5.00 pm until 9.30 am. Every morning, civilians were dispatched to bring food for the SLA forces in the chiefdom, which later extended to neighbouring chiefdoms when food supplies in Simbaru Chiefdom were exhausted. SLA forces were patrolling in Simbaru Chiefdom and the neighbouring chiefdoms, bringing with them civilians used to carry properties they would loot. Civilians were forced to work for SLA forces, mainly to mine diamonds for them; villages were raided to bring manpower for this purpose. Civilians were also forced to do farm work. Orders were given to shoot any civilian caught trying to steal gems. In one incident, civilians fleeing RUF attacks in Kono District and coming to Boajibu were arrested and detained for two days. Three of them were then shot to death and civilians were told to tie their feet together and to "throw them away". Civilians were beaten if they failed to give food to the SLA forces. Orders were passed that civilians had to divide their food in two parts, one part for them and one for their commander. Civilians were harassed for their property and SLA forces were searching for civilians in their "sorquehun". During one of these searches, some SLA members fell into a RUF ambush. In reprisal, SLA forces killed two young civilians accused of being responsible for the death of their colleagues. They cut their throats, slit their stomachs, cut out their organs and cooked them. During all this period, many women and girls were raped and anyone who denied a request from an SLA member was severely beaten. Similar actions continued under successive commanders.

Punduru (in the north-east of Gorama Mende Chiefdom) was attacked in October 1994 by RUF forces on a looting spree. Over 250 men entered the town wearing red headbands, about 50 of them unarmed, one of whom was a Lebanese businessman captured in Nimiyama Chiefdom (Kono District). The heavy firing frightened civilians and vigilantes, who all fled the town. The RUF forces then started hunting for people and property, raiding the whole town. They killed 10 civilians, mainly people who could not escape, including the elderly and young children. Other civilians they found were not killed but used as manpower to carry the stolen property. However, one man who was told to carry property taken from the pharmacy and who refused was beaten to death with a bladed weapon. Before leaving the town for their base with their captives, the RUF forces set fire to the mosque, the health centre, the primary school and two churches. However, some of the local hunters managed to encounter the RUF forces at the border with Nimiyama Chiefdom (Kono District). RUF forces, heavily laden with stolen property, were not able to put up strong resistance and fled, leaving most of the stolen property behind and enabling most of the captives to flee.

850 Punduru would not come under other RUF attack until 1997.

Another group of RUF forces⁸⁵¹ reached Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom in August 1995⁸⁵² and inflicted a lot of violence on both person and property as the following examples highlight. At Levuma, RUF forces killed civilians, sexually assaulted women, burnt some houses and captured civilians to carry their load. At Jenneh, they killed five civilians and tortured others. The RUF forces also killed 16 civilians, burnt 45 houses, amputated the limbs of seven civilians, raped four girls and took other women from their husbands at Gbando, the chiefdom headquarter. Deima, a diamond rich town, was attacked not only during this wave of attacks but also many more times throughout the following months as RUF forces, although not based there, sporadically entered the chiefdom on raids. Following these attacks, local authorities addressed the Government, expressing their deep need to have some SLA forces stationed in their chiefdom. However, the SLA forces who were sent as a result of this request also began harassing civilians and taking their property.

Due to SLA attacks in 1995, RUF forces mounted serious assaults in Wandor Chiefdom. At Gendema, civilians were assembled and nine of them were locked up in a room after three had been killed. The nine men in the room were taken out one after the other and beaten to death. The RUF forces did not use bullets, both to save ammunition and to avoid alerting SLA forces based at Boajibu (Simbaru Chiefdom). RUF forces later proceeded to one of their main bases, called "Bokurr", in Valunia chiefdom (Bo District).

Tongi, the headquarter town of Gorama Mende Chiefdom, was overrun by RUF forces in March 1995. Over 500 well-armed RUF forces entered the town, coming from the north of the chiefdom, state and people in the Court Barrie and declared that the town was now an "RUF entity". New authorities were appointed, including a Town Commander, a Town Mother and a clerk. The Town Commander was charged with taxing the inhabitants and gathering food for the RUF. Youths were ordered to unroof houses and to use the zinc to build a camp called Joe Bush in the forest near the town. During the time of the building of the camp, two civilians were beaten to death, as they did not obey the RUF order to unroof and transport some zinc. Toung men and children were captured and trained in the camp on guerrilla warfare throughout 1995 and 1996.

Local hunters in Simbaru Chiefdom decided to organise themselves and provide assistance to SLA forces, mainly by showing them routes within the chiefdom. At this time, proper initiation was not taking place; rather it was an informal gathering of men above 20 years who then presented themselves to the SLA. This movement also took place in Wandor Chiefdom, where a meeting with local hunters from neighbouring chiefdoms was organised.

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⁸⁵¹ It was not the 'Tay Go' group.

⁸⁵² This event could have taken place in 1994.

⁸⁵³ These continuous attacks on Deima resulted to the death of a lot of civilians, the number of casualties per attack being however not ascertained.

⁸⁵⁴ The report mentions that they came from the direction of Mondema, north of Tongi (Gorama Mende Chiefdom) and accordingly those RUF forces came either from Tonkolili or from Kono Districts.

⁸⁵⁵ Joe Bush was a generic name given to training bases, like "Camp Lion" in other places. Other camps called Camp Joe Bush were to be found at other places in Kenema District.

⁸⁵⁶ These two civilians could not carry out the task RUF ordered them to do, as they were ill.

⁸⁵⁷ The camp would later on be attacked by Kamajors.

In October 1995, at Gombu (Wandor Chiefdom), RUF forces killed 17 civilians and razed the village to the ground by setting houses on fire. Women and girls were sexually abused and civilians were taken away, forced to show the RUF forces routes by which they might avoid local hunters. At Falla the next day, one civilian who cheered, thinking those forces coming to the village were SLA forces, was killed and dismembered with a bladed weapon, his body parts scattered all over the town. Another man who was requested to cook for them and took the meat for himself was also killed and his stomach cut open. On that same night, Falla was set on fire.

The SLA presence in Simbaru Chiefdom did not prevent RUF forces attacking villages. On 25 December 1995, as RUF forces attacked Boajibu for the second time, SLA forces fled the town. During this attack, the newly initiated Bondo society girls were captured, the few houses left standing after the first burning were burnt and nine men were killed. The entire town was destroyed, including all the buildings except two mosques and a school. The RUF forces did not stay in the town and around one week later, civilians and SLA forces came back to the town. SLA forces went back to patrolling Simbaru Chiefdom and the neighbouring chiefdoms, where they took away what was left after RUF attacks, unroofing houses and removing their doors and windows shutters. They forced civilians to go with them to carry those items back to Boajibu.

In January 1996, RUF forces came back in Wandor Chiefdom and this time engaged people to join them, organising meetings and appointing Towns Commanders. Those who refused to join were considered as enemies. According to one of the RUF commanders, they would not kill anybody if people followed orders. However, shortly after, their behaviour changed and elders where punished; one was strung up inside the Court Barrie and seriously flogged. Those civilians who had to cooperate with RUF forces were later denounced to SLA forces in Simbaru Chiefdom and, everyday, some were punished with lashes while others were fined.

In 1996, both local hunters and SLA forces attacked Camp Joe Bush in Simbaru Chiefdom and destroyed it. The bodies of many civilians were found almost fully decomposed in the deserted camp, most of them victims of the "Gunproof society" practice. From the documents found in the camp, it became clear that this camp was going to be developed as the main RUF base for the eight neighbouring chiefdoms. The interrogation of the captives revealed that RUF forces were coming from different chiefdoms all over the District. They revealed the way they were treated in the camp: they were forced to work all day long without proper food, continuously beaten or molested; women were constantly raped, often raped by multiple attackers and many of them died from those rapes; bodies were not buried but were thrown in the bushes or in streams; any time RUF forces left the camp to attack a village, they forced captives to go with them, forcing them to the frontline, to carry the property they would take; any civilian who was tired and could no longer sustain the weight of the load was either beaten to death or shot; and young boys and girls under 15 were trained to become combatants. Babies who were born in the camp were well treated, as they were viewed as future combatants. When they entered the camp, Kamajors took automatic rifles and machine guns, hiding these weapons from the SLA forces. Following the capture of the camp, RUF forces attacked Boajibu many times, trying to get back the documents they had lost.

Following this successive attack, the Kamajors of Simbaru Chiefdom established five bases in the chiefdom at Fonima, Gbonjeima, Goma, Boajibu and Njagbwema. They routinely led SLA forces on patrol. To buy the cartridges for their single barrel guns, they used to tax male civilians while women were requested to contribute with rice. As Kamajor control in the chiefdom grew stronger, civilians started coming back in the chiefdom.

The collaboration between the SLA and local hunters did not last long, as SLA forces started molesting and, at times, disarming those local hunters. At Boajibu, the new SLA commander who arrived in April stated that "two captains cannot drive one ship at the same time", meaning that SLA forces did not need another armed group to defend the country. SLA behaviour towards civilians became worse when the new commander arrived. Incidents of rapes, sexual harassment and forceful marriages became common practice at this time. SLA forces forced civilians to work in mines and to dig up diamonds for them. SLA forces guarding the mining areas were told by their commander to injure or kill any civilian caught trying to steal a gem. That mining activity went on throughout 1996 until early 1997, when SLA forces left the area and the Kamajors arrived. Civilians were also forced to engage in large-scale farming under the surveillance of SLA forces. Civilians worked all day and went back home in the evening without being fed. On one occasion while they were searching for civilians in the bush to take away their property, SLA forces fell into an RUF ambush and one of them was killed. The SLA commander in Boajibu accused two local hunters from Wandor Chiefdom of being responsible for the killing of this SLA member. The two local hunters had to lie down on the street and were killed, having their throats cut with a dagger. The junior SLA members then removed the organs, cut the fleshy parts of the bodies, cooked and ate them.

In December 1996, the SLA commander ordered the Bondo society heads to initiate girls into the society. At first, the heads refused, as they stated that on hearing that the initiation was going to take place, RUF forces would attack them, especially since RUF forces were constantly attacking the chiefdom headquarter of Boajibu. Nevertheless, the SLA commander forced them to perform the initiation on 23 December. In the morning of 25 December, RUF forces attacked Boajibu; the SLA forces fled and left the inhabitants, including the new Bondo initiates, in the hands of RUF forces. The RUF forces caught the new initiates with their superiors, called Soweis, and sexually assaulted the girls who had been initiated only two days previously. Furthermore, they killed nine civilians, including young married women and children. A lot of buildings were also burnt down.

The Kamajors - 1996

In 1996, on hearing that Kamajor societies were being established in Bo and Bonthe Districts, elders and Chiefs in the various chiefdoms of Kenema District started nominating their own men for initiation as Kamajors, which took place in Kenema Town. The first batches of those initiates returned to their chiefdoms in the middle of 1996 and deployed at key entry points to the towns and villages. Most of the men nominated by the elders to join the society were in displaced camps, as was almost all the population of the chiefdoms.

Events in Dama Chiefdom highlight that in 1996, the welfare of the local hunters, now regrouped under the CDF, was transferred to the Government and each chiefdom authority was required to appoint a chief Kamajor to act as chiefdom coordinator for the CDF in the chiefdom. Battalion

commanders and commanding officers were also appointed.⁸⁵⁸ The conditions for initiation, as applied at least during the early stage of the Kamajors, were as follows:⁸⁵⁹

- Men must be above 18 years.
- Men must join the Kamajor society voluntary and append their signature.
- Those men must be recommended to the Paramount Chief by a Town Chief or Section Chief
- Those men must willingly contribute condiments to the Kamajors.

In some chiefdoms, such as Gorama Mende Chiefdom, men who wished to be initiated as CDF members had to pay a fee ranging from Le 15,000 to Le 25,000. Once the money was paid, a date was set and the men who were going to be initiated were to come dressed in a "war ronko", which is a type of country cloth.

RUF forces were in control of Langrama, Niawa and Small Bo Chiefdoms until 1996 when the first Kamajors coming back from their initiation and started fighting. In June 1996, local authorities from the three chiefdoms decided to form their own society. A Section Chief from Niawa Chiefdom encouraged people living in the displaced camps to be initiated. The first arrangements combined Small Bo, Niawa, Langurama (Kenema District), Wunde (Bo District), Wunde and Barri (Pujehun District) Chiefdoms; this group was known as the Wanjei Defence Committee. However, this initial arrangement did not last as the group as there were complications due to the fact that it was composed of chiefdoms from different Districts. It was therefore decided that the initiation for the Kamajors society should be undertaken at District level. Thus, Small Bo, Niawa and Langrama Chiefdoms regrouped and became known as the Upper Wanjei Defence Committee.

After the initiation in Bo, the first group of around 200 Kamajors arrived in Small Bo Chiefdom in October 1996. With weapons provided by SLA forces and together with the SLA forces, the newly initiated Kamajors launched their first attack on RUF positions in a town located four miles west of Blama. He is reported that SLA forces gave weapons to the Kamajors despite the animosity and distrust between them. During this first attack, the Kamajors did not dislodge the RUF forces but obtained their first automatic rifles (AK47s). Together with the Kamajors from Wunde Chiefdom (Bo District), they successfully attacked an RUF camp at Semabu (Small Bo Chiefdom). Kamajors continued their progression into Small Bo Chiefdom, taking weapons abandoned by the retreating RUF forces.

The Kamajors of the three chiefdoms (Small Bo, Niawa, Langruma Chiefdoms), assisted by Kamajors from Bo District (Wunde and Boama Chiefdoms, sharing the border with Kenema District) and together with SLA and ECOMOG forces, then launched attacks on Niawa Chiefdom. Using two different roads, one coming from Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom, Bo District) and the other from Potoru (Barri Chiefdom, Pujehun District), the combined forces advanced on RUF camps at Kpantena Ngovokpan, Topanda and Bandawor before reaching the main camp in

⁸⁵⁸ For more details on the structure of the CDF, see the chapter on the CDF in the Fighting Forces section of this report.

⁸⁵⁹ These conditions were specifically reported in relation to Simbaru Chiefdom, generally applied across the whole District and, indeed, the whole Kamajor movement.

⁸⁶⁰ The name of the place is not specified, only its location.

Bandawor forest, called Camp Zogoda. The fighting lasted several days, as a result of which the combined forces were able to dislodge the RUF from the camp. In the camp, the Kamajors found many RUF documents consisting of records of RUF activities, including, *inter alia*, records of the attacks on the Bo–Kenema Highway, how many items were stolen and how many people were captured to carry the load. In the camp, the combined forces found many captured civilians, who related how they were treated during their stay in the camp. For example, abductees who were caught trying to escape were shot dead or had the letters "RUF" inscribed on their body with hot iron. Civilians were forced to work in the camp and were given little or no food. Villages considered by the RUF as "enemy" bases were burnt down and captured civilians were used to carry boxes of ammunition on their heads for long distances. Young boys between eight and eleven were trained in the camp and sent to fight with weapons almost too big for them to carry. Some of those civilians found in the camp were brought to Blama to a camp that hosted them and the captured RUF forces were taken to the SLA Brigade Headquarter in Kenema.⁸⁶¹

After the Kamajors had successfully repelled RUF forces from the three chiefdoms, civilians started to come back from displaced camps and the bush to their villages. The Kamajors who had initially all been based in Small Bo Chiefdom also returned to their various chiefdoms, namely Niawa, Langruma and Small Bo Chiefdoms. From that time, Niawa and Langruma chiefdoms did not encounter any more RUF attacks.

Newly initiated Kamajors were deployed at different locations – Deima, Levuma and Gbando – in Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom. While initially they collaborated with the SLA forces, this deteriorated as they openly disagreed with the behaviour of SLA forces towards civilians. Nevertheless, Kamajors' behaviour towards civilians was not exempt from violence either, as civilians accused of being "rebel" collaborators were chased. In one incident, two civilians who had been appointed Town Commanders at Kamboma and Koindu Villages by RUF forces and who had actively collaborated with RUF forces were killed, although it appears that these people were killed by the people of those villages, rather than the Kamajors.

In Wandor Chiefdom, strong men who were nominated by the Chiefs to be initiated in Jiama Bongor Chiefdom (Bo District) returned to the chiefdom in September 1996 and successfully repelled RUF forces. Kamajors started patrolling at the borders of the chiefdom and in order to avoid having civilians caught in crossfire during encounters with RUF/AFRC forces, Kamajors requested the civilians from surrounding villages to gather at Falla in the centre of the chiefdom. Shortly after they arrived in the chiefdom, Kamajors fought with RUF/AFRC forces who were en route to attack them at Falla⁸⁶² and succeeded in repelling them. After a second attack that took place two days later, Wandor Chiefdom did not sustain any more RUF or RUF/AFRC incursions.

In September 1996, Kamajors coming from Kenema Town repelled RUF forces from different villages in Lower Bambara Chiefdom, including Lowoma, Fowaru and Ngelaima. People who had fled to the bush started to come back to the villages. However, they were soon forced to give food to the Kamajors and those who refused were detained for hours and molested. Kamajors also deposed Chiefs and decided on private matters, punishing and fining people they found guilty. The

⁸⁶¹ The fate of these prisoners is not known.

⁸⁶² The fighting took place near Kamboma.

heads of some RUF members were cut off and displayed in Tongo Field. Kamajors entered Peyama, drove the RUF out and took all the stolen property back to Tongo, where they worked with SLA forces.

In November 1996, Kamajors from Nomo, Gaura and Tunkia Chiefdoms joined forces to dislodge the RUF, launching successful attacks in Nomo Chiefdom. They were first equipped with short guns, sticks, machetes and cutlasses and progressively, were provided with more sophisticated weapons, such as AK47s, taken from opponents during the attacks. Any person suspected of being a "rebel" would be killed, their heads sometimes chopped off. In January 1997, at Dambala (Nomo Chiefdom), three men were shot dead, alleged to be "rebels".

Early that same month, Kamajors came back from their initiation in Gorama Mende Chiefdom and launched their first attack on the headquarter town of Tongi. They successfully repelled the RUF forces from the town and from Camp Joe Bush. After they overran Tongi, Kamajors arrested all civilians who had held positions during the RUF's stay, threatening to kill them. However, due to the intervention of the chiefdom authorities, those people were not killed but instead were forced to pay the following fines: one bag of rice, five gallons of palm oil, two cotton cloths and Le 50,000. Kamajors also repelled RUF forces from other towns in the chiefdom such as Vengema, Modema, Keema, Jouma, Berembeh, Benduma and Nyandehun. More Kamajors were sent for initiation to strengthen their forces. Another Camp Joe Bush at Kpetema Teiyeh, in the north of the chiefdom at the border with Tonkolili District, was attacked and Kamajors drove RUF forces out of the camp. Some RUF forces were killed while most of them ran away. Kamajors from Gorama Mende Chiefdom were also active outside the boundaries of their chiefdom as they fought RUF forces in Tonkolili District.⁸⁶³

On 3 March 1997, an initiator from Bonthe District was called upon to initiate more Kamajors in Gorama Mende Chiefdom. In the same week, on hearing this information, RUF forces sent a reconnaissance (RECE) to plan an attack on the chiefdom. Kamajors did not wait for the RUF forces to come and on 10 March, attacked their base at Sullay Ground. The captured RUF forces were sent to Bo Town, 864 under the protection of the chiefdom coordinator of the Kamajors. After this last fight, Gorama Mende Chiefdom was virtually free of RUF presence, the only subsequent sightings being a few RUF forces seen on food finding missions, with no reported fatalities.

In March 1997, following an encounter between SLA forces and the CDF at Tongo (Lower Bamabara Chiefdom), the Kamajors left the town and many civilians were tortured and killed by SLA forces on the grounds that they were Kamajor supporters. Kamajors who were driven out to nearby chiefdoms regrouped and retook Tongo, driving out SLA forces and establishing a permanent base. Retreating SLA forces killed a lot of civilians on their way to Kono District in Konjo and Venema (both villages are located in Lower Bambara Chiefdom). At Tongo, the Kamajors targeted alleged SLA sympathisers; they tortured and killed many civilians on these grounds. From this base, Kamajors were soon controlling the chiefdom.

⁸⁶³ See the factual analysis for Tonkolili District.

⁸⁶⁴ At this time, Bo Town was under SLA control.

When initiations started to take place in Kenema, local hunters from Simbaru Chiefdom went to be initiated. On their return in March 1997, they were told that the SLA forces had left for Kenema Town. From this time on, the Kamajors were in charge of the chiefdom. In Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom, Chiefs recommended strong men to be initiated and when they came back from their initiation, they were divided into different groups to protect the chiefdom.

In March 1997, RUF forces attacked the following villages in Simbaru Chiefdom, setting houses on fire and killing civilians: Nyahu (over 60 dwellings were burnt and six people killed); Mamboma (over 60 houses burnt, four old men killed and two men mutilated); Paniniga (45 houses were burnt and nine people killed); Gawama (over 170 houses, two primary schools and a health centre were set on fire and 17 people were killed); Gereihun (over 250 houses and public buildings were set on fire, 48 people were killed and four people mutilated); Fawana, Garahun, Jagbwema, Gogbebu and Nyeyama.⁸⁶⁵

In May 1997, a week before the Coup, the Kamajors' Chief Initiator conducted over 300 initiations at Falla (Wandor Chiefdom) to strengthen the number of Kamajors. Others travelled to Bo District to be initiated by the Deputy Chief Initiator.

Around the same time, SLA forces attacked the Kamajor base at Kenema, chasing away the Chief Initiator. During this attack, many civilians and Kamajors and few SLA members were killed and several houses, including that of the Chief Initiator, were burnt down as well as numerous homes of Kamajors and Kamajors supporters. On seeking refuge in Konia (Dama Chiefdom), the Chief Initiator was advised by the Paramount Chief to leave, due to its proximity to Kenema Town, so he left for Bo District.

Also before the Coup in May 1997, Kamajors from Nongowa Chiefdom, on hearing that SLA forces in the Dama axis were demanding money from people at the checkpoints they were operating, went there to inquire about the matter. When they arrived, SLA forces open fire on the Kamajors, who were mainly equipped with bladed weapons and some single barrel guns. The Kamajors captured the SLA commander and hacked him to death; other SLA members were given the same treatment.

c) Third Phase: May 1997 – 2002

Following the Coup on 25 May 1997, AFRC forces asked the CDF to surrender their weapons to the nearest police station and to suspend all their activities. CDF members did not follow this request; on the contrary, although they withdrew from the battlefronts, they regrouped themselves in villages and increased their number by undertaking more initiations. During this period, young boys under 15 began joining the society. RUF/AFRC started launching attacks on Kamajor positions and vice versa.

Shortly after the coup, on 30 May 1997, it is reported in general terms that fleeing civilians were mutilated and killed by RUF/AFRC fighters at Baoma (Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom). Indeed, across the District, RUF/AFRC forces harassed and intimidated civilians, molesting them, raiding villages and taking food and other property.

⁸⁶⁵ These incidents may have taken place after the Coup of 25 May 1997.

In the south of the District, RUF/AFRC forces established a camp called "SS Camp" at the boundary between Dama and Nongowa Chiefdoms. From there, they raided all the surrounding villages. Besides looking for food, the main purpose of these raids was to find Kamajors. Many villages were suspected of hosting Kamajors preparing to launch attack on RUF/AFRC positions. RUF/AFRC attacks were also perceived by the population as reprisal to punish the population for failing to support them. Thus, men were stripped naked and RUF/AFRC forces searched for any marks on their bodies indicating they belonged to the Kamajor society, killing those on whose bodies they found such marks. However, not to have any marks did not prevent civilians from being killed, since people were killed on suspicion of being Kamajors or Kamajor collaborators in the absence of such a mark. This practice of undressing men to search for any mark was also carried out in the SS Camp by the Moa River.

Niawa and Langruma Chiefdoms were not attacked by RUF/AFRC forces after the Coup, unlike Small Bo Chiefdom, where SLA forces had been stationed before the Coup. 866 Shortly after the Coup, the commander in charge of the ex-SLA forces in the chiefdom announced that Kamajors should disarm to them as instructed by the high command in Freetown. RUF/AFRC forces launched an attack on Kamajor positions, from which the Kamajors were controlling part of the Bo-Kenema highway in the chiefdom and in Blama in August 1997. In both locations, the Kamajors were overpowered and fled. During this attack, RUF/AFRC forces burnt houses in Blama. Another battle between the two forces took place in Joyomei, a town six miles south of Blama. The town was burnt down, although the force responsible for this burning remains unknown, with Kamajors blaming the RUF/AFRC and vice versa.

During the RUF/AFRC stay in Kenema Town, girls were raped, houses were looted continuously and civilians were harassed for food and other items. Most commonly, alleged Kamajors or alleged SLPP⁸⁶⁷ or Kamajor supporters were arrested, detained, beaten and/or killed and their houses looted and burnt. Role In one incident, a man riding his bicycle on the road to Kenema was brought to the town by RUF/AFRC members and killed in front of the Sierratel Building; his stomach was cut open and his intestines tied across the road as a barricade. Civilians in the town were beaten to death if they were caught listening to the BBC.

In Small Bo Chiefdom, people who were considered to be Kamajor collaborators were severely beaten or killed. RUF/AFRC forces made civilians look for food for them and the pressure on civilians was intensified as RUF/AFRC forces in Small Bo Chiefdom had stopped receiving food and other items from their main base in Kenema. The RUF/AFRC forces believed that civilians were sending information to Kamajors who had gone in the bushes; any food found with civilians was taken away on the grounds that the food would be sent to Kamajors. Furthermore, RUF/AFRC forces used to organise groups of civilians and took them to the bush to look for food. Whatever the quantity of food brought back, it was divided into four parts, one for the forces' High Command, one for the lower ranks, one for the civilian administration and one for the civilians who had brought the food.

⁸⁶⁶ Accordingly, the SLA base transformed into an RUF/AFRC base.

⁸⁶⁷ Since February 1996, the SLPP party has been the ruling party of Sierra Leone.

⁸⁶⁸ No details were gathered for this period but this assertion, although general, was common in the information gathered for Nongowa Chiefdom and beyond the boundaries of the chiefdom.

Civilians in the chiefdom engaged in mining activities in villages located in the north of the chiefdom, namely in Yorvuhun, Victoria, Komoli, Limeh and Nyagbe Bo. They received food from businessmen from Kenema Town who encouraged the mining. Because of this food supply and because the movement of civilians towards these villages was perceived as sabotage, ⁸⁶⁹ RUF/AFRC forces established a base at Victoria in the north of the chiefdom, mainly to seize the food and non food items they needed from civilians and to monitor the movement of Kamajors in other chiefdoms located further north. However, RUF/AFRC forces soon also engaged in mining activities.

RUF/AFRC forces were making regular visits to Dama Chiefdom to look for CDF members and to request food from civilians. At Gofor in July 1997, they killed three civilians with automatic rifles and at Bandembu, on the same day, civilians suspected of being CDF supporters were killed. Each time they entered villages, RUF/AFRC asked civilians to locate CDF members, threatening to kill them. Houses and property belonging to suspected CDF supporters were looted and burnt down and some alleged Kamajor collaborators were tortured to death. Also in July, RUF/AFRC forces entering Kpandebu through the east killed 25 civilians, mostly men, and inflicted physical violence on others, whom they alleged to be Kamajor supporters. The following month, RUF/AFRC forces coming from Joru (Gaura Chiefdom) attacked Konia, Gboyama and Manor on the same day and killed an unknown number of civilians in those villages. During this wave of attacks, other villages including Sebehun and Kbakah were also raided and 10 civilians were killed. 870

The Kamajors regrouped and began attacking RUF/AFRC forces, often by laying ambushes. Captured RUF/AFRC members were killed, frequently on the spot. Across Kenema District, civilians suspected of being a member of the RUF/AFRC forces or a member of their family or a collaborator were killed. For example, at Konia (Dama Chiefdom) in August 1997, one man was shot dead and another was beaten for two days, both on the grounds that they were "not on the side of the CDF".

During the second half of the year, RUF/AFRC forces reached Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom, where there were some incidents of violence inflicted on civilians. At Deima, they killed civilians for their money and property, tortured some who refused to give them their valuables and raped some girls. At Jenneh also, some people were killed. The acting Paramount Chief residing at Levuma was arrested in November 1997 as he had dismantled the checkpoints some RUF/AFRC forces had made in the town.⁸⁷¹

Throughout the third phase of the conflict, diamond-rich Lower Bambara Chiefdom was the scene of numerous attacks and counter-attacks between RUF/AFRC forces and Kamajors, as a result of which there were many civilian fatalities. In August 1997, RUF/AFRC forces launched attacks on numerous villages including Torkpombu, Buime, Laehun, Kpandebu, Lowoma, Fowaru, Ngeleima, most of them diamond mining villages or towns. Coming from Kenema Town, these heavily armed

⁸⁶⁹ This movement of civilians was indeed perceived by RUF/AFRC forces as indicating that civilians had received information of imminent attacks from Kamajors and accordingly civilians were considered as fleeing the area.

⁸⁷⁰ It could not be ascertained in which village those 10 civilians were killed.

⁸⁷¹ The acting Paramount Chief subsequently managed to escape into the bush.

forces fired indiscriminately in the villages as they passed by, shouting the following slogan, called Cyburg: "We don't talk, the barrels talk". During these attacks, many civilians were killed and many houses were burnt. As a result of these attacks, the CDF were driven out of the chiefdom. RUF/AFRC engaged in mining activities almost everywhere, digging plantations without the consent of their owners. If the owners resisted these activities, they were seriously beaten. Civilians were forced to work in the mines and many people died at these sites.

In August also, RUF/AFRC forces planned to attack Punduru, a Kamajor base in the north-east of Gorama Mende Chiefdom. On their way to Punduru, they had an encounter with Kamajors at Bandabu and one of their members was killed during the battle. It is believed that this incident outraged the RUF/AFRC forces and on 30 August, around 700 heavily armed⁸⁷² RUF/AFRC members launched a fierce attack on Punduru. During this attack, four Kamajors and 28 civilians were killed.⁸⁷³ RUF/AFRC forces were however repelled and moved to Sewafe (Nimiyama Chiefdom, Kono District) before burning the whole town and capturing some girls and young boys.

The following month, the Kamajors ambushed a military convoy in Lower Bambara Chiefdom and 20 members of the RUF/AFRC forces were killed and arms and ammunition were seized. In September 1997, Kamajors in Nomo Chiefdom launched an attack on RUF/AFRC forces' positions in Tunkia and Gaura Chiefdoms. Two RUF/AFRC members were captured and their heads chopped off. Any person suspected of being a RUF/AFRC member was killed such as those two men from Joru (Gaura Chiefdom) who were shot in their stomachs while entering Nomo.

That same month, CDF members came to the Court Barrie in Konia and asked the Paramount Chief of Dama where he had put the money he received from RUF/AFRC forces. Denying that he had received such money, the Paramount Chief was arrested, tied up with his hammock, taken away and killed in another village. Later, one man who tried to escape was shot on sight by a CDF member. The CDF commander stated that he was the new Paramount Chief.

In October 1997, the mountain village of Basara (Nongowa Chiefdom) came under RUF/AFRC attack, as it was suspected of being a Kamajor stronghold. The village was surrounded in the early hours of the day and forces opened fire on the civilians. Five civilians were killed during the firing and 15 were put in a hut and burnt alive when the hut was set on fire. In November 1997, the same scenario took place in another mountain village called Masao. Over 10 people were shot dead, while 10 others were forced into a house, which was then set on fire.

Kamajors started regrouping in October 1997 in Dodo Chiefdom and in Panguma (Lower Bambara Chiefdom). Jormu Kefabu (Nongowa Chiefdom) became a CDF stronghold and RUF/AFRC forces made several unsuccessful attempts, mainly in the mountain villages, to drive the Kamajors out. In December 1997, the mountain village of Bambawa (Nongowa Chiefdom), which was believed to be a Kamajor training base, was attacked and burnt and one person was killed. Also in December,

⁸⁷² The RUF/AFRC forces were dressed in combat fatigues with red berets and armed with machine guns, an anti-aircraft gun mounted on a Hilux van, RPGs and automatic rifles.

⁸⁷³ It is worth noting that throughout this time, the more the Kamajors attacked the RUF/AFRC forces, the more the RUF/AFRC forces were harassing civilians.

RUF/AFRC forces encountered Kamajors at Combema and about 40 of them were killed by Kamajors.

In November 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Gorahun (Tunkia Chiefdom), seizing the two roads leading to the town. In this attacks, 55 people were killed at close range. After this attack, the chiefdom did not experience further RUF/AFRC attacks.

The following month, the Kamajor commander on the ground in Nomo Chiefdom received a letter from the Kamajor High Command instructing all Kamajors in all chiefdoms to launch Operation "Black December". The purpose of this operation was to restrict the movement of the RUF/AFRC forces by regaining control of the highways. Kamajors from Gorama Mende Chiefdom took part in this operation on the Kono-Makeni highway. During the same month, at Dambala, a suspected "rebel" was decapitated and his blood drunk by a Kamajor.

"Operation Black December" 874 did not take place in Lower Bambara Chiefdom in December 1997. However, a fierce attack was launched on Tongo Field in January 1998, when Kamajors entered the chiefdom from two fronts, namely the east from Malegohun Chiefdom and the west from Dodo Chiefdom. Although few details were obtained on this operation, it was stated more than once that during this attack, many civilians lost their lives. Furthermore, following this attack, both fighting forces attacked villages believed to be under the control of the other force, killing civilians and burning houses. Hanga (Nongowa Chiefdom) was also attacked in January by RUF/AFRC forces. Twelve members of the same family and other inhabitants were shot dead and more than 10 houses were burnt down. Some people were forced to carry looted items for the RUF/AFRC forces, who also attacked other villages along the road from Mano Junction to Kenema Town, including Ngelehun, Kpanderu and Bambawa.⁸⁷⁵

In January 1998, RUF/AFRC forces based in Joru (Gaura Chiefdom) decided to sweep away the Kamajors deployed along the entire route leading to Bo Waterside, on the Liberian border in Pujehun District. 876 Before starting their operation, they sent a letter to the Kamajors to inform them on their plans. On their way, they burnt down many villages⁸⁷⁷ and succeeded in driving the Kamajors away. At Jao (Tunkia Chiefdom), over 40 houses were burnt and at Kamasu, 15 houses were burnt. At Gegbwema, where they spent the night, they burnt down all the houses except the mosque and the Court Barrie.

Kamajors from Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom, together with some from Simbaru and Dodo Chiefdoms, planned to launch attacks on RUF/AFRC positions in Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom. However, on 5 January 1998, when they arrived at these positions, RUF/AFRC forces had already

877 Tilorma, Taninahun, Sokola, Sefula and Damawulo were also burnt down.

⁸⁷⁴ This operation, declared by CDF High Command, was implemented across the country in the areas where Kamajors were active, in a bid to take control of RUF/AFRC positions. As part of this operation, all the highways and roads were blocked, in order to prevent RUF/AFRC forces from attacking civilians. It is believed that this Operation was launched following the AFRC statement that it would not hand over power to the President of Sierra Leone on 22 April 1998, as planned in the Conakry Peace Plan signed on 23 October 1997.

⁸⁷⁵ As for the casualties in those villages, it is merely reported that houses were burnt but it cannot be ascertained whether all the villages had houses burnt.

⁸⁷⁶ This road passes by Tunkia Chiefdom.

left the area. Kamajors from Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom then controlled the chiefdom, although there were reports of harassment of the civilian population. At Deima, for example, one Kamajor arrested seven civilians and put them in a wooden box which he then locked because they failed to give him food. The matter was reported to the commander at Levuma, who ordered their release.

In January also, the Paramount Chief of Nomo Chiefdom, together with other prominent people, including a prominent doctor and a businessman, were arrested by RUF/AFRC fighters in Kenema Town. They were arrested at the time of a fierce battle between RUF/AFRC forces in the outskirts of Kenema and were accused of supporting Kamajors. They were beaten with sticks with their hands tied behind their backs. One of them is believed to have died in detention although his body was never found. The mutilated body of another was found with 35 others in a mass grave at the outskirts of the town. Some of those arrested were however released.⁸⁷⁸

At Konjo (Dama Chiefdom) in early 1998, a pregnant woman was raped by member(s) of the RUF/AFRC forces and gave birth shortly after. During the same attack, civilians were punished⁸⁷⁹ or killed, suspected of being SLPP and Kamajor supporters. Some houses were also put down.

When they withdrew from Kenema in January 1998, 880 over 10 RUF/AFRC members and their families who took the Nomo Chiefdom road to go to Liberia were shot dead by some Kamajors in Nomo Chiefdom while crossing the river that borders Sierra Leone and Guinea in a canoe. Due to the shooting of the canoe, it sank, which resulted in the drowning of a suckling mother and her baby with other people. At Faama (Nomo Chiefdom), Kamajors shot dead an unknown number of "rebel sympathisers".

As Blama (Small Bo Chiefdom) was a stronghold of RUF/AFRC forces, Kamajors from Dodo and Kandu Leppeama Chiefdoms on the one hand and from Niawa Chiefdom, Wunde Chiefdom (Bo District) and Jiama Bongor Chiefdom (Bo District) on the other hand started operations to dislodge RUF/AFRC forces from Small Bo Chiefdom. On 31 January 1998, Kamajors from Dodo Chiefdom advanced towards Small Bo and on their way, launched a successful attack on RUF/AFRC forces based at Levuma (Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom). Kamajors from Dodo Chiefdom, with those from Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom, advanced on Blama, entering the town on 15 February 1998. However, no RUF/AFRC forces were to be found in the town as they had left earlier.

In February 1998, ECOMOG troops based in Liberia entered the District and on 18 February, together with Kamajors, reached Kenema Town. They then deployed at SS Camp, Gofor, Giema and Joru (in Dama and Gaura Chiefdoms). Indeed, after the intervention in Freetown, ECOMOG forces had positions all over the country and were working with the Kamajors. In Malegohun Chiefdom, for example, ECOMOG came to Kamajor positions with arms and ammunitions. In addition, ECOMOG requested the intervention of the Kamajors from Punduru (Gorama Mende

⁸⁷⁸ Many reports mention that the arrest of those people and the reported killings were carried out under a direct order from a senior member of the RUF general staff.

⁸⁷⁹ The kind of punishment inflicted could not be ascertained.

⁸⁸⁰ Indeed, RUF/AFRC forces stayed in Kenema town throughout 1997 until late January 1998 when, fearing the imminent Kamajor/ECOMOG forces' attack, they pulled out of the town.

Chiefdom) to be an auxiliary force to liberate Kono District, providing them also with small arms and bullets.

Once in Blama (Small Bo Chiefdom), Kamajors killed people suspected of being collaborators or tied them with a special rope called FM, beat them and locked them up. Civilians were gathered in the centre of the town for "screening" purposes. Two police officers were killed, while another police officer and his wife received serious cuts on their necks but did not die. Other police officers managed to escape to a nearby village and to the ECOMOG base in Kenema Town. One man, alleged to be the Small Bo CDF chairman who stayed in Blama while RUF/AFRC were occupying the town, was killed for failing to supply ammunition to the Kamajors at one time when they had planned to attack the RUF/AFRC forces in Blama. Because of failing to supply the ammunition, he was considered to be a "saboteur". The entire town was looted by Kamajors, who also established "Kangaroo Courts" presided over by Commanding Officers.

When they entered Kenema Town, ECOMOG forces and Kamajors with machetes and guns killed many people who they suspected of being "rebels" or "collaborators". Some civilians were burnt alive with old tyres for supporting the RUF/AFRC forces. Those killings were a common sight in the streets of Kenema. In many parts of the town, the charred remains of bodies were seen. Many members of the SSD (Special Security Division) were killed and their bodies scattered all over the Kenema Police Barracks, some of which were set on fire by civilians.

Between January and March 1998, as they were fighting and repelling RUF/AFRC forces, Kamajors targeted alleged members of the retreating forces, their families and those who they considered to be collaborators. Those people, who in reality were mainly civilians, were tortured and killed. It is reported that a group of Kamajors called Yamotor based at Talamah and Lalehun were eating the bodies of the retreating forces and civilians accused of collaboration. Houses believed to have been occupied by RUF/AFRC fighters or by alleged collaborators were unroofed.

After the deployment of ECOMOG and Kamajors all over the District, a few RUF/AFRC incursion were still reported but on a lower scale. A CDF Office was established in Blama (Small Bo Chiefdom) for the purpose of issuing passes to monitor the movement of people. Kamajors initially based in Small Bo Chiefdom but coming from the neighbouring Niawa and Langrama Chiefdoms went back to their chiefdoms. In March, civilians started returning to their villages.

However, unlike what happened in most of the chiefdoms, especially in the south of the District, the situation prevailing in Lower Bambara Chiefdom after ECOMOG deployed in the District still consisted of fighting and attacks between RUF/AFRC forces and the CDF, which continued until disarmament started in December 2001.

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⁸⁸¹ This rope has two sticks on its edges; "FM" means "frequency modulation", as it was believed that once tied with this rope, civilians began to talk.

⁸⁸² In reality, these courts were simply place where Kamajors were sitting down and issuing sentences, without following any laws.

⁸⁸³ No further details are available on these incidents.

In the south of Kenema District, RUF/AFRC forces, alleged to come from Joijoma (Kailahun District) attacked Jewahun (Tunkia Chiefdom) in April 1998, where they burnt down the village before proceeding further to Gegbwema, where they burnt the houses that remained standing. These forces were later repelled by ECOMOG troops. The following month, RUF/AFRC forces believed to come from Malema Chiefdom (Kailahun District) attacked Madina, Kwadima – where three people were killed - and Kpandebu in Nomo Chiefdom. It is interesting to note that these forces had disguised themselves as Kamajors, thus taking the civilians by surprise.

In December 1998, when RUF/AFRC forces had regained control of major towns in the country, Kamajors from Gorama Mende Chiefdom were able to defend and retain control of the chiefdom, to the extent that this chiefdom served as a safe corridor for retreating ECOMOG forces from Kono District.

At the beginning of the following year, fighting again resumed in Kenema District. In January 1999, heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces repelled Kamajors from Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom), killing many civilians and Kamajors. Towns like Kpandebu, Lalehun, Bumpeh, Semewabu or Njaigbema were under persistent attacks from Kamajors who had in their ranks young boys under 13, who were forced to hold guns and were trained only for short periods of time.

The RUF/AFRC forces abducted many civilians from their villages and forced them to work in mining sites, beating or killing those who refused. Civilians living in these areas were harassed and intimidated at gunpoint by RUF/AFRC members, who constantly stole property and abducted girls and women and used them for sexual purposes. A lot of Kamajor collaborators were killed during this period. Private houses believed to have diamonds under their foundations were dug up, especially in Kpandebu, Torkpombu, Tongola and Bomie.

In early 1999, between January and February, Small Bo Chiefdom saw an influx of people coming from a camp in Kenema Town, following threats of RUF/AFRC attacks on the Town.

In February 1999, an event that took place in Gorama Mende Chiefdom gives an insight on the CDF internal structure. On 9 February, the Kamajor membership of the chiefdom passed a "no confidence" vote on the chiefdom coordinator for his misuse of their rations from the CDF headquarter in Kenema Town. As a result, a new coordinator was appointed. This new coordinator was requested by the Kono authorities to initiate able young men from Kono to help them liberate Kono District. Five hundred men came to Jagbema for initiation. As they heard about this initiation, well-armed RUF/AFRC forces came early in the morning to Jagbema sometime in March or April, overran the Kamajors base, killed about 20 civilians and burnt down 45 houses, including the house of the CDF coordinator and a school. Twenty-five Kamajors sustained injuries and 10 civilians were taken away as load carriers. The Kamajor coordinator mobilised his men and they went to trace the RUF/AFRC forces, intercepting them at Laboya. During the encounter, 30 members of the RUF/AFRC were killed and the Kamajors liberated all the captured civilians.

At around the same time, heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kenema Town. Some ECOMOG forces, Kamajors and civilians were killed but ECOMOG and Kamajor forces

⁸⁸⁴ At this time indeed, Kono District was under RUF/AFRC control.

regrouped and repelled them. On their way back to Kailahun District, those RUF/AFRC forces were ambushed by ECOMOG forces at Mano Junction; many of them died in that ambush.

Many incidents relate the destruction of numerous buildings, private and public, in 1999 in Lower Bambara Chiefdom. Ngiehun market was burnt down as RUF/AFRC forces entering the town firing with the belief that Kamajors were residing there. The Roman Catholic Primary School was unroofed as were other schools in Tongo. Zinc from these roofs was used to build booths for the forces and furniture was used as firewood for cooking. Most of the buildings of the National Diamond Mining Company quarters were also destroyed.

RUF/AFRC forces during this period were terrorising the population, who saw this period as "chaos". During their stay in Tongo Field, the RUF/AFRC were recruiting young boys between 10 and 12 years of age; these child soldiers were carrying out most of the atrocities and many of them were intimidating their parents. However, by October 1999, the security situation however improved in the Tongo Field area (Lower Bambara Chiefdom) and commercial activities resumed, with civilians resettling in their villages.

The situation in Koya Chiefdom was still unusual during this period. Due to the total absence of SLA forces throughout the previous years, RUF forces had established firm control of the chiefdom and most of the civilians who had not fled were conscripted into the movement. The first forces to fight RUF/AFRC forces were Kamajors from Pujehun District in 1999. Koya Chiefdom had its own Kamajors only in 2001 after men went to Kenema to be initiated.

On 20 October 1999, the Sierra Leone President officially launched the commencement of the Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) program during a ceremony at Wilberforce Barracks in Freetown. A DDR camp was opened in Kenema Town to disarm CDF members, while RUF members were to disarm at Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District). The DDR process started on a low scale and on 4 November, the first day of the program, no CDF member turned out. The initial deadline of 15 December set for the completion of the program was not met and as of 23 January 2000, only 13,100 combatants had disarmed out of an estimated 45,000 total combatants.

Nevertheless, after the DDR process began, the situation started to normalise in the District and in early January 2000, the roads linking Kenema Town to Kailahun Town in the east and Kenema Town to Koidu in the north were formally reopened by the RUF.⁸⁹⁰ As part of their country campaign to sensitise members of the fighting factions on disarmament, the RUF leader, the Deputy

⁸⁸⁵ IRIN West Africa, 1 January 1999.

⁸⁸⁶ The number of IDPs in the District dropped from 63,319 at the end of October to 47,199 one month later. IRIN West Africa, 14 December 1999.

⁸⁸⁷ The start of the DDR program as it was originally planned to take place within six weeks of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999.

⁸⁸⁸ During this first phase of disarmament, DDR camps were also opened in Port Loko Town, Bo Town, Moyamba Town, and Daru (Kailahun District), the security situation in Bombali, Koinadugu, and Tonkolili remaining too unsettled.

⁸⁸⁹ IRIN West Africa, 31 October 1999.

⁸⁹⁰ IRIN West Africa, 5 January 2000.

Defence Minister, the CDF National Coordinator and some members of ECOMOG visited Kenema Town and Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom) during the first week of January 2000. ⁸⁹¹ In the same month, peacekeepers from the Ghanaian battalion attached to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) were sent to Kenema Town. On 15 March 2000, around 3,500 CDF members arrived at the DDR centre at Kenema; this was surprising, as the RUF did not reciprocate in Kailahun District. ⁸⁹²

However, the DDR process did not bring an end to the fighting in the District. On 28 March 2000, RUF forces numbering 3.500 returned to Fomaya (Gorama Mende Chiefdom), ⁸⁹³ all dressed in t-shirts with an "RUF" inscription on the back. They set the town on fire and killed over 300 civilians.

Thus by May 2000, RUF forces were still controlling some parts of the District, especially the mining areas and were engaged in mining activities in Tongo Field. In early June 2000, RUF troop movements were recorded in the area, as forces regrouped at Tongo Field, causing tension in the area. By late July, between 3,000 and 3,500 civilians were reported fleeing the area, probably following the recent clashes between RUF and SLA forces and the rescue operation to free over 200 UN peacekeepers confined to their compound in Kailahun Town by RUF forces since May 2000 carried out by UNAMSIL troops between Kailahun Town and Pendembu (Upper Bambara Chiefdom, Kailahun District). In October 2000, around half of the RUF forces based in Tongo Field moved north and engaged in the cross-border attacks on Guinea that intensified in September 2000. A meeting between UNAMSIL personnel and the RUF based in Tongo took place on 29 January 2001 at Panguma (Lower Bambara Chiefdom) to discuss the opening of the road linking Kenema to Tongo, although it is not clear whether the road was reopened after this meeting.

On 10 November 2000, the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF signed a ceasefire at Abuja, Nigeria, reactivating the disarmament process, which had come to a halt since May 2000 and the capture of UN peacekeepers. ⁸⁹⁸ Its main provision was the disarmament of the RUF forces and the deployment of UNAMSIL troops in RUF-held areas. However, it would however take one more year for those provisions to be implemented, as the following events highlight.

⁸⁹¹ IRIN West Africa, 10 January 2000.

⁸⁹² IRIN West Africa, 15 March 2000.

⁸⁹³ RUF/AFRC had already attacked this town in 1999.

⁸⁹⁴ UNAMSIL press briefing, 1 June 2000. Furthermore, this event has to be read in conjunction with what happened in May in other parts of the country, where nearly 300 UN peacekeepers were captured by RUF/AFRC forces, thereby stalling the DDR process. In July, UNAMSIL called the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF to sign a ceasefire: UNAMSIL press briefing, 7 July 2000.

⁸⁹⁵ IRIN West Africa, 20. July 2001. No details could be obtained on the clashes between the RUF and the SLA in the Tongo field area. However, in the Sierra Leone Humanitarian Report 25 July – 07 August, it is reported that gunship attacks on the market place in Tongo killed 14 civilians, although the gunship responsible for this attack was not confirmed. An SLA gunship also targeted RUF forces at Torpombu (Lower Bambara Chiefdom), shelling and killing civilians.

⁸⁹⁶ This rescue operation was designed.

⁸⁹⁷ UNAMSIL press briefing, 31 January 2001.

⁸⁹⁸ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 28 October - 13 November 2000.

At the end of 2000 and the beginning of 2001, Kamajors mounted checkpoints at Largo, at the border with Nongowa chiefdom, and harassed civilians travelling between Kenema Town and Tongo Field. Money and valuable items were taken away from civilians and alleged collaborators were detained and tied up with ropes.

Although six chiefdoms in the District were still considered to be unsafe for resettlement by the Government of Sierra Leone in March 2001, 899 about 100 UN peacekeepers from the Zambian battalion made a long range patrol in Tongo (Lower Bambara Chiefdom) on 10 April. These peacekeepers met with the RUF commander of the area, asking for their collaboration to allow UNAMSIL deployment in the area. However, fighting between Kamajors and RUF forces resumed around 19 April, although fatalities – if any – could not be ascertained. This fighting, which once again prompted hundreds of civilians to flee the area 901 was seen as a step back in the ongoing disarmament process and UN deployment.

On 4 May 2001, a meeting between the RUF, the Government of Sierra Leone, UN representatives and the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council to review the ceasefire signed on 10 November 2000 was convened, again in Abuja, Nigeria. The main points of concern were, among others, related to the acceleration of the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration of the remnants of the RUF forces, the release of child combatants and the freedom of movement of persons. Mention was also made of the violation of the ceasefire that took place the previous month in Tongo and Kono District. According to UNAMSIL investigations the fighting was provoked by movements of the Civil Defence Force (CDF) perceived as being menacing by the RUF forces.

As a proof of their commitment to the ceasefire, which was renewed in May, and to the provisions contained in the ceasefire agreement, RUF forces handed over 131 child combatants to UNAMSIL during a brief ceremony in Tongo on 22 June.⁹⁰³ In mid September, 300 UN peacekeepers from the Zambian contingent deployed in the area.⁹⁰⁴ This first deployment was strengthened within a week, putting the number of UNAMSIL forces deployed in Tongo field to a battalion.

In October 2001, during a meeting of the Joint committee on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR), comprising of the Government of Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL and RUF, the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF agreed on a schedule for the completion of the disarmament process and this accelerated disarmament was to take place in Kenema District between 15 and 30 November. Since May 2001, 20,284 combatants from the various fighting

⁸⁹⁹ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 11 March - 31 March 2001.

⁹⁰⁰ UNAMSIL press briefing, 10 April 2001.

⁹⁰¹ BBC Online News Archive, 21 April 2001; IRIN West Africa, 23 April 2001.

⁹⁰² Further to this meeting, tripartite meetings of the Joint Committee on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration would be held every month and one would take place in Kenema Town on 10 August 2001.

⁹⁰³ IRIN West Africa, 25 June 2001.

⁹⁰⁴ IRIN West Africa, 17 September 2001.

⁹⁰⁵ The schedule for the completion of the disarmament was agreed as follows: Koinadugu and Moyamba Districts: by 22 October; Bo and Bombali Districts: by 31 October; Western Area: between 1-7 November; Pujehun and Tonkolili Districts: between 1-15 November and Kailahun District: between 15-30 November: IRIN West Africa, 12 October 2001.

forces had disarmed. However, the deadline set in the agreement was not met as RUF forces showed unwillingness to disarm outside Tongo Field, were unhappy with some issues of a political nature and due to some logistical problems, which halted the process. Nevertheless, disarmament started early December at a low pace for RUF forces. This process was fostered by the visit on 14 December of the RUF Interim Leader and the Force Commander of the UNAMSIL in Tongo where they urged remaining RUF forces to complete disarmament.

Disarmament was therefore complete early January; in Tongo, it was completed on 5 January, one day after the visit of the Acting Force Commander of the UNAMSIL and the Deputy Chief of Mission. As part of the events that took place in various areas across the country to symbolically mark the end of the DDR process, a ceremony was held in Kenema Town on 21 January 2002 in the presence of the President of Sierra Leone, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Force Commander of UNAMSIL. This ceremony concluded by the burning of weapons.

3. Conclusion

Although it shares a boundary with Liberia on its eastern edge, Kenema District was mainly affected by RUF/NPFL incursions coming from the neighbouring Districts of Pujehun, Kailahun and Kono during the first phase of the war, which spanned from 1991 to the end of 1993. This period was marked by the incursion of the RUF/NPFL forces in three different flanks (north-west, north-east and, mainly, south-east). As in Pujehun District, those forces were repelled out of the District in the middle of 1991 by the SLA, who were assisted by foreign troops. During the subsequent months of this first phase, RUF/NPFL forces launched only sporadic actions in the District. Youths and local hunters mobilised themselves and, armed with stick, cutlasses and some shotguns, assisted the SLA in defending the boundaries of their chiefdoms, filling the role of vigilantes. Around this time, SLA forces were deeply engaged in repelling the RUF forces from Kailahun District and in late 1993, confined them to the extreme east of Kailahun District, which led the NPRC Chairman to declare a unilateral ceasefire on 1 December 1993.

Taking advantage of this ceasefire, RUF forces regrouped and launched a massive operation from Liberia in the south-east of Kenema District, using secondary roads and bush paths. This attack clearly marked the beginning of the second phase and by early 1994, RUF forces were scattered across all the chiefdoms of the District and were engaged in mining activities in the north of the District. Around the same time, RUF forces began regaining territory in Kailahun District and were also spreading through Pujehun District, making all the Districts adjoining Liberia under RUF control. This progression did not stop there, as RUF forces advanced further inland and by 1995, were present in all the Districts of the country. The SLA, whose number increased greatly in 1994, was not able to stop this rapid RUF progression, carried out using bush paths and guerrilla warfare

⁹⁰⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 01 - 15 October 2001.

⁹⁰⁷ There was one DDR camp in Kenema District, one in Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District) and one in Kailahun Town.

⁹⁰⁸ Those issues included the outcome of the National Consultative Conference, the continued detention of their leader and the time taken to complete registration of the RUF as a political party: IRIN West Africa, 7 December 2001.

⁹⁰⁹ UNAMSIL press briefing, 14 December 2001.

⁹¹⁰ UNAMSIL press briefing, 7 January 2002.

⁹¹¹ UNAMSIL press briefing, 21 January 2002.

tactics. RUF forces established important training camps in Kenema District and the main camp for the whole Southern Province and, to a limited extent, for the Eastern Province was established in the south-west of the District. From this camp, RUF forces attacked the neighbouring chiefdoms in Kenema and Bo Districts, staged ambushes on the Bo-Kenema highway and brought back hundreds of abducted civilians and stolen properties from these attacks.

These two phases were accompanied by great violence against civilians, carried out mainly by the RUF/NPFL and RUF forces but also by the SLA forces. The first acts of the RUF were to depose and replace local authorities. During their stay, they inflicted physical and mental violence, killed, sexually assaulted and abducted many civilians. Civilians' property was also widely taken away and houses were burnt down. In addition, the SLA forces also harassed civilians for food but above all chased "rebel" collaborators, whom they killed. Starting in 1994, their behaviour towards civilians deteriorated and civilians began to have doubts about their loyalty to the Government and their efficiency to fight the war, as they also engaged in killing, raping and stealing of property, although on a lower scale than the RUF forces.

However, starting in 1996, Kamajors began to fight alongside SLA forces and to occupy areas previously under RUF control, including the main camps of the District. In this regard, the pattern of actions in the District followed the patterns in the Southern Province, where Kamajors started imposing important defeats on the RUF, considerably minimising and reducing the RUF's strength and their control of the area.

However, following the Coup in May 1997 and the merging of the RUF with the AFRC regime, the RUF/AFRC forces began to push the Kamajors to withdraw from their positions. Nevertheless, the CDF regrouped, operating underground, and by September 1997 began defeating the RUF/AFRC, as was happening concurrently in the Districts of the Southern Province. During their stay in the District, RUF/AFRC forces imposed great harms on civilians, inflicting physical and mental violence, killing, raping and abducting, in particular to work in the mining areas. They also systematically stole civilians' property and burnt down many buildings. They also engaged in a widespread hunt for Kamajors collaborators, killing anybody they found whom they suspected of being a collaborator or Kamajor member.

In early 1998, following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in January 1998, the Kamajors, assisted by ECOMOG forces deployed in Kenema Town and repelled most of the RUF/AFRC out of the District. Their stay in the District was accompanied by strict controls on the movement of the population through the establishment of checkpoints and the harassment of civilians, which ranged from requests for food and other items to more violent actions, including physical violence and killing, in particular of alleged RUF and "Junta" collaborators.

However, unlike what happened in the Southern Province, the Kamajors were unable to gain control of the whole District, as fighting for the control of the mining area of Tongo Field continued throughout 1998, 1999 and the first part of 2000. In this regard, the pattern of actions in the north of the District was more similar to the way Kailahun District and, in particular, the mining District of Kono were affected, despite the opening of disarmament centres in Kailahun Town and Daru (Kailahun District). Indeed, after the Lomé Peace Agreement in July 1999, RUF/AFRC forces

clearly concentrated their attacks and offensives on the mining areas of the country and, later, on Guinean territory, giving a new dimension to the Sierra Leonean conflict.

Reactivated in November 2000, the disarmament process required one more year before being declared complete in January 2002. Kenema, and Kailahun Districts, were the two last Districts to be disarmed.

c. Kono District

1. Introduction

Kono District is located in the Eastern Province, together with Kailahun and Kenema Districts. It is bordered in the east by the Republic of Guinea and Koinadugu District, which also borders it in the north. In the south-east, the borders of Tonkolili District and Kono District meet for a few miles, with Kenema and Kailahun Districts forming its southern border.

Koidu, a diamond rich town, is Kono District's headquarter town. It is located almost in the centre of the District and is the starting and ending point of Sierra Leone's main highway, which links Koidu to Freetown, passing through Magburaka (headquarter town of Tonkolili District) and Makeni (headquarter town of Bombali District). Two other highways are of importance in the District, as they would allow the penetration of the District by the fighting forces from the southern Districts. One leaves Koidu, passing through Tankoro and Gbane Chiefdom before entering Kailahun District. The other one leaves Koidu, reaching Kenema Town through Nimikoro and Gorama Kono Chiefdoms in Kono District and Lower Bambara Chiefdom, a diamond mining area in Kenema District. An alternative to these two roads to reach the south-east is the road that leaves Koidu and goes through the east of the District.

There are 14 chiefdoms in the District:

Chiefdom **Headquarter** Fiama **Jagbwema** Gbane Gandorhun Gbane Kandor Koardu Koidu Gbense Gorama Kono Kangama Kamara Tombodu Lei Saiama Mafindor Kamiendor Nimikoro Jaiama

Nimiyama Jaiama Sewafe Sandor Kayima Soa Kainkordu Tankoro Baiama Toli Kondewakor

Kono District is the most diamond rich District of Sierra Leone and the wealth of its soil meant that the District was the stage of severe fighting and violations against civilians throughout the war, from its inception in 1991 until late 2001. The main mining areas 912 are to be found in the centre and west of the District, in Kamara (Tombodu area), Sandor (in the south of the chiefdom), Nimikoro, Nimiyama, Gbense and Tankoro Chiefdoms.

As in the other Districts of the Eastern Province, Kono District was affected by the conflict through three discernable phases. The first one encompassed 1991 to 1993. During these years, RUF/NPFL forces entered the District in the south-east through Kailahun District. Their first incursion in 1991 was limited to the two chiefdoms bordering Kailahun District and was rapidly halted by SLA forces deployed at Gbense, Sandor, Mafindor and Gbane Kandor Chiefdoms, the latter two of which share a border with Guinea. Local hunters known as Donsos began organising themselves in various chiefdoms, supported and encouraged by the local authorities. RUF/NPFL forces made successive attempts to re enter the District in 1992; by mid 1992, they had succeeded in establishing positions in Gbane Soa Chiefdom, from where they moved towards Koidu. By late 1992, Koidu was under RUF/NPFL control. SLA forces, assisted by local hunters coming from Koinadugu District, repelled the RUF/NPFL forces in early January and strengthened their bases in the east of the District. By mid 1993, the District was virtually free of any RUF/NPFL presence. This first phase was characterised by widespread violations committed primarily by RUF/NPFL forces, but also by SLA forces.

The second phase ran from 1994 to 1997. In 1994, RUF forces launched incursions in the south-east of the country and progressively advanced into the District. Koidu was attacked for the second time in April 1995, RUF forces taking advantage of the fact the SLA on the ground was more occupied in mining than in defending the District. This attack on Koidu led many civilians to leave the area, as the RUF forces began to span out in the surrounding chiefdoms. The District was recaptured around May/June by SLA forces, newly trained by Executive Outcomes, the mercenary company in Sierra Leone under contract with the Government. The SLA, local hunters and Executive Outcomes dislodged the RUF forces from most of their positions and subsequent RUF attacks were carried out by remnants RUF members. The presence of Executive Outcomes in the District brought some relief to the population, as it also engaged in disciplining the SLA and prevented SLA members from undertaking illegal mining. During this period, RUF forces raided some villages in the south-east of the country.

As Executive Outcomes prevented the RUF from having access to Kono and, accordingly, to its diamonds, the RUF posed as condition for the signing of a peace agreement that Executive Outcomes leave the country. This condition was included into the text of the Abidjan Peace Agreement signed between the Government and the RUF on 30 November 1996. Two months later, Executive Outcomes pulled out of the District. After the military coup in May 1997, RUF forces came out of the bush and merged with the AFRC regime. Few incidents were reported for this period, as most of the RUF/AFRC activities were concentrated on mining. In fact, mining became more organised under the command of the RUF, who declared all mining areas to be their property. However, harassment of civilians increased and cases of physical violence, killing, rape and abductions were reported.

⁹¹² Besides diamonds, kimberlite mineral and gold are also mined.

The third and final phase began in early 1998, following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown and the retreat of RUF/AFRC forces and concluded in August 2001, when the disarmament was declared complete in the District. This period is characterised by a substantial increase of violations committed by RUF/AFRC forces. Repelled from Freetown, RUF/AFRC forces arrived in Koidu in late February/early March and rapidly spread across the whole District. ECOMOG forces assisted by CDF members recaptured Koidu and other main towns on the highway in April 1998, sending RUF/AFRC forces into the bush, from where they continued to carry out "Operation No Living Thing". Hundreds of civilians were wounded, mutilated, killed, raped and abducted as part of this operation between February and May/June. During the second half of the year, the level of violations decreased, as the RUF/AFRC forces were more occupied with building huts to withstand the rainy season. At that time, most of the civilians had fled to Guinea and of those who stayed in the District, a lot of them were abducted to be trained in the training base RUF/AFRC forces had opened in Lei Chiefdom in the east of the District or to be used as workers in the mining areas in the west of the District. In December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces launched a massive operation and recaptured Koidu from ECOMOG forces. Throughout 1999 and 2000 and despite the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999, RUF/AFRC forces accelerated their mining activities in the west of the District, where every single parcel of land was mined. A training base known as "Camp Lion" was opened in Yengema (Nimikoro Chiefdom), where hundreds of abductees from the Northern Province were brought for training. RUF/AFRC forces also continued their operations in the east of the District, in preparation for attacks onto the Guinean territory. Most of the RUF/AFRC raids during this period were carried out to search for food and above all to get more manpower, i.e. to abduct more people. Violations on civilians were still reported, in particular on those who were abducted. During those years, CDF forces launched attacks on RUF/AFRC positions, mainly in Sandor Chiefdom, in the north of the District and in the east, at the border with Guinea. These operations would continue until the completion of disarmament and the brokering of a deal to stop the illegal mining activities at the end of 2001.

2. Factual analysis

a) Events in 1991

As a result of the attack on Pendembu⁹¹³ (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kailahun District), security personnel and the chiefdom authorities in Gbane Chiefdom, in the south of Kono District, called a meeting in April to discuss preventive measures. It was agreed during this meeting that towns and villages from the chiefdom should provide local hunters, known as Donsos and energetic youths for training, following which 200 men were trained by the Sierra Leone Police and the Special Security Division (SSD) with the support of the Paramount Chief of Gbane. At around this time, people from Kailahun District fleeing from RUF attacks, especially from Yawei Chiefdom, moved to Gbane Chiefdom and settled in the villages around Gandorhun and Koidu Buma towards the south of the chiefdom near the boundary with Kenema District. Before the war began affecting Kono District, SLA forces were deployed in Mafindor Chiefdom, at the border with Guinea. However, shortly after the attack on Gandorhun, they went to Gbane Chiefdom to join the troops posted there. The few forces who stayed in Mafindor Chiefdom were withdrawn in 1992 to Manjama, the SLA base in Soa Chiefdom in the south-east of Kono District.

913 Pendembu is located on the road that enters Gbane chiefdom from Kailahun District.

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On 5 June 1991, Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces wearing American flag bandanas on their heads and armed with AK47s entered Koidu Buma (Gbane Chiefdom) through Yawei Chiefdom (Kailahun District). Gbane Chiefdom was the main entry point into diamond-rich Kono District, due to the highway that links Koidu with Gandorhun and Bunumbu (Peje West Chiefdom, Kailahun District). At Koindu Buma, they shot and killed a man who was trying to escape and searched houses for any valuable items, including food. Civilians were asked whether there were any Sierra Leone Army (SLA) forces in the town⁹¹⁴ and the RUF forces promised they would kill any SLA member they came across.

They did not stay long in Koidu Buma, soon moving onto Gandorhun, their target being the SLA forces. At this time, Gandorhun was, after Koidu Town, the biggest SLA deployment in Kono District. They were led to Gandorhun by a civilian they had recently conscripted, who showed them a bypass route. The RUF forces entered the town around 03.00 a.m. with sporadic firing, armed with AK47s, RPGs, grenades and knifes. In Gandorhun, they killed three people (two shot and one burnt to death) and captured others, among them the brother of a prominent Lebanese businessman and his two daughters. A van belonging to a civilian was taken away and used to carry property stolen from the town to Kailahun District. Most of the population fled to other chiefdoms.

A few days later, on 8 June, a combined force of Sierra Leone Police, SLA, SSD and Donsos forces repelled the RUF, who went back to Kailahun District. However, two of these RUF members got lost in the forest and, after going without food for a few days, went to a farm to ask for food; youths at the farm went to Gandorhun to tell the SLA about the two men. SLA forces then captured the two RUF members and brought them to Koidu, where they were publicly tortured before being killed. Shortly after the attack on Gandorhun, SLA forces were sent from Freetown to Koidu Town and were deployed in the area under attack. RUF forces launched another attack on 9 June, but were repelled by SLA, SSD and Donsos.

During their stay in the chiefdom, those forces (SLA, SSD and Donsos) inflicted violence on civilians they accused of collaborating with RUF forces. In one instance, some people accused of being collaborators had rags and rubber placed around their necks, which were then set on fire, killing those people. This served as a signal for the population that they should not cooperate with the RUF in any way. 916

As early as 1991, local hunters⁹¹⁷ known as Donsos were to be found in Mafindor, Gbane, and Soa Chiefdoms in the south of the District, at the border with Guinea and Kailahun District. Those

⁹¹⁴ The RUF forces who entered the town referred to SLA forces as "Momoh's soldiers", from the name of the then Head of State.

⁹¹⁵ It is not clear from the records whether the two girls were the daughters of the prominent businessman or the daughters of his brother.

⁹¹⁶ The date of this event cannot be determined with certainty and may have taken place in 1992.

⁹¹⁷ Different groups of traditional hunters organised themselves throughout Sierra Leone to fight the advancing RUF/NPFL and, later, RUF forces in the country. They were originally equipped solely with bladed weapons and long guns. Those local hunters had different names, according to the tribe to which they belonged: Donsos in Kono District; Tamaboros in Koinadugu District; Kapras in Tonkolili District; Gbethies in Port Loko District and, to a lesser extent, Kambia District; and Kamajors in the Southern and Eastern Province (Moyamba, Bonthe, Bo,

from Mafindor were often sent to Sukudu, in the south of Soa Chiefdom near the Guinean border. During the second half of 1991, Donsos started organising themselves in Sandor Chiefdom, in the north of Kono District at the boundary with Koinadugu District. In late 1991, some Donsos came to the chiefdom headquarters of Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom) to be trained by SLA forces on guerrilla tactics, military manoeuvres and staging ambushes. At that time, the SLA military headquarters were in Ngaya. As the war intensified at the boundary between Kono and Kailahun Districts, SLA forces together with Donsos or vigilantes were deployed in strategic towns such as Yormandu and Tefeya (Sandor Chiefdom), at the border with Gbense Chiefdom. Yormandu is a strategic town as it is located over the Bafi River and had one of the longest bridges in Kono District. It is worth noting that at this time, only a few SLA forces were deployed with many local hunters, also called vigilantes, more of whom were trained later on. However, at that time, SLA forces continually told civilians that they were neglected by the Government, whose support for the local hunters extended only to the supply of ammunition.

In late 1991, the Paramount Chief of Mafindor Chiefdom and "important" Kono Authorities gathered the population in Kainkordu, the headquarter town of Soa Chiefdom. They asked for the youths and the local hunters, the Donsos, to organise themselves into a Civil Defence Unit (CDU). The youths and local hunters did so and began to organise the security of the town and the chiefdom, mainly by establishing checkpoints in the headquarter town. It is interesting to note that this meeting and the formation of vigilantes and organisation of Donsos was directly encouraged by the State authorities and also took place in other villages and towns in Soa chiefdom. At this early stage of the existence of Donsos, an embryonic administrative structure was established to assist the hunters on the ground. Thus, the 14 chiefdoms of Kono District were taxed (Le 1,000 per house) and the money was sent to the CDU headquarters in Koidu. Donsos and youths then received this money to buy torches and other simple logistical equipment to assist with their function as watchmen. At this time also, the SLA deployed one Battalion at Manjama (Soa Chiefdom), which became a strong base. Youths, Donsos and SLA forces were working together, the youths and Donsos being of a great help to the SLA as they were more familiar with the local terrain.

On hearing of RUF attacks on Sukudu and Konjo (Soa Chiefdom) in December 1991, a convoy of nearly 150 SLA members together with 19 youths went there to retake the towns. However on their arrival, no RUF forces were to be found. In Sukudu, they found five dead civilians with bullet wounds and 27 houses totally burnt. The fact that those youths joined the SLA forces to go and confront RUF forces was rather unusual at that time, as their main function was to operate checkpoints and to undertake patrols. Indeed, when they came back from this mission, their leader forwarded the information to their headquarters in Koidu. On receiving the information, CDU headquarters in Koidu sent two packets of shotgun cartridges. As cross-border raids were reported at the boundary with Kailahun District, the Paramount Chief of Soa exhorted the Donsos and vigilantes to advance towards the border to guard all the routes. The Youths' leader did not favour

Pujehun, Kenema and Kailahun Districts). In 1996, those local hunters would be organised under a national structure known as the Civil Defence Forces (CDF).

⁹¹⁸ This delegation consisted of the then Member of Parliament for Kono North East, Soa Chiefdom Paramount Chief, Kono Senior District Officer, All People's Congress (APC) Secretary General, the Overall commander of Tankoro Chiefdom Police Station and others.

⁹¹⁹ The reports make no mention of any casualties in Konjo or in any of villages that were attacked on the way.

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this, as they lacked weapons, and a meeting was convened in Koidu to decide on what action to take. Page A few days later, other villages at the boundary with Kailahun District, including Maa and Workor, were also attacked, people were killed and houses burnt. Civilians in these villages reported that the forces who attacked them were speaking Krio, Liberian and other languages; accordingly, they identified those forces as RUF from Sierra Leone, NPFL forces from Liberia and mercenaries from Burkina Faso. At around the same time, some youths based at Levuma (Soa Chiefdom, on the border with Kailahun District) captured a man they alleged to be a RUF collaborator. This man was brought to Manjama, where the SLA commander ordered him to be shot.

b) Events in 1992

In January 1992, RUF forces were to be found in the boundary villages between Yawei Chiefdom (Kailahun District) and Gbane Chiefdom, as well as in Gandorhun and its environs. After the attack on Gandorhun in 1991, the RUF forces had retreated to their base in Kailahun District. This was the start of a series of battles between RUF forces and the combined forces of the SLA, SSD and Donsos. At that time, the combined forces killed some people suspected of being "rebel" collaborators, including by putting a tyre around the neck of suspects and setting fire to it.

At this time, local hunters from Sandor Chiefdom were sent to the south of the District where the RUF/NPFL forces were advancing. In February 1992, a military base was set up in Mboama (Gbane Chiefdom) and 30 SLA members together with 47 Donsos were deployed there.

A meeting gathering the young men of Nimikoro Chiefdom was summoned by the Chiefdom Speaker and an SLA officer in April 1992 at the chiefdom headquarters of Jaiama. The purpose of this meeting was to organise the young men into vigilante groups that could assist the SLA in defending the chiefdom from RUF/NPFL attacks. A lot of young men volunteered and received some training from the SLA.

A fierce battle took place in May 1992 in Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom), where the RUF forces were repelled from the chiefdom. The fighting continued sporadically and, shortly after, the RUF/NPFL managed to overpower the combined forces and establish their first permanent base in Kono District, which was used to attack the surrounding villages. The RUF/NPFL forces attacked Sidu (Gbane Chiefdom), at the boundary with Tankoro Chiefdom, in May. Donsos from Baiama (Tankoro Chiefdom), eight miles from Sidu, informed the SLA forces deployed in Koidu of the advancing RUF/NPFL forces. The SLA therefore deployed in Baiama and Woama (Tankoro Chiefdom), where a battle took place between RUF/NPFL and SLA/Donsos. During these attacks, civilians were killed, property was taken and civilians were forced to carry the stolen property. RUF/NPFL were bypassing the government forces in Woama to attack villages in Tankoro

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⁹²⁰ Although there were no details about this meeting, it can be inferred that it was convened at the CDU headquarters. The result of this meeting could be the reinforcement of SLA forces to Manjama and the registration of armed Donsos in early 1992.

⁹²¹ The vigilantes found three dead civilian males in Maa and two burnt houses in Workor.

⁹²² During this time, RUF/NPFL forces had different bases in Kailahun District, the main one being in Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District).

⁹²³ No more information was available on these events.

Chiefdom, up to nearby Koidu. During these attacks, captured SLA forces and Donsos were killed, often after physical violence was inflicted on them.⁹²⁴

In October 1992, the RUF/NPFL forces finally drove the SLA forces from their base in Woama and established a second RUF/NPFL base there. This opened access to Koidu for the RUF/NPFL forces, since Woama is located on the Gandorhun-Koidu highway. The attack on Woama created panic among civilians in Koidu, who started to leave the town. SLA forces mounted checkpoints in Koidu to search the fleeing population for arms and suspected "rebels". For example, a prominent Tankoro Chiefdom authority was arrested at one of these checkpoints, suspected of being a "rebel" because he had in his briefcase a traditional dress like the one worn by local hunters. He was publicly tortured and beheaded in the main central area of Koidu.

Advancing RUF/NPFL forces captured an armoured car on 22 October 1992 from the SLA forces at Wordu, three miles south of Koidu. The RUF/NPFL forces burnt the car and a lot of SLA forces were killed. Some of the civilians who were fleeing the RUF/NPFL advance on Koidu drowned in the surrounding rivers, which had swollen following heavy rains. On 23 October 1992, RUF/NPFL forces launched an attack on Koidu from Woama. The following day, SLA forces together with some local hunters launched a counter attack on the town and repelled the RUF/NPFL forces. After this battle, the bodies of many civilians were left lying on the streets of the town, apparently caught in the crossfire as they tried to escape the fighting. 925 Houses were burnt and many civilians were abducted by RUF/NPFL forces, among them a foreign worker. In early December, RUF/NPFL forces attacked the town for the second time from the same direction and repelled the SLA forces as far as Yormandu (Sandor Chiefdom). 926 The RUF/NPFL forces also repelled the SLA forces deployed at Bumpe (Nimikoro Chiefdom), located on the Kono-Makeni highway, up to Sewafe (Nimiyama Chiefdom), which is near the Sewa River. In Bumpe junction, one civilian, a Limba by tribe, was shot dead by the RUF/NPFL commander who also ordered that the wife of the man be killed.

The fall of Koidu to the RUF/NPFL forces was interpreted against the Kono tribe and especially against the Paramount Chiefs, who became the target of SLA forces. Shortly after the attack on the town, a car arrived in Koidu carrying the wife of the Fiama Paramount Chief, who was in the boot of the car with his hands tied behind his back, his eyes swollen. When they recognised the Paramount Chief, civilians fled the area, fearful of being recognised by the Paramount Chief, which they believed could cause problems for them with SLA forces. The Paramount Chief was then taken to Tekko Barracks in Makeni (Bombali District); his death was subsequently confirmed. The Tombodu SLA forces later released his wife, after she had been raped by an unspecified number of SLA members. Some reports mention that the Paramount Chief was arrested because he failed to cooperate with SLA forces while another mentions that the Paramount Chief might have been arrested on the allegation that he had been found performing some ritual after the successful advance of RUF forces. Other Paramount Chiefs and other authorities from the District were

⁹²⁴ During that time, it was alleged that SLA forces sometime abandoned their positions at the battlefront to go to Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom) to meet their relatives or to mine.

⁹²⁵ This was inferred from the belongings found lying next to the bodies and needs to be clarified.

⁹²⁶ It cannot be determined with certainty whether the bodies of civilians were found on the streets after the first or the second attack.

arrested and sent to Pademba Road prison in Freetown on the grounds they had aided and abetted the capture of Kono District by RUF forces.

By the end of 1992, RUF/NPFL forces were therefore controlling a vast area of Kono District, including the main roads leading to Koidu. 927 During their stay in Koidu, RUF/NPFL forces patrolled the surrounding villages in search of local hunters or pockets of SLA forces. During these patrols, the RUF/NPFL forces killed civilians, took property and abducted several civilians, taking them to Koidu to work for the RUF/NPFL forces. At Baiama, for example, about 60 men and women, including a prominent Kono authority, were taken away.

In a bid to repel the RUF/NPFL forces out of Koidu, an air campaign was undertaken, with the assistance of Nigerian Alpha Jets. 928

When Koidu fell into the hands of the RUF/NPFL forces, most of its inhabitants left the town for Sandor Chiefdom, known to be an agricultural chiefdom full of hunters ready to defend their land. Those people coming to Sandor Chiefdom were searched at checkpoints by the SLA forces and the local hunters. During these searches, SLA forces or local hunters took whatever property they desired. Any civilians who resisted were molested and risked being termed as "rebel" collaborators, for which they could be killed. In addition, some civilians were killed for their money; SLA forces and local hunters harassed businessmen in particular. At this time, Yormandu town, in the south of Sandor Chiefdom on the boundary with Kamara Chiefdom, was overcrowded with displaced people and many people were not able to sleep in houses, staying instead in the church, the mosque and the Court Barrie. Food, water and medical facilities rapidly became scarce and cholera broke out at Yormandu and Kayima, the chiefdom headquarter located in the north-west of the chiefdom, taking the lives of many people.

Another crowd of civilians left Koidu after it had been recaptured by RUF forces and headed through Nimikoro Chiefdom for Kangama (Gorama Kono Chiefdom in the south of the District). On their way to Kangama, they had to pass through many checkpoints controlled by local hunters. At Moinmadu (Nimikoro Chiefdom), they fell into an RUF/NPFL attack. In the early hours of the morning, a RUF member disguised as an Imam called the people for prayer. Shortly after, the people who had gathered in the Mosque were surrounded by RUF/NPFL forces, who fired heavily in the air, capturing those in the mosque and other civilians in the town. Three civilians and a local hunter were killed in front of the Mosque and three men and a woman sustained serious injuries. Some young girls were publicly raped. Two houses alleged to belong to the Kamajor commander of the area were burnt down. The people who had been captured were gathered in the Court Barrie and those who had food were forced to give it to the RUF/NPFL forces, who also accompanied

⁹²⁷ It is interesting to note that these attacks on Koidu went virtually unreported in the media.

⁹²⁸ Inter Press Service, 18 December 1992. Since the middle of 1991, foreign troops, including Nigerians and Guineans forces were fighting alongside the SLA, further to bilateral agreements signed between Sierra Leone and Guinea and between Sierra Leone and Nigeria.

⁹²⁹ This information is reported in general terms and does not specify the exact location of every occurrence.

⁹³⁰ Kono District is predominantly Muslim and according to the Islam, a Muslim is bound to pray five times a day. Each of the five periods for prayers is preceded by a call, known as adhaan. The early morning prayer may be offered any time within two hours after dawn.

⁹³¹ Although the exact age is not reported, it is mentioned that they were under age.

other civilians to fetch water and food from elsewhere. During this, some civilians managed to escape, which led the commander to punish his forces who had gone to the bush with the civilians by lashing them and locking them in a veranda near the Court Barrie. After three days, the RUF/NPFL forces together with their captives took a bush path towards Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom, south east of Nimikoro Chiefdom), which at that time was one of their strongholds. On their way, local hunters attacked the convoy and successfully overran the RUF/NPFL forces. The civilians who had been with the RUF/NPFL forces were then brought to Tikonko in the north of Gorama Kono Chiefdom.

As Donsos from Sandor Chiefdom needed logistics, food, medicine and ammunition, a mass meeting was summoned at the chiefdom headquarters of Kayima probably in late October to provide assistance to the hunters. At the meeting, it was agreed that each taxpayer should contribute Le 500⁹³² and a few cups of rice every month.

In November 1992, hunters from Tefeyah (Sandor Chiefdom) spread the news that a man was killed by uniformed men believed to be "rebels", who took his money and diamonds. It was, however, later said that these uniformed men were not "rebels" but SLA forces, who did this because they had heard a few days earlier that the man had diamonds. Supporting this theory, it was said that it was highly unlikely that RUF forces would come to a big town like Tefeyah to kill only one person.

A convoy of an unspecified number of armed and unarmed men, women and children – namely RUF/NPFL forces and their captives – coming from the direction of Koidu arrived in Kainkordu (Soa Chiefdom) in late November. They stayed in the town for only one hour, killing some people, breaking doors, gathering anything that was of interest for them and abducting some civilians before heading through Manjama (Soa Chiefdom) to Sandaru, the RUF/NPFL base in Penguia Chiefdom (Kailahun District). This road, which links Koidu with Kainkordu and Penguia Chiefdom (Kailahun District), was often used by RUF forces in search of food. Also in Soa chiefdom, on 8 December, an RUF commander escorted by some men arrived in the chiefdom headquarter of Kainkordu. On his arrival, he explained that his movement, the RUF, had come to put an end to the APC regime and that it now controlled the whole of Kailahun, Kono and Pujehun Districts, as well as part of Kenema District. He further said that the people from Soa Chiefdom should join the movement and celebrate the presence of their "new government". He mounted green pieces of material on top of a high pole as a symbol that this was now RUF-controlled territory and appointed men and women as the new authorities of the chiefdom.

The mobilisation of youths and local hunters was reinforced and structured by the creation of Eastern Region Civil Defence Committee, aiming at mobilising "well-meaning Sierra Leoneans" to

⁹³² This should be placed in the context of Sierra Leone's position at the bottom of the Human Development Index: between 1991 and 2000, 57% of the population lived on less than 1 USD (2.000 SLL) per day and 74.5% lived on less than 2 USD (4.000 SLL) per day: see UNDP Human Development Report 2003, http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/indicator/cty_f_SLE.html, last visited on 30 December 2003.

⁹³³ The loss of Kono and Kailahun Districts to the hands of the RUF/NPFL forces had a significant impact on the economy, as most of Sierra Leone's income came from the production of cash crops in Kailahun District and the mining activities in Kono District. Following the capture of Koidu by the RUF/NPFL forces, the National Diamond Mining Co. ceased its operations: Mining Annual Review, 1 July 1993.

fight alongside the SLA. This committee was composed of representatives of Kenema, Kailahun and Kono Districts, with some from Freetown.⁹³⁴

c) Events in 1993

In January, SLA forces coming from Freetown were deployed at Sewafe Bridge (Nimiyama Chiefdom) and merged with another group who had retreated from Koidu. Those SLA forces recaptured Sewafe town and advanced further on the Koidu highway together with local hunters known as Tamaboros from Koinadugu, Guinean forces and ULIMO-K members. They launched different attacks in Nimikoro, Nimiyama and Tankoro Chiefdoms, successfully driving out RUF forces from the areas previously under their control. Koidu was retaken in the same wave of attacks, on 22 January. SLA forces from the Moa Barracks in Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District) also took control of Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom).

Those combined forces were heavily armed with tanks, armoured personnel carriers, AA guns and AK47s. They made several deployments in the area, including Koidu, and started patrolling villages and towns around Koidu in search of "rebels" and "rebel" collaborators, which led to the killing of many civilians accused of being "rebel" collaborators or sympathisers. The commanding officer⁹³⁶ ordered all the civilians living in the areas formerly under RUF/NPFL control to move to Ngor Town, which is located after the Sewa Bridge in Mimiyama Chiefdom, where the first displaced camp was opened for the people of Kono.⁹³⁷ Shortly after, SLA forces engaged in massive looting, as civilians had left their homes.

After the first group of Tamaboros⁹³⁸ arrived in January 1993, a second group came in July. The Donsos also stepped up their presence and were active in Yormandu (Sandor Chiefdom) and Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom) in January, in Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom) between March and August and at the border between Soa Chiefdom and Kailahun District and in Kangama (Gorama Kono) in December.

In early 1993, Kono authorities complained to the Government about looting and harassment by SLA forces during the previous month, so the Government sent a new SLA commander to Kono District. Following his arrival, the SLA forces based in Koidu started issuing passes for civilians relocated in the IDP camp who wished to visit their homes to check their belongings. Nigerian forces arrived in Koidu, while some SLA and Guinean forces moved to attack RUF/NPFL positions in Kailahun District. The Nigerian forces encouraged civilians to return and resettle in their villages. SLA and Nigerian troops were based in different strategic towns like Yengema, near the Kono-Makeni highway in Nimikoro Chiefdom; Tombodu, a diamond-rich town in Kamara

⁹³⁴ BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 22 December 1992.

⁹³⁵ No information was obtained on the casualties sustained during those attacks.

⁹³⁶ It cannot be inferred from the information collected whether this commanding officer was controlling all the combined forces, or just the SLA forces or the Guinean troops.

⁹³⁷ Around the same period, other camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) were operational in the country, notably in Gondama (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District), where thousands of civilians from Pujehun District found refuse

⁹³⁸ Local hunters from Koinadugu.



Chiefdom; and Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom), where they encouraged civilians to mine for diamonds. Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom) was a commercial centre and was the arrival and departure point for passenger helicopters flying to and from Freetown. Thus, by the end of 1993, most of the civilians who had earlier left the chiefdom came back to Kamara Chiefdom, as it was free of RUF presence.

However, those SLA forces killed an unspecified number of civilians suspecting of being RUF members or sympathisers. Those executions took place at Bendu II, where the bodies were dumped in a mass grave. In separate incident, another group of SLA members, who had replaced those who had arrested the Paramount Chief of Fiama, arrested a civilian and shot him twice without giving reasons. His body was left on the ground and a few civilians buried him afterwards. Also at Tombodu, Tamaboros coming from Koinadugu District to help the SLA forces drive the RUF out of the country undertook massive screening of civilians. As part of this process, in March, 940 2,000 civilians were gathered in the Court Barrie to be screened by the Tamaboros, headed by a woman dressed in traditional hunter attire. Some members of the SLA were also gathered at the Court Barrie. The woman conducted the screening through her mirror, which allegedly allowed her to assess whether a person was a "genuine civilian" or a "rebel". Those who were identified as "rebels" were either killed or sent to Pademba Road Prison in Freetown. After the screening process, civilians were given a pass that allowed them to move freely in the chiefdom and beyond without fearing of being molested or suspected of being a "rebel". People commonly gave the nickname "Unmolested" to this pass, which was issued by SLA officers.

Some Kono elites came together and formed an organisation called Koeyor, the primary objective of which was to restore dignity to the people of Kono. Together with the Kono Students Union, they pleaded for the release of the Kono Paramount Chiefs and other authorities who had been detained by the NPRC regime.

RUF forces were active in the eastern chiefdoms in the District during the first half of 1993, which was marked by incidents of killing and the destruction of property. For example, in Sukudu, at the beginning of the year, a prominent farmer had both of his arms chopped off. RUF forces tied a letter around his neck telling the then Head of State, Captain Strasser, that they were "still in control". In Kundima (Soa Chiefdom), five elderly people were killed in January by RUF forces. Their bodies showed machete wounds and one woman appeared to have had her head smashed on a rock. In February, RUF forces also attacked Kainkordu (Soa Chiefdom). Returning civilians later discovered 40 houses that had been completely burnt down and 27 bodies, which they buried in a dug out toilet in the southern part of the town. At that time, RUF forces also attacked Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom) for the second time, although there were no reported casualties.

SLA harassment of civilians was also reported in Mafindor and Gbane Kandor Chiefdoms. For example, cattle belonging to a civilian was taken and killed for food for the SLA forces. In Koardu (Gbane Kandor Chiefdom), civilians were locked up in the SLA guardroom and beaten if they complained about the behaviour of the SLA forces. Similar acts took place in Dunamaor (Gbane Kandor Chiefdom), where SLA forces entered the village, firing their weapons. As they began to

⁹³⁹ It cannot however be inferred from the records whether the civilians were mining for the Nigerian and SLA forces or for themselves, with the encouragement of those forces.

⁹⁴⁰ This screening process probably continued in April and May and is also reported in Koinadugu District.
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take people's poultry, one SLA member asked a man to give them his torch as well, which he refused to do. This refusal was not taken well by the SLA forces, who chased the man into the bushes. As he was hiding in the bushes, they took property from his house and assembled all the women and men of the village to punish them in order to find out where the man was hiding. ⁹⁴¹ The matter was later settled as the man's sister gave the SLA forces some money, some cups of rice and a chicken.

In addition, acts of physical violence, torture and killing of suspected "rebel" collaborators also took place. In May 1993, SLA forces were looking for two civilians whom they suspected of being "rebel" collaborators. As the nephew of one of those two wanted men was alleged to be on his way to warn his uncle, SLA forces arrested him in Gbamandufao (Gbane Kandor Chiefdom). His head was shaved with a piece of broken bottle and he was told to eat his hair, which had been mixed with sand. He then was hit with a bayonet before being brought to Koardu, where more violence was inflicted on him. He was then brought to Manjama (Soa Chiefdom) to ascertain whether he was a "rebel", where he was eventually killed. Another suspected "rebel" collaborator in Koardu (Gbane Kandor Chiefdom) was tied up, made to lie down in the sun and was severely beaten. In Ndanbadu, in September, a man was severely beaten then brought to Koardu, where he was locked in a guardroom because he had asked why the SLA members were taking people's cattle.

In the meantime, the Donsos were trying to resist to RUF attacks. In June, they deployed alongside the border with Kailahun District. In mid 1993, SLA forces were deployed in Soa Chiefdom and for the rest of the year, the area was almost free of RUF attacks.

Following rumours of an approaching RUF attack on Kangama (Gorama Kono Chiefdom) and its environs in October 1993, a meeting was summoned in the town in early December. The purpose of this meeting was to motivate the youths of the chiefdom to be initiated into the Kamajors society and to take up arms. ⁹⁴² After this meeting, between 100 and 200 youths registered to join the society. In mid December, 150 of these youths came back to the town with a gallon of palm oil and 10 cups of rice each for logistic support. They were then taken to a place called Jagbwema Kamba to be initiated into the Kamajors society. The initiator was also the initiator for Gorama Mende and Lower Bambara Chiefdoms (Kenema District). The initiates stayed in the bush for three weeks before returning to Kangama Town in early January 1994.

Following successful SLA attacks on RUF positions in Kailahun District in late 1993, Kono District was declared safe and IDPs from Ngor camp were repatriated to Koidu by the Government with the help of some Non-Governmental Organisations. 943

Around the same period, the SLA had recaptured most of the RUF positions in Kailahun and Pujehun Districts, which led the NPRC Chairman to declare a unilateral ceasefire on 1 December

⁹⁴¹ The type and duration of punishment they received were not specified.

⁹⁴² No Kamajor initiation had, however yet take place in the country, not even in the Southern Province, from where it originated. Accordingly, this information about the Kamajors may simply mean that youths and local hunters gathered, as they did in Kenema District, but were not initiated by an initiator as such.

⁹⁴³ In September, the NPRC Secretary General announced that the situation in Kono was calm and civilians could go back to their villages without hindrance: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 9 September 1993.

1993. This ceasefire was however largely violated, as RUF forces launched a massive operation in Kenema District in late December.

d) Events in 1994⁹⁴⁴

By the end of January and following the renewal of hostilities in the Eastern Province and in Pujehun District, the NPRC Chairman declared "total war" against the RUF.

In early 1994, returning chiefs created the Kono Council of Paramount Chiefs, chaired by the Paramount Chief of Mafindor Chiefdom, with the consent of the NPRC Commanding Officer Secretariat in Kono.⁹⁴⁵

RUF forces were reported to be in Baiama, in the south of Tankoro Chiefdom, in early 1994, where they burnt houses and raped girls. In March, they reached Levuma, a village of 70 houses south of Tankoro Chiefdom, near the border with Gorama Kono Chiefdom, where 70 people where shot and killed. This action was allegedly undertaken in reprisal for the local hunters attacking RUF positions and for the civilians' lack of support for the RUF movement. The Gorama Kono Kamajors subsequently launched an attack on Levuma and, after retaking control of the town, buried the corpses of the 70 victims in a mass grave in town, since burying them outside the town ran the risk of an encounter with RUF forces. During the RUF counter attack on Foindu (Gorama Kono Chiefdom, at the border with Tankoro Chiefdom), 10 houses were burnt, five people were killed, girls were raped and people were abducted. Others were wounded with cutlasses, including the Section Chief of Tankoro Chiefdom.

By April, the Tamaboros who had helped the SLA repelling the RUF/NPFL forces out of Koidu in January 1993 moved back to the Northern Province, their region of origin, to fight the RUF advance. 946

In May, more local hunters were gathered in Gorama Kono Chiefdom,⁹⁴⁷ thereby enabling them to retake Foindu from the RUF. Other towns in Gorama Kono were also the site of fighting between Kamajor and RUF forces. As rumours spread about an attack on Kangama, the main Kamajor base for the whole chiefdom, up to 124 more youths were initiated into the Kamajor society. The anticipated attack on Kangama took place in September 1994 and after the Kamajors succeeded in countering the RUF forces, the chiefdom was free from RUF incursions until 1995. In order to ensure security, the Kamajors laid constant ambushes on the four entry points from neighbouring chiefdoms, namely at Nimiyama, Nimikoro, Tankoro and Gbane Chiefdoms.

⁹⁴⁴ It should be noted that the information for 1994, 1995 and to a certain extent 1996 is sometimes confused and inconsistent. The information related in this report for this period was thoroughly crosschecked, notably in correlation with what happened in other places at the same time, but although there can be no doubt on the actual occurrence of the events, the exact date of those events cannot be ascertained with any certainty.

⁹⁴⁵ The main aim of the traditional authorities was to defend their District but no more information could be obtained on its precise role. It, however highlights how local authorities organised themselves to defend their land against RUF incursions.

⁹⁴⁶ Inter Press Service, 21 April 1994.

⁹⁴⁷ This gathering of local hunters at that time did not encompass initiation as such. Initiation ceremonies would not be performed in the Eastern Province before 1996.

In 1994, the taking of property was common by all factions, including RUF forces, SLA forces and Donsos, and businessmen were common targets. For example, at Yormandu, on a Friday market day, an SLA member killed a businessman for his money, approximately 4,000 to 5,000 US dollars. At Mansundu, another businessman was killed and his money was taken.

The Donsos were active in Sandor Chiefdom and were sometimes attacked by RUF forces during small-scale operations. In mid 1994, RUF forces entered Yormandu, where they killed one police officer and abducted the Donsos deputy chief's daughter. By the end of the year, 2,000 hunters were registered in Sandor Chiefdom.⁹⁴⁸

SLA forces were harsh with civilians they suspected of abiding or collaborating with the RUF, which led to disunity between civilians and the SLA. Civilians were also harassed without being suspected of being a RUF member and, in particular in diamond-rich Kamara Chiefdom, acts of violence and molestation were inflicted on civilians by SLA forces engaged in illegal mining, who used and took civilians' properties and abducted women to be their "wives". The smuggling of diamonds was at its peak during this period. At the same time, some civilian members of the NPRC regime organised themselves in a group called "Convoy" and engaged in mining activities, molesting any authority or landowner who stood in their way. A lot of small mining companies sprang up in this way.

In addition, SLA forces sometimes disguised themselves as RUF forces and attacked villages. For example, in Yorkordu (Sandor Chiefdom), located near the Bafin River, seven SLA members took property from the village before falling into a hunters' ambush. These attacks suspected to be carried out by SLA members pretending to be RUF forces led to disunity between local hunters and SLA forces and at Bakidu, SLA forces pretending to be RUF and who came to attack towns along the river were drowned by Donsos. Around the same time, between Mansundu and Worko (Sandor Chiefdom), RUF forces killed four SLA members, cut off their heads and displayed them on sticks.

A fierce RUF attack took place during that year in Yatandoe (Fiama Chiefdom). RUF forces, who were believed to have come from different directions, attacked the town with heavy firepower. During the course of their stay in the town, houses were burnt, people killed and women raped. A specific event was the chopping off of the two arms of one SLA member. Some civilians were abducted and taken to Kailahun. Civilians who sought refuge in the bush were chased by the RUF forces, who shot and killed some of them, looted and set on fire the huts built in the bush, known as "mansion". People from Fiama Chiefdom stayed in the bush until Executive Outcomes came to Kono District in 1995.

SLA forces remained in Mafindor and Gbane Kandor Chiefdoms, which were virtually free of RUF activity. However, SLA harassment of civilians, which was common during previous years, continued throughout 1994. In February, SLA forces requested the civilians from Sangema (Gbane

⁹⁴⁸ The reported information concerning Sandor Chiefdom was confused and did not allow us to expand our analysis on this chiefdom. Although it is likely that the information reported above did take place in 1994, it may have taken place at a different date and no more information was available on these events.

⁹⁴⁹ These civilians were called the "blue eye boys" and the nature of their relations with the NPRC regime it is not clear from the records. These mining activities were also carried out in 1995.

⁹⁵⁰ The date was not specified for this incident.

Kandor Chiefdom) to come to Koardu to brush the roads. As they did not get the message early enough and accordingly did not show up on time for the work, the civilians were gathered in Sangema and made to sit on the ground. As one of the civilians tried to reach a compromise with the SLA forces, he was hit with a weapon on his head. The SLA forces present in the village also took goats and poultry. The matter was reported to the SLA officer in charge in Manjama, who ordered the arrest of the SLA members involved. Another incident relates the fate of one woman in Marrah (Mafindor Chiefdom) in March, who was beaten and kicked by a member of the SLA, who accused her of having planned to sabotage the NPRC regime.

From November 1994, SLA forces were no longer based in Mafindor Chiefdom, although they were still patrolling the chiefdom. In Soa Chiefdom, SLA forces were still deployed in Manjama. Also in Soa Chiefdom, a jet bombardment was heard between Kongomadu and Theyor, which was believed to have been ECOMOG forces missing an RUF position.

<u>f)</u> Events in 1995

During this year, SLA forces were occupied with mining activities, leaving the security of the District to the under-equipped Donsos. During the first months of the year, the RUF forces succeeded in capturing major towns, including Koidu, in the wealthy west of the District, before being repelled in May and June by the combined forces of SLA, Executive Outcomes and local hunters.

In early 1995, RUF forces attacked Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom), advancing within a week on Woama (Tankoro Chiefdom) and then on Motema (Nimikoro Chiefdom). In this way, they approached Koidu town, which created panic among the inhabitants. In Motema, six police officers were killed, as well as a prominent Chief. The retreating SLA forces settled in Kamara and Sandor Chiefdoms, harassing civilians and taking their property.

RUF forces took advantage of the fact that SLA forces were more occupied with mining activities than with protecting the District borders. It has been suggested that junior SLA forces embarked on mining because they were suffering in their areas of deployment, as they did not receive much support from the Government and their officers were enriching themselves by mining diamonds. Furthermore, the attack on Motema, which is located on the Koidu-Makeni highway, created an increase in prices and a shortage of essential items in Koidu town, as the highway was no longer accessible.

In late April 1995, RUF forces launched their attack on Koidu. At this time, confusion arose in the mind of civilians about the identity of the fighting forces in control of the town. The RUF forces successfully captured one part of the bridge but the identification of the forces occupying the other part was unclear. Civilians thought that they may either be "loyal soldiers", namely SLA members fighting for the Government, or they may be "sobels". This attack is referred to as "the second attack", "phase II", or "5:05" by civilians from Koidu. Unlike the first attack, which took place in late 1992, RUF forces used heavy calibre weapons such as mortar bombs, RPGs and LMGs. During

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⁹⁵¹ The SLA members in question were not arrested.

⁹⁵² This term refers to either SLA members who joined the RUF movement but who still used their SLA uniforms, so people thought they were fighting for the Government, or SLA members who, although they did not join the RUF as such, were acting as if they were "rebels", adopting the same behaviours.

the attack, a lot of civilians were killed and RUF forces took property from hundreds of houses and abducted many people, either to work in the mines or to carry their loads. Shortly after, RUF forces took control of the whole town.

After the attack on Koidu, RUF forces fanned out and attacked many more places, which soon fell under their control. During these attacks, people were ill-treated and killed and property was taken or destroyed, including houses. For example, RUF forces who were on their way to Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom) cut off a woman's nose. Shortly afterwards, RUF forces attacked Tombodu. After the attack, inhabitants who returned to pack some belongings saw three houses burnt down and two bodies, although the actual levels of destruction and killing were likely to be much higher. Baiama (Tankoro Chiefdom headquarter, in the south of the chiefdom) was attacked and all the houses were burnt down. Some young women and men were abducted and taken to Koidu, which was at this time under RUF control. The abducted men were forced to carry the stolen property. RUF forces also proceeded further north and attacked Yormandu, south of Sandor Chiefdom, following the local hunters up to Bandu, three miles south-east of Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom headquarters).

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The April attack on Koidu led to a massive exodus of the population towards Kamara Chiefdom and towards the villages of Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom) and Kainkordu (Soa Chiefdom). In Jagbwema, fleeing civilians met with armed men in new uniforms, which led them to think they were SLA forces coming to recapture Koidu. However, shortly after their arrival, one of these armed men shot a civilian in the chest for asking them who they were. These armed men took personal effects and money from the civilians and burnt down one prominent businessman's house. While in their hiding place in the bush, fleeing people in Soa Chiefdom heard on the BBC "Focus on Africa" Program that "white men had come to Koidu". Program that "white men had come to Koidu". RUF forces used Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom) as their base to lead ambushes in the area, during which some civilians were tortured and raped.

During the same period, people suspected of being "rebel collaborators" were arrested and imprisoned by SLA forces. The NPRC regime imprisoned a lot of authorities they accused of collaboration with RUF forces at Pademba Road Prison in Freetown. At this time, further doubts were raised about the identity of the fighting forces carrying out certain actions, because it was reported that some SLA members organised road ambushes, attacking vehicles for their merchandise and specifically targeting businessmen, taking their belongings and, sometimes, killing them.

Between May and June 1995, a combined force of SLA, ULIMO-K and the CDU advanced from Sewa Bridge (Nimiyama Chiefdom) to recapture Koidu. On their way, they stopped for one week in Bumpe (Nimikoro Chiefdom), waiting for reinforcements from Executive Outcomes.⁹⁵⁶ Executive

⁹⁵³ The casualties for all these attacks are however not reported.

⁹⁵⁴ This refers to the coming of Executive Outcomes, a mercenary company from South Africa.

⁹⁵⁵ This information was related in general terms and does not specify the precise location of the events nor the exact date.

⁹⁵⁶ The precise dates of the coming of Executive Outcomes in the District could not be inferred from the records. However, it was crosschecked and corroborated with open sources that Koidu was recaptured by these combined forces in June.

Outcomes arrived in the same month after having completed their first military encounter in Mile 38 (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and advanced from Bumpe junction to recapture Koidu. RUF forces attacked those forces at Bumpe but were defeated and 17 of them were killed. By the end of June 1995, Executive Outcomes, together with SLA forces, had removed the RUF forces from Sewa Bridge, Yormandu, Tombodu Chiefdom, Koidu and villages surrounding Koidu. They moved towards Koidu from three different directions, encountering little resistance from RUF forces as they had superior firepower.

Executive Outcomes organised meetings in some chiefdom headquarters, encouraged hunters to organise themselves, gave them military training, especially on how to operate weapons, and supplied them with logistics, shotguns and eight round automatic rifles, which did not please the SLA forces. Executive Outcomes went on patrol with Donsos, due to their knowledge of the territory, seldom taking SLA members with them. They also encouraged civilians to participate in their own security as watchmen, notably during a general meeting in Koidu that gathered thousands of civilians together. During a meeting at Tombodu, Executive Outcomes demonstrated to the people how they could participate in the security network, using a "Spider Web" diagram. The Kono District Defence Committee of was reorganised and, as the Executive Outcome commander wished to involve the Kono people in the maintenance of security in the District, the Kono Consultative Committee (KCC) was formed. The KCC, besides the Kono District Defence Committee, embraced all facets of the Kono community. The initial meeting of the KCC took place in August, in the presence of 12 Paramount Chiefs, which was followed by regular meetings to discuss security questions.

Donsos, the local hunters, entered Yormandu in July and at this time, Sandor Chiefdom was divided into different zones, each of them placed under the command of a different hunter. Donsos, focused on liberating their chiefdoms, did not rely on SLA forces because of their impression that those SLA forces were quick to run away during RUF attacks.

People began returning to Koidu but due to the scarcity of food, they had to search for food in the surrounding villages. As they did so, they ran into pockets of RUF forces who, when driven out from Koidu, relocated mainly at Potema Camp, Baiama (Tankoro Chiefdom) and Bandafarda Camp, near Motema (Nimikoro Chiefdom). During these encounters, a large number of people were abducted and some were killed or mutilated.⁹⁶²

Probably in the middle of August, RUF forces coming from the Tongo route⁹⁶³ attacked Njaiama, headquarter town of Nimikoro Chiefdom and burnt the residence of the Chiefdom Speaker and the Court Barrie. They were repelled by SLA forces, assisted by local hunters. The SLA commander advised the residents of the town to stay indoors whenever there was a RUF attack on the town.

⁹⁵⁷ AFP, 28 June 1995.

⁹⁵⁸ Officially, Executive Outcomes had been engaged solely to train the SLA on military tactics but many reports for Kono District recounted that they came to the District to help repelling the RUF forces.

⁹⁵⁹ This training took place at District Office Barracks at Koidu and, after their training, the Donsos returned to their chiefdoms.

⁹⁶⁰ See the developments on this point in the year 1994

⁹⁶¹ Kono District has 14 chiefdoms.

⁹⁶² No details could be obtained on this incident.

⁹⁶³ Tongo is located in Lower Bambara Chiefdom (Kenema District). The road leading Tongo to Koidu passes by Gorama Kono Chiefdom, south of Nimikoro Chiefdom.

One week later, gunshots from the direction of Njala, a very big town a few miles away, were heard in Njaiama. Indeed, RUF forces, dressed in military uniforms, attacked Njala around 28 August. During this attack, over 50 people were killed and several houses burnt down. The RUF forces then moved on to Njaiama, where over 90 people where killed and houses were burnt. During these RUF attacks on Njala and Njaiama, many civilians were wounded and several more went missing, presumably captured by the RUF forces, although some were later discovered dead in the bushes. SLA forces who had pulled out of the town at the time of the attack regrouped and assisted by local hunters and Executive Outcomes, recaptured the town: A house-to-house search was carried out to bury the dead, who numbered 97 in total, spread over six different locations in the town.

SLA forces came from time to time to Mafindor Chiefdom during the first half of the year, often harassing civilians. For example, one group of SLA forces regularly carried out raids to confiscate civilian property, on one occasion beating the Chief of Sandia village. These actions ceased during the second half of the year, when the rainy season made the roads impassable. In Lei Chiefdom, which is a rich cattle-grazing area, SLA forces killed cattle belonging to civilians and forced the civilians to carry the meat to Koidu; similar events also took place in 1996. For example, in one incident which took place in the chiefdom headquarter of Saiama, some SLA members killed six cows in a pen and required the caretakers of the pen to bring the meat to Koidu. When two of them refused, they were severely beaten by the SLA forces and forced to take the meat to Koidu as previously requested. This incident was reported to the Paramount Chief of Lei, who explained to the owner of the cows that he was not the first to report such matters. As a result, the Paramount Chief had already complained to the Colonel in charge of the SLA in Koidu, who had assured him that he had taken all necessary steps to stop SLA members doing such things. The Colonel had also told the Paramount Chief that he would alert the Military Police around the chiefdom to arrest any SLA member coming to the chiefdom without an official reason.⁹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, similar actions continued even after the complaints of the Paramount Chief and the reassurances from the SLA Colonel.

In Soa Chiefdom, during the months of July to September, RUF forces believed to come from Kailahun District attacked different villages, mainly on a "hit and run" basis, searching for food and targeting villages with master farms. At this time, Donsos were active in Kainkordu and along the border villages, so RUF forces came in small groups and did not undertake sustained attacks. Rather, they would enter a village, take property and leave straightaway, as they were afraid of the Donsos based in some villages. During these raids, people were wounded, killed and forced to carry stolen property. These types of attacks took place in Bongema, Kuandor and Kainkordu. In Kainkordu, for example, one house was burnt and men and women were abducted to carry the property stolen in the village. One of these abductees was later shot dead outside Kainkordu.

In late 1995, Executive Outcomes, SLA and local hunters launched a massive attack on RUF positions at Woama and Baiama (Tankoro Chiefdom), where the RUF forces had their main camp in Potema. Donsos were able to provide Executive Outcomes with information and directions on

⁹⁶⁴ Some blamed the SLA for these attacks on Njala and Njaiama, as they were frustrated in their mining activities by Executive Outcomes: Inter Press Service, 6 September 1995.

⁹⁶⁵ It cannot, however, be inferred from the reports whether Military Police did arrest any SLA member or took any other kind of action.

RUF positions, following which local hunters were deployed at Baiama and SLA forces at Woama. After a last unsuccessful RUF attempt⁹⁶⁶ to attack Koidu where RUF forces bypassed SLA forces at Woama and were stopped at Woardu by Executive Outcomes, those chiefdoms located in the centre and the west of the District became relatively quiet. It is interesting to note that during some encounters between Executive Outcomes and the RUF, some of the RUF members who were killed were identified as ex-SLA, through the SLA identity cards found on their bodies.

<u>f)</u> Events in 1996

Executive Outcome mercenaries controlled illicit mining in Kono District, their presence minimising the ill treatment of civilians by SLA forces. They reprimanded undisciplined SLA forces and in one incident, killed 72 SLA members, described as "sobels", ⁹⁶⁷ at Kaneya in the outskirts of Koidu. Executive Outcomes patrolled together with Donsos who also continued to man checkpoints. For these reasons, their presence contributed to the stability of the security situation in Kono District and, to an extent, offset the economic consequences for the District of the incessant RUF ambushes on the Kono–Makeni Highway.

Around this time, it was alleged that Executive Outcomes was given a concession on the Tankoro Kimberlite mining site. The mercenary company was brought to the area by Branch Energy Ltd, a British company that secured a mining lease in the area and said it would hire its own security force. It was therefore believed that Executive Outcomes was taking a cut in the mining activities.⁹⁶⁸

At the border with Guinea and Kailahun District, Sandor Chiefdom was mainly protected by the Donsos and not by Executive Outcomes. This chiefdom was free from RUF incursions throughout 1996.

In Lei Chiefdom, SLA harassment of civilians continued, including sexual assault. At one point in 1996, some civilians came to Senehun, located on the highway going to the chiefdom headquarters of Saiama, to mourn the death of the town chief. Some SLA members asked some of them for a goat and as they explained that they had already given their only goat to some other SLA forces the day before, they were told that they should replace the goat with a woman. The civilians explained that there was no unmarried woman in the town. However, the SLA forces came across a young woman who had also came to the village on hearing of the death of the town chief. They took her away and, as she told them she was not married, they threatened the civilians with beatings as they lied to them about there being no unmarried women in the town. The woman was raped by the four SLA members during the night and then released, so the SLA members could avoid being disciplined by their commander. The incident was reported to a senior SLA commander but no action was taken. ⁹⁶⁹

In Gbane Chiefdom, RUF forces intimated voters on Election Day in an effort to prevent them from voting by sporadically firing their weapons. After the elections, some people fled the chiefdom,

⁹⁶⁹ The month of the occurrence of the incident could not be ascertained.

⁹⁶⁶ This event took place between late December 1995 and early 1996.

⁹⁶⁷ See earlier note 42 for an explanation of this term.

⁹⁶⁸ See The Mining Journal, 8 March 1996 and Inter Press Service, 11 March 1996. Around September 1996, Executive Outcomes would also be contracted by Sieromco, a company mining Bauxite in Moyamba District.

fearing the warning given by the RUF that they would amputate the hands of those who had voted for the newly-elected President, Alhaji Dr. Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. Furthermore, people in Kono heard that in some parts of the country under RUF control, especially in Kailahun District, people's hands were cut off and their mouths padlocked as a punishment for having voted.

After the elections, SLA forces were deployed all around the country in strategic positions, except some parts of Kailahun District. One battalion was deployed in Gbongbokoro (Soa Chiefdom), which is on the Guinean border and is a crossing point to one of Guinea's most prominent market centres called Gueckedou. However, dissent began to ferment within the SLA forces for not being treated by the Government with the respect and the honour they deserved, while hunters (Kamajors and Donsos) were respected by the Government. For example, in August 1996, armed men believed to be SLA forces attacked Kainkordu (Soa Chiefdom) and killed the treasury clerk, allegedly because the SLA forces held the treasury clerk responsible for bad reports against them being sent from the chiefdom authorities. Compounding their dissatisfaction, the President's address to the nation at the national Stadium in Freetown after the signing of the Abidjan Peace Agreement did not please the SLA forces, especially when he made particular mention of the Kamajors for the very outstanding job they did to put an end to the war.

RUF forces attacked Kangama (Gorama Kono) in October 1996, entering the town with heavy firing. They killed one woman and shot two other people in their hips, who were later taken for treatment to Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District). The RUF forces took all the property they could find in the town and abducted two boys to carry the load for them to their base, allegedly at Peyama (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District). One Friday in the same month, a meeting was summoned at the Court Barrie as information reached Kangama authorities about the Kamajor initiation that was taking place in Kenema District. It was agreed that young men should be initiated to protect the chiefdom and a message was conveyed to the Paramount Chief of Gorama Kono Chiefdom, who was at that time in Koidu, to put in place modalities for the initiation. His chiefdom speaker made the shuttle between Koidu and Kangama to organise the initiation. Money was borrowed from a produce buying agent in Koidu for the initiation and 30 energetic men were selected by the elders. The 30 young newly initiated Kamajors were then provided with single and double barrel guns and deployed in different part of the town.

Also in October 1996, RUF forces attacked Bamba (Soa Chiefdom) and burnt down 32 houses. They then headed to Sukudu, south of Soa Chiefdom, where they captured people, including children, and forced them to carry heavy loads to an unknown location. SLA forces based at Yigbeda (Soa Chiefdom) advanced to Sukudu and some of their members deployed there. Two weeks later, still in October, RUF forces attacked the town of Kongonani, six miles from Sukudu, where they killed civilians, including men, women and children, before being repelled by SLA forces, who had came from Sukudu on hearing the sounds of gunfire. Before retreating, RUF forces abducted some civilians and brought them to Kailahun District. Stolen property was also transported to Liberia by boat, crossing the river bordering Sierra Leone and Liberia. While a

⁹⁷⁰ By the end of the year, Gbane Chiefdom was a "no-go" area, as the fighting factions were hunting each other across the chiefdom, leading civilians to flee the area.

⁹⁷¹ This information backs up the previous assertions that no Kamajor initiations as such took place in Gorama Kono Chiefdom in late 1993 and early 1994.

meeting was in progress in Sukudu with SLA forces and local authorities in December, RUF forces again attacked Sukudu and killed the Section Chief of Sawa Fiama Section. SLA forces retreated to Yigbeda but later, still in December, they came back to Sukudu and warned civilians that they were planting mini-landmines along the road RUF forces were using to attack Soa Chiefdom, which caused the death of some of the RUF forces and allegedly led to the ceasing of attacks on villages in the chiefdom.

The Abidjan Peace Accord, signed on 30 November 1996, stated that the war was ended with immediate effect. It required that Executive Outcomes leave the country by early 1997, which they did, 972 and also required the disarmament of the fighting forces. 973 However, Kono people made a very strong appeal to the Government not to stop their contract with Executive Outcomes, as they ensured security for Kono District.

In the aftermath of the Abidjan Accord, the then Vice President conducted a confidence building tour in the provinces to disband the CDF. In late December,⁹⁷⁴ the Vice President of Sierra Leone visited Kono District and held a meeting in Koidu with Kono stakeholders, where he officially disbanded the CDF and required the Donsos to lay down their arms and return to their farming activities, as the Government had entered into a ceasefire agreement with the RUF. Any Donsos who failed to disarm would be detained. Many people who attended the meeting left the hall before the closure of the meeting to show their disapproval with the Vice President's statement. On the evening of that same day, the Deputy Defence Minister came to Koidu and organised a meeting at the Donsos office to encourage the Donsos to stay intact as RUF forces could not be trusted, including giving money as his own contribution for the Christmas celebration. Nevertheless, the Vice President's visit had, to all intents and purposes, paralysed further Donsos' activities.

g) Events in 1997⁹⁷⁵

In March 1997 in Gorama Kono Chiefdom, RUF forces attacked Kangama, a CDF stronghold located at the border with Tankoro Chiefdom, but were repelled. The RUF apparently wanted to capture Kangama as a transit point to block the Kamajors in Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District), ⁹⁷⁶ who had strong links with the Kamajors in Kangama.

In May 1997, news of the Coup reached Kono on its very first day through the BBC's "Focus on Africa" Program. After the Coup, the RUF came out of the bush, often looking malnourished, and together with AFRC mainly spent the year taking people's property, in particular making constant

⁹⁷² AFP, 30 January 1997.

⁹⁷³ Article 12 of the Agreement stated that the Government shall use all its endeavours, consistent with its treaty obligations, to repatriate other foreign troops (i.e., the Nigerians and the Guineans) no later than three months after the deployment of the Neutral Monitoring Group or six months after the signing of the Peace Agreement, whichever is earlier. Article 12 also stated that Executive Outcomes shall be withdrawn within five weeks of the deployment of the NMG: Sierra Leone Bi-Monthly Information Report No.11, 19 November - 16 December 1996.

⁹⁷⁴ This visit could have taken place early January 1997.

⁹⁷⁵ Little information was reported for 1997, as most of the RUF/AFRC activities were concentrated in Freetown and RUF activities now together with AFRC resumed progressively and were mainly focused on the mining areas. ⁹⁷⁶ It has to be remembered that the control of Tongo Field was of the utmost importance for RUF forces as it is the most important diamond area in Kenema District.

demands for livestock. Furthermore, shortly after the Coup, the individual plot system was abandoned and all mining areas were declared to belong to the RUF/AFRC forces, who appointed "Mines Monitoring Officials" to supervise their mining activities.⁹⁷⁷

Throughout 1997, RUF/AFRC forces undertook patrols in various places across the District. For example, Gbane Kandor Chiefdom was under the constant patrols of AFRC members. RUF/AFRC forces regularly patrolled Soa Chiefdom, except Kainkordu, which was a Kamajor stronghold.

RUF/AFRC forces established checkpoints in Koidu town⁹⁷⁸ and also conducted raids at mining sites, beating and killing civilians and seizing gravel from civilians, looking for diamonds.⁹⁷⁹ The SLPP Secretariat was occupied by the RUF/AFRC forces and used as their own administrative secretariat. A few weeks after the establishment of this secretariat, some RUF/AFRC forces arrested a man, brought him to the secretariat and shot him dead, accusing him of being a Kamajor because he was wearing country clothes, the traditional attire of the Kamajors. A member of the RUF/AFRC forces cut off both his hands. In Kamara Chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces also established checkpoints at the entry and exit points of Tombodu. They confiscated any items of value or of interest to them from people passing through the checkpoints. Also at this time, alleged CDF collaborators were executed.⁹⁸⁰

In Fiama chiefdom, RUF/AFRC harassment of civilians was initially minimal, as they only took food and only miners were harassed by RUF/AFRC forces for their diamond-containing gravel. However, shortly after, civilians were arrested and forced to wash the gravel for the combined forces. Furthermore, RUF/AFRC started visiting towns and villages where they took away food and people's personal effects, including jewellery and money. In June, RUF/AFRC forces from Yegeda attacked Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom). No wounding or fatalities were reported, but property including livestock, food items, clothes and medicine were taken. One month later, RUF/AFRC forces came back to Jagbwema from Koidu with two jeeps, opened fire and took items of the same nature as the previous month.

RUF/AFRC forces harassed authorities throughout the District, because they were suspected of being sympathisers with the Kabbah Government. For example, when news reached the RUF/AFRC forces in Koidu that a Paramount Chief had encouraged the reactivation of the CDF in his chiefdom, some forces were sent to capture him. He was not there, but his compound was looted and the Town Chief and one other young man were arrested, beaten and taken to Manjama, the RUF/AFRC military base in Soa Chiefdom. After this, panicked civilians fled to Guinea. In November and December, property was taken from the remaining civilians on a full-scale basis. The taking of property by RUF/AFRC forces took place in other areas, including Gbane and Gbane

⁹⁷⁷ See below in 1998 for details on the mining operations.

⁹⁷⁸ Koidu town had previously been under the control of SLA forces and Executive Outcomes. However, by early 1997, Executive Outcomes had left and when the Coup happened, SLA positions turned into AFRC positions, which were then reinforced by RUF forces.

⁹⁷⁹ This information was related in general terms and no further details were available.

⁹⁸⁰ This information was related in general terms and no further details were available.

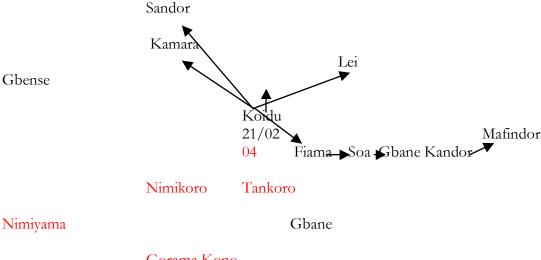
Kandor Chiefdoms, where Koardu Town (Gbane Kandor Chiefdom) was visited many times, mainly for livestock.

RUF/AFRC forces came again to Kangama (Gorama Kono Chiefdom) in June, taking advantage of the fact that the Kamajors had deserted their checkpoints during the night. Many civilians were captured, massive looting was carried out, houses were set on fire and civilians were forced to carry the stolen property to the RUF/AFRC base in Senehun (Tankoro Chiefdom). In August, the CDF launched a successful offensive on the RUF base in Senehun, as a result of which Gorama Kono Chiefdom was free of attacks for the rest of the year.

In Lei Chiefdom, two civilians accused of sabotage in Kombayende were shot to death on the orders of a member of the RUF/AFRC. In the same town, a woman was beaten with a bayonet and killed by a member of the AFRC for refusing to give him palm oil. There were also two separate incidences of rape in Lei Chiefdom, one in October when a woman was raped by three RUF/AFRC members in Kenema and one in December, when four members of the RUF/AFRC went to Senehun, requested a house in which to sleep and raped a woman.



Events in February - June 1998



Gorama Kono

Legend:

ECOMOG deployment

→ RUF/AFRC forces deployment

From January to February, violence against civilians and attacks on civilian property were rampant. An AFRC member shot and killed a young boy near the Koidu Central Mosque after the boy had helped him push his motorbike up the hill. Two days before ECOMOG drove the RUF/AFRC forces out of Freetown, a group of RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Branch Energy Lodge and Warehouse in Koidu and stole items valued at over hundreds of millions of Leones. On 12 February, "Operation pay yourself" was launched, according to which looting and confiscation of property were encouraged and almost all the shops in Koidu were looted. This operation lasted for a Shortly after, the RUF/AFRC forces decided to undertake another looting operation, which they named "Operation House to House Search". In reaction to these operations, the youths mobilised and attacked the RUF/AFRC forces, succeeding in capturing some weapons. In addition, civilians launched their own operation, "Burn soldiers", where RUF/AFRC forces were chased in their hideouts and rubber tyres were placed around their necks and set on fire. All of these successive operations took place before retreating RUF/AFRC forces from Freetown arrived in Kono District.

CDF members from Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom) and Njaiama Sewafe (Nimiyama Chiefdom) came to help maintain the security of Koidu and its environs. Youths surrendered the weapons they had captured from the RUF/AFRC forces to the CDF. ECOMOG forces were expected to arrive on 21 February, through the Yengema heliport. In Koidu, suspected collaborators of the RUF/AFRC forces were summarily executed by the CDF.

However, on 21 February, an RUF/AFRC convoy of 150 vehicles, which had been repelled from Freetown and had regrouped in Makeni, launched an attack on Koidu Town, entering the town along the Makeni-Magburaka highway. Using light artillery as opposed to the poor logistics available to the Kamajors, the RUF/AFRC forces overpowered them during the day. The Kamajors had no choice but to retreat, mainly to Manjama and Kainkordu (Soa Chiefdom). Accordingly, Koidu Town and its environs fell under the total control of the RUF/AFRC forces. The burning of the town began. Abduction, rape and looting were rampant in Koidu and in all the surrounding villages. As a result of this, civilians fled the town and its environs, leaving Koidu and Woardu almost like ghost towns. 981

When they pulled out of Freetown, the RUF indicated that it was again in charge of the operations. RUF forces began issuing orders to AFRC members and to arrest and kill those who refused to carry out the orders. In the Provinces, the AFRC forces were outnumbered and some of them surrendered to ECOMOG forces. A senior RUF officer, probably RUF Battle Group Commander at that time, was renown for killing many AFRC members when RUF/AFRC forces were in Koidu. On one occasion, he ordered 15 AFRC members to go and destroy a bridge on the highway. As one of them refused to go for he was unarmed, he was shot and killed by this senior officer.

The capture of Koidu town was the prelude to RUF/AFRC forces spreading all over the District. No chiefdom was left untouched after February and the violence intensified after the news that President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah had been restored to power on 10 March 1998, especially when Operation "Kill all living things" was declared. The scale of violations committed was in particular very high between February and May/June, reaching unprecedented levels. What happened during this period (February –May/June) will be outlined below according to the different areas in which things were happening, rather than chronologically, due to the high level of activity in all areas of the District, although it should be borne in mind that these events happened concurrently.

West (Kamara, Gbense, Nimiyama, Nimikoro and Tankoro Chiefdoms)

Villages in Gbense Chiefdom were attacked and in late February, many civilians fled the town of Yardu, to the north of Koidu, where a well-known Reverend was killed.

On 17 March, over 30 RUF/AFRC forces discovered some people in their hiding place near Kuandor (Kamara Chiefdom). The commander, a Liberian, asked the people to cook for them. Afterwards, he decided to go to another area but two of his men asked him if they could to take with them the girls who were among the civilians. The commander apparently gave permission, as the two girls, aged 13 and 14, were taken away by these forces. On 21 March, the National Chairman of the SLPP who was considered as a father for the whole District, relocated to a hiding place outside Wordu village a few miles from Koidu. He was later discovered, stripped, beaten and tied up before being shot dead by six men belonging to the RUF/AFRC forces. A young girl who was under his guardianship was raped and taken to be the "wife" of their commander. Before leaving, the six men took one boy to carry the property they had just stolen. In Wordu, four young

⁹⁸¹ It is not totally clear when RUF/AFRC entered Koidu, as the attack may have taken place in early March 1998 (Chicago Tribune, 17 March 1998). Furthermore, information from Koinadugu District tends to suggest that RUF/AFRC forces reached Koidu from Koinadugu District. The poor conditions of the road network in Koinadugu District, compared to the good quality of the highway, which leads Makeni (Bombali District) to Koidu, through Magburaka (Tonkolili District), however suggest that the bulk of the RUF/AFRC forces reached Koidu from Makeni.

girls in their teens were captured by six RUF/AFRC men. After being ordered to cook, both the girls and some young men were severely beaten.

CDF members continued to confront RUF/AFRC forces and around 23 March, claimed to have recaptured Njaiama Sewafe and the Sewa Bridge (Nimiyama Chiefdom). In addition, they claimed to have rescued hundreds of civilians caught behind RUF/AFRC lines. 982

Killings, indiscriminate amputations, the gorging out of eyes, the dropping of burning plastic into the eyes and the disembowelling of pregnant women were common practice in Koidu at that time. In April, six civilians were captured by RUF/AFRC forces in Yardu village (Gbense Chiefdom) and were frog-marched to Koidu Town. One of the commanders shot one of the captives six times in the legs. As the captive could not walk any more, the commander ordered his men to execute him. When they reached Koidu Town, they met a group of ULIMO members⁹⁸³ who demanded that the captured men be divided and one group be assigned to them (ULIMO). After a confrontation between the RUF/AFRC forces and the ULIMO forces, the captured men were finally taken to the RUF commander's residence. One of the captured men was suspected of being a Donsos and was severely beaten, had his hands braced and was locked up with other civilians in a toilet being used as a cell. All of the men were subsequently released.

In April, the rate of killing, rape and mutilation increased as the RUF/AFRC forces had launched "Operation No Living Thing". Kamara Chiefdom, a diamond-rich area northwest of Koidu, was particularly affected at this time.

AFRC/RUF forces were in the bush in Kamara and Tankoro Chiefdoms and the high number of reports for this area reveal the intensity of the violence inflicted on civilians. There were many instances of killing, acts of rape, amputation and burning of houses. One RUF commander was notorious for the amputation of several hands and legs. He ordered the abduction of a large number of people in a mining area, two to three miles away from Tombodu, and ordered the amputations according to description called 'long sleeve' or 'short sleeve'. In another encounter, the same commander and his men conducted an intense raid, during which they all raped one woman and lacerated her vagina. Other incidents include shooting civilians during raids or patrols. Another RUF commander in the area conducted a raid, which resulted in the abduction of several men, women and children, who were locked a house, which was then set on fire.

At Yardu (Gbense Chiefdom) in early April, the RUF/AFRC commander ordered that three people be killed. Among those killed was an ex-worker at the Koidu Electricity House. Civilians were ordered to bury the bodies on 10 April 1998.

As news arrived that ECOMOG troops were advancing in the District and were based near Koidu, at Koakuima, two convoys of civilians, including men, women and children, moved from Yardu to

⁹⁸² BBC Online News Archive, 23 March 1998.

⁹⁸³ Although ULIMO forces were officially disbanded in 1997, following the presidential elections in Liberia, it was alleged and stated by the ECOMOG commander in Sierra Leone that members of ULIMO-K were fighting alongside the RUF/AFRC forces: AFP, 21 April 1998. Some of these members would be arrested by ECOMOG forces and detained at the Pademba Road Prison in Freetown: Inter Press Service, 29 April 1998.

Motema town, eight miles south of Koidu Town on 22 and 24 April, arriving safely at their destination.

During this period, RUF/AFRC forces were continuously running from village to village, killing, raping and amputating people and burning villages, so that most of the civilians fled for the bush. One resident of Kuandor, who was returning to the town with some other people, ran into seven members of the RUF/AFRC forces, five of them carrying AK47s and two armed with cutlasses; one of them identified himself as trained fighter from Burkina Faso. The civilians were taken to Kuandor village and were asked to give the RUF/AFRC forces money and rice, which they did not have. The forces stripped one man to his underwear, laid him flat on the ground and beat him with a cutlass, which left marks on his back. They then poured some palm wine on his head and body, tied him up firmly and planned to take him out of the town later to kill him. Another civilian who was captured started crying and was hit hard on the head with a cutlass. One of the forces came back to the civilian who was tied up and told him since the civilians did not know his name, he would write it on his back with a razor blade, but was stopped from doing so by another member of the forces. All the RUF members and the civilians then moved on and RUF forces abducted more people in the nearby village. One of the RUF members suggested that they should leave the civilians behind, meaning they should be killed. However, the commander of the group allowed the two men from Kuandor to return to their town. 984

In another incident that took place in April, 11 RUF/AFRC forces carrying guns and cutlasses captured three boys ⁹⁸⁵ who were going to Peyima (Kamara Chiefdom) to get salt and other items to bring back to their relatives, who were living in huts (also known as mansions) in the bush. The boys were forced to take the RUF/AFRC members to the mansions. The members covered the three boys with palm leaves, set fire to them and told the three boys to show them where all the property was kept, or they would stay in the fire until they were completely burnt. The boys showed them where the belongings were and the RUF/AFRC forces left the place taking with them the items they found. Before they left, they beat the three boys.

Also in April, in the village of Gbaima (Kamara Chiefdom), a group of RUF/AFRC members went to a farm near the village and asked the farmer to give them rice and palm oil. As the farmer only had rice to give, the RUF/AFRC members pierced his feet, passed a rope through the hole thus created and tied him up firmly. They then set fire to the palm fruits and threw the farmer into the fire. The man died nine days later. Violence was also inflicted on the other five inhabitants of the farm when the RUF/AFRC forces set fire to an empty five-gallon container and dropped the melting rubber on the five people until the container had burnt completely.

During the same month, two civilians who left Gbaima to go to Tombodu to check the condition of their houses ran into seven RUF/AFRC members, who tied their hands and told them to show them the way where they came from. As they approached Gbaima, the armed men opened fire on the civilians they met in the village, killing one old man, whose stomach was cut open and whose intestines were tied on a stick. Another boy whose age was not specified was also cut with a bladed weapon. The RUF/AFRC forces then conducted a house-to-house search and the two civilians they

⁹⁸⁴ What happened to the remaining abductees was not specified.

⁹⁸⁵ The age of the three boys could not be ascertained from the records.

had previously arrested were ordered to gather all the food items they had taken. Before leaving for Tombodu, the RUF/AFRC forces set all the houses of the village on fire. On their way to Tombodu, the seven RUF/AFRC forces and two abducted civilians passed by the village of Wordu, where one of the armed men went to a house where a blind man was living. When he came back to his colleagues, he told them he had "finished" the man. Two boys they met on their way to Tombodu were also forced to join them. When they arrived at Tombodu, the civilians saw a body with its stomach cut open lying on the street that led the RUF/AFRC forces' headquarters. When they arrived at the headquarters, which was full of a variety of types of weapons including rifles, light artillery and bladed weapons, the commander ordered his men to tie the civilians (who were by then 14 in number), and lay them on the ground, one person on top of another. A mattress was then put on top of them and lit. One of the civilians, who kicked the mattress away as it started to burn him, was hit severely with a machete by the commander. The commander also accused him of being one of the youths who had burnt RUF/AFRC forces in February and hit his right hand with a machete, although it was not chopped off. When they saw this, the other civilians tried to escape and started running but were killed when the commander ordered his men to shoot them.

During this period, RUF/AFRC forces would burn part of the town of Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom) each time an ECOMOG jet plane flew overhead. On one occasion, over 50 civilians, men, women and children were locked up in a house at Yusufuya Road and the house was set on fire. Cells in the headquarters were used to detain civilians, men and women, some of whom were later killed. The commander used a mined out crater near the lorry park in Tombodu to dump bodies of the people killed in the town.

In another incident, a man from Gbondu village (upper part of Kamara Chiefdom) was captured by some RUF/AFRC forces, who forced him to carry their load to a village in Sandor Chiefdom. Once the load was carried, the civilian was told to go back to his town. As he was returning, he met with another group of RUF/AFRC forces who cut off one of his hands. The man reached Gbondu and shortly after, the population decided to leave the village to go to Koakuima, where ECOMOG was stationed.

Around this period, a District Emergency Task Force was created by civilians who had returned to their villages. This Task Force was mandated to assess the destruction of their villages and to help the local population. Each chiefdom was represented in the Task Force. 986

ECOMOG had arrived in Njaiama Sewafe (Nimiyama Chiefdom) in early April 1998. While their arrival was characterised by tensions with members of the CDF from Kono District, since ECOMOG came with some members of the CDF from Punduru (Gorama Mende Chiefdom, in the north of Kenema District), the advancing ECOMOG troops were welcomed. While in Njaiama

⁹⁸⁷ Following the intervention in Freetown, further inland operations were carried out by the specially designed 24th ECOMOG Brigade Infantry: Brig. Gen. R. A. Adeshina: *The Reversed Victory: Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc., p 29. Members of this brigade deployed in the country and after capturing Makeni in March 1998, they proceeded further North to Kono District and arrived in Njaiama Sewafe around 11 April, where they met their colleagues already deployed since early April. It appears that the first batch of ECOMOG forces who deployed in Njaiama Sewafe waited for troops from the 24th Brigade Infantry before advancing further to Koidu.

⁹⁸⁶ AFP, 16 and 17 June 1998.

Sewafe, the ECOMOG Commander-in-Chief paid them a visit and gave the order to advance on Koidu Town. Thus, a combined troop of ECOMOG and Donsos moved to Koidu on 12 April on foot through the jungle, encountering an RUF/AFRC attack at Yigbeda, during which many ECOMOG members were killed. Nevertheless, they continued their journey and within one day, captured Yengema, Motema and Small Lebanon⁹⁸⁸ (all located on the highway), after having battled for a few hours with some RUF/AFRC forces. The 5th Battalion was then deployed at Motema. The ECOMOG and CDF forces launched their first attack on Koidu Town but were repelled by RUF/AFRC forces and went back to Small Lebanon. However, ECOMOG and CDF forces launched a second attack and were able to overpower the RUF/AFRC forces, who fled the town. ECOMOG forces also deployed at Koakuima where, as mentioned earlier, many civilians from the surrounding chiefdoms had come to find refuge, as the ECOMOG presence appeared to represent greater safety. 990

RUF/AFRC forces continued to stage ambushes and around 14 April, three buses carrying ECOMOG reinforcements and CDF members fell in one of those ambushes near Yigbeda (Nimikoro Chiefdom). Some ECOMOG members were killed, others wounded and two BBC reporters were killed while trying to find refuge in the bush. The buses were later met by some of the ECOMOG forces of the 24th Brigade infantry en route to Makeni and from there to Freetown to brief the Task Force Commander. Those ECOMOG forces loaded their dead and the wounded colleagues onto the truck and continued their journey to Makeni. Shortly after, they fell in another RUF/AFRC ambush but managed to escape the ambush without any fatalities and made their way to Njaiama Sewafe (Nimiyama Chiefdom). 991

CDF forces equipped with arms and ammunition given to them by ECOMOG troops stationed at Njaiama Sewafe attacked Yardu (Gbense Chiefdom) in April and overcame the RUF/AFRC forces. Many RUF/AFRC members were killed during that attack, while two died by drowning into the river. In late April, ECOMOG forces in the District received reinforcements, who deployed along the Njaiama Sewafe-Koidu highway, where they faced some ambushes staged by some RUF/AFRC forces. Assisted by an air campaign, they cleared the highway and reopened it in early May. 992

⁹⁸⁹ It is not totally clear whether ECOMOG forces launched one or two attacks on Koidu before capturing it. In any case, these actions were carried out within a short period of time. RUF/AFRC forces, before retreating from the town, inflicting heavy casualties on civilians, killing some and burning houses. It was alleged that around 2.000 civilians were held hostages by the RUF/AFRC forces, in readiness for the expected ECOMOG attack. Inter Press Service, 16 April 1998.

⁹⁸⁸ Small Lebanon is a town south of Koidu.

⁹⁹⁰ However, unlike the people who had escaped Gbense Chiefdom for Koakuima, those who had found refuge in Sandor Chiefdom and the CDF, who had also decided to move to Koakuima, fell into the hands of RUF/AFRC forces in Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom) and a lot of them were killed while others had their limbs amputated.

⁹⁹¹ Adeshina, *op cit*, pp 62-3; see also Associated Press Worldstream, 18 April 1998.

⁹⁹² Former members of the AFRC regime who had surrendered were part of this deployment, re-trained and incorporated by ECOMOG: Adeshina, *op cit*, pp 66-7. This deployment of former AFRC members frightened the population, who suspected they may still be loyal to the ousted AFRC leader: AFP, 16 June 1998.

A Nigerian contingent of ECOMOG was also sent to Torgbombu, an important town in Gorama Kono Chiefdom. 993 They came with heavy artillery including Alpha Jets, tanks, mortar bombs and helicopter gunships; shortly after their deployment at Torgbombu, they attacked RUF/AFRC positions and deployed in Jaiama and Bumpe (Nimikoro Chiefdom) together with members of the CDF. The ECOMOG forces encouraged people to come out of their hiding places, so civilians started to come back to the headquarter town of Jaiama.

RUF/AFRC forces attacked ECOMOG positions at Jaiama (Nimikoro chiefdom), where they were repelled, and at Motema, where they were also repelled, but not before they had killed 24 civilians in a house situated near the national Petroleum Station at the Motema Junction along the main Freetown highway. 994 Those 24 civilians were later buried in one mass grave by the house of a retired senior superintendent of the Sierra Leone Police. Several attempts were also made by the combined RUF/AFRC forces to attack ECOMOG forces based at Koakuima but they all failed.

On 10 June, two days after the announcement over the radio of the death of the Nigerian President, RUF/AFRC forces made an attempt to attack Koidu, at that time under ECOMOG control. Although this attempt continued until the end of the month, the RUF/AFRC forces did not succeed in recapturing the town. 995

North-west (Sandor Chiefdom)

After taking Koidu in late February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces arrived in Sandor Chiefdom and organised themselves into different groups, namely food finding groups and mining groups. A lot of stolen property came to Sandor from Koidu, as Sandor Chiefdom was a commercial centre. In this chiefdom, they were based in Yormandu, Tefeya and Kayima, from where they controlled various chiefdoms in Koinadugu District.

AFRC/RUF forces were engaged in large-scale mining in the south of Sandor Chiefdom, in towns including Yormandu, Tefeya, Bakidu, Woidala and Bendu. The RUF/AFRC forces needed people to work in the mines and to find food, so a lot of civilians were abducted for these purposes. Many people who were captured were divided into groups, namely tripping, extraction and washing, and forced to work in the mines all day long. Mining workers were flogged, killed or burnt to death. Sick or tired workers were either killed or driven away after a severe beating or flogging. Mining workers caught stealing diamonds were burnt to death using a five-gallon container for carrying petrol or palm wine or oil. Physical violence, mutilation and killing were rampant. At Tefeya and Sandeya for example, RUF/AFRC forces killed civilians and amputated the ears and hands of others. 996 Promotion was given to RUF/AFRC members according to the results of their missions. As an example, when members, often child soldiers, were asked to burn houses and they burnt more than they had been told to, they were given rank promotion.

⁹⁹³ It seems that this contingent of ECOMOG came from Kenema while the other one who deployed in towns alongside the highway that leads to Koidu came from Freetown. It is likely that those deployments took place at the same time.

⁹⁹⁴ The attack on Jaima took place shortly after ECOMOG deployed whereas the one on Motema must have taken place weeks later.

⁹⁹⁵ Adeshina, *op cit*, pp 89-93.

All over the chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces began killing people in the bush, mainly for food as their stores began to run out in April. "Where is the salt, where is the Maggi, where is the pepper" were common questions asked of civilians, who would be killed if they were unable to provide the RUF/AFRC forces with those items. For example, in Kayima area at a place called Nakor, six people were killed for refusing to give food and other items. During the same period, in Kayima area, 13 people were put in a farm, which was then set on fire. 997

In April, an internal dispute arose between RUF/AFRC forces at Yormandu and some went to Tegbadu, three miles east of Yormandu. 998

As they needed civilians to undertake various activities, the RUF/AFRC forces devised different ways to bring civilians out of the bushes. On one occasion, RUF/AFRC forces sent the message to the bush, in particular nearby Yiffin (Koinadugu District) where civilians from Sandor Chiefdom had fled earlier, that a former NPRC Defence Minister and son of Kayima had come to Kayima and had called people to come out of the bushes. On another occasion in May, one civilian leaving the bush around Masundu and heading for Guinea with his family felt into a RUF/AFRC ambush. The RUF/AFRC forces took them back to Masundu and the commander told him that if he would bring people out of the bushes, he would be appointed Town Chief or Town Commander. This man persuaded some other people to come out of the bushes and they started to brush the town and to repair damaged houses. A civilian was appointed at the G5 position. RUF/AFRC forces would then come regularly to the town to ask for food. Civilians were not killed but were forced to produce the requested items and to work for the RUF/AFRC forces. To refuse to work would lead to flogging. It appeared that Masundu was one of the first towns to be rebuilt in Sandor Chiefdom. This situation continued throughout 1998 and 1999 until Donsos came to fight the RUF/AFRC forces.

However, this collaboration was not mirrored in other areas of the chiefdom, where women were raped and taken as RUF/AFRC "wives". Young girls were raped in front of their parents and were subsequently captured to carry loads. In April, one man was killed after he begged for mercy for his daughter, who was being raped in front of him.¹⁰⁰¹

At Yormandu, the burning of five-gallon containers to drip the melted plastic onto civilians was rampant. People were flogged up to 200, 300 and even 400 lashes all over their body, mainly when they refused to work, or said they were tired, or were caught stealing minor things. However, people caught stealing diamonds had a separate treatment and were burnt to death using a five-gallon container. In one specific incident that took place at Yormandu, one man who stole a diamond,

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⁹⁹⁷ The precise location of this event was not specified in the records.

⁹⁹⁸ No further information on the reason of the dispute but also stated in general terms, it illustrates, as other similar incidents in Kono District and in other Districts that following the retreat from Freetown, internal fight appeared inside the combined RUF/AFRC forces.

⁹⁹⁹ This information revealed to be false but anyway, did not have the expected results.

 $^{^{1000}}$ When they came to Masundu, probably in 2000, the hunters called together some civilians and molested a lot of them, accusing them of having collaborated with the RUF/AFRC forces.

¹⁰⁰¹ No detail on the location of this incident could be obtained from the records.

called "Government property", was stripped naked and had melted rubber dropped on his body until he died.

As a result of these atrocities, civilians fled in large numbers to Yiffin (Koinadugu District), which saw a massive influx of people starting in late April. Indeed, throughout 1998, civilians were going on and off in the bush, to Guinea and to Koinadugu District.

Members of the CDF, together with a large number of SLA forces, 1002 equipped with arms and ammunition provided through the ECOMOG helicopter fought RUF/AFRC forces in Sandor Chiefdom. As a result, sometime in June, RUF/AFRC forces retreated to Koinadugu District. Other groups of hunters under the command of different commanders were active in the north and north-east of the chiefdom. RUF/AFRC forces, however, regularly attacked those SLA and CDF forces, often by using ambushes. In fact, ambushes were widely practiced by RUF/AFRC forces, particularly after SLA forces together with CDF members attacked them. In mid 1998, a group of between 30 to 35 civilians fell into an RUF/AFRC ambush three miles south of Kayima. Eighteen of them were beaten to death at the Yormandu Kayima and Tefeya Junction, as it was said that RUF/AFRC forces did not want to alert SLA forces by using their guns. The remaining civilians were taken to Baudu, the first town after Kayima on the road to Yormandu, where six of them were killed. The remaining people were taken away and their fate remains unknown.

Gbane Chiefdom

In Gbane Chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces forced civilians to work for them, mining diamond and gold and harvesting cash crops like coffee and cocoa, which the RUF/AFRC forces were using to get arms and ammunitions. ¹⁰⁰³ By the end of March, the chiefdom was virtually empty, as people fled the villages to go to the bush and to Guinea.

South-east (Fiama, Soa, Gbane Kandor and Mafindor Chiefdoms)

When RUF/AFRC forces dislodged CDF forces from Koidu in February 1998, these CDF forces retreated mainly to Kainkordu and Manjama in Soa Chiefdom. Shortly after, RUF/AFRC forces launched attacks on Fiama and Soa Chiefdoms, in particular in those areas where the CDF forces were concentrated. Indeed, in Soa Chiefdom, Donsos had six bases¹⁰⁰⁴ in the chiefdom, their headquarters being in Kainkordu.

On 11 March 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the headquarter town of Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC forces, coming from Koidu in military and civilian jeeps, entered the town firing indiscriminately. More than 70 houses were burnt and the town was massively looted. During the night, the RUF/AFRC forces abducted three people, including the Town Chief, who were all later killed; on 12 March 1998, the same group also killed the Town Chief of Gbetema. On 24 March 1998, RUF/AFRC forces coming from Jagbwema attacked Yeanoh, shooting and killing many people.

¹⁰⁰² The report mentions that the SLA forces were composed of 846 men.

¹⁰⁰³ The records talk about the cash crops being swapped for arms and ammunitions without giving details as to where this exchange was taking place, whether it was taking place at the Guinean border.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The Donsos had 100 men deployed at Kainkordu, 25 at Kuandor, 25 at Fuero, 25 at Sukudu, 50 at Manjama and 15 at Medu.

When they heard that the Kamajors and Donsos were in Soa Chiefdom, at Gbanmandu, north of the chiefdom headquarter of Kainkordu, the RUF/AFRC forces moved to Soa Chiefdom. On their way to Kainkordu, this group of RUF/AFRC forces fought with another group of RUF/AFRC forces, each of them thinking they were fighting with CDF forces. A number of the forces were killed during that encounter, but later, both groups¹⁰⁰⁵ joined forces to advance on Kainkordu. In Kainkordu, the RUF/AFRC forces fought with the CDF forces and both fighting factions suffered heavy fatalities, with no reported civilian fatalities. The RUF/AFRC forces then headed for Manjama, two miles from Kainkordu, where many civilians were killed. Those two attacks on Kainkordu and Manjama created panic among the civilians and a lot of them decided to flee for Guinea. This panic was intensified by the rumour that the route through Kainkordu was being used by some RUF/AFRC forces going to Liberia¹⁰⁰⁶ through Kailahun.

The same RUF/AFRC forces then proceeded further east towards Gbane Kandor Chiefdom and, on 27 March, launched simultaneous attacks on Bendu, Gbangbandor, Dugbor, Gbaidu, Dunamao and Koardu (all in Gbane Kandor Chiefdom). During this wave of attacks, several civilians, including men, women and children, were abducted, women were sexually abused and many houses were looted and burnt down. In Gbangbandor, for example, one woman was sexually assaulted and beaten to death. These attacks made the civilians leave the chiefdom for Guinea. However, in order to find food, civilians returned from time to time to the chiefdom and an unspecified number of civilians were abducted or killed. Donsos from Mafindor Chiefdom to the east of Gbane Kandor Chiefdom regrouped to try to stop the RUF/AFRC advance and agreed that the three sections of the chiefdom should each contribute one cow that would be sold in Guinea in order to buy ammunition there. 1007

RUF/AFRC forces continued further east and on 18 May 1998 attacked villages on the road leading to the headquarter town of Kamiendor (Mafindor Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC forces burnt many houses at Densenbadu, Fandu, Gbenkoro, Kamiendor Kormadu, Sandia and Gbendema, where the CDF base was also burnt down. At Fandu and Gbendema, an unspecified number of civilians were abducted. Following these attacks, the RUF/AFRC forces returned towards Koidu and the dislodged Donsos from Soa and Mafindor Chiefdoms went to Guinea.

Lei Chiefdom (east of the District, at the border with Guinea)

In February 1998, a convoy of RUF/AFRC forces with 18 vehicles and three trucks full of arms and ammunition arrived in Lei Chiefdom, in the east of Kono District. The RUF/AFRC forces attacked towns including Yarawadu, Wanjama, Senehun and Kenema before some of the senior commanders departed, leaving the bulk of the forces stationed at Konbayendeh, in the centre of the chiefdom on the road that leads to the headquarter town of Saima. At Senehun, located in the same section as

¹⁰⁰⁵ While one group was coming from Koidu Town (and then Jagbwema in Fiama Chiefdom), the other group came from Pendembu, Kailahun District.

¹⁰⁰⁶ It is reported that the rumour also said that Johnny Paul Koroma was among those forces. Other reports mention that as early as February, RUF/AFRC forces passed through Soa to reach Kailahun. Furthermore, this information has to be read in conjunction with the developments of Lei Chiefdom, where it was reported that Johnny Paul Koroma arrived in March and then left the Chiefdom, leaving behind him some troops.

¹⁰⁰⁷ It is not specified who these Donsos bought their cartridges from in Guinea.

Kissitown, RUF/AFRC forces killed four civilians coming out of the bush, including two children. One of the adults was killed with a bayonet.

While in Konbayendeh, the RUF/AFRC forces started raiding surrounding villages, indiscriminately killing and mutilating people and burning houses, as a result of which people left their villages to go to the bush. However, the RUF/AFRC forces also started chasing the civilians in the bush. In one incident that took place in a bush around Kissitown, over 20 members of the RUF/AFRC, all in military uniforms, found around 70 civilians in their hiding place, gathered them all and started killing them, shooting some and mutilating others with machetes. Realising that those RUF/AFRC forces were going to kill them all, the remaining nine civilians decided to run away. The RUF/AFRC forces opened fire, killing five. Before leaving, the RUF/AFRC forces took 11 girls with them.

In Kissitown, RUF/AFRC forces established a training camp for abducted civilians, called "Superman Camp". Civilians were trained, given weapons and sent out to different parts of the chiefdom and the District. Some senior members of the RUF/AFRC forces had once earlier warned their forces in Lei Chiefdom not to kill civilians but once they are captured, to bring them to the camp for them to be trained so that the number of their forces would increase, in anticipation of their planned attack on Freetown. On one occasion, 30 civilians who were abducted and trained for one week in the camp were sent to Boroma town, north of Kombayende, with 15 "old" RUF/AFRC forces, for it was reported that civilians were in this area. One young boy who was hiding in a garden threw a grenade at the RUF/AFRC forces who had come to the town. However, the young boy was captured and cut into seven different pieces; 13 other people were also killed. On their way back to the camp, the RUF/AFRC forces captured 100 civilians who were on their way to Guinea. Eighty of them were sent to Koidu for mining, some who tried to escape were killed and two women were amputated when they refused to have sexual intercourse with two of the RUF/AFRC members.

In March, inhabitants of Kenema, a town located in the east of the chiefdom, shouted "welcome back to Sierra Leone", referring to the news of the restoration to power of the President, when they saw a plane flying over their town. A few hours later, they saw civilians coming in the village with bundles on their heads, which led them to go in the bush. Shortly after, they heard gunshots from different directions in the village and saw the whole village being set on fire by RUF/AFRC forces. Other villages on the highway that leads to Siama, the headquarter town, were also set on fire. At Kombayende, five people were killed and two were amputated. On the same day, the RUF/AFRC forces proceeded further north to Kundundu in the north of the chiefdom, where eight people were shot dead and two had their legs amputated with an axe. Among the eight people who died, one had his tongue cut out with a knife. Another man was hit to death with a bayonet.

On 10 March, RUF/AFRC forces came back to Senehun, set fire to the houses that had not been burnt earlier and captured six people, one of them suspected of being a Kamajor commander. Three of those captives were killed with an AK47, one was beaten to death while another one had a blue rope tied around his neck and was dragged along the ground until he died. The sixth captive, who was suspected of being a Kamajor commander, was told by the RUF/AFRC commander that he was not yet dead because they did not know yet the kind of punishment they would give him. From Senehun, they went to Kenema, where they shot dead seven people before entering the town and

captured a young man who tried to hide in a garden. One of the RUF/AFRC members was asked by the others to take a big stone and to smash the hands of the young captured man. Before leaving for another village called Samie, they burnt the remaining houses. At Samie, a man was shot three times in the head with an AK47 because he could not give the RUF/AFRC forces the location of the hiding place for the people of the village. The RUF/AFRC forces also poured petrol they found in the village on two thatch houses and set them on fire. The fire spread to other thatch houses and, eventually, 11 of them burnt down. As it was getting dark, the RUF/AFRC forces, together with the last captive they had, went back to Kombayende. 1009

After President Kabbah's restoration to power in March 1998, two points for killing people called "commaflag" were established in Kombayende, a commercial town. One of these points was located at the centre of the town and the other one on Mambo Bridge, the last bridge leading to Kissitown in the west. On one occasion, 1010 the RUF/AFRC force commander who had established the commaflag system sent some members to arrest civilians in and around the town to check whether they were supporters of Tejan Kabbah Government. Thirty-one people were brought to the commaflag site. The commander addressed the captured people and told them that Lei Chiefdom was criticising their action, the proof being that people had fled to the bush. The commander called on one of his members, who had recently been promoted to Captain because he "knew how to kill people", to kill those who had been brought to the commaflag site. On that day, 10 of the captured people were shot before the operation was halted because it was getting dark. The remaining people were locked up in a room and brought back to the site the next morning. One of the captured men was given an AK47 and told to fire at one of the other captives. He did so and after one shot, the man died. Then, the commander gave the gun to another captive, but he needed three shots to kill another of the captives, so the commander told him that he had "failed the exam" and shot him. This operation continued until only eight of the captives had survived by "passing the test". They were then recognised as Junta II¹⁰¹¹ and were forced to kill people at the commaflag points. In another killing that took place at a commaflag point, three out of eight people who had been abducted and sent to the Superman Camp at Kissitown for training were arrested as they were trying to escape. The abductees were brought to Kombayende and killed at the Mambo Bridge commaflag, after which their bodies were thrown under the bridge.

When the commander in charge of Kombayende sent some of his men in search of food, those RUF/AFRC forces found nine people themselves were looking for food for their families. As the nine people did not answer the question of the commander of the group who asked them where he could find other civilians, the commander took the G3 rifle that was on his back and fired at two of the civilians, breaking their legs. As the people still refused to say anything, the commander killed the two wounded civilians. As the remaining seven civilians still refused to reveal where other people could be found, the commander amputated their hands with a rusty cutlass that the RUF/AFRC

¹⁰⁰⁸ It is highly likely that this event is related to the one described above when RUF/AFRC forces came to Kenema after people welcomed back the President.

¹⁰⁰⁹ On the way back, an unidentified fighting faction opened fire on them, which allowed the captive to escape. ¹⁰¹⁰ Although the date was not specified, it can be inferred from the record that this event happened between March and June.

 $^{^{1011}}$ Junta II refers to these people who were enrolled in the RUF/AFRC forces following the retreat from Freetown.

forces had found in the village. The RUF/AFRC forces then went to Soama, a few miles from the chiefdom headquarter of Siama, where they killed one man who refused to join them.

Rumours of imminent attacks in Guinea were rampant. However, no attack within the Guinean territory was reported for 1998 (nor 1999). It appeared that RUF/AFRC forces would have launched attacks on the Guinean territory earlier had they been larger in number, which they were unable to achieve since most of the civilians had already fled to refugee camps in Guinea.

On 8 April, RUF/AFRC forces moved from Kundundu and headed for Koidu Town. On their way, they passed by Kenema, where they hit an old man on his neck and his back with a bladed weapon for failing to take them to any civilian hiding places, as a result of which he died. Two other people were shot and killed at Kenema on that day. Before leaving for Koidu, the RUF/AFRC forces looted the village.

In April, seven men captured by RUF/AFRC forces in military uniforms in Sandor Chiefdom were taken to the Njai stream that separates Sandor and Lei Chiefdoms. Six of the men were tied with a blue plastic rope and were shot in the head. A heavy stone was then tied to each of them and they were thrown into the stream. The seventh person was not killed; the commander of the RUF/AFRC forces declared that he was not going to kill this person, because he was a Christian, as the commander himself was. Rather, the commander ordered one of his men to mutilate the man's 10 fingers, as a result of which his left hand was broken.

RUF/AFRC forces returned to Kundundu towards the end of the month in search of food and civilians. Some of the people they found in the bush were killed while others were taken away for manpower. On 1 May, in the bush around Kenema, RUF/AFRC forces captured civilians, killing two men with a bayonet, one of them being the Town Regent Chief. Those who were captured were told to form two lines, one for men and one for women and children. The commander told his men to choose a woman each for the night, himself selecting a girl who was 14 years old. Three women who refused to go with the armed men were stripped naked and sexually abused with gun barrels before being killed. RUF/AFRC forces settled temporarily in Kundundu.

At Faokor in the south of the chiefdom during the same period, RUF/AFRC forces beat to death a blacksmith allegedly because he was a Kamajor, because they had found two empty cartridge shells in his forge. Twenty-one people were also killed that day, one of them being beaten unconscious and burnt to ashes.

RUF/AFRC forces attacked Gbonkongbor a few miles from the Guinean border in the northeast of the chiefdom with heavy firing in May, during which eight civilians were killed and many people fled. The RUF/AFRC forces then sent young men to bring back the cattle and ordered six women to cook for them. After eating, they left the village with the six women and able-bodied men. On 8 June, another village near the Guinean border was attacked. Some civilians, including men and women, were captured while others were put in a house and burnt.

¹⁰¹² This incident is reported in another record to have taken place when RUF/AFRC reached Lei in February. As this information could not be reconciled, it has to be assumed that this event took place between February and April.

Events in the second half of 1998

Between June and the end of the year, very few incidents are reported. 1013 At this time, most of the people of Kono District had fled to Guinea¹⁰¹⁴ or into the bush and a lot of them were forced to work for the RUF/AFRC forces in the mining areas.

In September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom) and its environs. They raided the town and other villages, including civilian hiding places. Many civilians, including women and children, were killed and abducted during those attacks and Jagbwema was set on fire. As heavy bombardment could be heard, it was assumed that RPGs were used during those attacks, although it has since been revealed that RUF/AFRC forces had a tactic to produce sounds which are similar to those made by RPGs. 1015 The Donsos went moved to that area to fight the RUF/AFRC forces and after firing few gunshots to test the strength of the Donsos, the RUF/AFRC forces intensified the shooting. As a result of the heavy shelling from both parties, 32 houses were burnt down.

Around the end of October, RUF/AFRC forces attacked and killed civilians at Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom) before being engaged by ECOMOG and CDF forces, which left 83 RUF/AFRC members dead. This attack on Tombodu took place in the aftermath of the passing of a death sentence on the RUF leader for treason. 1016

On 5 November, RUF/AFRC forces reached Hindimi (Lei Chiefdom), where they found 62 people who had returned from Guinea to harvest their crops. The civilians were separated by gender and told to give the RUF/AFRC forces the produce of the harvest. As they were reluctant, the two first people of the line were shot and killed, which prompted the civilians to give them the 216 bags of rice they had harvested. Women were forced to cook for the RUF/AFRC forces. The following day, the RUF/AFRC forces left the village together with captives who were forced to carry the bags of rice; those bags they were unable to take, as there were not sufficient people to carry them, were burnt. When they arrived in Kombayende, the men were separated from the women; this was the last time they saw each other. The men were later taken to Koidu for mining. After mining during the day, they were locked in a container at night.

On 20 December 1998, a fierce attack was launched on Koidu by RUF/AFRC forces, who were able to dislodge the ECOMOG forces based there. This attack came from the bush and was planned from different directions. Prior to this attack, RUF/AFRC forces had regrouped in Buedu (Kailahun District), which was an RUF stronghold throughout the war, and moved with three to four battalions to Kono. RUF/AFRC forces were already in Kono District and another group of RUF/AFRC forces were deployed at Njaiama Sewafe (Nimiyama Chiefdom) to set an ambush for

¹⁰¹³ This period corresponds to the rainy season, during which heavy rains often paralyse movement. In Sierra Leone, the rainy season runs mostly from May to August.

¹⁰¹⁴ By April, around 90,000 civilians had crossed the border to Guinea since the start of the ECOMOG offensive against the RUF/AFRC in Kono and Kailahun Districts: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 16 - 30 April 1998.

¹⁰¹⁵ RUF/AFRC forces used empty five-gallon containers, with their lids on, which they hit with a stick to emulate the sound of RPG fire.

¹⁰¹⁶ AFP, 26 October 1998.

the retreating ECOMOG forces. Four days prior to this attack, RUF/AFRC forces had attacked Small Lebanon and dislodged ECOMOG forces; ECOMOG troops based at Koakuima, Motema and Bumpe were also dislodged. In Koidu and Koakuima, RUF/AFRC forces killed many ECOMOG and CDF forces, as well as civilians. 1017 At Koakuima, the retreating ECOMOG forces left behind them a lot of arms and ammunition, which were captured by the RUF/AFRC forces. Retreating ECOMOG forces fell in the ambush staged by RUF/AFRC forces at Njaiama Sewafe and suffered heavy casualties.

RUF/AFRC forces then attacked the last ECOMOG battalion in the District, namely the 197th Battalion redeployed in Njaiama (Nimikoro Chiefdom). After a fierce battle, ECOMOG repelled the RUF/AFRC forces and asked for reinforcements from Bo. However, the ECOMOG commander was instead advised to withdraw his troops from Njaiama. On 30 December, the ECOMOG commander left Nimikoro Chiefdom with CDF members and thousands of civilians, as ECOMOG did not want to leave the civilians in the hands of the RUF/AFRC forces. They took the road to Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District) in the south of Kono District. On their way, they fell into two ambushes laid by RUF/AFRC forces. After the first ambush, ECOMOG forces led the convoy, which allowed the RUF/AFRC forces to abduct hundreds of civilians from the rear end of the convoy during the second ambush.

Prior to this attack on Koidu, a number of troop movements were noted in the surrounding areas in Sandor Chiefdom and in Koinadugu District. In fact, in late November, RUF/AFRC forces retook control of Sandor Chiefdom and civilians at Yiffin (Koinadugu District) observed many ECOMOG forces retreating from Kono District.

At Yormandu, some RUF/AFRC forces told the civilians that were their captives that they would continue the fight until Freetown and that they got the necessary logistics, arms and ammunition from Kailahun District. Indeed, this attack on Koidu was the catalyst for the RUF/AFRC forces to proceed further south, capturing more towns in the District and the country¹⁰¹⁹ and to enter Freetown on 6 January 1999, 1020 using civilians from Gbane to carry their arms and ammunition.

Following the attack on Koidu, civilians and hunters decided to leave Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom) for Yiffin and Alikalia (Koinadugu District). However, they fell into an RUF/AFRC ambush on 28 December and a lot of them were captured. Over 170 of those captured were taken to Yiffin. One of the captured hunters was given a letter that requested the hunters to come out of the bush and join the RUF/AFRC forces. He was also told that if he did not convince the hunters to join them, he would be killed. The man saved his life by explaining that he only knew people in Kayima

¹⁰¹⁷ It cannot be inferred from the reports whether these forces were killed within the course of the battle or after being captured.

¹⁰¹⁸ Prior to this wave of attacks, this battalion was deployed at Njala and Wanjama (Nimikoro Chiefdom). When the ECOMOG position at Bumpe fell into the hands of the RUF/AFRC forces, the decision was taken to establish a blocking position at Njaiama, on the highway that leaves Bumpe to the south of the District: Adeshina, *op cit*, p 128.

¹⁰¹⁹ See the general overview and the analysis for Kailahun, Tonkolili, Bombali and Port Loko Districts and the Western Area

¹⁰²⁰ See the factual analysis for Tonkolili, Makeni and Port Loko District and the Western Area.
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(Sandor Chiefdom). Some of the RUF/AFRC forces together with their captives thus headed for Kayima and on their way, four of the captives were killed for their belongings at Gbenekoro. 1021

i) Events in 1999

On 1 January 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces that had killed four captives at Gbenekoro proceeded towards Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom), together with their remaining captives. On their way, the captives saw the body of somebody they knew and they learnt he was killed because he answered rudely to the RUF/AFRC forces. The captives were told to take orders from a child commander and were reminded that their lives were of no value for them. When they arrived at the RUF/AFRC forces' commander's compound, they saw one Fullah man being killed for refusing to give up his sheep. They were introduced to the RUF/AFRC commander as his "slaves and servants" and were forced to do petty jobs, mainly going on food finding missions for the commander. A man was appointed to the G5 position, to look after the civilians' affairs/interests. A Formation Assembly was set up where every morning, civilians were told to pray and announcements for the rest of the day were made. The establishment of these G5 committees not only took place in Kono, but also in other Districts, as a means of rationalising the use of civilians by making them participate in administrative matters. Civilians appointed to such positions could hardly refuse the appointment, because a refusal would soon be followed by a severe flogging. In Sandor Chiefdom, civilians were required to follow rules imposed on them by the RUF/AFRC forces, which included no raping, no taking of civilian's property and no stealing ("Jar Jar"). 1023

However, the establishment of such committees and the rationalisation of the use of civilians did not stop the harassment and violence continued to be committed against civilians. At Kayima, for example, sometime after the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, civilians presented complaints to the top commander in charge at Koakuima. When they came from this meeting, they were threatened and were punished with flogging and being forced to go on food finding missions. The commander at Koakuima sent some RUF/AFRC members to investigate the matter, although the results and consequences of this investigation are unknown. Furthermore, five civilians were killed and burnt to ashes in a bush near Neakor, west of Kayima. Following this incident and a complaint made by a relative of one of the civilians killed, the commander at Kayima recalled that no one should kill civilian and if such a crime was committed, it should be reported to the G5.

On 10 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Punduru, a CDF stronghold in Nimiyama Chiefdom that was overcrowded with civilians. During this attack, both civilians and CDF were killed and their property was damaged.

From February 1999, hunters came in and out of Sandor Chiefdom from Guinea and made their permanent base in Fanema, near the border with Guinea, progressing towards the north of the chiefdom and retaking some areas from the RUF/AFRC forces. They were obtaining coffee and cocoa from the population in support for their activities, selling these items to the Guineans to buy

¹⁰²¹ It could not be ascertained whether this place is to be found in Koinadugu or in Kono District.

¹⁰²² The Fullah are a tribe to be found in the north of the country and in Guinea. They would be particular targets of the RUF and, later, the RUF/AFRC during the war, as they were often healthy, earning money by raising and selling cattle.

¹⁰²³ More details are required from the records on the G5 committees.

ammunition or food. In one incident, RUF/AFRC forces came to Fanema looking for a famous hunter. They took all his belongings and brought his relatives back to Kayima, where they were molested, beaten and tied up before being released.

The abduction rate increased as people were used as diamond miners and were conscripted into the RUF/AFRC forces. At this time, Koakuima was the base for the RUF/AFRC 2nd Brigade and hosted the main office for the mining operations; it was also was the base for the Overall Mining Commander, who was assisted by a Deputy Mining Commander. Mining officers were appointed at the various mining sites. Every week, mining officers were to bring the diamonds collected at the sites to the Deputy Commander, who crosschecked them before handing them over to the Overall Mining Commander. However, diamonds over 5 carats were to be brought to the Overall Mining Commander at Koakuima as soon as they were discovered, without waiting for the weekly shipment. Every week, the diamonds were sent from Koakuima to Kailahun, from where they were sent to Liberia. Some private mining, mainly carried out for diamond dealers, was authorised by the Overall Mining Commander at the cost of Le 5,000 per week. However, diamonds over 5 carats were to be given to the Overall Mining Commander, as they were considered to be the property of the RUF. 1024

At this time, the District was divided into operational areas under the command of a commanding officer. The training base established in Bunumbu (Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District) since 1998 and known as "Camp Lion" was transferred around January to Yengema (Nimikoro Chiefdom), as the centre of RUF/AFRC actions had moved to the north-west. On one occasion, six abductees, six adults and one child of a Small Boys Unit (SBU) escaped from the training base and tried to reach Koinadugu District but were caught and brought back to the base. The RUF Senior Officer in Charge of the Brigade Headquarters in Koakuima ordered these escapees to be killed. The six adults were shot and killed while the fate of the child soldier remains unknown. Hundreds of abductees from the Northern Province were sent to Yengema but as their number increased and as food supplies were not sufficient, the base was moved for three months to Gbendembu (Bombali District) before coming back to Yengema. Recruits were organised into platoons and young children as young as 10 were conscripted into Small Boy Units (SBUs).

A lot of beating, killing and rapes took place at the camp during the time of its operation. One practice carried out in the camp was called Halaka. One beating the size of a tennis court, was drawn on the ground with a smaller inner circle. The area between the two circles was full of obstacles such as barbed wires, drums and blocks. Recruits were to enter in this area and to find the exit located far from the entry, while the instructors located in the inner circle were beating them with sticks. Many civilians died from this practice.

In Lei Chiefdom, the rate of violations committed in 1998 continued and was very high after January 1999. Civilians were abducted to be trained as combatants, especially for the purpose of the upcoming attacks on Guinea. The commander in charge of Kombayende regularly sent his men to capture civilians to be trained as Junta II. A team went to Kissitown, where Superman Camp was

 $^{^{1024}}$ These diamonds were considered as "government property" as the RUF was considering itself as a government.

¹⁰²⁵ This term allegedly comes from Libya.

located, but as they could not find anybody in the town, they went to the bush. There, they eventually found 160 people, who they brought to Kissitown for scrutiny.

Following those continuous developments, CDF members mobilised themselves; some of them were sent back to Guinea to bring back shotguns and they attacked the RUF/AFRC forces at Kissitown. After a three-hour battle, 15 civilians had lost their lives and the RUF/AFRC forces left the town with the civilians they had earlier abducted. Strengthened by this success, the CDF established a base at Gborgborma and successfully attacked the RUF/AFRC forces at Samie, 1026 where the RUF/AFRC forces fled the town leaving behind them most of their weapons. A few days after the CDF attack on Samie, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the chiefdom headquarter of Saiama, where they killed almost all the civilians they found in the town. After this attack on Saiama, the RUF/AFRC forces headed back for their base at Kombayende. On their way, they passed through a village called Kutima, where they found three bodies. As they continued their journey, they met three women who told them that men in military fatigues had attacked Kutima. The three women were then taken with the group, who used them as a shield anytime they entered a town. At Bomboro, some RUF/AFRC forces found one young woman with her baby. As she was caught trying to escape, they accused her of being a supporter of the President. They told her to throw her baby in a thatch house they had set on fire, warning her that she would be thrown in the fire as well if she did not do what they asked her to do. After she had thrown her baby into the burning house and she was asked to join the RUF/AFRC forces, she tried to escape and was shot in the head. The RUF/AFRC forces also attacked the CDF base at Gborgborma and dislodged the CDF members who went back to Guinea.

Teams put together to search for civilians, also called "Safari team" by the RUF, continued to be sent. On one occasion, a team came back with only 15 civilians. Three of them were women and were allocated to the RUF/AFRC forces who did not have any woman. Among the 12 other captives, three who tried to escape were brought to the commaflag located on the Mamba Bridge and were shot, their bodies thrown under the bridge. In another incident and after orders coming from Koidu told commanders in the different posts to conscript more civilians for planned attacks on Guinea, 152 civilians were captured in the bush and taken to Kombayende for scrutiny before being sent to Superman Camp. The able men and women were sent to Kissitown while the old people where brought to the commaflag in the centre of the town, at Baoya Road. All 21 of them were killed by the member of the RUF/AFRC who had been promoted to Captain because he knew how to kill. Their bodies were thrown in a very big hole previously dug by RUF/AFRC forces for this purpose. This was a common scenario, which was repeated many times.

In March 1999, an internal fight arose between RUF/AFRC forces as a group coming from Koidu entered Kombayende (Lei Chiefdom) with heavy firing. The members stationed in Kombayende fired in return. Sixteen civilians died during that fighting and 22 were seriously injured. Around this period, the identification of combatants was difficult but it is alleged that some AFRC members were integrated within the RUF movement and were briefed on the ideology of the movement. The senior officer in charge of the Brigade headquarters in Koakuima, who was also the Overall Mining Commander, was one of the most senior RUF members; most of the senior AFRC commanders

¹⁰²⁶ This village could also be Soama.

¹⁰²⁷ It could not be ascertained what happened after this incident between the two RUF/AFRC groups.

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were deployed in the Northern Province, in Kabala (Koinadugu District) and Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). 1028

On different occasions, civilians with amputated limbs arrived in refugee camps in Guinea and explained they had been attacked by RUF/AFRC forces in Lei Chiefdom. For example, one civilian had his left hand amputated when he was in Gbordu, a village nine miles from Siama. RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village and killed five people. The man who had his limb chopped off was accused of being a Kamajor and after he was amputated, he was given a message by the RUF/AFRC commander to deliver to the Kamajors and civilians living in Guinea that they should expect the coming of RUF/AFRC forces soon. On another occasion, one man was mutilated at Gborgborma; the RUF/AFRC forces who had amputated his limb told him that whoever was captured in this village would be treated as a Kamajor because the village used to be a Kamajor base.

Sometime before the signing of the Lomé Peace Accord, RUF/AFRC forces attacked a number of towns and villages in Kamara Chiefdom, including Sukudu and Peyima, killing many civilians and burning many houses. Over 200 civilians, including men, women and children, were abducted and the strongest men were used for mining. There was a food shortage at that time and what little food was available was taken by the RUF/AFRC forces. Civilians were relying mainly on roots (gari) and boiled bananas to survive. Several civilians, particularly those working in the mines, died from starvation. The same working conditions described earlier in 1998 prevailed and the same kind of corporal punishments were applied. Among others, one practice, which caused the death of 10 men in Tombodu (Tankoro Chiefdom), was called "hanging solar on the civilians", which meant beating someone to death. Civilians caught trying to smuggle or steal diamonds were tortured or killed. It is believed that hundreds of men, women and children were killed during this period.

RUF/AFRC were occupying Fiama Chiefdom, setting ambushes for Donsos and civilians. Towns in Fiama Chiefdom, including Sandekor, Koakor, Waima, Njardu, Darkadu and Gbematambadu, were attacked and burnt down during 1999. Sometimes, the burning of different villages took place on the same day and at other times, RUF/AFRC forces decided to burn a certain number of houses per day. Rice barns were also set on fire after being looted.

RUF/AFRC forces were in control of Gbane Kandor and Mafindor Chiefdoms, which were virtually empty, as civilians had fled to the bush or to Guinea. However, people who fled came back to their chiefdoms from time to time in search of food. Attacks on villages are reported occasionally. For example, in April, as civilians were moving regularly between the bush around Sindadu, in the northeast of Gbane Kandor Chiefdom, and Guinea for food, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village and shot the hands of one civilian. In May, while searching food, RUF/AFRC forces from

¹⁰²⁸ Furthermore, unlike for Port Loko DDR, where ex-AFRC members disarmed as such, the DDR centre opened in Kono District received RUF and CDF members but no ex-AFRC members, which tend to reinforce our assumption that AFRC members who were in Kono District after the invasion of Freetown were incorporated within the RUF. However, as the distinction between the forces was difficult for civilians, we would continue referring to RUF/AFRC forces in the subsequent developments. Relations between RUF and AFRC forces were not totally sour, for in 1999, an AFRC member was appointed as personal bodyguard to the RUF leader when he was released from Prison.

Mafindor Chiefdom shot a hunter who was captured in his house at Dengenyma. The hunter was caught by surprise in his house, his shotgun leaning on the wall.

During that period, Donsos forces reorganised in Guinea and launched an attack on the RUF/AFRC forces at Kamiendor (Mafindor Chiefdom). Both sides suffered fatalities, but the loss of men did not prevent the CDF from continuing to launch attacks, as a result of which they recaptured different villages in Gbane Kandor Chiefdom. Donsos freed some civilians that had been held captive by the RUF/AFRC forces and sent them to Guinea.

Following these attacks and the significant gains the Donsos were making, RUF/AFRC forces called for peace talks, which took place in July¹⁰²⁹ at Manjama (Soa Chiefdom). Over 3,000 civilians also attended the meeting. This meeting led to a ceasefire agreement, with the fighting factions agreeing that both civilians and combatants should move freely and that Manjama should serve as a buffer zone. For the purposes of freedom of movement, passes were issued to the civilians by the fighting forces. In August 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces even asked that joint security forces be formed to patrol the border area. It has been suggested that this system gave the RUF/AFRC forces the opportunity to bring their looted property to Manjama and to exchange it for other necessary items brought from Guinea by the Donsos. However in September, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Donsos positions, retaking all the areas the Donsos had held for the previous few months. The RUF/AFRC forces expanded their attacks beyond the borders of Sierra Leone, launching one attack at Gueckedou, one of the busiest commercial centres in Guinea.

After the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999, the rate of violations decreased, even if molestation and other violations were still committed by RUF/AFRC forces, fearing that they would no longer be able to use civilians to carry out their mining activities and food finding operations. After July, it is reported that civilians were appointed to a G5 committee to look after civilian affairs in Kamara Chiefdom. ¹⁰³⁰

The fighting with the RUF/AFRC forces in Sandor Chiefdom continued until the signing of the Lomé Peace Accord in July 1999. However, the cessation of hostilities was only temporary and fighting resumed in 2000.

During the second half of the year, a mining area was opened by the RUF under the directive of the Overall Mining Commander near the bridge between Tombodu and Bundu II (Kamara Chiefdom). Many civilians were captured from across the whole District and forced to work in the mines. The captured civilians were working with barely any food or water and people were beaten or killed if they complained of hunger or thirst. On one occasion, three young men who defied instructions were killed, allegedly on the order of the Overall Mining Commander. On another occasion, 50 men were brought from Kainkordu (Soa Chiefdom) to mine and it is believed that almost all of them died during the course of the mining. Even foundations of houses were broken for the purposes of mining for diamonds.

¹⁰²⁹ This first meeting may have taken place in August, as reports mention both July and August for the date of this meeting.

¹⁰³⁰ Clarification is required from the records on the dates.

¹⁰³¹ It is believed that 95% of them died.

In Sandor Chiefdom, different RUF/AFRC camps, known as Joe Bush, were operating and many violations were committed at those camps. At Tegbadu, four miles north of Yormandu where RUF/AFRC forces were still engaged mining, there was a "killing field". Nearby Tabema, on the Kayima Tefeyah highway, a camp also called "P.C. Ground" was infamous for the sexual violence inflicted on civilians. Many girls were raped and kept in the camp for sexual purposes. These women and girls were often sexually assaulted by more than one RUF/AFRC member at a time while some were taken and assigned to only one man.

On 20 October 1999, the Sierra Leone President officially launched the started of the Demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) program during a ceremony at Wilberforce Barracks in Freetown. 1032

In November 1999, near Jagbwema (Fiama chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces, who already had over 130 abducted civilians with them, captured an unspecified number of people. Those abductees were told to fetch water, firewood and food; one of them was given the responsibility to settle minor disputes among civilians. After three weeks, all the abductees were taken to Kailahun District, passing through Gandorhun (Gbane Chiefdom). Most of the journey was undertaken at night and civilians were not allowed to rest on their own volition. In Kailahun, there were over 1.000 members of the RUF/AFRC forces and a lot of abductees. Some of them were required to farm for the RUF/AFRC forces while others became teachers.

In December 1999, hunters who had found refuge in Guinea tried another time to repel the RUF/AFRC forces from Lei Chiefdom. With the support of local authorities also living in the refugee camps, they crossed the river that separates Sierra Leone and Guinea on 18 December, launched different attacks on RUF/AFRC positions and at Kombayende, they managed to inflict heavy casualties on the RUF/AFRC side and to chase out the remaining forces. However, eight days later, RUF/AFRC forces came back and this time, the CDF members were not able to withstand the heavy firing and had to retreat to Guinea. The CDF members who were captured were either killed or mutilated and given letters promising that they (RUF/AFRC forces) would chase them into Guinea.

k) Events in 2000 to 2001

Throughout 2000 and the large part of 2001, mining activities were carried out in Koidu Town and in Plant No. 11, a mining area located between Koidu Town and Tombodu (Kamara Chiefdom). In Koidu Town, a place called Kaisambo was mined for the Overall Mining Commander. An unspecified number of houses in Koidu town had their foundations broken so that they could be mined. At Plant No. 11, more than 500 people were abducted and forced to mine and push caterpillars whenever they broke down.

On 14 January, the RUF leader, the Deputy Defence Minister and the ECOMOG Force Commander visited Koidu, as part of a country tour aiming at sensitising the combatants on the

¹⁰³² The start of the DDR program was originally planned to take place within six weeks of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999.

DDR process.¹⁰³³ Military Observers began conducting regular patrol missions in the District, although UN peacekeepers had not yet been able to deploy in the District. 1034

However, the situation in the country worsened and United Nations peacekeepers captured in Makeni in early May 2000 were brought to Plant No. 11 (Kamara Chiefdom). 1035

It was widely believed that the control by the Government of Kono District would mark the end of the conflict 1036 and talks were initiated between the President of Sierra Leone and the RUF to end the conflict, which faced a new development in May with the abduction of the UN peacekeepers, as mentioned, and the arrest and detention of the RUF leader in Freetown. 1037

Inhabitants of the District, however, began again crossing the Melie River, which separates the District from Guinea, fleeing RUF harassment. Around the same period, RUF/AFRC forces began attacking the Guinean territory from different fronts. 1039

The peace talks, which started in late May 2000 in order to reactivate the Lomé Peace Agreement found a conclusion in Abuja on 10 November with the signing of a ceasefire between the Government and the RUF forces. UNAMSIL was given the mission to monitor this ceasefire. 1040 However, in December 2000, civilians who had found refuge in a Guinean camp near the border with Lei Chiefdom saw thousands of civilians with bundles on their heads, who explained them that they had been attacked by "rebels" during their sleep. 1041 The following day, another group of refugees within the territory of Guinea confirmed that the "rebels" had come to Guinea. The next morning, trucks full of RUF/AFRC forces dressed in military uniforms arrived at the place where all these refugees were at this time and announced through a microphone that they had not come to kill them but to take them back to Sierra Leone. Their commander told the civilians that they wanted peace and as a proof of their commitment to the peace process, they have come to take Sierra Leoneans back to Sierra Leone. Over 20,000 refugees were thus taken back to Sierra Leone while the RUF forces continued their attacks in Guinea. The trip to Lei Chiefdom lasted roughly 10 days and when they arrived at Kombayende (Lei Chiefdom), the civilians were allocated to different towns within the chiefdom.

¹⁰³³ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 5 - 16 January 2000.

¹⁰³⁴ IRIN West Africa, 12 April 2000. On 22 October 1999, the UN Security Council had adopted Resolution 1270 approving the deployment of 6,000 armed peacekeepers alongside the 260 unarmed military observers. Their number would increase over the subsequent months.

¹⁰³⁵ This group of UN peacekeepers was composed of 208 Zambians: IRIN West Africa, 8 May 2000. Around the same period, peacekeepers were also abducted in Kailahun District.

¹⁰³⁶ In early June, the Deputy Defence Minister called for an offensive military operation in the District: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report: 1-2 June 2000.

¹⁰³⁷ The RUF leader was arrested in Freetown in May, after his bodyguards had shot and killed civilians gathered for a demonstration in front of his house in Freetown on 8 May 2000.

¹⁰³⁸ IRIN West Africa, 23 August 2000.

¹⁰³⁹ Attacks on the Guinean territory were also launched from Kambia and Kailahun Districts.

¹⁰⁴⁰ UNAMSIL press briefing, 27 November 2000. Paragraph 4 of this Ceasefire Agreement stated "both parties agree that UNAMSIL shall have full liberty to deploy its troops and other personnel throughout Sierra Leone including the diamond-producing areas in the discharge of its responsibilities, when UNAMSIL is satisfied that the ceasefire is observed by all the parties."

¹⁰⁴¹ In addition, during this period, the training base at Yengema (Nimikoro Chiefdom) was still open.

At Kundundu, the returnees were forced to work for the RUF/AFRC forces and were told to plant cannabis seeds. A woman accused of performing witchcraft was stripped naked and shot six times. In another incident that took place at Yawandor, 22 miles from the headquarter town of Saiama, following the killing of two RUF/AFRC members and the wife of another member by civilians, 17 civilians were killed on the order of the commander based at Kombayende, so that the RUF/AFRC forces based at Yawandor could restore their authority. At Kombayende, the commander in charge was the same person who had established the commaflags in 1998.

During this time, RUF/AFRC forces continued to commit acts of violence against civilians. On one occasion, four RUF members raped a 42-year-old woman until she died. When the civilians took the matter to the commander in charge, he replied to them that the RUF never made complaints about the men they had lost during the war so the civilians should not complain. Two days after that incident, a suckling mother was raped and her child was taken away from her. A man accused of stealing was stripped naked and the commander ordered some of his men to set fire to an empty five gallon container and to drip the burning rubber onto the man. The man died three days later. Furthermore, some civilians were taken and sent to Koidu for mining.

In January 2001, ¹⁰⁴² fighting between RUF/AFRC forces and hunters intensified in the upper part of Sandor Chiefdom. However, UN personnel and commanders together with the Paramount Chief of Sandor arrived in Kayima by helicopter to exhort both factions to disarm. The RUF/AFRC forces who spoke with those authorities responded positively and stated they were ready to disarm. ¹⁰⁴³ However, about one month after this visit, fighting intensified north of Kayima¹⁰⁴⁴ and as they were retreating south, RUF/AFRC forces burnt the remaining houses in the villages. After a battle at Yaryah, three miles north of Kayima, the RUF/AFRC forces decided to leave the chiefdom and headed for Koidu.

In Fiama Chiefdom, in March 2001, one man on his way to Jegbwema met civilians who told him that 50 men had been abducted and used to work for the RUF/AFRC forces at Jegbwema. Women were used to cook and for sexual purposes, as a result of which some of them became pregnant and had children. Sometimes, the captured civilians were beaten at night and put in containers used as cells by the RUF/AFRC forces. One man brought from the Guinean border was suspected of being a Kamajor and was beaten for three days by RUF/AFRC forces at Jagbwema before he died on the fourth day. At Gbekor, a man met more than 12 young girls below the age of 18 who were with the RUF/AFRC forces as their "wives". As he was wondering whether these girls were with the RUF/AFRC forces for their stolen property and money, he discovered that most of them had been abducted and were afraid to go back to their parents for fear of being called "rebels" or being maltreated.

Three days after they had arrived in Kombayende, 150 men who had just come back were taken by the commander to go to Guinea with some RUF members to carry the stolen property they had in Guinea. Shortly after, the Guinean Minister of Defence and some senior military officers came to the border with Sierra Leone to find members of the Kamajors to help Guinea repel the RUF

¹⁰⁴² Although this event was described as taking place in 2000, it probably took place in 2001.

¹⁰⁴³ This visit probably took place during the second half of 2000.

¹⁰⁴⁴ The CDF members fighting were those coming from the north of the Chiefdom.

beyond the Guinean border. The Kamajors told the Guinean authorities that they could not fight without the approval of the Sierra Leone Government, as they were under the control of the Sierra Leone Government. Two weeks later, the Guinean authorities came back, told the Kamajors that they had communicated with the Sierra Leone authorities, who approved their request. Kamajors were then equipped with arms and ammunition from the Guinean authorities.

Following this, on 23 March 2001, a group of 200 Donsos and Kamajors who had regrouped and were fully armed¹⁰⁴⁵ launched simultaneous attacks on RUF/AFRC positions in Kono District through three different flanks: Gbangbokoro 1046 in Soa Chiefdom (Kamajors/Donsos), Kamiendor in Mafindor Chiefdom (Donsos) and Kailahun District (Kamajors). Communication sets allowed the three groups to launch attacks simultaneously and to communicate any developments.

The group that headed to Kamiendor drove out the RUF/AFRC forces before separating into two groups, one going to Kombayende and the other using the Kondewakoro flank and working in concert. These two sub groups regrouped later on in Fiama Chiefdom. From Kamiendor, the group heading to Kombayende dislodged RUF/AFRC forces from Sindudu, which is located on the border between Gbane Kandor and Mafiendor Chiefdoms. As the commander in charge of the RUF forces in Kombayende noticed the advance of the CDF, he sent for reinforcements to Koidu, which was still under RUF/AFRC control. The reinforcement was composed of senior RUF commanders, who moved to Kombayende armed with anti-aircraft machine guns, RPGs, automatic rifles and other weapons seized from the UN peacekeepers. When they entered the town, the CDF forces opened fire and killed 32 of them. After a fierce battle, the RUF/AFRC retreated back to Koidu, as most of their senior commanders had been killed. The CDF chased them up to Jagbwema (Niama Chiefdom), where a battle took place. The RUF/AFRC then retreated to Maiyor, which is on the highway linking Jagbwema to Koidu.

In late April, the Acting Force Commander of UNAMSIL made a visit to Koidu to assess the situation on the ground, following RUF complaints about attacks carried out by CDF members backed up by Guineans. 1047 The CDF prepared themselves to go to Koidu, but in the meanwhile, 1048 in May, trucks full of UN peacekeepers came to the CDF deployment to advise them not to make any further assault on RUF/AFRC positions and to observe the cease-fire. 1049 The CDF told the peacekeepers that they would only observe the cease-fire after they had seen their Paramount Chiefs. About one week later, Paramount Chiefs and senior UN officials came by helicopter to meet the CDF and the Paramount Chiefs told the CDF that they did not want the Government to accuse the people of Kono of destroying the peace process. This meeting caused the CDF to desist from launching any more attacks and to stay in Maiyor until disarmament¹⁰⁵⁰ took place.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Reports mention that these CDF forces had heavy artillery like tanks and that a ferry was built across the Meli River that separates Mafiendor Chiefdom and Guinea to facilitate the movement of the CDF.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Gbangbokoro is on the border with Guinea.

¹⁰⁴⁷ UNAMSIL press briefing, 26 April 2001.

¹⁰⁴⁸ It is alleged that a member of the RUF General Staff went to Makeni to find the UN Bangladeshi contingent to ask them to come to Kono to resolve the situation.

¹⁰⁴⁹ UN peacekeepers from Tonkolili and Kailahun Districts carried out two-day patrol missions in early May prior to the establishment of a permanent patrol presence patrol in Koidu in late May: UNAMSIL press briefings, 6 May 2001, 11 May 2001 and 22 May 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The other CDF group that entered Kono District through Soa Chiefdom met this group at Jagbwema.

On 4 May 2001, a meeting was convened between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone¹⁰⁵¹ to review the ceasefire signed in Abuja in November 2000 and which was violated, mainly in Kono District.¹⁰⁵² Further to this meeting, it was decided to introduce phases of disarmament, in order to accelerate its process.

Also in May, UNAMSIL force Commander and Deputy Force Commander visited the RUF forces at Koidu and the CDF members at Kombayende (Lei Chiefdom) and Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom), to witness the implementation of the cessation of hostilities agreement, signed by the RUF and the CDF on 15 May. This cessation of hostilities and the start of the DDR program made the atmosphere extremely tense and many officials made visits in the District to ensure the process ran smoothly. 1054

During the second meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR held at Magburaka on 2 June, the parties agreed to conduct the DDR process simultaneously in Bonthe and Kono Districts in July 2001, leaving time for the DDR facilities to be built in Yengema (Nimikoro Chiefdom). The estimated numbers of combatants to be disarmed were 1,500 combatants for the CDF and 2,500 for the RUF. 1055

Disarmament started on 1 July at a very slow pace and was intermittently halted. Different reasons were put forward to explain the stalling of the process, including the suspicion of both the CDF and the RUF forces against each other, the UN travel ban on the RUF's Political and Peace Council Chairman and, above all, tensions resulting from the mining activities. To speed up the disarmament process, UN Officials met directly with the commanders of both fighting factions on the ground, rather than with the political leaders and during the third meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR on 17 July, the parties agreed that the checkpoints established by the RUF and CDF forces be dismantled and a moratorium on mining activities be implemented. Nevertheless, skirmishes between RUF and CDF were still reported for June and July. By the end of July, two companies of the UN Bangladeshi contingent were deployed at Koidu and 500 Pakistani UN peacekeepers were based at Yengema.

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¹⁰⁵¹ This meeting was the second meeting of the Committee of Six of the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council, the United Nations, the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front: UNAMSIL press briefing, 3 May 2001.

¹⁰⁵² Further to the meeting in May 2001, those parties would hold monthly tripartite meetings under the Joint Committee on DDR.

¹⁰⁵³ UNAMSIL press briefings, 17 May 2001, 24 May 2001

¹⁰⁵⁴ On 25 and 26 May 2001, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, accompanied by the UNAMSIL Force Commander and Deputy Force Commander and a Government delegation, including the Deputy Defence Minister met with representatives of the CDF and RUF in Koidu: UNAMSIL press briefing, 28 May 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁵ UNAMSIL press briefing, 5 June 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁶ UNAMSIL press briefing, 6 July 2001 and 13 July 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁷ IRIN West Africa, 12 July 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁸ IRIN West Africa, 20 July 2001; UNAMSIL press briefing, 20 July 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁹ IRIN West Africa, 24 July 2001.

¹⁰⁶⁰ UNAMSIL press briefing, 24 July 2001.

The initial target date of 28 July for the completion of the disarmament process was not met and the process was extended, as pockets of RUF forces were still not disarmed in the District. By 17 August, the disarmament for Kono District was complete and the figures of the combatants who had gone through the process were higher than originally expected, mainly for RUF members came from Koinadugu District to Kono District to disarm.¹⁰⁶¹

The completion of the disarmament in Kono District brought relief to the whole country, as it meant the war was really over. As a mark of the importance of this achievement for the country, the Sierra Leonean President, the Nigerian President and the Chairman of the ECOWAS went to Kono on 3 September, to witness the official end of the disarmament process.¹⁰⁶²

RUF forces, however, continued to mine in the Koidu area, including indiscriminate mining carried out in the centre of the township. Some incidents of violence against civilians are reported during that period. 1063 In one incident, one civilian went back to Koidu from Freetown to assess the level of destruction of his property. As he reached his house, he met 20 people busy mining the soil underneath his house. When he asked them to stop, one commander at the site told his boys to arrest him and tie him up. He ordered four of his men to hang four solars on the man as he had interrupted the mining activities, which means that four people will beat the person. On another occasion, the Overall Mining Commander ordered civilians to be arrested, so that they could wash gravel at mining areas. One of these civilians was accused of stealing a diamond and when a young RUF member reported that the man had swallowed the diamond, the Overall Mining Commander ordered his men to hang ten solars on the man. After the beating, the man admitted he had taken a diamond but had swallowed it. The Overall Mining Commander ordered his men to kill the man and get the diamond out of the stomach. However, nothing was found in the stomach of the dead man, which made the Overall Mining Commander say that the boy who made the report let him kill a man for no just cause. As a result, the Overall Mining Commander shot the young member three times in the chest, killing him.

This situation of continuous mining activities angered the residents of Koidu. They reported the matter to UNAMSIL, who explained that it would be solved in due time. Nevertheless, on 18 December 2001, residents from Koidu took slings and machetes to fight the RUF/AFRC forces. A lot of the residents then left the District for other Districts (Bombali and Tonkolili) as they believed some of the RUF/AFRC forces would never give up the privileges they got from the mining areas, namely control on the mineral wealth and taxes levied on traders. Following this mass exodus of the population, a meeting took place in Makeni at the headquarters of the UN Nigerian contingent with leaders of the RUF forces and a delegation from Kono authorities. On 27 December, an important delegation composed of Northern Paramount Chiefs, the UNAMSIL Acting Force

¹⁰⁶¹ UNAMSIL press briefing, 14 August 2001. As of 31 August 2001, 5,634 combatants had disarmed in the District, 3,623 being RUF members and 2,011 CDF members: UNAMSIL press briefing, 14 August 2001 and Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 09 - 31 August 2001.

¹⁰⁶² IRIN West Africa, 3 September 2001.

¹⁰⁶³ In its Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 09 - 31 August 2001, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), based on information from Sierra Leone Web reports, reported on the ongoing use of child labour by the RUF for mining activities.

¹⁰⁶⁴ It is alleged that this meeting took place to clear the rumour that the incident of the previous day was carried out on tribal lines on the pretext that Temnes, Limbas and Mendes were being killed in Kono.

Commander, officers of the Sierra Leone Police and other people arrived in Koidu and summoned a meeting of stakeholders at the UNAMSIL headquarters. An agreement to put an end to the RUF mining activities in the District was signed and apparently implemented.

3. Conclusion

As with the two other Districts of the Eastern Province, Kono District was affected by the conflict since 1991 until the disarmament was declared complete in 2001. This 11-year conflict transformed the face of the District, which suffered heavily in terms of casualties, displacement of population and destruction of dwellings.

The District was first attacked in 1991 by RUF/NPFL forces coming from Kailahun District but those attacks were limited to the south-east, at the border with Kailahun District. During the following year, RUF/NPFL intensified their incursions into the District and progressively expanded their positions to attack Koidu, the headquarter town, by the end of 1992. SLA forces repelled the RUF/NPFL forces from Koidu at the beginning of 1993 and continued their "mopping up" operations throughout the year. By the middle of the year, they had dislodged the RUF/NPFL forces from their main positions in the District. Around the same period, SLA forces had confined the RUF/NPFL forces to the extreme east of Kailahun District, which led Sierra Leoneans to think the war was over and the NPRC Chairman to unilaterally declare a ceasefire.

In late December, however, RUF forces launched a massive operation in the south of Kenema District. This operation clearly marked a new phase of the conflict, during which RUF forces spread across the whole country, using guerrilla warfare tactics. RUF forces re-entered Kono District in 1994 and gradually gained territory on SLA forces, whose number had considerably increased over 1994 but whose actions aimed at repelling the RUF forces had proved wholly ineffective. By April 1995, RUF forces captured Koidu Town for the second time, inflicting high casualties on civilians and destroying and vandalising the town. From Koidu, RUF forces spanned out mainly in the diamond areas around Koidu. Their progression in the District and their mining activities were stalled around May/June by the SLA assisted by CDF forces and, above all, by Executive Outcomes, the South African mercenary company in Sierra Leone under contract with the Government. The RUF forces were rapidly driven out of their positions and throughout the rest of the year and 1996, were mainly confined to the south-east of the District, while Executive Outcomes controlled most of the remainder of the District.

Following the withdrawal of Executive Outcomes by the end of January 1997, the Kono population was left in the hands of the RUF forces, in particular following their merging with the AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces, although mainly concentrated around Koidu, patrolled the chiefdoms, harassing civilians for food items and abducting civilians who were then forced to work at the mine sites for the RUF/AFRC forces. As the harassment and physical violence against civilians increased, youths and CDF members fought the RUF/AFRC forces in Koidu and recaptured the town early 1998.

Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown, RUF/AFRC forces retreated into the Provinces and reached Kono District in late February 1998. They rapidly retook Kono and spread across the whole District, carrying out the "Operation No Living Thing". The rate of physical violence, mutilation, rape, killing, abductions for conscription, use as forced labour or for sexual purpose and

the destruction of property reached unprecedented levels. This period, running from February to May/June, was characterised as the "reign of terror". Although RUF/AFRC forces were also deployed across the Northern Province, where they carried out the same actions, Kono District suffered the most from this "Operation No Living Thing", as RUF/AFRC forces clearly concentrated their operations on the main mining area. ECOMOG operations continued in the Provinces and by April 1998, ECOMOG forces had reached Kono District and recaptured the towns previously under RUF/AFRC control. RUF/AFRC forces continued their actions from the bush and abducted more civilians to conscript and train them in the new camp they had opened in the east of the District or to use them in the mining sites.

Violence began decreasing by June 1998. Around this period, hundreds of thousands of civilians had fled the District and RUF/AFRC forces were mainly engaged in large-scale mining operations. In late December, however, the RUF/AFRC regrouped and launched a massive operation on Koidu and other main towns in the west of the District, dislodging the ECOMOG forces from all their positions. The capture of Kono was the first step of a wider action, which reached its conclusion in the invasion of Freetown in January 1999.

Following the invasion of Freetown in January 1999, negotiations started between the Sierra Leonean President and the RUF leader in order to put an end to the conflict: A ceasefire was signed in May and a Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999. This agreement did not end the conflict, as RUF/AFRC expanded their positions in the Northern Province and continued to be present in Kono District. RUF/AFRC forces pursued their mining activities in the District and violence was still inflicted on civilians. Local hunters in the north and the east of the District increased their attacks on RUF/AFRC forces but were often defeated. From 1999, however, the conflict got a new face, as it appeared RUF/AFRC forces planned to launch attacks onto the Guinean territory.

The number of civilians abducted and trained, in particular in "superman camp" in the east of the District clearly indicated that RUF/AFRC forces were preparing attacks onto the Guinean territory. Attacks on Guinea were launched in May 2000 and reached their peak in September. These attacks onto the Guinean territory were not isolated, for Guinea was also attacked from Kailahun and Kambia Districts.

In 2001, the CDF, backed up by Guinean authorities, engaged and defeated the RUF forces in the east of the country. They were halted in their progression through the intervention of Kono authorities and UN officials, in a bid to enforce the ceasefire renewed in Abuja. The disarmament process began shortly afterwards, an agreement to end illegal mining was reached and the war was officially over in the District by the end of 2001.



E. Southern Province

a. Bo District

1. Introduction

Bo District is one of the four Districts composing the Southern Province together with Pujehun, Bonthe and Moyamba Districts. Its headquarter town, Bo Town, lies in its centre in Kakua Chiefdom. It is strategically located at a nodal crossroad, from which roads extend into the District in four directions.

Bordered on the east by Kenema District and in the south by Pujehun District, almost all the incursions would come from this direction following an east-west pattern. Its northern chiefdom, Valunia, shares a boundary with the central District of Tonkolili. Moyamba District on the north and Bonthe District on the south constitute its western edge.

There are 15 chiefdoms in the District:

Chiefdom <u>Headquarter</u> Badiia Ngelehun Bagbe Ngarlu Bagbo Iimi Baoma Baoma Bumpeh Bumpeh Gbo Gbo Jiama Bongor Telu Kakua Во Komboya Njala Lugbu Sumbuya Niawa Lenga Nengbema Selenga Dambala Tikonko Tikonko Valunia Mongere Wunde Gboyama

Two roads leading to Bo Town allow its penetration from Pujehun Town, the principal road passing by Wunde Chiefdom and the secondary road passing by Bagbo Chiefdom. It was the secondary road that would find favour with the RUF/NPFL forces, who entered the District from Pujehun District in 1991. The main road in the District is the highway that links Freetown with Kenema Town. This feature would influence the conduct of the conflict, as it would be the setting of many ambushes and checkpoints. The relatively large number of roads accessible by vehicle would allow further RUF advances inland towards the Districts of Moyamba and Bonthe, even if the headquarter town, Bo Town on the Freetown-Kenema highway, would not be captured by RUF forces.

The Sewa River that flows from the south-west to the east, following one-third of the border with Kenema District, divides the District in two and would be the natural separation between the chiefdoms affected by the conflict during its first years.

As Bo Town is the second largest city in Sierra Leone, trading and business are among the main activities of the District, as well as mining, particularly diamond mining in Jiama Bongor, Baoma, Tikonko and Lugbu Chiefdoms and cash crops such as rice, cocoa, coffee and palm oil. The mining production has however to be considered in the context of the whole country and in this regard, the production of the District comes rather far behind Kono District and the North of Kenema District.

The absence of external borders would make the District a safer haven for the inhabitants of Pujehun District, at least during the first years of the conflict, and different camps, often made of bush sticks and mud and hosting thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from others Districts, would be built in Bo District. Gondama (in the south of Kakua Chiefdom), at the junction between different chiefdoms, would host such a camp and would be severely affected during the conflict. Koribondo would be a strategic town during the conflict, due to its location at a crossroad between two strategic roads, the first running west-east and linking Bonthe District to Kenema District and the second running south-north and linking Pujehun District to Bo Town.

The main ethnic group is the Mende, renowned, among other things, for the importance of the traditional hunters in the society. Accordingly, the initiation of Kamajors, which had started in the Southern District of Bonthe, soon spread throughout Bo District, which would become a Kamajor stronghold.

Three different phases of the conflict can be clearly identified in Bo District. The first phase encompassed 1991 to 1993 and was characterised by the spreading of the RUF/NPFL forces from Pujehun District. However, only a few chiefdoms closest to Pujehun District were affected at this time, namely Bagbo, Lugbu, Jiama Bongor and Tikonko Chiefdoms. RUF/NPFL forces followed the same pattern when entering a village: they would gather people in the centre of the village, introduce themselves as "freedom fighters" coming to redeem them from the APC regime; some members would stay in the villages while others would proceed further. Physical violence, killing, abductions, the taking of property - especially food - and the burning of houses were reported from the very first incursion. Starting in June 1991, the SLA forces based in Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) and assisted by foreign troops contained these first attacks, repelled the RUF/NPFL forces from the District and patrolled in the areas previously under RUF/NPFL control, chasing "rebel" collaborators and encouraging the formation of vigilante groups. RUF/NPFL forces would later make sporadic raids in the District but did not settle in the District during this first stage.

The second phase spanned from 1994 to 1995, during which time the RUF had spread throughout the entire District. This phase saw the beginning of the organisation of youths and local hunters fighting alongside the SLA, although no formal initiations took place at this time. By the middle of 1995, SLA forces had retaken control of a large area south of Bo Town, although RUF forces still made repeated incursions and attacks, mainly in the chiefdoms on the east bank of the Sewa River and along the border with Kenema District. During this second phase, a lot of civilians were maltreated, killed, raped and abducted, a lot of houses were burnt, especially along the Kenema border, and property was taken away. These incidents were carried out mostly by RUF forces but by SLA forces as well. During this stage, the Freetown-Bo-Kenema highway was the setting of many ambushes, though the precise identity of the faction responsible could not always be ascertained.

The final phase ran from late 1995 to the end of the war, during which time the Kamajors were formally initiated and spread across the District. Although they initially fought alongside the SLA, their collaboration soon deteriorated and was almost nonexistent by the time of the Coup in May 1997. Fighting between those forces were reported and some SLA forces were suspected of collaborating with the RUF. The Kamajors nonetheless gained control of almost all the previous RUF strongholds in the District and during the AFRC regime, RUF/AFRC forces were only based in Koribondo and Bo Town. Following the ECOMOG deployment in the District in late February-early March 1998, no further RUF/AFRC incursion were reported, the District remaining under the Kamajors control who however harassed civilians, chasing, inflicting physical violence and killing people they suspected of being "Junta" and RUF collaborators.

2. Factual Analysis

a) Phase I: 1991 – 1993

RUF/NPFL forces entered the District in April 1991 through Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District) in the south-west of Bo District. These forces arrived first in Bagbo Chiefdom, where they scattered throughout April, May and June. They reached Lugbu Chiefdom in June, where they stayed for some months before being repelled by SLA forces.

On or around 24 April 1991, RUF/NPFL forces coming from the RUF base in Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District) known as "Kuwait" arrived in the headquarter town of Jimi (in the east of Bagbo Chiefdom), 42 miles south-west of Bo. The RUF/NPFL forces fired their weapons¹⁰⁶⁵ and gathered the people of the town for a meeting in the Court Barrie. At this meeting, they identified themselves as fighters from Liberia, trained in Burkina Faso and fighting for their leader to liberate the people of Sierra Leone. The RUF/NPFL forces gave the people of the village palm fronds as symbols of the revolution and warned them that if they ran, they would be deemed an "enemy" and shot. They took all the Paramount Chief's belongings, including his car, claiming he was an "APC chief". While there are no reported fatalities, they abducted the Paramount Chief's staff and recruited some 82 people, including young children. ¹⁰⁶⁷

The RUF/NPFL forces remained in Jimi for approximately one week, after which the forces split into three groups. One group remained in Jimi and the second group headed north west towards Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom). On the way, at Mani Junction (Bagbo Chiefdom), this group split into two, with one group continuing on their way to Sumbuya and another group heading south for Bum Chiefdom in Bonthe District. The third group headed north-east in a push towards Niagorihun, passing successively through Limba and Levuma. Niagorihun occupies the strategic position of junction town on the road leading to Sumbuya, the commercial centre and headquarter town of Lugbu Chiefdom, and the road coming from Jimi, from where movement between the north-east to the south-west could be controlled.

¹⁰⁶⁵ The RUF/NPFL forces were armed with mortar bombs, AK47 rifles, Berettas, LMG, GPMG and grenades. ¹⁰⁶⁶ Palm fronds and leaves were considered to be a symbol of the SLPP (Sierra Leone People' Party), the

opponent to the then APC regime of J.S. Momoh. Reports from Kenema also mentioned RUF/NPFL forces coming to the District with palm leaves round their wrists.

¹⁰⁶⁷ No mention is made of what happened to the staff of the Chief nor whether they were included in the 82 people abducted at this time.

The second group, who went to Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom), stopped at Mani Junction in Momajoe on the way, where they encamped all the civilians at Lavekee compound and conscripted 85 boys and girls. In their address to the people, they made it clear that nobody should run in their presence or they would be classed as an "enemy" and would be shot on sight. Furthermore, the RUF/NPFL stated that they came more for the Fullahs and the Lebanese, who - according to them - contributed to the suffering of the masses. Thus, one Fullah businessman was tied to a stick and people were told to guard him until their return, under threat of indiscriminate killing in the area if anyone let him go.

Before leaving, they warned the population to have livestock ready for them when they passed through on their way back. They then split into two groups and left, one group going towards Bonthe District and the other continuing on their way to Sumbuya. Near Sumbuya, one young man was shot because he started running away when he saw the forces coming. One Lebanese businessman was killed at the wharf, another one was shot dead for refusing to open his store and four Lebanese people were abducted. The RUF/NPFL commander ordered his forces to take property from the town, including hundreds of bags of rice, many bags of onions, sugar and other items, including vehicles. All the property was taken back to Jimi by the young boys and girls who had been abducted when they had first arrived, some of whom were taken for training.

On their way back, the RUF/NPFL forces stopped in Momajoe and brought the man who had been tied up since they left before the assembled town, at which time the commander of the RUF/NPFL forces shot and killed him. They forced some of the townspeople to bury the body, which had started to cause panic among the inhabitants. While in Momajoe, the group that had gone to Bonthe District returned with property, including motorbikes, they had taken from the rice mill at Torma (Bum Chiefdom). They then left Momajoe and went back to Jimi with the property they had taken from Sumbuya and from Torma, some of which was then taken to the RUF base called "Kuwait" in Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District).

The third group, who were heading north-east, continued along the road to Limba, passing through Manjama on the way, where they burnt down a number of houses. On their arrival in Limba, the RUF/NPFL forces gathered the people of the town for a meeting, in which they introduced themselves as trained Liberian mercenaries who had come to put down the APC regime. After this brief meeting, they continued on to Levuma, north of Limba, and later to Niagorihun Gateway, 7 miles north of Jimi, the meeting point of the main road to Sahn Malen and Sumbuya Lugbu Chiefdoms.

On 12 May 1991, SLA and the United Liberation Movement for Liberia (ULIMO) forces stationed in Koribondo (in the south of Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) were deployed to Niagorihun to prevent the RUF/NPFL forces from taking control of the town, which was successful. The RUF/NPFL forces made approximately four other attempts to take the town, returning each time to Jimi and passing through Limba on the way to Niagorihun, but each time they were repelled by the combined SLA and ULIMO forces. During the successive battles, both sides suffered heavy fatalities, including one

¹⁰⁶⁸ The Fullah are one of the ethnic groups from Sierra Leone and were a particular target, as its members were known to be wealthy businessmen.

of the RUF/NPFL commanders, 1069 and houses were burnt down as a result of the shelling. 1070 After their final attempt, they went back to Jimi and went on raiding missions in different towns in the chiefdom, taking what food they could find.

As a result of these battles, SLA and ULIMO forces based in Niagorihun began to move down the road towards Jimi, first taking control of Levuma and then moving on to Limba, where they established a base. The SLA and ULIMO forces, who were under SLA command, held a town meeting in the Court Barrie at which they established a curfew, set restrictions on people's movements and seized all the weapons in the town. During the following month, the SLA and ULIMO forces remained in Limba, from where they undertook covert reconnaissance missions to establish the extent of the RUF/NPFL strength in Jimi. They also went on food finding missions in nearby towns, which resulted in some skirmishes between SLA/ULIMO forces and RUF/NPFL forces.

On or around 16 June 1991, SLA and ULIMO forces launched a successful offensive with up to 250 troops to retake control of Jimi. During the battle in Jimi, the SLA and ULIMO forces killed six civilians who they believed to be "rebel" collaborators. RUF/NPFL forces coming from the direction of Pujehun District attempted several times to recapture Jimi but were unsuccessful. During these attempts, at least one house was burnt down as a result of the shelling, but no fatalities are reported. After they had recaptured Jimi, SLA forces maltreated civilians and hunted RUF collaborators. A number of people were killed because they were suspected of being "rebel" collaborators or because they came from "rebel-held" villages, although no investigations appear to have been held. Civilians who dealt with or hosted any RUF/NPFL forces, whether willingly or unwillingly, were tied up, beaten, made to look at the sun and, in some instances, killed.

In late June 1991, SLA forces launched a counter-attack to take control of Mano (Bagbo Chiefdom), which resulted in half of the town being occupied by the SLA forces and the other half of the town being occupied by the RUF/NPFL forces, although the exact dividing lines are not clear. Civilians in the town became the victims of both sides as each of the fighting factions accused them of aiding and abetting the other faction. Thus the SLA forces killed one boy, beat up the Town Chief and burnt down up to 45 houses. In return, the RUF/NPFL forces burnt down the remaining houses, killed 15 people and mutilated others. Around this time, RUF/NPFL forces also attacked Sonehun Gola and Mano, west of Jimi on the way to Momajoe/Mani Junction. In Sonehun Golan, RUF/NPFL forces killed 10 people and in Mano, they killed two people and burnt down four houses.

At the same time, SLA forces passed through Momajoe on the way to Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom), where they remained for around two weeks, trying to assess the extent of territory controlled by the RUF/NPFL. At the beginning of July 1991, SLA forces regained control of Momajoe/Mani Junction, and were also established in Kasseh and Sumbuya. Sumbuya was an economic and trading

¹⁰⁶⁹ It is reported that there were no civilian fatalities at this time.

¹⁰⁷⁰ It appears that the houses were not deliberately targeted, but were burnt down as an indirect result of the shelling.

¹⁰⁷¹ The records report that the people who were mutilated were "taken to Mattru Jong or Bo for treatment", although it is not clear what this means.

centre and people were moving south of Sumbuya to buy food and other items, bringing them back to Sumbuya to trade. However, the SLA commander was uncomfortable with this movement of people, so people coming to Sumbuya from the south were considered to be "enemies" and were molested or put in cells for some days. This may in part be due to an incident that occurred on or around 10 July 1991: a military truck had an accident, which resulted in one SLA member falling off the truck and accidentally discharging his weapon. This led his companions to think they were under attack and they fired in the direction the shooting had come from, accidentally killing the soldier on the ground. The soldiers then fired at the vehicle to make their commander believe they had fallen into an ambush. Based on this report, the commander declared the zone north of Momajoe an "enemy zone" and ordered preparations for a full-scale invasion, including the order to shoot anybody they saw on sight. The following day, the invasion occurred from Golawoma to Tawamahehu, during which a lot of civilians were wounded, some of whom died in the bush due to lack of medical care.

One week later, the SLA commander required young men¹⁰⁷² in the surroundings of Momajoe¹⁰⁷³ to register for a vigilante group. After registration, they formed vigilante groups in the various towns and were assigned tasks by the SLA, including building huts, hunting and general cleaning tasks. Punishments for coming late or failing to do assigned duties included frog jump, 1074 rolling, being forced to lie down and look at the sun and imprisonment for a number of days.

In mid July 1991, SLA forces required civilians to lead them to Golapo Junction 1075 following a RUF/NPFL incursion in Kasseh, south of Momajoe, from Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District), during which two people were killed. They met stiff resistance from the RUF/NPFL forces and one of the SLA soldiers was killed. However, all the civilians escaped safely, as a result of which the SLA commander imposed more stringent rules on how to deal with civilians. Civilians who had any connection with RUF/NPFL forces, including mothers of people abducted by the RUF, were all classed as "rebels" and were treated accordingly. For example, in Mogbon, five miles east of Momajoe, two women were killed by gunshot wound to the vagina because they cooked food for their children who had returned from the RUF/NPFL base and failed to surrender to the SLA. One man was killed because he said that the RUF/NPFL were planning to attack Momajoe. Two boys who came to Momajoe from Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District) to buy salt were suspected of being "rebel" collaborators and were forced to chew their own penises before they were shot and killed. It is estimated that during this period, up to 48 people were killed by SLA forces because they arrived in Momajoe from a direction in which RUF/NPFL forces were believed to have bases.

Mamojoe); Temgbeleh, Largo, Maniwa, Mani, Bo, Tissana, Yegelleh, Fala (all south Momajoe); and Mojemai Kpongbalia and Golapo, east of Momajoe.

¹⁰⁷² The ages of these people are not clear; they are variously described as "young men" and "youths", which in the Sierra Leone context could be anywhere up to mid to late thirties, but probably does not include people under 14. 1073 The towns are reported as being Momajoe, Golawoma, Mowei, Mossamgbahuò, Nyahgorihun (all north of

¹⁰⁷⁴ To "frog jump" or to "pump" is done by first holding on to the earlobes with two hands – the left hand holding the right ear lobe and vice versa- after which the person is required to jump up and down continuously on their haunches. This form of punishment was both physically and psychologically painful, because it is a punishment meted out mostly to children and it is considered shameful for an adult to be made to "pump". 1075 While not explicitly stated, it appears that the civilians were used to guide the SLA forces through the area rather than provide them with any sort of protection.

The District remained under the control of the SLA/ULIMO forces, who engaged the RUF/NPFL forces from all flanks, pushing them north-easterly from Sumbuya and south from Jimi through Pujehun District back into Liberia. At this time, the main SLA base was still in Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) and others had been established in Jimi, Sumbuya and Momajoe. Initially, SLA forces provided food and medicine to the civilian population, which led to good relations between them. Over time, however, civilians were forced to build camps for the SLA, were molested and flogged in public for failing to carry out the cleaning exercise and young girls were sexually harassed. A court structure was set up by the SLA and civilians were heavily fined for breaches, although it is not clear what law (if any) was applied in these courts. In November 1991, SLA forces started using civilians to mine diamonds in Niagorihun, where unidentified armed men killed 20 civilians. These events led to confusion within the population and to distrust of the SLA. At that time, civilians began to suspect that SLA soldiers were disguising themselves as RUF fighters and attacking villages.

During this time, from late 1991 to the end of 1992, the RUF/NPFL made sporadic incursions in Jimi and Limba (Bagbo Chiefdom) from Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District). They burnt seven houses in Limba and took away all the cattle in the town. One man was killed by his son in law, a member of the RUF, and his head was displayed along the road leading to Jimi. In addition, they launched some attacks in the area around Mano, in which some people were killed. However, RUF/NPFL forces did not manage to make any significant advances into Bo District and did not retake control of any territory. 1077

Foreign troops¹⁰⁷⁸ were based in Gondama (south of Kakua Chiefdom, at the border with Tikonko and Jiama Bongor Chiefdoms) and in early 1993, an influx of civilians from Pujehun District fleeing RUF forces came to Gondama through Koribondo on the advice of SLA forces in the District. Gondama would remain safe until November 1994, when RUF forces launched a major attack on the town.

In April 1993, RUF forces entered Sembehun, a mining area in Tikonko Chiefdom. The RUF forces were not wearing combat uniforms and many people did not realise they were RUF until they begin firing their weapons. The RUF forces went through houses looking for gold and diamonds and took many goods from the market place, including clothes and shoes. They then abducted a number of people to carry the stolen property, although they were not detained and were returned to Sembehun the same evening.

In 1993, RUF forces embarked on road ambushes in Bagbo Chiefdom around Jimi, during which SLA forces and civilians suffered heavy casualties. In December 1993, during a meeting called by the SLA commander in Jimi to discuss the situation with chiefdom authorities, news broke out that a commercial vehicle had been attacked at Basaleh junction in Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District) between Jimmi Bagbo and Sahn Malen Chiefdoms.

¹⁰⁷⁶ No further information is available on this attack or who the attackers were.

¹⁰⁷⁷ No news was made available on these attacks in the chiefdom (Bagbo) and people soon forgot about them.

¹⁰⁷⁸ These troops were either Guinean or Nigerian troops, posted in Sierra Leone in furtherance to bilateral treaties with Sierra Leone.



B) Phase II: Late 1993 to 1995

From February 1994, the Freetown – Bo – Kenema highway was constantly ambushed by RUF and SLA forces, cutting off food supplies for towns like Bo and Kenema whose population was swollen by thousands of civilians seeking refuge. Convoy of trucks¹⁰⁷⁹ leaving Freetown were often ambushed.

Towards the end of 1993, RUF/NPFL forces regrouped in Malen Chiefdom (Pujehun District) and started launching heavy attacks on Bagbo Chiefdom, starting in Jimi. In addition, in October 1993, Koribondo was attacked and many civilians moved to Bo Town. As a result of this attack, the Director of the Gondama camp initiated a self-defence program, selecting youths as vigilantes to run checkpoints both day and night. By late 1993 or early 1994, SLA forces were to a large extent dislodged from Jimi, Sumbuya and Momajoe and re-established themselves in Koribondo. This SLA withdrawal gave room to the RUF/NPFL forces to go through Bagbo Chiefdom into Bonthe District, where they also pushed out the SLA forces present in Bum Chiefdom and gained access to Mattru Jong and from there the Sierra Rutile mining areas.

Most likely in early 1994,¹⁰⁸¹ upon receiving news that the war was approaching his chiefdom, the Regent Chief of Jiama Bongor Chiefdom decided that all the towns and villages of his chiefdom should mobilise their youths to guard their villages against the assailants. The old hunters were asked to give their guns to the youths and the youths and local hunters were trained, after permission was granted from the Resident Minister of Bo. Youths and local hunters from Boama and Bagbe Chiefdoms also organised themselves in a similar fashion. By June 1994, the training was complete and 2,800 men composed of youths and local hunters were issued with arms and ammunition.¹⁰⁸²

The RUF forces attacked Koribondo in March 1994, as a result of which troops on both sides were killed and one civilian was caught in the crossfire. At the time of the attack, the SLA had been sent to the town. Following the attack, a troop of Guinean soldiers came as reinforcements for the SLA forces.

In the early months of 1994, villages in different chiefdoms along the border with Kenema District were attacked by a small number of RUF forces, mainly for food finding purposes. For example, RUF forces entered Komboya Chiefdom in the north of Bo District by crossing the Sewa River from Kenema District. They arrived in a small village near the town of Gumahun, where the Trade Fair was situated. The RUF forces then entered Gumahun, apparently with the main intention of obtaining food, as they only took food items, palm oil, cattle and money. Before leaving, on the same night they entered, the RUF forces also burnt down three dwelling houses. SLA forces were stationed at that time at Njala (Komboya Chiefdom), but the RUF made their incursions before

¹⁰⁷⁹ These convoys could be very big, comprising up to 70 vehicles.

¹⁰⁸⁰ This information has to be read in conjunction with the attacks that started in December 1993 in Kenema District.

¹⁰⁸¹ No date is given for this meeting, but training took place in April 1994 as a result of this meeting, so it is likely these events took place in early 1994.

¹⁰⁸² This gathering of youths did not entail, at this time, the process of initiation within the Kamajor society. This initiation would begin in Bo District in 1995.

there was time to deploy those forces and, in addition, it is reported that the SLA forces there were themselves harassing civilians and taking away their food and property.

In 1994, most of the road ambushes were carried out by SLA forces, especially between Niagorihun and Grima (Tikonko Chiefdom), during which civilians were killed and their property stolen. These forces were referred to as "sobels", meaning members of the SLA who had joined forces with the RUF. The loss of confidence in the SLA, which had begun towards the end of 1991, thus continued to grow stronger in 1994. People relate that wherever SLA forces deployed to protect a town or a village, that town or village would be attacked by RUF forces shortly after their arrival. In April 1994, inhabitants of Lugbu Chiefdom who no longer felt safe moved to Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) and Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom). Thus, the population of Bo Town swelled in 1994 and food became scarce.

At some time in 1993, 1085 vigilante groups were established in Wunde Chiefdom (south-east of the District, at the border with Pujehun District), led by the former Regent Chief. In April 1994, RUF forces attacked Juhun (Wunde Chiefdom) twice and each time, people were killed, some houses were burnt and people were forced to carry the stolen property to Zimmi, near the border with Liberia in Pujehun District. Local hunters from Jiama Bongor Chiefdom sent to the border between Wunde and Jiama Bongor Chiefdoms fought with RUF forces. Four civilians are reported to have been killed in that fight and two houses were burnt down.

Many villages were attacked in 1994 in Wunde Chiefdom, property was taken, houses burnt, people killed and women raped. For example, in early 1994, RUF forces attacked Kambawana, a section headquarter town with 58 dwelling houses, causing many of the inhabitants to flee into the nearby bush. RUF forces set fire to the town, completely destroying 30 houses and damaging the remaining buildings, including by shooting at them. RUF forces killed or abducted most of the people who had remained in the village, including young children, and raped the women. 1086

In Boama Chiefdom, the youths and local hunters were mobilised in 1994 and established as a Territorial Defence Force (TDF) under the command of the chiefdom authorities in the town of Gerihun. The TDF was divided into two groups, one of which was sent to Jomu village and the other of which was sent to Kpatbu, both of which are on the border with Jaima Bongor Chiefdom. These towns were considered strategic points in the defence of Boama Chiefdom from the RUF forces fighting in Jiama Bongor Chiefdom.

Nevertheless, in May 1994, RUF forces coming from Kenema District, most likely from their base of Camp Zogoda, ¹⁰⁸⁷ continuously attacked villages behind the Sewa River in Boama Chiefdom. In all these attacks, civilians were killed, women raped, houses burnt, property stolen and people

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¹⁰⁸³ Cross reference to Bombali District, where people said the same thing.

¹⁰⁸⁴ It appeared that its population doubled in 1994, rising sharply from 450,000 inhabitants to roughly one million.

¹⁰⁸⁵ No month is given for the formation of the vigilante groups.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The bodies were left on the ground for some time, as a person who visited the village some time after this attack saw a number of skeletons lying on the streets. It is not clear when or where these skeletal remains were finally buried.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Camp Zogoda was located in Koya Chiefdom (Kenema District) and was operational throughout 1994-95 before being overrun by SLA and Kamajors in 1996. For further information, see Kenema District.

abducted, including underage children. For example, in Tugbedu, two civilians were killed and four houses were burnt; in Sandia, one pregnant woman was killed; and in Kpatobu, three young men were killed, five houses burnt and a lot of property taken. In Keigbai village, one civilian was killed, women raped, three houses burnt down, property was taken and over 200 people abducted. Also in May 1994, RUF forces coming from the direction of Mile 30 on the old Koribondo-Blama (Small Bo Chiefdom, Kenema District) highway attacked Gordi (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom), burnt five buildings, including the school, and took sheep and goats away with them. No fatalities were reported at this time.

On hearing that the chiefdom headquarter of Telu (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) had come under heavy attack in June 1994, local hunters and youths from Gbaama mobilised themselves and went to Telu. On their arrival in Telu, they discovered the 70 bodies of local hunters and youths in front of the Regent Chief's residence, which was damaged. Twenty civilians were found dead from bullet wounds. The survivors of the attack on Telu, including the Regent Chief, fled to Bo, Gerihun and other places for safety.

Similarly to the other chiefdoms at the border with Kenema District, RUF forces first entered Badjia Chiefdom in mid 1994 mainly to find food. However, these food-finding missions were also accompanied by the burning of houses and huts and the killing of civilians. In Pendebu, one old man was shot dead and one hut was set on fire. Each time they came to find food, the RUF forces were very small in number.

In August 1994, the Town Chief of Geima¹⁰⁸⁹ (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) arrived in Koribondo with two youths whose hands had been cut off. He reported that RUF forces had attacked Geima, dumped 40 civilians in wells, killed nine men, three children and eight women, burnt down 30 houses and forced people to carry their stolen property to Zimmi, which is on the border with Liberia in Pujehun District.

That same month, RUF forces again attacked Jimi and over 20 civilians were killed and up to 50 were abducted, allegedly being taken away to "Kuwait", the RUF base in Pujehun District. Another attack took place in September, during which an SLA officer was killed. After this incident, the SLA intensified their search for RUF collaborators and many civilians were killed by SLA forces on this basis, including the Town Chief. During this period, up to 190 houses in Jimi were burnt down, with the exception of the Primary and Secondary Schools; civilians were killed; and many young people were abducted. Cases of rapes are mentioned and it is reported that three girls were raped on the road between Jimi and Kanga, west of Jimi. Houses were looted and people were injured with machetes in Mano; there are also reports of amputations at this time.

At the same time, the RUF forces began attacking the towns that had been left by the SLA, particularly in Niagorehun, Sumbuya, Towamaheahun and Lower and Upper Saama in the west of Lugbu Chiefdom on the road between Sumbuya and Niagorehun. During these attacks, many civilians were killed and raped and houses were burnt down. In Sumbuya, over 100 houses were

¹⁰⁸⁸ It is not clear how the Regent Chief's house was damaged or how the local hunters were killed.

 $^{^{1089}}$ Geima is on the Koribondo–Sumbuya Highway, the main route from Kenema District to Bonthe District through Bo District.

burnt, including the residence of the Paramount Chief, and over 150 houses were burnt in Niagorehun.

In September 1994, RUF forces attacked Momajoe and its environs (Bagbo Chiefdom), meeting little resistance from the SLA forces based at Mani Junction. During this attack, one boy and one local hunter, who had been pointing his gun at the RUF forces, were killed in separate incidents. Property was taken away from people and around 20 young men were forced to carry that property to RUF bases in Malen Chiefdom.

Njala (Komboya Chiefdom in the north of Bo District), which is a hub for the flow of produce such as palm oil, rice, groundnuts, kola nuts, coffee and cacao during marketing seasons, was attacked in September 1994. 1090 Five civilians were killed and houses were looted and then burnt down. The RUF forces attacking the town came from the east, most likely along the road from Kenema District through Gumahun and Naigolehun. The RUF forces left the town the same day as they had arrived. 1091

Also in September¹⁰⁹² 1994, a large number of RUF forces, most of them dressed in plain clothes with red headbands and commanders in uniforms with steel helmets, entered the chiefdom headquarter town of Ngelehun (Badjia Chiefdom), firing heavily. Although no deaths were reported, many women and children were abducted and forced to carry stolen property. RUF forces came back later and abducted many more people. In Badjia Chiefdom, few people were killed but thousands were abducted and forced to join the RUF movement, whereupon many people fled to Gerihun (Boama Chiefdom). Progressively, the villages and towns of Badjia Chiefdom became empty, as RUF forces made various incursions and attacks throughout the chiefdom and people sought refuge in larger towns like Kenema or Bo or in the bush.

The chiefdom headquarter of Ngarlu (Bagbe Chiefdom) was also attacked by RUF forces, ¹⁰⁹⁴ using a method worth describing in more detail. The RUF assailants gathered the inhabitants in the Court Barrie and asked the Town Chief to send messages around the farms calling all the people to come at once. People were forced to sit on the floor with their legs stretched out in front of them. The RUF members explained to the people that those among them who were in uniforms with helmets on were Burkina Faso fighters while those in other clothes and red headbands were RUF members.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Njala is at the foot of a steep mountain on top of which there was rumoured to be a RUF establishment called Bokurr, which was a large training camp and the sometime residence of the RUF leader. Sounds of helicopters were heard over the mountain every two days during 1995, although the duration when the helicopters were flying was unspecified

¹⁰⁹¹ Indeed, at the same period, RUF forces had reached Wandor Chiefdom (Kenema District) that lies at the east of Komboya Chiefdom.

¹⁰⁹² Reports mention two different dates for this attack, September and December. Although open sources could not confirm the date, it is likely that this attack took place in the aftermath of the one at Njala (Komboya Chiefdom) in September.

¹⁰⁹³ The land of Badjia and Komboya Chiefdoms was rich in food and the place was ideal as it is a hilly area, far from the main road.

¹⁰⁹⁴ This event was described as happening in June 1994 but also as taking place after Njala (Komboya Chiefdom) and Ngelehun (Badjia Chiefdom) had been attacked, which took place probably in September. Accordingly, this attack was probably carried out around September.

Under heavy guard, some of them took young women and girls into a house and raped them. As these rapes were going on, the old people were separated from the youths and other RUF members searched the houses. After collecting items from the houses, they set the town on fire. One hundred and fifty youths were told to carry the things they had collected from the houses for the RUF forces. As it was time for the third Muslim prayer, they fired shots above the heads of the gathered civilians, dropped young babies and trampled on them and hit screaming children on their heads. Many young people, including children and teenagers, were abducted during this attack, most likely for recruitment purposes although their fate remains unknown. People who had escaped to the bush and returned the following morning discovered burnt houses, property missing and 25 bodies in the town and others in the nearby bushes, including adults, children and babies, whose heads had been crushed. Ten of the bodies were buried in one grave in the centre of the town, three in another one and four in a third grave.

Valunia, the northernmost chiefdom in Bo District, was first touched by the conflict in late 1994. In October, November and December, RUF forces and SLA forces were present for the first time in the three biggest towns. In early October 1994, SLA forces came by truck to the town of Baomahun, towards the north in the centre of the chiefdom, from Tekoh Barracks in Makeni (Bombali District). The SLA forces explained to the population that they had come to search for RUF forces based in Kangari Hills in Tonkolili District, from where they believed RUF forces would make an attack on Valunia Chiefdom. However on their return, very few soldiers were to be seen on the trucks. At around that time, foreigners who were operating the gold mines left the town, allegedly poisoning the food and drink in their quarters as they believed the SLA forces would be back to steal their property. Later in October 1994, SLA forces attacked Baomahun, taking a lot of property from the gold mining quarters and the town in general. The SLA forces spent some time in the quarters, drinking what was left by the expatriates who had fled earlier. Trucks loaded with food and other items were brought to Tekoh Barracks. A few days later, information reached the civilians that SLA soldiers were found dead in the forest and that wives and children of those SLA members at Tekoh Barracks were also dead, as a result of the poison the expatriates put in their food and drinks before leaving.

Due to the persistent attacks on Bagbe Chiefdom, up to 600 villagers came and settled in Gerihun (Boama Chiefdom), which also hosted displaced people from Komboya and Badjia Chiefdoms after the attacks on the headquarters towns of Njala and Ngelehun respectively. Following this influx of civilians, UNHCR established a displaced camp in Gerihun, under the protection of SLA forces and Special Security Division Police.

In November 1994, RUF forces coming from Camp Zogoda¹⁰⁹⁶ in Kenema District attacked Gerihun twice. Both times, they were repelled but promised that they would not be satisfied until Gerihun was captured. In June 1995, the RUF forces returned in large numbers, attacking the town on three sides and retaking control of both the town and the IDP camp. Over 100 displaced people were killed in the camp either by shooting or by being drowned in the Beibei River. Property was taken from booths, namely huts made from bushsticks and covered with greenery for shelter, which

¹⁰⁹⁵ The Kangari Hills are to be found mainly in Tonkolili District but also lie in Valunia Chiefdom. The RUF base, however, was located in Tonkolili District.

 $^{^{1096}}$ The camp was mentioned on the ID card found on a dead RUF member.

were then set on fire. At that time, the SLA forces asked the fleeing civilians to come to their base for protection as they had sent someone to Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom) to ask for reinforcements, although it is not clear whether reinforcements were on the way.

While up to 1,000 civilians went to the base, the whole town including the military base was soon taken over. The SLA forces withdrew to an unknown destination and more people were killed, some as a result of RPG firing by RUF forces as they entered the town. Every house in the town was searched and looted. Over 200 civilians were told to carry the stolen property to the RUF base at Camp Zogoda in Kenema District. Before leaving the town, the RUF forces set the IDP camp on fire. Among those people who had to carry the property, few came back and the rest have not been seen since. Shortly after the RUF forces left, SLA forces returned with reinforcements, firing indiscriminately. After they arrived, they made the population bury the people who had been killed by the RUF forces when they had attacked the town.

During the same period, women and children who had left Bagbe, Komboya and Badjia Chiefdoms were killed on their way to Kenema District. When they had stopped at the chiefdom headquarter of Boajibu (Simbaru Chiefdom, Kenema District) and sought shelter in a large house, RUF forces set the house on fire.¹⁰⁹⁸

Monghere (Valunia Chiefdom), south-west of Baomahun at the junction between the road from Moamahun and the road from Bare in the north-west of the chiefdom, was attacked in November 1994. RUF forces believed to come from their base in Bokurr raided the town. They took people's property, in particular domesticated animals such as goats and sheep, before burning down nearly all the houses in the town. They abducted some people, forcing them to carry the stolen property. These people later escaped. While there were no reported fatalities, a number of people suffered gunshot wounds.

In December 1994, RUF forces attacked the town of Mandu, towards the south of Valunia Chiefdom along the road from Monghere. RUF forces set fire to all the houses in the town, took property, including food and valuables, and forced civilians to carry the property they had taken. The civilians were later released after the RUF forces had reached villages allegedly near their bases. SLA forces based at Grima junction, 1099 north of Mandu along the road to Monhere, arrived in the town after the RUF forces had left the town and some of them also took property belonging to civilians, although others assisted in putting out the fires in the town.

Another example of the attacks on Wunde Chiefdom in 1994 is the assault on Niagorehun in the south of the chiefdom, which was attacked by RUF forces in December 1994. Windows and doors of the houses were broken, houses ransacked and people forced to carry their property; people who refused were shot on the spot. Young girls were raped and young boys, most of them below 10 years

¹⁰⁹⁷ One key person said that an RUF member advised them to move from the SLA base to a safer place because the SLA forces were "fooling" people and were fighting together with the RUF.

¹⁰⁹⁸ No further information could be obtained on this event, which was not mentioned in relation to Kenema District.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Note that while the records refer to it as "Grima junction" and "Grima town", the UNHCR maps have it named "Geima".

old, were abducted. Many civilians were killed, such as one pregnant woman who refused to have sex with one of the fighters.

Later, towards the end of 1994 and the beginning of 1995, RUF forces came back to Bagbe Chiefdom, this time arriving from the south. Given the location of Ngarlu at a junction, RUF forces planned to establish a base there. They drove the people out of the chiefdom by burning the main towns like Madina, Gibina, Blama, Kpetewoma, Kpakoh and Mano. Prominent people were also killed, including a schoolteacher of Blama who refused to be a teacher for their forces. Some people went into hiding and others went to Bo Town or Kenema Town (Nongowa Chiefdom, Kenema District). Their arrival in Bo corresponded with the initiation of Kamajors starting in 1995.

Benduma (in the south of Bagbe Chiefdom) was overcrowded with civilians fleeing from the Sewa River, where RUF forces were settled; from the headquarter town of Ngarlu; and from Komboya Chiefdom. Villages in the area were surrounded by RUF forces and attacks were always imminent. In December 1994, five people were instantly shot dead by RUF forces arriving in Benduma. During the same visit, they raped women, stole property and forced young men to carry that property to the RUF base in Ngallu. Benduma was of interest as it was rich in food and animals. Benduma was also the largest town in the chiefdom, where the Paramount Chief lived.

However, the most striking wave of attacks that affected Bo District as a whole is the one that took place in December 1994 with the attack on the Gondama IDP camp, followed by attacks on the main towns in the centre of the District during the Christmas week.

In December 1994, RUF forces attacked Gondama camp, south of Kakua Chiefdom. The attack on Gondama Camp, where thousands of people from Pujehun and Bo Districts had found refuge, was a shock for the population. At the time of the attack, on 24 December 1994, only a few ECOMOG troops were posted at Gondama, where an estimated 80,000 people had sought refuge. Between 200 and 400 civilians were killed, either by drowning in the Sewa River or as a result of bullet wounds. ECOMOG troops repelled the RUF forces about one week later and the camp was transferred temporarily to Bo Town. During this time, both RUF and SLA forces raided the camp, taking property that had been left behind. In January 1995, the camp was declared safe and people were asked to come back, which they did. Nevertheless, throughout 1995 the situation was difficult, as RUF forces had blocked the main highway between Bo and Freetown, thereby cutting off a main route for the supply of food. People died on a daily basis from malnutrition and cholera broke out; some relief was provided when the route was reopened in October 1995.

¹¹⁰⁰ It has to be noted that there is little information for Kakua, Tikonko and Bumpe Chiefdoms from 1993 to 1995, as almost all the civilians at that time were living either in the bushes or in displaced camps, such as Gondama camp. For example, the only information about Kakua Chiefdom, during this time, besides the December 1994 attacks, is that in July 1995, SLA forces and local hunters launched successful attacks on RUF forces in Kakua Chiefdom, resulting in the death of many RUF fighters.

¹¹⁰¹ It appears that on 22 December, the ECOMOG troops were ordered to go to Bo to provide security for a carnival that was planned, leaving only 11 soldiers in the camp.

¹¹⁰² It is not clear who declared the camp to be safe, but ECOMOG continued to provide protection at the camp, so it is possible it was ECOMOG.

After their attack on Gondama, RUF forces then moved on to make their first attack on Tikonko Town (Tikonko Chiefdom) on 25 December 1994, arriving at around 3.00 pm, killing many civilians and burning and looting many houses. At the same time, other villages in the chiefdom were also attacked. At Sengema riverside, one young man was killed and another was shot in the leg. Civilians fled in large number to Mattru on the Rail (Tikonko Chiefdom), intensifying the panic in the town.

On 26 December 1994, RUF forces attacked Mattru on the Rail (Tikonko Chiefdom) in the afternoon, mutilating civilians' arms and legs. The RUF then opened sporadic gunfire on the civilians, killing many people, looting their property and burning down their houses. They also abducted civilian youths who they conscripted into the RUF forces. In the morning before this attack, 40 fully armed men wearing military uniforms entered the town, claiming to be Government forces coming to protect Mattru on the Rail. However, when RUF forces who identified themselves to the civilians as such attacked the town, these Government forces were nowhere to be found.

Bo Town was attacked on 27 December 1994 for the first time by RUF forces passing through the New London quarter. Prior to this attack, fleeing civilians from Mattru on the Rail and Tikonko Town had told residents of Bo Town that the RUF were bent on attacking Bo Town. The authorities of the town organised youths to erect checkpoints, which were controlled by these youths as a precautionary move in the event of an RUF attack. Thus, the youths who had mobilised themselves repelled the RUF forces out of the town. Few civilians were killed, few houses burnt and few youths abducted during this attack.

Bumpeh Town (Bumpeh Chiefdom), in the far west of Bo District, was attacked three times between December 1994 and June 1995. RUF forces coming from the north of Bumpeh attacked the town for the first time in December 1994, probably during the same wave of attacks against Bo Town, Tikonko Town and Mattru on the Rail. During this attack, few houses were burnt and some property was taken. Some girls were raped and people were abducted. The Regent Chief from Mattru Jong tried to hide from the RUF forces in the Tabal River, but accidentally drowned. As had happened in Mattru on the Rail prior to the RUF attack, forces claimed to be SLA forces had come to the town, asserting they were waiting for reinforcements following the previous attacks on Tikonko, Mattru on the Rail and Bo Town. However, when the RUF forces entered the town, those forces were nowhere to be found.

The attack on these major towns in the District was perceived by the population as an indication that the RUF were now a strong force not only in the eastern and northern parts of the country but also in the Southern Province of Sierra Leone. 1104

Gbo, Selenga and Niawa Lenga Chiefdoms, north of Kakua Chiefdom, were not affected by the war before 1995, following the wave of attacks on Gondama, Bo and Tikonko Town in December 1994.

In January 1995, RUF forces reached Gbo Chiefdom through Bumpeh Chiefdom. The first village they attacked was Nagbana, on 3 January, killing people, raping women and taking away cattle. On

1104 Also during the Christmas week, Kenema Town and Magburaka (Tonkolili District headquarter) were attacked.

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¹¹⁰³ As opposed to Mattru on the Jong, which is in Bonthe District.

hearing that they were approaching the headquarter town of Baiama, the Paramount Chief reported the threat to the SLA's Bo Brigade Headquarter. However, no action was taken by the SLA to prevent the attack on Baiama, which took place on 4 January 1995. People were gathered in the Court Barrie, beaten and kicked by the RUF forces. Six people were killed, houses looted, cattle taken and over 20 houses were burnt. On the same day, Mokeilendeh was also attacked. Confusion arose in the mind of the civilians since uniformed men came to Baiama on 6 January 1995 telling people they were Government forces but, shortly after, left the town. People did not know to which government they were belonging, particularly because the RUF was now calling itself a "Government".

RUF forces attacked Baiama a second time on 8 January 1995, killed people, burnt some houses and abducted some people who were released shortly after. After the attack, SLA forces came from Bo to Baiama, after the Paramount Chief made another appeal to the SLA Brigade Commander. However, these SLA forces, who did not stay long, took all the cattle of the town.

The headquarter town of Dambala (Selenga Chiefdom), about 12 miles north of Bo Town, was also attacked in January 1995 by RUF forces coming from the direction of Negbenah, which is four miles east of Dambala. This time as well, SLA forces who were based in the town were nowhere to be found at the time of the attack. During the attack, RUF forces killed approximately three people and burnt down up to 110 houses.

In January 1995, RUF forces attacked the SLA forces based in Grima (Valunia Chiefdom) and overpowered them. Attacks on SLA positions were frequent, including on their bases in Mandu and Monghere (Valunia Chiefdom). Throughout 1995, civilians hiding in the bush were tracked down either by RUF or SLA forces. RUF forces were raiding villages and hunting civilians in the bush, mainly for food. Civilians were maltreated as RUF forces beat them, dripped melted plastic on them, raped women and, frequently, young girls, and forced people to have sexual intercourse with members of their own family. Young people were taken away and some people were killed, such as one man who was killed so the RUF forces could take his animals. Another incident concerns a young farmer who had his fingers cut off when the RUF forces discovered he had set traps to get meat.

Negbema, 16 miles from Bo Town in Niawa Lenga Chiefdom, which adjoins Selenga Chiefdom to the north-east, was also attacked in January 1995. At the time of the attack, no SLA forces or local militia were based in the town. RUF forces, as they identified themselves to the civilians, ¹¹⁰⁵ burnt down houses and abducted young boys. Another attack took place later during the year, probably in May 1995, during which the RUF forces burnt down more houses, killed some people and abducted some young girls. In August 1995, SLA forces came to protect the town. However, according to civilians, they were more thieves than liberators as they were taking away all the food from civilians.

The SLA forces took property from civilians in Valunia Chiefdom, including food items and livestock, claiming it was on orders. They also forced civilians to work for them, including requiring drivers to carry items for them. Anyone who refused would be punished, often by being verbally

¹¹⁰⁵ It is reported that the commander of the RUF forces who identified them to the civilians was approximately 15 years old.

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abused or beaten. The only secondary school, in Koyeima, was completely vandalised; the furniture, steel windows and doors were removed and, for the most part, taken to Bo Town, either to be sold or to be used by the SLA forces based there. In addition, checkpoints were set up in the town and operated both by SLA soldiers and by civilians. People were stopped at checkpoints and faced being "booked", i.e. fined, for failure to carry the correct identity cards, among other things.

Momajoe and its environs (Bagbo Chiefdom) were again attacked in January 1995 but no mention is made of casualties at this time. RUF forces deposed all the chiefs and elected new ones, although it is not clear how these elections took place. The area was divided into two operational zones, with one command post at Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom) and another post in Momajoe (Bagbo Chiefdom). Soon after their arrival, RUF forces made civilians work for them, in particular to carry property taken from one town to another town and to carry wounded RUF members back to their bases. In addition, RUF forces threw civilians out of their houses so that the forces could occupy them and forced civilians to feed them. Salt was the most expensive condiment, for which people were killed. No civilian was allowed to eat proper food, which led to the death of children from malnutrition. Any civilian refusing to obey orders from the RUF forces was killed and it is suggested that rapes also occurred around this time. RUF forces remained in control of Momajoe and its environs for around 9 months, up to the end of 1995.

In 1995, "loyal" ¹¹⁰⁷ SLA forces began attempting to dislodge RUF forces from Bagbo Chiefdom but harassed civilians, taking away all the property that was hidden in the bush.

In February 1995, Njala (Komboya Chiefdom) was attacked for the second time by RUF forces using a bypass route through Kundorma and Pelewahun rather than the route through Gumahun and Naiagolehun. SLA forces were based in Njala but were overpowered. Some civilians were killed and others were forced to carry property that was taken from the town. Those who were abducted travelled to Kpelewama (Valunia Chiefdom), where the RUF had a settlement and then moved to Kpetema, which is located near their main base, Bokurr, in Valunia Chiefdom. On their way to the base, civilians who were unable to keep up were shot dead and some women were raped. In Kpelewama, the RUF forces opened fire, killing one woman and her child before cutting her head off. After they arrived in Kpetema, all the remaining civilians were released, allegedly because RUF forces did not authorise civilians to come to their base.

During the RUF attack on Njala, the commander in charge of the SLA forces was killed by one of his subordinates, allegedly because he was a "loyal" SLA member. After the death of this commander, SLA forces relocated to Mendewa, three miles outside of Njala. From there, they occasionally returned to Njala, stealing property from the people of Njala and surrounding areas. In one incident, SLA forces came to Njala with a truck, opened fire as they entered and loaded their truck with food and non-food items. The SLA forces were at this time using the word "clearing" to refer to the taking of property in the town.

¹¹⁰⁶ Key persons talk about marital homes being "broken up".

¹¹⁰⁷ At this time, the key persons speak of "loyal SLA forces", who were believed to be loyal to the Government and "sobels", who were SLA forces believed to be in collusion with the RUF.

Since the SLA forces had completely left Njala, the RUF forces used this road to travel from the East to the West up to Gbaama and back. On their way, they were harassing civilians, taking food and forcing them to carry it for the RUF forces to their base at Bokurr, on top of the mountain near Njala.

Thus, starting in 1994 up to 1995, the whole of Komboya Chiefdom was affected by both RUF and SLA activities. Civilians living in the bushes in sorkoihun¹¹⁰⁸ were chased by RUF forces for food. Civilians were also killed for various reasons during this period, including for failing to show the RUF forces where other civilians were hiding. In other incidents, a man was amputated between Bauya and Tibor, seven houses were burnt down in Tibor and four civilians were killed at Talla II. 1109

In 1995, RUF forces coming mainly from Bumpeh and Lugbu Chiefdoms were attacking villages and sorkoihun in Tikonko Chiefdom. Property was taken, houses burnt, civilians killed and young people abducted. At Wotebehun, north of Baoma in the south-west of Tikonko Chiefdom, three men and two women were shot and killed, sheep belonging to a chief were taken away and some houses were burnt. At Yegensa, one man was killed and his body tied to a tree. At Buewama, people were killed and houses and a mosque were burnt. At Kassama, two and a half miles from Baoma, RUF forces killed two people, which the SLA forces based there made no attempt to stop. In June 1995 at Baoma, which is on the Sewa River in the south-west of Tikonko chiefdom, RUF forces entered the town from the direction of Kassama (to the north of Baoma) and stayed there for two days. RUF forces threw some people into the Sewa River, where some drowned, and killed many others.

The same scenario was repeated in many places in 1995, including Buewama, Kassama, Sembehun Tabema, Benehun, Shengema and Mano Bembehteh, which are all in the south of the chiefdom, and Dodo, Faikundor, Foidu, Samie Tabaima, which are all around Tikonko Town. In all of these attacks, many young men and women were abducted, including people who were underage. Civilians identified the assailants as RUF forces, dressed in jeans and t-shirts and some having red pieces of cloth tied around their heads.

From March to June 1995, SLA forces were deployed in Dodo (Tikonko Chiefdom). However, these forces harassed civilians, molested them, took their property and killed alleged "rebel" collaborators. On one occasion, they cut off the head of a suspected collaborator, put it on a stick and went to every house asking for some money as a sign of appreciation for their job. Tikonko Town itself was attacked for the second time in June 1995 but civilians had already fled the town. Dodo was also attacked by RUF forces in June 1995. People were shot and killed, among them the Town Chief's son, and some were seriously wounded with knives. All of Dodo, except the mosque and a few houses, was burnt.

The second attack on Bumpeh Town (Bumpeh Chiefdom) took place between March and April 1995, with the third one occurring in June. The March attack on Bumpeh was part of a massive RUF operation in the chiefdom allegedly in retaliation for the killing of RUF members by SLA forces in the Sierra Rutile Mining area in nearby Moyamba District. The attacks on different villages in the

¹¹⁰⁸ This refers to hiding places in the bushes, also spelled "sorquehun".

¹¹⁰⁹ No further details are available on any of these incidents.

chiefdom left over 100 civilians dead within a few days.¹¹¹⁰ During the third attack on Bumpeh Town, many people were abducted, at which time civilians were told that the RUF needed more people to be trained. In addition, a lot of people were killed, more people were tortured, some had their hands amputated and young girls and women were raped. Some people were burnt alive in a house.¹¹¹¹

Starting in July 1995, SLA forces regained control over the area and the surrounding chiefdom of Tikonko during a massive "mopping up" operation. During their operation in Bumpeh Town in early July 1995, SLA forces claimed to have killed a lot of RUF members but no other source of information could confirm the fatalities. However, it is clear that from July 1995, SLA forces retook control of a large area south of Bo Town, inflicting serious defeats on the RUF for the first time since the start of the second phase of the conflict.

However, SLA control over an area never guaranteed the absence of RUF attacks, which were often carried out by pockets of forces disseminated in various areas. For example, Yengema was attacked in September and 60 civilians were put in five houses that were set on fire; in addition, RUF forces killed a lot of civilians at Serabu. However, after these last attacks, Bumpeh Town and the entire chiefdom were free from an RUF presence. That same month, SLA forces who had gone to repel RUF forces in other town in the chiefdom, namely Kpakema and Serabel, returned with seven captured RUF members. These RUF members were paraded in Bo Town before they were killed and burnt in front of the NPRC Secretariat, which was witnessed by a large crowd. The bridge in Bumpeh Town divided the town in two distinct living areas, one being for the civilians and the other one for the SLA forces. Shortly after, the SLA commander exhorted civilians to come out of the bushes.

In July 1995, RUF forces coming from Simbaru Chiefdom (Kenema District) launched attacks on Badjia, Bagbe and Komboya Chiefdoms, where over 40 towns and villages were destroyed and, in total, 50 civilians were killed. The armed men who carried out the attacks were dressed in full military uniforms.

The following month, panic broke out in Gondama IDP camp (Kakua Chiefdom) as people feared another RUF attack was taking place. People were running around the camp and during the confusion, ECOMOG forces fired a heavy weapon, which resulted in the death of eight civilians. ULIMO soldiers came as reinforcements from Bo Town and on their way to Gondama, arrested two boys who they believed were former RUF members. The two boys were killed immediately, one

¹¹¹¹ The precise figures of the casualties could not be obtained.

¹¹¹⁵ It seems that the SLA forces recaptured those towns.

¹¹¹⁰ AFP, 26 April 1995.

¹¹¹² It was not, however, totally clear when those SLA forces first arrived in the town as there are suggestions that some SLA members were already deployed at the time of the third attack.

¹¹¹³ Amnesty International Report, "Sierra Leone – Human Rights abuses in a war against civilians – 13 September 1995".

This military victory has to be read in conjunction with the recent military training the SLA received from the Executive Outcomes, the South African mercenary company contracted by the Sierra Leonean Government. Similar "mopping up" operations were carried out in Moyamba District and, shortly after, in Bonthe District.

of them having his genital organ cut off before being killed and the other one being beaten and tied up. Both were thrown into the Sewa River.

A second attack on Dambala (Selenga Chiefdom) took place in August 1995 but unlike the first one, SLA forces fought the RUF forces and repelled them. Up to 30 people, identified as "strangers" passing through the village on their way to Bo, were killed during this attack, possibly by SLA forces at checkpoints, and were buried in a mass grave. Another attack took place in the nearby village of Joru, four miles from Dambala, but this time, RUF forces did not use their weapons. Rather, they hit people on their heads with stones until they died, claiming they were doing it to save their ammunition. RUF forces also burnt down up to 20 houses during this attack.

By the middle of 1995, the situation in Bo District was divided in two: while SLA forces had retaken control of a large area in the west of the District, minimising RUF activities in that area, the large eastern area was still severely affected by RUF incursions carried out mainly from other Districts.

c) Phase III: Late 1995 to 1997 and beyond 1116

The initiation of Kamajors began in mid to late 1995; rapidly, all the chiefdoms had their own Kamajors. They were initially armed with single barrel guns, sticks and spears. Furthermore, except in Bagbo and Lugbu Chiefdoms and a camp in Valunia Chiefdom, it should be noted that RUF forces did not have bases in Bo District where, unlike other Districts in the south, they were entering sporadically from other Districts.

In mid to late 1995, the idea of initiation came up in Bumpeh Chiefdom¹¹¹⁸ and people were sent to Bo Town for that purpose. After their initiation, Kamajors went back to Bumpeh Chiefdom, in the far west of Bo District, where they worked for some time hand-in-hand with SLA forces based in Bumpeh Town. While sent by the SLA commander to get some food in Nyayahun, north of Bumpeh Town, Kamajors came under fire. The identity of the men attacking the Kamajors proved to be SLA forces who had started developing a camp called "Bulkoh" with RUF forces near Nyayahun. Kamajors examining the bodies found the ID card, boots and uniform of an SLA commander who had sent them. On their return to Bumpeh, the SLA commander denied that the armed men were his men, which led the Kamajors to decide to join with more Kamajors to attack the camp.

During the second half of 1995, at the time the Kamajor initiation ceremonies were introduced in the District, towns and villages in Tikonko Chiefdom sent men to be initiated. During the first round of initiations in 1995, only people above 15 were initiated, but this changed later, although no date is specified. Tikonko Chiefdom soon came under the control of the Kamajors.

¹¹¹⁶ Little information was available on events in 1998 to 2001, because the District was under Kamajor control and no further RUF/AFRC attacks were reported.

¹¹¹⁷ It should be noted that compared to other Districts in the South, the records reveal little information on CDF activities, in particular on atrocities they may have committed. It is unclear whether this meant that fewer violations were committed or whether violations were committed and we lack information, as people are reluctant to talk on this.

¹¹¹⁸ The initiation ceremonies started in Bonthe District.

¹¹¹⁹ No more details could be obtained on the place where this initiation took place.

In late 1995, as the RUF forces were spreading throughout Jiama Bongor Chiefdom, the elders of the chiefdom sought the Regent Chief's permission to initiate people into the Kamajor society. After permission and full support was granted by the Regent Chief, one person was sent to the village of Tihun (Bonthe District) to contact the Kamajor's High Priest Initiator. On arriving in the headquarters of Tellu, the High Priest Initiator requested that the Gondama – Tellu road be brushed for security, to prevent any RUF incursion. However, one young man who had returned to his village to look for food had his left hand cut off when he came across some RUF forces at Nagbena, two miles from Tellu.

In late 1995, RUF forces left Njala Town (Komboya Chiefdom) for their main base on the mountain near Njala. Knowing that there were no SLA forces stationed in Njala at that time, RUF forces regularly used the road to travel from the east end through Gumahu and Korkortie to the west end at Gbaama and back.

As Kamajor operations were spreading in Bonthe and Pujehun Districts, dislodged RUF forces from those Districts joined their companions in Bagbo Chiefdom, primarily in Momajoe, Sumbuya and Kissahoi, 4 miles from Momajoe. In December 1995 in Kissahoi, RUF forces brought with them over 300 civilians, who had been forced to carry property for the RUF. The regrouped forces launched a massive attack on civilians in December and over 700 civilians were captured in different villages, including Momajoe, Maniwa, Mani-Bo and Tissana. All those abductees were taken to Madoko (Bagbo Chiefdom) before being divided into groups and taken to different locations in Bo and Pujehun Districts, depending on their origin. The fate of these people is as yet unknown.

Events in 1996

After 1995, most of the population had fled Bagbe Chiefdom, which is north-east of Bo Town. There were instances of RUF incursions, such as one in early 1996, when RUF forces attacked Benduma (Bagbe Chiefdom), one of the largest towns in the chiefdom where the Paramount Chief resides. The young RUF forces, who were described as "uncontrollable", started firing indiscriminately, killing a member of their own forces, whose body they cut into pieces and ate, while some drank the blood.

As in other chiefdoms, Valunia Chiefdom had its own Kamajors initiated in Bo Town by the Deputy Initiator sometime before 1996. When they returned to their chiefdom in 1996, the Kamajors successfully repelled RUF forces from their Camp Kokahun, which was near the towns of Sengina and Yamandu, close to the border with Moyamba District. The Kamajors seized arms and ammunition, including machine guns, and freed some civilians who were being held captive at the base. At that time, SLA forces were removed from the chiefdom allegedly because of controversy surrounding the fact that their attire and weapons were similar to those of the RUF forces.

In early 1996, young men of Komboya Chiefdom were initiated in Bo-Messima and came back to settle in Njala. They successfully repelled the RUF forces from the chiefdom. 1121 At this time, the hunting of alleged RUF collaborators began and those suspected were seriously beaten, tied up and

¹¹²⁰ No further information is available on the exact dates.

¹¹²¹ There is little information available on how the Kamajors managed to fight off the RUF forces, including information relating to the number of battles, casualties, damage to property and so on.

forced to sit under the sun. Anybody who had stayed in the towns during RUF attacks was suspected of being a collaborator. One person, who the RUF forces had appointed Town Commander, was undressed, tied up and severely beaten before being released. Freedom of movement was restricted and passes were required from civilians before they were allowed to move from one place to another. Any civilian failing to show such a pass at checkpoints could be suspected of being a "rebel" or a "rebel" collaborator and be treated accordingly.

Kamajors from Bonthe District entered Bagbo Chiefdom through Fola, south of Momajoe, in early 1996, where they established their first base. In order to repel RUF forces still based in Momajoe, it was decided that every town should nominate four "gallant" men to be initiated. Those men, numbering up to 200 from the entire chiefdom, were taken to Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom (Bonthe District), where the Kamajor's High Priest Initiator initiated them in February 1996.

However, RUF forces were still active in the area and in April 1996, they launched attacks on a number of towns in the environs of Momajoe that the Kamajors were unable to withstand. A number of civilians were killed and others were wounded during these attacks. In a separate incident, RUF forces killed three men accused of collaboration with Kamajors in Momajoe and displayed their heads at checkpoints. Civilians continued to suffer from the RUF presence in this area by having their property taken away, being denied food, being thrown out of their houses and married women were not allowed to sleep with their husbands.

Later, but probably still in April 1996, the newly initiated Kamajors took control of Momajoe and its environs. As a result of this, RUF forces moved to Bendu (Malen Chiefdom, Pujehun District), taking a large number of civilians with them. It appears that these civilians were later rescued sometime in April 1996 by Kamajors from Pujehun District and taken to a town near Momajoe.

The Kamajors brought a large amount of stolen property they had found during their attack in Bendu with them to Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom). Probably as a result of this, RUF forces attacked Sumbuya for the third time towards the end of April 1996. It was during this attack that Sumbuya was destroyed and many houses were burnt down.

The last attacks by RUF forces on Bagbo Chiefdom took place in May 1996, in the area surrounding Momajoe, during which houses were burnt down and two people were killed in Yegelleh. After this, the Kamajors controlled Lugbu Chiefdom, in particular the Sumbuya axis, from where the roads lead up to Bumpeh Chiefdom, to Jiama Bongor Chiefdom and on to Kenema District and down through Bagbo Chiefdom to Pujehun District.

After the attack on Gerihun in 1995 in Baoma Chiefdom, adjoining Badija and Bagbe Chiefdoms to the south, RUF forces were still occupying some villages across the Sewa River from Gerihun. In some of these villages, people had to live with those forces, working for them and women were forcefully taken. As a result of this, in April 1996, 200 men were initiated into the CDF. However, their relationship with SLA forces still based in Gerihun was not friendly and problems began to arise between the two forces. ¹¹²³

¹¹²³ No further information is available.

¹¹²² No further information is available.

In April 1996, a group of well-armed people coming from the direction of Kori Chiefdom (Moyamba District) arrived in Baiama (Gbo Chiefdom). These men, whose identity is unknown, introduced themselves as SLA forces, but left the town in the evening to an unknown destination. After this, the Paramount Chief called a meeting to ask the townspeople to provide young men for initiation into the Kamajor society, which they did. A couple of weeks later, in late April 1996, the senior officer in charge of the SLA Brigade in Bo came to Baiama with 90 men, of whom 20 remained in the town and the other 70 went out on patrol. In early May 1996, unidentified uniformed men attacked Baiama and a number of houses were set on fire. The Kamajors stationed in Baiama believed the attack was perpetrated by SLA forces so there was no SLA presence in town until later in the month, when another SLA battalion was established in Baiama and began working together with the Kamajors.

Probably in early 1996,¹¹²⁴ the Kamajors from Bumpeh Chiefdom attacked the RUF/SLA¹¹²⁵ camp called "Bulkoh". They killed up to 200 men, presumed to be both SLA and RUF forces. Some men were shot on the ground and others were hiding in the trees, where they were shot, fell into the Tarba River and drowned. The female commander was killed, her body cut into pieces by the Kamajors and cooked in a large pot for the whole day. This was apparently done for retaliatory or revenge purposes and the woman was not subsequently eaten. Following this, Kamajors leaving the area of Bumpeh for Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom) were often caught by SLA forces and killed.

Following the attack on "Bulkoh" camp, Kamajors from Bumpeh Chiefdom moved from Bumpeh to Tikonko, where they established their base. Following an attack by the SLA forces, they went back to Bumpeh. On their way back to Bumpeh, they discovered villages that had been looted and burnt by SLA and RUF forces. In these villages, bodies were found with plastic in their eyes and some people had been amputated. At Serabu, for example, up to 300 buildings were burnt, including the hospital, and the convent and the Archbishop's compound appeared to have been looted.

The main Kamajor base in Valunia Chiefdom at that time was in Mandu, which is on the road leading from Tonkolili District south towards Selenga Chiefdom. After they successfully repelled the RUF forces from Kokahun, the Kamajor commander decided to initiate more men. To do so, he asked the seven Section Chiefs to give as many men as they could. It was at this stage that young boys, described as school-going boys under the age of 18, were also initiated. As their number increased, they planned to attack Bokurr, the main RUF base in the chiefdom. It is reported that they undertook this operation together with SLA forces. The Kamajors came back with a quantity of arms and ammunition and some property previously stolen by RUF forces. After this attack, RUF forces attacked the Kamajors in all the sections of the chiefdom; anytime there was any threat in one of the sections, Kamajors from the other sections would come to provide support.

On or around 20 June 1996 at Tellu (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom), the High Priest Initiator initiated up to 800 local hunters and youths into the Kamajor society. After the initiation, the new initiates were asked to return to their towns and villages to work for the protection of their towns and villages and for the chiefdom as a whole.

¹¹²⁴ The exact date is unclear and could not be confirmed by open sources.

¹¹²⁵ As mentioned earlier, this camp was reportedly composed of both RUF and SLA forces.

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In July 1996, armed men attacked Tellu in large numbers, some dressed in complete military uniform and fully armed, while some were carrying two rifles, one in their hands and the other one slung across their backs. Some Kamajors were killed, as was the Fullah headman of Jiama Bongor Chiefdom. The Kamajor initiation site and some houses were burnt. Some Kamajors went to meet the advancing "rebels" - as described by civilians - and fought them near Gordie. The armed men were overpowered and the Kamajors came back with three heads, weapons and military uniforms. From what was found on the bodies, it appeared that most of them were military officers from the SLA Battalion deployed in Koribondo. The CDF National Coordinator was reported to have come to Gbaama the day after and to have left with some weapons and the military uniforms.

Thus, by the end of 1996, the whole District except Bo and Koribondo, which were controlled by SLA forces, was under CDF control. Clashes occurred many times between Kamajors and SLA forces at Koribondo and Bo Town. For example, towards the end of October 1996, fighting between those two forces took place in Bo Town and lasted several hours, leaving members of both sides and civilians dead.¹¹²⁶

Events in 1997

RUF forces launched subsequent attacks in Selenga Chiefdom in 1997 but each time, the Kamajors were successful in repelling those forces, with little killing of civilians or destruction of civilian property or houses.

In 1997, the Paramount Chief of Komboya Chiefdom, who had played an important role in bringing peace between the Kamajors and SLA forces in Bo, was invited together with some Kamajors to the Headquarter at Reservation Quarters, Bo Town. On his arrival, SLA forces opened fire, killing the Paramount Chief, some Kamajors and some civilians.

Kamajors controlled Bagbo and Lugbu Chiefdoms until the arrival of United Nations peacekeepers, during which time the Kamajors established a court system and assumed the mantle of authority from chiefs. At the same time, they were harassing the civilian population for food and suspected "rebel" collaborators were chased and killed. In addition, around this time, 1127 the Commanders told the people in Limba (Bagbo Chiefdom) that the CDF National Coordinator had told them that every town under Kamajor control should contribute three stones of diamond not less than three carats each to buy weapons.

1127 This date is not clear.

¹¹²⁶ AFP, 31 October 1996. According to the Sierra Leone Bi-Monthly Information Report No.9, "the fighting in Bo town on 30 October, 1996 erupted following the acrimonious break-up of a meeting between the Kamajors and the military at Brigade Headquarters, the purpose of which was to enable the Kamajors and the military to resolve their differences over Talama", a village west of Bo. Two days earlier, "[...] it was reported that Kamajors in Talama village tried to prevent members of the military from looting zinc roofing sheets from Njala University College, 7 miles outside Talama. In response, the military in Talama detained the Kamajors involved at the local barracks. On hearing this news other Kamajors in the area decided to converge on the barracks with a view to resolving the situation. En route, these Kamajors were ambushed by soldiers using RPG launchers and suffered casualties [...]."

In Lugbu Chiefdom, about 85% of the male were initiated, some of them becoming initiates to avoid harassment. It is worth noting that after the Kamajors had taken control of an area, some people were initiated without the intention that they would become a fighter, in which case the initiation period was shorter. The general perception of the population and people who were initiated in this manner was that becoming a member was a protective measure, since people who were not members of the Kamajors could be suspected of being a "rebel" collaborator.

By 1997, Kamajors cleared Bagbe Chiefdom of an RUF presence and it appears that the AFRC regime did not affect Bagbe Chiefdom. In Badjia¹¹²⁸ and Boama Chiefdoms, the attitude of the Kamajors is described as having changed to become arrogant and disrespectful towards civilians. The Kamajors deposed the Chiefs, established their own courts and required people to give them food and money and to work in the Kamajors' farms.¹¹²⁹

Once the Kamajors obtained control of Valunia Chiefdom, they operated checkpoints, where they issued travelling passes for Le 500 per day per traveller, described by the Kamajors as a war effort for their sustenance. Anybody wanting to move within this area had to purchase and, when required, produce such a pass. People who were suspected of being a member of the SLA were subject to interrogation, in some cases brief, and were punished and sometimes killed. Non-initiated civilians were required to provide them with food, which led many young adults to join the society. The Kamajors also took property from people passing through checkpoints. In one instance, one car that was seized was handed over to the Deputy Initiator, who was residing in Kongombahun in Niawa Langa village after she had fled Bo Town.

As mentioned, most of the Chiefs were deposed and the Kamajors took over their responsibilities. Civilians disobeying their orders or complaining about their authority would be punished. People were put in cages called a "kuliehun", which was so small that it would not reach the height of a person's knee. A common punishment inflicted was the use of FM rope, namely a nylon rope tied on two edges of a small stick around a person's hands and tightened. Thus, in December 2000, while in Bo, a man who declared on the radio that the nomination of the new Regent Chief for Wunde was not endorsed by the population was arrested by Kamajors, severely beaten for six days and threatened to be killed before being released following pressure from a human rights activist. Other opponents to this nomination were also arrested and taken to CDF headquarters in Bo, although no further information is available on what happened to them.

Fighting between the Kamajors and SLA forces began spreading from Libi Junction in Malen Chiefdom to Bathurst, south of Koribondo, in April-May 1997. In one incident, SLA soldiers were captured, although no further information is available on what happened to them after their capture.

¹¹²⁸ RUF forces left Badjia Chiefdom, in the north-east of Bo District, in 1996, which then remained under the control of patrolling Kamajors. No further details are available as to under what circumstances the RUF forces departed or any acts committed by the Kamajors in the chiefdom at this time.

¹¹²⁹ In addition, they tied people up and sometimes killed them, although no further details are available.

¹¹³⁰ This rope was called "FM", meaning "frequency modulation", because once tied with this rope, civilians spoke or confessed.

During the AFRC regime, RUF/AFRC forces were mainly concentrated in Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom) and Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) and on the highway between Bo and Koribondo. During this period, Kamajors attacked Koribondo on several occasions¹¹³¹ and RUF/AFRC forces were driven out during the beginning of 1998.

Shortly after the Coup in May 1997, the Kamajors drove the AFRC out of Gerihun (Boama Chiefdom) and back to Bo Town. However, in June 1997, when Gerihun was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces, the Kamajors were unable to defend the town as they ran out of ammunition and up to six civilians were killed, including the Paramount Chief. Many houses were burnt down, including that of the former Vice President of Sierra Leone.

In June 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked ECOMOG troops based at Gondama twice. The first time, the combined forces were not able to challenge the heavy firepower of the ECOMOG forces. However, some refugees were killed, some by drowning in the river. During the second attack, running out of ammunition, ECOMOG forces found refuge at the Mil Camp at Gbaama. As RUF/AFRC forces were controlling all the access roads to Gbaama, the welfare of these ECOMOG members were at stake, so 11 days after the attack, the local Kamajor commander took the decision to rescue them using a helicopter. The sounds of helicopter and jet fighters were heard flying towards Gbaama and Kamajors arriving by helicopter landed on the field of the Roman Catholic School. It took them several trips to rescue all the ECOMOG forces and by the end, the school was completely damaged, apparently by the constant landing and taking off of the helicopter. In November 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the township of Mamboma, to the north of Jaiama Bongor Chiefdom along the road from Telu, but were driven out by Kamajors coming from Gbaama.

RUF/AFRC forces based at Koribondo¹¹³² (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) patrolled the area and attacked Kamajor positions, killing both civilians and Kamajors. In June 1997, they attacked Bendu (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom), a Kamajor base, again killing both Kamajors and civilians and burning some houses.¹¹³³ The practice of looting by RUF/AFRC forces was also widespread at this time. As the RUF/AFRC attacks intensified, the Kamajors of Gbaama, Tikonko and Lugbu Chiefdoms attacked the RUF/AFRC base at Koribondo but were unsuccessful.

After May 1997, the Kamajors of Gbo Chiefdom started hunting what they called "Junta collaborators" and killed some people, although it was more common for them just to punish people they suspected of having any contact with the AFRC forces, for example by tying people up and making them stay out under the sun. The Kamajors also took food from civilians. It was useless

¹¹³¹ During an attack that took place in June, eight civilians were killed. However, it could not be ascertained how those civilians were killed: http://www.focus-on-sierra-leone.co.uk.

¹¹³² For the most part, from 1991 to 1997, the SLA had a base at Koribondo and controlled the town. When the Coup took place in May 1997, SLA forces became members of the AFRC and so, in general, former SLA bases became RUF/AFRC bases.

¹¹³³ One report states that while eight Kamajors, 11 adult civilians and one child were killed, after this attack 16 bodies dressed in military uniform were found.

to report these incidents, in particular the taking of food, to the CDF commander, who would reply by saying that his men were in the right, because they came to protect people. 1134

A major incident took place in Tikonko Town (Tikonko Chiefdom) at this time. On 10 June 1997, the Kamajor's Chiefdom Ground Commander received a letter from the High Priest Initiator with the order to gather all Kamajors in Tikonko Chiefdom at Tikonko Town for the purpose of participating in an attack on RUF/AFRC positions at Bo Town. Approximately 200 or 300 Kamajors came from all directions of the chiefdom and two days later, more arrived. During their short stay, civilians were forced to feed them. These Kamajors engaged in stopping any RUF/AFRC movement southwards by blocking successfully the Bo-Mattru Jong (Bonthe District) road. 1135

At this time, RUF/AFRC forces began to disguise themselves as Kamajors and attack towns in Tikonko Chiefdom. People were able to identify them as RUF/AFRC forces because they had RPGs, AK47s and grenades, whereas the Kamajors were armed with single barrel guns, cutlasses, sticks and knives. One incident took place on 25 June 1997, with some men dressed in full Kamajor attire came from the direction of Bo, riding Honda motorbikes. This was confusing to the people of Tikonko, because Kamajors never rode motorbikes and, at the same time, rumours were going round that RUF/AFRC forces were heading for Tikonko Town. Shortly after the arrival of these men, the sound of RPG fire was heard in the town. RUF/AFRC forces entered the town, taking property and killing people. All those who were trapped in their houses were killed, including 11 people in one house near the market and a woman who was disembowelled. One of the Kamajors based in Tikonko Town was beaten and tortured before being killed. Many Kamajors died in the forest along Lembema Road, north of Tikonko Town. A similar incident occurred in January 1998, when RUF/AFRC forces coming from Bo went to Towama, between Bo and Tikonko towns, saying it was a Kamajor base. Four civilians were killed, up to 25 houses were burnt and property was taken away. The RUF/AFRC forces went back to Bo and stayed there until ECOMOG forces arrived.

After reports had reached the CDF National Coordinator that the Kamajor commander who had rescued the ECOMOG troops at Gondama (Kakua Chiefdom) was harassing, maiming, ill-treating and killing civilians, this commander was replaced by another one, who became commander for Jiama Bongor, Bagbe, Lugbu and Tikonko Chiefdoms. In the weeks that followed (July 1997), there was relative peace, although the Kamajors began to steal property.

RUF/AFRC forces again bombarded the ECOMOG position at Gondama on 11 October 1997; ECOMOG responded by bombing RUF/AFRC positions, using Nigerian warplanes. 1136

¹¹³⁴ It is not clear who had control of the town at this point. While it appears that the Kamajors were in control, it is also said that at this time the CDF had been disbanded and the Kamajors were operating secretly.

¹¹³⁵ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 22 July - 4 August 1997. It is, however, not clear when the Kamajors attacked the town, as the reports make no mention of this (these) attack(s). However, according to the Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 23 August - 01 September 1997, fighting continued between Kamajors and RUF/AFRC forces in the south of Bo Town, which may suggest that fighting already took place previously. Furthermore, it is clear that whatever battle may have taken place in the area between the RUF/AFRC and the Kamajors, the RUF/AFRC forces were still in control of the town.

¹¹³⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 1 - 13 October 1997.

In December 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kamajors at Baiama (Gbo Chiefdom). A few days later, one man and one woman who were suspected of being relatives of an AFRC member were killed at Baiama Junction and their bodies remained lying there until they decomposed.

Operation "Black December" was declared in December 1997 by the CDF High Command in a bid to take control of RUF/AFRC positions and was implemented in Boama Chiefdom. As part of this operation, all the highways and roads leading to the villages were blocked, in order to prevent RUF/AFRC forces from attacking civilians. Due to this operation, Kamajors became increasingly dependant on civilians to obtain food and medication, as the supply routes were blocked. Nevertheless, the operation also successfully prevented RUF/AFRC movement and enabled the CDF to counter-attack the RUF/AFRC forces in Gerihun.

Events in 1998

In February 1998, fighting took place between Kamajors and RUF/AFRC forces all over the Southern Province, which led to the withdrawal of the combined forces. By early 1998, the Kamajors had regained control of Boama Chiefdom until the arrival of ECOMOG forces around 20-22 February 1998. 1137

That same month, two boys came to Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom), their hands covered in blood. They told the people of Koribondo that Kamajors had shot their hands and that they were coming to attack Koribondo; indeed, the Kamajors did attack the town on 13 February. During this attack, two AFRC soldiers and two Kamajors died. Soon after, the AFRC forces withdrew from Koribondo, following the ousting of their government from Freetown in February 1998. The attitude of the Kamajors panicked people, who decided to move to Bo Town, where houses identified as occupied by Koribondo people were harassed. This situation lasted until ECOMOG arrived in Bo Town in February or early March 1998. 1138

Around 16-17 February, there was a major battle between RUF/AFRC and ECOMOG forces in Bo Town;¹¹³⁹ hundreds of people fled the town. The town was set on fire, massively looted and bodies were left lying on the streets. RUF/AFRC forces looted three commercial banks, destroyed the telecommunications network and damaged the Bo-Kenema power facility serving the Eastern Province.¹¹⁴⁰ Shortly after, around 20 February, ECOMOG troops based at Kenema deployed in the north and east of the town, areas previously held by Kamajors and then in the town itself, where

¹¹³⁷ Key persons recognise that some atrocities were committed by Kamajors but tried to justify them, saying that anyway, there was no law or order and that these Kamajors were not trained for war as soldiers but took arms to defend democracy. They continued by stating that since most of them were not educated, you could not expect them to observe rules and regulations governing "warriors".

1138 It is not clear from the records when ECOMOG arrived in Bo Town. However, ECOMOG movements in the rest of the country, in particular in Port Loko, Moyamba and Tonkolili Districts, as well as their arrival date in Kenema District suggests that ECOMOG troops had to be in Bo Town by the very beginning of March at the latest. Some contingents of ECOMOG forces were however already deployed in the District at Gondama (it has to be remembered that the Gondama Camp since 1993 was placed under the protection of Nigerian troops).

1139 Open sources revealed that on 16 February, over 10,000 well-armed Kamajors entered the town from three different directions and "several junta soldiers and their sympathisers were killed or tried on the spot and handed over to anti-junta youths for execution [...]": AAP, 17 February 1998.

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Kamajors had been fighting RUF/AFRC forces.¹¹⁴¹ After RUF/AFRC forces had left the town, youths were searching for RUF/AFRC members and their "collaborators", including people who were suspected of being Temne.¹¹⁴² Those suspects who were caught were killed, some hacked to death and others had tyres put around their neck, which were then set on fire.¹¹⁴³ Furthermore, a committee created for processing stolen property"discovered a large docksidearea that had been used to take such goods out of the country".¹¹⁴⁴

On their way out of Bo Town, civilians were thoroughly searched at Kamajor checkpoints. At one checkpoint on the way to Manguama, which lies north-east of Bo Town, some civilians were stripped naked, tied up and forced to sit on the ground, suspected of being "Junta" collaborators. These people were later killed. In another incident on 17 February, civilians coming in a truck were asked to show their passes at a checkpoint at Baiama junction (Gbo Chiefdom). Those who could not produce them where put into a cell made up of sticks and were beaten.

Kamajor harassment of the civilian population, including physical violence, looting and the burning of houses, continued throughout 1998. In one instance in Baiama (Gbo Chiefdom), a woman suspected of being an AFRC member's wife was killed and her body was displayed at the checkpoint. In the villages where they had found refuge, people were harassed by Kamajors for food.

Around June 1998, a large number of Kamajors attacked Koribondo, looting and burning over 70 houses. Shortly after the town was set ablaze, the CDF National Coordinator came to Koribondo and held a meeting at the village square, at which people of the town were present. During this meeting, he allegedly thanked the Kamajors but reprimanded them from not having followed his instructions completely, as he had told the Kamajors not to spare any building except the church, hospital, mosque and the village square. It appears that this attack was partly done in retaliation for Koribondo people hosting SLA and RUF/AFRC forces. Following this incident, some ECOMOG troops arrived in Koribondo to investigate the matter and the Kamajor commander together with 20 of his forces were arrested and taken to Bo.¹¹⁴⁵

Kamajors went to the south of Kakua Chiefdom to villages including Baoma, Segbwema, Adala and Berehun. On three separate occasions in December 1998, they took people's possessions, including cars, clothes and other valuable items, as well as any food they could find, including livestock. In addition, Kamajors targeted people suspected of being collaborators with both SLA and AFRC soldiers. One example is from the end of 1998, when the Kamajors drew up a list of the 25 "most wanted" people, who were suspected of having hosted soldiers in their houses. A letter was sent to Sembehun that Kamajors would attack the town to kill those 25 most wanted people and on the day they stated, a large group of Kamajors¹¹⁴⁶ came to Sembehun. Although nobody was killed, as the 25 people were nowhere to be found, a lot of houses were burnt down. A short while later, the CDF

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¹¹⁴¹ AFP, 24 February 1998; BBC Online News Archive, 25 February 1998.

¹¹⁴² The RUF leader was a Temne by tribe whereas the Kamajors were Mende.

¹¹⁴³ No more information could be obtained on this event.

¹¹⁴⁴ AFP, 24 February 1998.

¹¹⁴⁵ It is not clear from the records what happened to these Kamajors after they were taken to Bo.

¹¹⁴⁶ Records relate that "thousands" of Kamajors came to Sembehun on this day.

commander based at Koribondo, who had control over Sembehun and who led the search in December, required the 25 people to come to Koribondo and pay Le 50,000 each, or they would be killed. The people did as they were told and then were allowed to leave.

Following the RUF/AFRC invasion of Freetown in January 1999, negotiations started between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF. A ceasefire was signed in May and a peace accord supposed to mark the end of the conflict and known as the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed on 7 July in the Togolese capital. An important part of the accord was that the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process was to start within six weeks of its entry into force. This process, somehow delayed, was formally launched by the President of Sierra Leone on 20 October 1999 during a ceremony at Wilberforce Barracks, Freetown and began properly on 4 November. However, despite the calls of the RUF leader and ex-AFRC leader to their troops to disarm, disarmament was implemented at a very slow pace, thus hindering the deployment of humanitarian aid in the country. The delay of the process was mainly due to the resumed fighting in the Northern Province and in Kono District. In the meanwhile, the first UN peacekeepers arrived in the country and, in January, troops from the Ghanaian contingent arrived in Bo District.

In a bid to foster and enhance the DDR process, sites for new DDR camps were identified around 10 March 2000, one being located at Gondama (Kakua Chiefdom). However, the disarmament process was stalled in May 2000, following the capture by RUF forces of over 300 UN peacekeepers in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The process would be given a new start in November 2000 when the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF signed a new ceasefire agreement in Abuja, Nigeria. Nigeria.

On 31 January 2001, a CDF meeting was convened at the CDF District Headquarters in Bo Town in the presence of the UNAMSIL military observers (MILOBs) team for Bo, the resident Minister, the Deputy Defence Minister, the CDF District Administrator and the NCDDR (National Commission for the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration) representative. At this meeting, the problems caused by the CDF in the District were discussed, including the recent attack on the NCDDR office, the reorganisation of the CDF and CDF interference in police matters.

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¹¹⁴⁷ On 10 January, the RUF leader, the ex-AFRC leader and the Deputy Minister of Defence and CDF National Coordinator stopped in Bo Town, as part of sensitisation trip on the disarmament campaign, aimed at exhorting combatants, namely ex-AFRC, RUF and CDF, to disarm: IRIN West Africa, 10 January 2000.

¹¹⁴⁸ In November 1999, only 1,500 combatants had disarmed out of the estimated total of 45,000 combatants: IRIN West Africa, 17 November 1999.

¹¹⁴⁹ The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) was established by Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999), adopted on 22 October 1999. Six thousand peacekeepers were sent into the country and their number would increase over the coming months, following the security developments in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

¹¹⁵⁰ The initial camps were located at Port Loko North, Port Loko South, Kenema Town and Daru (Kailahun District): IRIN West Africa, 17 March 2000.

¹¹⁵¹ The security situation in the Northern and Eastern Provinces prevailing in 2000 urged the Government of Sierra Leone to negotiate a ceasefire with the RUF in November 2000. On 4 May 2001, those parties would meet again in Abuja, Nigeria to review the ceasefire. Further to the meeting in May 2001, those parties would hold monthly tripartite meetings as the Joint Committee on DDR. The final meeting took place in January 2002 when disarmament was declared complete and the war over.

During a separate meeting convened by the Deputy Defence Minister, the reorganisation of the CDF in the District was discussed, rather than its disbanding.¹¹⁵²

By 31 March 2001, the 14 chiefdoms of the District were declared safe for resettlement, thereby making the entire Southern Province safe, unlike the North, where humanitarian activities were not possible in three-quarters of the Province, and in the East, where the whole of Kono and Kailahun Districts (except Daru) and six chiefdoms in Kenema District were still considered unsafe. 1153

Following the meeting in Abuja in May 2001, disarmament was carried out at different dates across the country. It was scheduled to start in Bo District by the end of September 2001¹¹⁵⁴ but was briefly delayed. However, during a symbolic disarmament ceremony in Gerihun (Boama Chiefdom) on 20 October 2001, over 80 CDF members disarmed in the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in Sierra Leone and were transported to the DDR camp at Gondama, where the SRSG addressed the now ex-combatants.¹¹⁵⁵

At the conclusion of the seventh tripartite meeting of the Joint Committee on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), comprising representatives of the Government of Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL and the RUF held in Freetown on 8 November 2001, it was communicated that disarmament would be complete in Bo District on 10 November 2001. 1156

3. Conclusion

The pattern of the conflict in Bo District followed to a large extent the one of the three other southern Districts. The RUF/NPFL incursion in Pujehun District in 1991 expanded in the bordering chiefdoms of Bo District. Successful SLA counter-attacks in 1991 and 1992 limited the RUF/NPFL attacks to a lower scale, mainly carried out by "pockets" of RUF/NPFL members for food finding purposes. The situation was similar in Bonthe and Pujehun Districts and would continue until the second phase of the conflict began in 1994.

As in the rest of the Southern Province, the conflict reached its peak in Bo District in 1994 and 1995, as RUF forces spread across the whole District. Their strong grip over the District would allow RUF forces to advance further inland towards the north-west (Moyamba District) and the south-west (Bonthe District), where most of the attacks in 1995 originated from Bo District through Moyamba District, unlike in 1991 when Bonthe District was affected by RUF /NPFL forces coming from Pujehun District. During this period, SLA forces were wholly unable to contain the RUF advance into the District and in the Southern Province as a whole, although (or because) their numbers increased greatly in 1994.

¹¹⁵² UNAMSIL press briefing, 31 January 2001.

¹¹⁵³ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 11 – 31 March 2001.

¹¹⁵⁴ IRIN West Africa, 13 August 2001; UNAMSIL press briefing, 14 August 2001. For example, in early August 2001, the Joint Committee on DDR declared disarmament complete for Port Loko and Kambia Districts.

¹¹⁵⁵ UNAMSIL press briefing, 23 October 2001.

¹¹⁵⁶ UNAMSIL press briefing, 09 November 2001. However, the target date of 30 November 2001 for the completion of the process in the whole country was not met and the disarmament was declared complete in January 2002.

This RUF progression and stay in the whole Southern Province and in Bo District in particular was gradually stopped by the initiative of the Kamajors who started fighting alongside the SLA in 1996. The collaboration between those two forces however deteriorated rapidly and fighting between them reached its climax in early 1997. At this time, the Kamajors and the SLA were controlling distinct and separate areas of the District.

Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown and its deployment in different towns in the Provinces in 1998, the Southern Province became free of RUF/AFRC attacks and instead came under the total control of the Kamajors. Bo District was not affected by the retreating RUF/AFRC forces from Freetown, as they regrouped and concentrated on the main mining areas (Kono District and north of Kenema District) and those areas in which CDF members did not have established and constant control, mostly in the Northern Province.

Throughout the conflict, widespread violations were committed primarily by RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC forces, but also by SLA forces and Kamajors, especially once they firmly established their control and authority over the District. Those violations were directed against civilians and their property and included stealing and destruction of property, physical violence, sexual assault, killing and abduction for use as fighters, workers or "wives". Only a few cases of mutilation were reported for the District, as most of these incidents took place during a specific RUF/AFRC operation called "Operation No Living Thing" in the first months of 1998 and following the retreat from Freetown. Furthermore, while it hosted thousands of IDPs from other Districts, mainly Pujehun District, Bo District suffered less internal displacement of its own population.

b. Bonthe District

1. Introduction

Bonthe District is located in the south-west of the Southern Province of the Republic of Sierra Leone. It is the only District in the Southern Province that shares boundaries with the other three Districts in the Province, namely Moyamba and Bo Districts in the north and Pujehun District in the south and east. Bonthe District is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

Although located on Sherbro Island,¹¹⁵⁷ its headquarter, Bonthe Town, is not part of the two chiefdoms of the island (Sittia and Dema Chiefdoms). Rather, its is part of another administrative structure, the Sherbro Rural District.

There are 11 chiefdoms in the District, two of which are located Sherbro Island:

Chiefdom Headquarter
Bendu Cha Bendu
Bum Madina
Dema Tissana
Imperi Gbangbama
Jong Mattru

¹¹⁵⁷ This island is commonly known as "Bonthe Island".

Kpanda Kemo Matuo Kwamwbai Krim Tei Nongoba Bullom Gbap Sittia Yonni Sogbini Tihun Yawbeko Talia

The presence of the water, whether it is the ocean, the rivers or the swamp, is the most striking natural feature of the District. The nine chiefdoms of the mainland are separated by the ocean from the two chiefdoms located on Sherbro Island. The south of the District, especially Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom is an area made up of swampland.

The two main rivers of the District, the Sewa River and the Jong River, both of them taking their source directly in the ocean, would affect the deployment of the forces throughout the conflict. They would be a substitute way of communications, especially in the south of the District where the road network is rather poor. The highway that links Bo Town to Mattru (Jong Chiefdom), via Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom, Bo District) and Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom would allow rapid penetration into the north of the District from Bo District. From this highway, secondary roads extend into the neighbouring chiefdoms of Sogbini and Imperi.

The main economic activities include fishing, rice growing and palm plantations but the greatest revenue is generated by the rutile mining in the north of the District, particularly in Imperi Chiefdom. The north of the District and the south of Moyamba District, which advances into Bonthe District, are indeed renowned for the importance of their mining activities, which procured vital economic resources for the Government.

The ten years of conflict in Sierra Leone started in Bonthe District as early as April 1991, due to the fact that the District shares a border with Pujehun District, which was one of the entry points of the RUF/NPFL forces into Sierra Leone in March 1991. The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces entered the border chiefdom of Kwamebai Krim in May. This was the start of a long series of hostilities and atrocities committed against the civilians in the District, which lasted until the completion of disarmament in the District in mid 2001.

From this first incursion, Bonthe District was affected by the conflict through three discernable phases, the first one running from 1991 until the end of 1994. During the first attack in May 1991, RUF/NPFL forces settled in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom for a short while before moving westwards to the neighbouring chiefdom of Nongoba Bullom. When entering a village, they would always proceed in the same manner: they gathered the civilians in the Court Barrie, introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" coming to redeem Sierra Leoneans from the corrupt APC regime and deposed and replaced local authorities. Defeated by the SLA forces some months later, they withdrew from Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom to their base in the south-west of Pujehun District. At the time of this first incursion, SLA forces were deployed mainly in Bonthe Town (Sherbro Island) but by the end of 1991, more bases in the east of the District were set up. RUF/NPFL forces occupied Bum

Chiefdom for six months before being repelled by the SLA. Although RUF/NPFL attacks were still reported during the subsequent years of this first phase, they never succeeded in going further than the three chiefdoms of Kwamebai Krim, Bum and Nongoba Bullom. In 1994, RUF forces coming from Pujehun District re-entered the District and succeeded in controlling some areas in those three chiefdoms.

Each of the RUF/NPFL and, later, RUF incursions was marked by violence against civilians; indeed, from the very beginning of the conflict in the District, there were incidents of physical violence against civilians, who were also killed, raped and abducted for the purposes of using them as fighters or workers. Government authorities in particular were targeted. Those forces also stole civilians' property, mainly food and domestic animals, and destroyed houses and other buildings. The SLA forces also imposed harm on civilians in general and on "collaborators" in particular, killing those suspected of having collaborating with the RUF/NPFL and RUF during their stay in their villages. Civilians were also harassed for their food and other property. As the conflict continued, SLA violence heightened, with cases of killing, rape and use of civilians for forced labour being reported. By the close of this first phase, rumours of imminent RUF attacks in the other chiefdoms of the District were rampant.

The second phase encompassed 1995 to February 1998 and is characterised by the spreading of the conflict across the District. By February 1995, RUF forces controlled all of the northern chiefdoms of the District and proceeded southwards and westwards in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to attack Bonthe Town on Sherbro Island. Training bases were opened across those chiefdoms under RUF control. This phase was marked by a clear increase in violence against civilians, as RUF forces settled in those areas. Physical violence, killings, rapes and the abductions of civilians, mainly to be trained as fighters and to work for the forces continued to be carried out on a scale much larger than during the first phase. Also during this period, a massive killing, which was scarcely reported in the media, took place in late 1995.

By the end of the year, the RUF were dislodged from most of their strongholds by SLA forces assisted by foreign troops and Kamajors, who had earlier emerged in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom and subsequently developed in the other chiefdoms. During the subsequent years until the Coup in May 1997, Kamajors entrenched their control of the District, although some skirmishes with RUF forces were still reported. The Kamajors' initial collaboration with the SLA did not last long as tension and fighting erupted between the two factions.

Following the 25 May 1997 Coup, the RUF/AFRC were concentrated in Bonthe Town, from where the Kamajors had pulled out but maintained a covert presence around the town, allowing them to retake control of the town the day after the RUF/AFRC retreat in 1998. Civilians rapidly suffered at the hands of the Kamajors, who increased their demands on civilians, chased RUF collaborators and started regulating people's everyday life. The Chiefs, whose actions had been paralysed during the RUF stay, were again deposed and had no authority over their chiefdoms, as the Kamajors set up their own administrative structures and appointed their own Town Chiefs. Civilians were constantly harassed for food and other items; this harassment included physical violence and killing, mainly of alleged collaborators.

The last phase ran from February 1998 to the completion of disarmament in late 2001. During this time, the Kamajors were in total control of the District, as no more RUF or AFRC forces were operating in the District. The brief return of RUF/AFRC forces to Bonthe Town following the invasion of Freetown did not much change the situation of the District, let alone Bonthe Town. The Kamajors continued to impose and affirm their authority in every aspect of life, deciding over administrative and private matters, chasing "rebel" and "Junta" collaborators and intensifying their havoc on civilians. This would continue until the completion of disarmament and the deployment of UN peacekeepers throughout the District in late 2001.

2. Factual analysis

a) Events in 1991

In early April 1991, traders coming from Bo Waterside (Soro Gbema Chiefdom, Pujehun District) reported to inhabitants of Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom that unknown gunmen had crossed into Sierra Leone from Liberia. Soon after, on 9 May 1991, RUF/NPFL forces coming from Gbandapi (Panga Kabone, Pujehun District) arrived by canoes to Tei (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom) in the south of Bonthe District, while civilians were conducting a ceremonial rite. These forces were allegedly led by some civilians from the chiefdom who had earlier gone to Gbandapi to bring them to Tei in search of the Paramount Chief. 1600

On their arrival in Tei, one member of the RUF/NPFL forces shot a person in the leg, not knowing he was the Paramount Chief for whom they were searching. The Paramount Chief fled to the bush to hide from the forces. The RUF/NPFL forces asked civilians where they could find the Paramount Chief and when civilians revealed he was the man previously shot in the leg, the RUF/NPFL forces became more aggressive and beat people. The Paramount Chief was found behind his house, had his hands tied behind his back and was brought at the front of his house, where his property was taken away¹¹⁶¹ in his presence. He was then taken into his house and shot many times before the house was set on fire. His head was cut off and allegedly brought to Gbandapi. The RUF/NPFL forces appointed a man to be Town Commander of Tei and asked him to take care of the town in their absence.

In the same month, the combined forces entered Topain (north of Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom). There, they identified themselves as RUF fighting along side the NPFL from Liberia, who were mainly Burkinabes and Liberians. They assembled all the men and elderly people in the centre of the town and made them sit in the sun, on the accusation that they knew where the SLA forces and the

¹¹⁵⁸ Bo Waterside is the crossing point between Liberia and Sierra Leone and, by April, the RUF/NPFL had spread across Pujehun District.

¹¹⁵⁹ Gbandapi is located on the bank of Malemie River, which joins the Wanjei River that flows to Bonthe District. It is renowned for hosting weekly trade fares where slat is predominantly sold. The RUF/NPFL forces were based there for a while.

¹¹⁶⁰ Reports recount that a disgruntled man who had an argument with the Paramount Chief over a land issue went to Gbandapi to relate his fate to the RUF/NPFL forces. This has to be read in conjunction with the fact that the RUF/NPFL forces had been targeting Paramount Chiefs since they entered the territory of Sierra Leone, as the Chiefs represented the APC Government in the chiefdoms.

¹¹⁶¹ The property taken away included clothing, money earmarked for the mechanical cultivation of the rice the following year, two single barrel guns, rice and other personnel belongings.

staff of the Paramount Chief were. Property was taken, including household items and livestock. People were abducted and forced to carry the loads.

The RUF/NPFL forces then headed for the town of Borleh, which is four miles from Topain. In that village a man was slaughtered and mutilated in his house. They went further south to Mass Kpanguma, where they carried out similar actions as they had done in Topain, to where they returned in the evening of the same day. Topain was at that time selected to be a training centre as it was on a flat land and reasonably close to their base at Gbandapi (Panga Kabone Chiefdom, Pujehun District). The young men of the town were taken aside and encouraged to join the RUF/NPFL forces since they claimed to be fighting against corruption and for the liberation of the people of Sierra Leone. The young men were then assigned to operate checkpoints established at the entrance of the town.

From Topain, the forces went on daily stealing and killing sprees in the neighbouring villages. Young and elderly people were forced to carry loads from neighbouring villages to Topain and onwards to Gbandapi. A load meant to be carried by three people was often given to one person to carry.

On one Sunday in May, RUF/NPFL forces attacked Kale (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom), a town approximately 10 miles to the west of Topain. A lot of property was taken, including food items and livestock. The former Regent Chief was captured and seriously flogged before he was taken to Topain, where he was finally killed. His head was cut off and put at the main junction in the village for everybody to see. This killing was reported to the RUF High Command in Gbandapi, which led to the withdrawal of the troops based at Topain and to the court martial of the commander who had ordered the killing of the former Regent Chief. This commander was killed and replaced by another commander. The forces continued stealing and killing in the surrounding villages and attacked the town of Benduma (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom), three miles from Topain. The Chiefdom Speaker was captured there together with his three sons and some of his relatives. The RUF/NPFL forces took all of his property, then forced him and his sons to carry it for them to Gbandapi, where one of the sons and a relative were later killed.

Later in May 1991, the RUF/NPFL forces left Topain for Bonthe Town on Sherbro Island to launch an attack on the SLA forces based there. They gathered their forces from all their minor bases in and around Topain, abducted young men and elderly people to carry stolen property for them and took away all the canoes they could find from the surrounding villages. They continued to take property in the villages they passed on their way. There are reports of clashes between them and SLA forces along the way. A few days later, a heavy battle took place in the area surrounding Bonthe Town (Sherbro Island) between the RUF/NPFL forces and the SLA forces. Most of the RUF/NPFL forces retreated to their base at Gbandapi while others were killed and the SLA forces at Bonthe Town also started to advance to Topain.

¹¹⁶² It is further revealed that to make it more fearful, a cigarette was placed into the mouth of the dismembered head. This killing led many civilians to flee to the bush.

¹¹⁶³ To a certain extent, the RUF adopted the internal structure and organisation of the Sierra Leone Army.

¹¹⁶⁴ However, attacks actually taking place on Sherbro Island were not reported. It is accordingly more likely that this battle took place somewhere between Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom and Bendu Cha Chiefdom, on the western edge of the mainland. No further information is available on this event.

From their base at Gbandapi, the RUF/NPFL forces came at intervals to attack neighbouring towns and villages in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom but this time, they did not follow the previous pattern of introducing themselves as "freedom fighters". Rather, their attacks were allegedly carried out for reasons of reprisal, as they accused the civilians of supporting the SLA forces. Furthermore, they were poorly dressed and some were barefoot. For example, on 14 May 1991, RUF/NPFL forces entered Topain at 6.00am and fired continuously to scare people away. Civilians ran into the bush, leaving the RUF/NPFL forces free to take whatever property they could find. They also raped five young women, some under the age of 12. A three-month-old suckling mother was raped by many assailants.

Another attack was made on the town just one week later. This time not many people were found and the forces had to search for them in their hiding places in the bush. RUF/NPFL forces inflicted physical violence on the civilians and took away nearly all of their property, which consisted mainly of food items. Those civilians found hiding were severely beaten and their property was taken from them; some were brought into the town and forced to catch the remaining livestock for the forces. A woman was beaten with sticks until her skull cracked. Another was seriously beaten all over her body on the accusation of having committed adultery with the fighting forces. Others had hot melted plastic dripped in their eyes. Two houses, two kitchens and the Court Barrie were burnt by the troops on that day before they left for neighbouring villages. They returned in the evening from the direction they had come, bringing a lot of young men and boys below the ages of 12 and 15.

As their base in Bonthe Town (Sherbro Island) was too far to enable them to fight the RUF/NPFL concentrated in the south-east of the District, the SLA made a base south of Topain at Massa Kpanguma (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom). One hundred and fifty of them came to the chiefdom between June and July 1991, all in full military uniform and armed with new weapons including AK47s, RPGs, LMGs, mortar guns and grenades. From there, they went to Topain to open another base. Arriving in Topain, they gathered the young men¹¹⁶⁶ of the town and told them they must help the SLA forces in ensuring the security of the town, mainly by operating checkpoints.

At this time, the SLA forces had already begun to harass civilians; for example, anyone who refused to operate a checkpoint was severely beaten and/or arrested and put in detention. Women were sometimes raped by some SLA members while their husbands were kept in detention. Other civilians from neighbouring villages were captured and brought to Topain to work as labourers. Their wives and children were taken away to unknown places and nobody knows what happened to them. The situation was similar at Massa Kpanguma, where civilians were forced to feed the SLA forces even although these forces already had their own supplies of food. 1167

After a month staying in Topain, the SLA forces commanded the civilians to arm themselves with sticks, cutlasses or any other potential weapon to be ready to fight the RUF/NPFL forces who were

¹¹⁶⁵ This woman reportedly had significant and permanent mental health problems following this attack.

¹¹⁶⁶ No further information is available about how young these people were.

¹¹⁶⁷ Every town or village was to contribute 24 dozen fish, a bag of rice, five litres of palm oil and Le 25,000 on a monthly basis.

threatening to attack the town. An ambush was laid at Bandakor, a village close to Topain, but the RUF/NPFL forces did not come at that time.

Between June and July 1991, the RUF/NPFL forces attacked the town of Sohlon (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom, which adjoins Kwamebai-Krim Chiefdom to the west). Dressed in country clothes with red bandanas tied around their heads, the forces came together with some of the inhabitants of the town and some people from Pujehun District, all speaking the Mende dialect. 1168 Those civilians had allegedly joined the forces willingly and were leading them and indicating the places where they could find SLA forces, Lebanese businessman and Government authorities or their relatives. On their arrival, the RUF/NPFL forces summoned a meeting of all the people of the town and instructed the Section Chief to detain everyone until they came back from Yelewa (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom). Two days after the attack of Sohlon, Yelewa was also attacked. The forces held a meeting with the civilians in the town and killed one prosperous businessman and native hunter after he was asked to produce his gun. His body was left in the open to rot, as the RUF/NPFL forces prevented people from burying it.

At around this time, the eight SLA members who had came to Gbap (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) from Bonthe Town asked civilians to help them construct an elevation at the jetty on which they could put their anti-aircraft gun. However, the SLA forces soon realised that the RUF/NPFL forces would overpower them and went back to Bonthe Town to obtain reinforcements from the SLA naval branch. Most of the RUF/NPFL forces left Yelewa after two days by boat, taking a lot of civilians with them, allegedly for use as protection against attack. Along the route for the headquarter town of Gbap (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) on the north bank of the river, 1169 the RUF/NPFL forces reached the junction on the Sewa River at Yele, which has routes going both to Bonthe and Gbap. On their arrival, they were attacked by the SLA reinforcements coming from Bonthe, who killed many of the RUF/NPFL forces. Civilians who were travelling with the RUF/NPFL forces had to dive and swim underwater to the other side, where they hid themselves until the battle was over. The SLA forces then went back to Gbap and from there to Bonthe Town (Sherbro Island).

The remaining RUF/NPFL forces (about eight of them) who were not part of the crossing went to Daama (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) where they took civilians' property, mostly clothes, food items and a box of tobacco, and forced a woman to cook for them. The troops then went to Mecca (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), where they abducted two men to bring the stolen property across the river to Yele before letting them go and telling them to go back to Mecca. The forces then withdrew from the chiefdom and retreated to Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom.

Some civilians and SLA forces who were left at Bandakor (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom) were attacked in November 1991 by RUF/NPFL forces coming from the Gbandapi route. The SLA forces were forced to retreat to Topain before going on to their base at Mass Kpanguma. After two days, they returned to Topain and launched a counter-attack that successfully repelled the

¹¹⁶⁸ Those RUF/NPFL forces probably came directly from Pujehun District, using the Wanjei River, which flows almost parallel to the Ocean.

¹¹⁶⁹ The natural features of Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom are very unique, as the Sewa River separates the mainland on the north from the south edge, composed of a long strip of swamps and bordered by the Atlantic Ocean.

RUF/NPFL forces from Bandakor. More civilians were brought from neighbouring villages to Massa Kpanguma and used as labourers by the SLA forces. However, RUF/NPFL forces attacked Massa Kpanguma two weeks later, killing a lot of civilians. Defeated, the SLA forces pulled out of the town¹⁷⁰ and when the SLA forces based at Topain heard of this attack, they also left the area. The surviving civilians fled to the bush but the RUF/NPFL forces did not settle in the town, destroying houses and taking livestock as they left the village. The day after the battle at Massa Kpanguma, the SLA forces who had pulled out passed by Korankor (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom); at a nearby village they tried to stop all the civilians at a checkpoint but as the fleeing population grew, they let them go.

Civilians at Mano (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), at the border with Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom, abandoned the town and boarded a patrol boat together with the SLA forces to safer areas. No sooner had they left than the RUF/NPFL forces entered the towns of Korankor and Mano. Civilians who had fled Korankor described discovering bodies when they returned to the village, mostly the elderly and children who could not find their way in the bush. They also found a lot of dwellings burnt, including the mosque, the Bondo society house and the Court Barrie. Civilians were also abducted to carry the stolen property. This incident forced civilians to abandon the town for the bush where they made makeshift camps. Food and medicine were difficult to get while in the bush, which led to many deaths, especially of children.

SLA forces who later entered the towns of Mano and Korankor after the RUF/NPFL attacks took civilian property, such as building materials and household utensils. The forces then burnt down the remaining two houses in Korankor when leaving the town. After this incident, SLA troops went from town to town identifying civilians they alleged to be "enemy collaborators", who they executed in public without any trial. 1172

In November 1991, approximately 25 armed men entered the town of Kanga Oil Mill (Bum Chiefdom), at the border with Bo District (Bagbo Chiefdom). Civilians suspected those armed forces, who were carrying talisman and other charms, were NPFL forces, because they were all speaking in Liberian dialect. They were proved right as the men introduced themselves as NPFL forces who had come to liberate the people of Sierra Leone from the then APC government. The civilians cheered them and the night passed without incident, the forces leaving the next morning for Madina. On their way to Madina, they came across a commercial vehicle and took it to continue their journey. As in Kanga Oil Mill, their arrival in town passed without incident and they left to go

¹¹⁷⁰ This battle at Massa Kpanguma was also reported as taking place in July 1991. As this information could not be reconciled with the attack on Bandakor, which allegedly took place in November, it has to be considered that all these actions were carried out in the same period of time, between broadly July and November 1991.

¹¹⁷¹ It is reported that the RUF/NPFL forces went back to the direction of Soro Gbema Chiefdom (Pujehun District). This action, although carried out by an important number of RUF/NPFL forces that forced SLA to escape, was probably not part of a wider movement to advance into the District, as at this time, the SLA forces had repelled most of the RUF/NPFL forces out of Bo and Pujehun Districts.

¹¹⁷² Although one report mentioned that at this time, RUF/NFPFL forces were based in Topain, it seems that RUF/NPFL forces were no longer settled in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom and launched their attacks from Pujehun District.

back to Bo District. However, at some point on their way, they killed a Lebanese businessman, drank his blood and threw his body into a river. 1173

One month later, NPFL forces together with RUF forces again entered Bum Chiefdom in Madina, where they abducted the Paramount Chief and took her to an unknown destination. They recruited a large number of the town's inhabitants, including young boys and girls, into the fighting forces, which swelled from 50 to about 200. During their stay in Madina, they forced civilians to carry loads, raped young girls and women in the town and flogged elderly men and women. Town Commanders and secretaries were appointed in villages and towns in the chiefdom to carry out directives from the RUF/NPFL forces, disregarding any other authority in the chiefdom.

RUF/NPFL forces, around 45 in number, also reached Kanga Oil Mill, firing randomly while entering the town. Civilians were gathered at the Court Barrie and detained there while the forces took away property and food items. They introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" who had come to liberate the people of Sierra Leone from the APC misrule. They carried with them sophisticated weapons, large quantity of arms and ammunition. During their first night, they raped young girls, most of whom were between 12 and 13. During their stay in the town, 1175 RUF/NPFL forces deposed all the chiefdom authorities, appointed Town Commanders and Town Mothers and passed laws for the civilians, saying they had come to settle in the area. 1176 While no incidents of mutilation, killing or destruction of property were reported, the RUF/NPFL forces forced civilians to work for them, raped women and girls, beat people and inflicted punishments such as frog iump¹¹⁷⁷ and rolling on the ground. Youths were encouraged to join the RUF/NPFL forces. Old as well as young people were forced to carry loads for the forces. After they are all the livestock of the village, they taxed civilians to supply them with fish or meat in turns. It was later observed that the forces came into the town in batches of 25 every two months. At this time, one commander was very notorious in trafficking civilians and training them to be fighters for the forces, often shooting those who tried to resist, and for taking civilians' property away.

Sometime in December 1991, SLA forces made a base in Gbap (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), from where they went on routine checking missions in the surrounding villages.

b) Events in 1992

Between January and February 1992, SLA forces entered Sohlon (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), were they took civilians' livestock. The matter was reported to their High Command at Gbap, who warned them against such acts, as it did not present a good image of the SLA. These actions stopped for three months, during which time civilians hid all their livestock. However, on or around 15 May

¹¹⁷³ The exact location of this incident could not be ascertained.

¹¹⁷⁴ She would be released in 1993 in Pujehun District.

¹¹⁷⁵ This group stayed six months in the village before being dislodged by SLA forces in July 1992.

¹¹⁷⁶ Some of these laws were as follows: everyone's personal property is meant for everybody; no civilian should steal or would be killed and every civilian was to deposit his money to the RUF/NPFL forces or face arrest for carrying illegal property.

¹¹⁷⁷ To "frog jump" or to "pump" is done by first holding on to the earlobes with two hands – the left hand holding the right ear lobe and vice versa– after which the person is required to jump up and down continuously on their haunches. This form of punishment was both physically and psychologically painful, because it is a punishment meted out mostly to children and it is considered shameful for an adult to be made to "pump".

1992, the livestock was stolen from these hiding places with the help of one of the inhabitants of the town, who was a vigilante at the time.

Around August 1992, the town of Gbap was attacked by RUF/NPFL forces who successfully dislodged the SLA forces from the town. The SLA forces retreated temporarily to an island, labelling it "F.M". Civilians staying at Sohlon, a few miles away from Gbap, moved to the neighbouring town of Nyandehun, four miles from Sohlon, which became a "safe haven" for many civilians in the chiefdom. Realising that their villages were not affected by the RUF/NPFL forces and that the living conditions in the camp at Nyandehun were deteriorating, civilians decided to resettle in their houses.

In the middle of the year, 1179 on hearing the rumours that SLA forces were close to Bum Chiefdom, RUF/NPFL forces left the chiefdom and made their way to Pujehun District. The SLA forces did in fact enter the chiefdom later and made a base at Madina. 1181 After a few days, all the Town Commanders and their secretaries were gathered and interrogated by the forces on how they were helping the RUF/NPFL forces. Those people that the SLA forces considered had taken active part in aiding the RUF/NPFL were killed, while those they considered having taken lesser part were detained for a certain number of days and given manual jobs to do before they were released. Apart from the Town Commanders and their secretaries other civilians who were considered collaborator of the enemy forces were also killed. A boy of 18 was tied to a stick head downwards and fire set under him. He was then tortured to death by the heat of the fire. Sometimes civilians from other villages like Tarsor and Kassie (both of Bum Chiefdom) were alleged to be "rebel" collaborators, because they came from areas where RUF forces were known to be, and were killed by firing squad without proper investigations. In addition, civilians were forced to harvest the oil palm and process it for the SLA forces. Plantains, fish, bananas and other commodities were either seized or bought cheaply from civilians; indeed, the SLA appeared to be more interested in trading these items than in ensuring the security of the chiefdom or the District.

The SLA forces also settled at Moyia, which gave some respite to the people at first. However, not long after, the SLA forces gathered together all the Town Commanders, their secretaries and all other alleged collaborators. An unspecified number of them were killed on the basis that they had encouraged the RUF/NPFL forces to stay in the town and were helping them in their activities. Some people were forced to dig their own graves and lie down in them. They were then shot at afterwards and left there; some people were buried while they were still alive. Harassment of civilians, stealing of property and killing was taking place on a daily basis. People were grossly intimidated as the SLA forces frequently fired their weapons and made people frog jump. In addition, the SLA forces made the people work for them, processing the palm oil fruits, fishing and engaging in many other activities.

¹¹⁷⁸ The RUF/NPFL forces did not however stay in the town but it could not be ascertained when the SLA forces came back to Gbap.

¹¹⁷⁹ This may have occurred either in July or in October/November.

¹¹⁸⁰ No more information could be obtained on this movement of forces.

¹¹⁸¹ As the RUF/NPFL forces had already left the chiefdom, no confrontation was reported. The SLA forces would have control over the chiefdom for two years, until the middle of 1994 when RUF forces came back.

In November, one Saturday afternoon, most of the SLA forces the civilians had seen the year before at Massa Kpanguma (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom) entered Topain and took away civilians' property in a manner described as "much like the RUF/NPFL forces". Women were raped and livestock was taken away the same day. They came back the next day and spent a night in the town, during which they fired their guns to frighten people out of the town. However, the inhabitants stood their ground and the SLA forces soon left the way they had come.

c) Events in 1993

In June 1993, another SLA officer was sent to command the SLA forces deployed at Madina (Bum Chiefdom). They occupied the house of a civilian who later demanded payment of rent for the period. The troops not only refused to pay but also imprisoned one of the civilians after severely beating him up, accusing him of having been a "rebel" collaborator. The villagers were then forced to build more huts for the troops deployed in the town. Those who refused or tried to escape were caught and severely flogged.

In around July 1993, some SLA forces came to their base at Gbap (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) in order to expand their number in the area. They dispatched some troops at Yele (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) and at Massa Kpanguma (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom); in August, others were sent at Sohlon (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), on the other the bank of the river. Young men were asked to be vigilantes at various locations in Gbap Town. The fishermen were required to put the Sierra Leonean flag on their fishing boat, to allow the SLA to monitor and control the movement of boats on the river. At this time, the SLA only required civilians to provide fish for the troops and there were no reported incidents of physical violence or ill-treatment. At one time, when the civilians could not give them fish, the SLA took some livestock away from the people of the town and prepared it as food for the forces. However, this stopped when civilians told the forces that they would complain to their commanding officer.

In October 1993, SLA forces from Bonthe Town (Sherbro Island) visited Tissana (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) on a security tour. The troops harassed the civilians by forcing them to contribute money for their feeding. Those who failed to pay were beaten up and a teacher who incited the people not to pay was imprisoned. SLA forces also took away some property of the civilians, including fish and livestock. Civilians were detained at a Court Barrie while the SLA forces searched their homes and took away what they found.

Also in October 1993, a small group of armed men travelled along the Wanjei River and stopped in Baoma Section, west of Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom. They were all dressed in country clothes and had masks covering their faces. One of them who was speaking Liberian dialect told the civilians they were from Burkina Faso. They took away some food items and alcohol they found in the town and forced civilians to carry this load to a crossing point, where they were released. Burkinabe

¹¹⁸² This deployment was probably done to allow SLA to have control over the river, which leads to the ocean in the west, thus preventing the RUF forces not only from making incursions in the chiefdom but also from advancing towards Bonthe Town.

mercenaries also entered Mecca (Bendu Cha Chiefdom, west of Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), where they took the property of civilians and forced elderly people to carry loads for them. A man who had never drunk any alcohol before was forced to drink wine to excess by one of the forces. It appeared that those armed men had come from Pujehun District and were on a raiding tour of villages in Nongoba Bullom and Bendu Cha Chiefdoms. At one point, SLA forces from Bonthe Town were informed about those armed men and laid an ambush in Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom, where many of the armed men were killed and some captured. A civilian was arrested and taken to Bonthe Town together with the captured forces for interrogation; they were all killed in Bonthe Town. Town.

<u>d</u>) Events in 1994

Throughout 1994, RUF activities were mainly reported in the eastern chiefdoms of Bonthe District, in Kwamebai Krim, Bum and Nongoba Bullom Chiefdoms. 1185

In the first week of May 1994, SLA forces based at Bonthe Town (Sherbro Island) entered Mina village and ambushed some RUF forces on their day patrol. The SLA forces attacked the first loaded boat of the RUF troops heading for the town in the early morning hours. Forty-seven of them were killed, including five women, and 12 were seriously wounded. On their way back to their base the RUF forces entered Mano (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) and captured a girl of 11 years old, whom they raped. They further went to Topain where they established a base. When the SLA forces realised that the RUF forces had left Mass Kpanguma, they immediately re-established a base there. They later attacked and dislodged the RUF forces at Topain, occupying that town as well.

Pelewahun was attacked by the RUF forces on 14 May 1994 and several people were killed in the town, including elderly people and children as young as seven, some of them being hacked to death. People who remained in the town had absolutely nothing to survive on as the forces took all the property in the town. After a month, in June 1994, Mass Kpanguma was attacked. At the time of the attack, the town was full of displaced people from the neighbouring chiefdoms of Pujehun District. The attack did not appear to be a surprise to the SLA forces based there, as some of them had already left the town the previous day with their relations. During the attack, the remaining SLA forces were overpowered and some were killed. Immediately afterwards, civilians in the neighbouring villages fled their houses and went into hiding in the bush, sometimes in neighbouring

¹¹⁸³ Although it is not specified when in 1993 those mercenaries reached Bendu Cha Chiefdom, we can infer from the information collected in Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom that they reached Bendu Cha Chiefdom around the same time.

¹¹⁸⁴ It cannot be ascertained whether those arrested men went through any kind of process before being killed.
¹¹⁸⁵ In 1993, most of the NPFL forces had been recalled by their leader to fight in Liberia as the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), a fighting faction that emerged in May 1991, started to defeat them in various areas in Liberia. Thus, the troops that entered Sierra Leone in 1994 were mostly composed of RUF forces whose number had considerably increased from the 250 men at the beginning of the conflict, due to the conscription that had been carried out.

1186 The day before the attack, SLA forces based at Massa Kpanguma came to Tei and told civilians they were going to Bonthe Town to get their salaries. They however told their relatives to pack quickly things they could lay hand on and to leave Tei for a safer area. It can however not be inferred from this information that the SLA acted in concert with the RUF forces during the attack. It rather seems that, having heard about the incoming attack, the SLA deserted the area.

chiefdoms like Bum Chiefdom.¹¹⁸⁷ This control over strategic towns in Kwamebai Krim District would allow the RUF to continue its advance in the District.¹¹⁸⁸

On 17 July 1994, the RUF forces made a move to recapture Bum Chiefdom from the SLA forces, following the Sewa River and arriving from Tormabum, on the main road to Madina. Four truckloads of SLA forces together with their families and some vigilantes retreated from the chiefdom without putting up any resistance to the RUF/NPFL forces, because the SLA forces were far outnumbered. As a result, by August 1994, the RUF forces had taken control of the entire chiefdom and settled in almost all the villages, making Madina their administrative town. The forces had limited number of Liberians among them at this time and were mainly Sierra Leoneans who came through Tormabum along the Sewa River. Their behaviour towards civilians was different from the previous years, as it was reported they were violently hostile to every civilian they came across, killing unspecified numbers whenever they entered a town. At this period, the RUF forces were dressed in such a way that suggests they had been living in the bush for quite some time.

RUF forces attacked the town of Kanga Oil Mill (Bum Chiefdom) during the night to recapture it from the SLA forces based there. They met no resistance from the SLA forces, as they killed a lot of civilians even before they entered the town. Houses were burnt and many people killed in the town. In the first two weeks after they recaptured the town there was indiscriminate killing of civilians because they regarded everyone to be the "enemy". Civilians were forced to abandon the town for camps in the bush. They were later hunted and brought back into the town by the forces; those who refused to come were killed in the bush. This forced the civilians to return to the town, particularly following an incident where RUF forces killed two people in the bush to underscore their threats. Furthermore, it is worth noting that most of the RUF members were inhabitants of the chiefdom, who had earlier been abducted by the RUF forces. Raping and killing of civilians was an everyday occurrence. More young men and women were conscripted and people were forced to carry loads for the forces.

After two months in Madina, during which time they went on patrol missions, the RUF forces entered the village of Mami, a fairly large village situated six miles south of Madina. The RUF forces were engaged in a house-to-house search in the village when they saw some military uniforms in one of the houses. The inhabitants were all gathered to explain why military uniforms should be found in the village. The chief and his wife were first called upon to explain; when they failed to do so they

¹¹⁸⁷ It however seems that the RUF did not settle in the area for a long time as in December 1994, civilians who had fled their villages went back and did not encounter any RUF activity.

¹¹⁸⁸ The control over Mass Kpanguma would give access to the Wanjei River, which merges with the Sewa River in Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom.

¹¹⁸⁹ Early in 1994, RUF forces dislodged the SLA forces that had been in Bagbo Chiefdom (Bo District) for two years, thus allowing the RUF to attack Bum Chiefdom, knowing the SLA would not be reinforced by those who used to be based at Momajoe (Bagbo Chiefdom, Bo District), a few miles from Madina Town. Bum Chiefdom adjoins the southern part of Bagbo Chiefdom (Bo District).

¹¹⁹⁰ These forces were roughly dressed in jeans and t-shirts, with slippers on their feet and very few military boots, although their attire improved as they stole more clothes from civilians.

¹¹⁹¹ Although the report mentions that the town was attacked in December 1994, it is clear that it took place shortly after Madina town was attacked and prior to the incident in Mami (see below) took place. Accordingly, it probably took place earlier than December.

were both shot dead. A woman in the front row was then picked to explain and when she could not, she was told to undress. Her son was called upon and told to do the same. He was then told to have sex with his mother in the presence of everybody. Shocked and panicked, he could not do it and they were both shot dead. Another woman was picked from the crowd and shot in the head. Although the troops were only three in number, the people were so terrified that they were unable to escape. Four more people were killed that day, making a total of eight. Four girls were raped on the same day and 17 more were abducted. Property was taken and removed from the village on the same day.

In a small village called Tarsor (Bum Chiefdom) located near a stream, the decomposed bodies of two RUF child combatants who had earlier gone missing were found on the seashore. Around 30 people who were found in the village were quickly gathered and asked to explain by the RUF forces. No one knew anything about the death of the boys and could not explain anything to the satisfaction of the RUF forces. Six people were immediately shot and killed and the other people were tied up and made to lie in the sun. Rubber was melted and dropped in their eyes. This was done to both young and old, including babies. Fifteen houses were burnt in the town and the farmhouses were destroyed, at which time seven more people were killed. At Bisoa, at the boundary with Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom, RUF forces burnt six houses at night and killed 18 people on the grounds they were harbouring SLA forces. 1192

Madina was made a training base for the abducted young men and boys; drugs were allegedly given to them during the course of the training that took place at the school compound, during which young girls were also trained as fighters. Although not all of them were given weapons after the training, these new recruits were used to attack SLA positions in Pujehun and Bo Districts. RUF forces also had a training base at Torma, where conscripted civilians were sent for training. The training was carried out in two phases. Training to fight was done during the first phase and then trainees were drugged during the second phase. Most of the boys that were trained in this way were below 15 years of age and they were usually sent on looting patrols called "mission" for their commander.

During their stay in Bum Chiefdom in 1994, the RUF did not face any counter-attack by government troops. This firm control over Bum Chiefdom would only be the prelude for further incursions into the District in early 1995 from Bo District.

In November and December 1994, six months after the SLA established a navy base in Bonthe Town, those navy forces patrolled the waters in Sittia and Dema Chiefdoms on the pretext that they were chasing away illegal foreign trawlers, despite the fact they never met any trawlers during their patrols. Their visits were sometime announced to the Chiefs in advance, who consequently taxed the civilians to contribute money for the feeding of the SLA members. On one occasion, the SLA forces called the people and local authorities at Tissana (Dema Chiefdom) to a meeting at which they demanded that they should be supported financially so they could protect the lives and properties of the civilians. Women were required to give Le 1,000 and men had to give Le 1,500. One civilian, who incited the others not to give this money, on the grounds that the SLA was already paid, was arrested and put in a cell. This meeting concluded with a token by the Paramount Chief of Le

¹¹⁹² It was however revealed that this village did not host SLA forces.

500,000;¹¹⁹³ once the SLA forces had sufficient money and food, they released the civilian who had earlier been detained.

Around this time, rumours of impending RUF attacks were spreading across almost the entire District and in late December, a Catholic priest of St. Ambrose Parish who was travelling from Rutile (Imperi Chiefdom) to Mattru (Jong Chiefdom) ran into armed RUF men. He was flogged by them and given a letter for the people of Mattru together with the sum of Le 6,000. On his arrival in Mattru, he informed the Chiefs and other civilians what had happened and gave them the letter. Most people abandoned the town for bigger towns like Bo and Freetown on account of this while others went to villages like Blama, Kabati, Wongifor, Bisao and Nyandehun all in the neighbouring chiefdoms. Furthermore, three RUF members who disguised themselves as State Security Division (SSD) officers were arrested at a dance organised by the people of Mattru (Jong Chiefdom) on 25 December 1994. They later confessed that they were RUF spies.

e) Events in 1995

On 19 January 1995, RUF forces attacked the Sierra Rutile Company in the north of Imperi Chiefdom. In the morning, three groups of RUF forces passed in succession by Moriba, heading to the plant-mining site where they were to gather. With them, they had abductees from the Sieromco Bauxite Mining Company in Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District), which they had attacked the day before. They did not shoot while they were going to the mining site but took with them a large number of people of all ages and both sexes. The whole population was in panic but the RUF told them that they were not here for them but for the SLA forces so that they should join their movement, which some civilians did. They arrested all the junior staff at Kpanguma, 100 yards from the mining site. When they arrived at the senior staff quarters at Mobimbi, they started shooting and arrested some of the staff, including foreign workers. Soon after, they were in control of the mining site, where they fired their weapons for some time and took almost all the property from the area, including vehicles, money, fuel, engines, medicines, food, livestock and other items taken from the company itself. RUF forces started giving food to civilians, which once more convinced civilians to join them.

¹¹⁹³ As a very rough guide, five hundred thousands Leones is approximately equivalent to 250 USD. This should be placed in the context of Sierra Leone's position at the bottom of the Human Development Index: between 1991 and 2000, 57% of the population lived on less than 1 USD (2.000 SLL) per day and 74.5% lived on less than 2 USD (4.000 SLL) per day: see UNDP Human Development Report 2003,

http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/indicator/cty_f_SLE.html, last visited on 30 December 2003.

¹¹⁹⁴ The Sierra Rutile was the world second largest producer of rutile, used in paints; before the war, the rutile extracted from this site represented 50% of Sierra Leone's total exports and 3,000 people were employed at the mining sites: AFP, 11 March 1997. At the time of this attack, the mine was in the middle of a major expansion program: Africa Review World of Information, 1 September 1995.

¹¹⁹⁵ Numbering 40, 80 and nearly 100 men in the respective groups, the RUF forces were equipped with AK47 and RPGs.

¹¹⁹⁶ This Swiss-owned mine was the world's largest producer of bauxite. These mining areas in Moyamba and Bonthe Districts were the two most important economical sectors after Kailahun and Kono Districts had fallen in 1992 and 1993, thereby depriving the Government of significant resources coming from the mining of diamond and the cultivation of cash crops like coffee and cacao.

At the time of the attack, foreign troops¹¹⁹⁷ and SLA forces were deployed in the area; members of the SSD (Special Security Division) were in charge of the security of the company. SLA and foreign troops made attempts to dislodge the RUF forces and finally succeeded on 30 January, at which time the RUF retreated to areas not far from the mining site. Doubts were raised among the civilians on the role played by the SSD and especially its commander in the overrun of the mining site by the RUF. ¹¹⁹⁸

At the end of January 1995, RUF forces attacked and captured Mattru (Jong Chiefdom) without much resistance, as it seems the SLA had already pulled out of the town. While the bulk of these forces most likely came from Imperi Chiefdom, it is possible that some of these forces came from Lugbu Chiefdom (Bo District)¹¹⁹⁹ through Gbonge, stopping at the crossroad between the main road going west to Mattru and a southern one going to the chiefdom headquarter of Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom), at which time they decided to attack Mattru. When they entered the town, the RUF forces did not kill people or destroy property, informing civilians that they were only against the NPRC government and the government soldiers. As they settled in the town, they put in place structures to administer the town and the chiefdom, including the appointment of Town Commanders and Town Mothers. They also appointed adjunct clerks who, in charge of the control of movement in the chiefdom, were responsible for issuing passes allowing civilians to go from one area to another. They encouraged civilians to join them by giving them food, medicine, clothes and other items. However, this behaviour was not to last long and soon they began to act in a manner contrary to their words.

During the first weeks of their stay in the town, 1201 they lived on the food and other items they had taken away from the Sierra Rutile but as they run out of those items, they forced civilians to work for them, notably by repairing and maintaining the ferry on the Jong River that allowed RUF forces to use the direct road to Sierra Rutile, where they had a lot of stolen property stored. Vehicles from civilians were used for this purpose. Civilians were also required to undertake other tasks; everyday, the young men each had to bring a bag of cassava and women had to bring vegetables, water and wood, as well as cook the food. Failure to carry out these tasks brought punishments, like being beaten or tied up and laid under the sun; the most severe punishment was death, for example if a civilian refused to give vegetables from his or her garden or if a civilian was caught hiding in the bush, like one woman who was shot at Luawa, near Mattru, in April. People were also brought from other towns and villages and killed for similar reasons at the RUF headquarter in Mattru. Youths, mostly between the ages of eight and seventeen, were also brought from the surrounding towns and villages to be conscripted.

Two bases were established in the chiefdom, one at Mattru and the other at Gambia Oil Mill. The RUF forces stole the supply of medicine and other items at the government hospital in Mattru and

¹¹⁹⁷ The records mention ECOMOG but this refers to either Nigerian or Guinean troops.

¹¹⁹⁸ The commander would have carried arms and ammunitions for the RUF at the mining site, once the RUF had overrun it and would have gone in surrounding villages

¹¹⁹⁹ Lugbu Chiefdom adjoins Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom on the east. Its headquarter town, Sumbuya, is on the main road that leads to Mattru (Jong Chiefdom). Since 1994, Lugbu Chiefdom had been under RUF control.

¹²⁰⁰ Mattru was the hometown of the Vice Chairman of the NPRC and two Government Ministers.

¹²⁰¹ RUF forces would occupy the town for eight months before being dislodged by the SLA in October.

turned the hospital into a training base. The base at Gambia Oil Mill, nine mile from Mattru, was called "Camp Lion" and hosted the more mature and top ranking members. To build the camp, the RUF forces unroofed houses in the surrounding villages. The new recruits who were trained in Mattru were presented to the commander at Camp Lion for approval to be sent at the war front.

The RUF forces also burnt down many houses in the town, including the entire compound of the Paramount Chief as well as houses that were allegedly empty. Occupied houses were also burnt and in one incident, two civilians who went back to their burnt house to gather some of the things that had not been destroyed were stopped by the RUF forces; one was killed and the other mutilated. Throughout the chiefdom, civilians' property, including furniture, clothing and money, was taken away, which led civilians to hide some of their belongings. When the RUF forces discovered that civilians were hiding property, they would take a member of the family, who would be forced at gunpoint to show them the hiding place. As at that time condiments and tobacco were only to be found in areas under SLA control, any civilian found with those items would be killed. Radios were also not allowed, to prevent civilians from hearing independent news about the war. During the time of their stay, both young and old women, including girls as young as 10, were sexually assaulted, sometimes in public and by more than one RUF member. People who escaped in to the bush were later hunted down and brought back into the town; some people were killed in the bush and their property taken.

RUF forces settled in many areas in the chiefdom, such as in Blama, south-east of Mattru, and Biawo, north-east of Mattru. When they settled in these villages, they carried out the same actions as previously described, including forcing civilians to work, to go hunting and to carry the load and conscripting children. In addition, they deposed existing authorities and installed their own structures, including the appointment of Town Commanders and Town Mothers, and established the "pass" system. At Blama, the Town Commander was sent to Camp Zogoda to be trained. 1203

On 3 February 1995, a very large number of RUF forces entered the headquarter town of Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom). Over 1,000 people were in Tihun at the time the RUF forces entered it, at which time they gathered all the civilians they met in the town, including the Town Chief. Gathering the inhabitants at the Court Barrie, the RUF forces asked the civilians who identified themselves as members of the Bio family (relations of the then NPRC Deputy Head of State, Brigadier Julius Maada Bio) to step forward. Many civilians did step forward, even if they did not belong to the family, thinking that the RUF forces were doing this to protect them; however, everyone who stepped forward was then killed. Other civilians were killed on that day, including two girls and an elderly woman. Over 34 houses were also burnt down in the town, a large amount of property was taken and a lot of people were captured.

The following day, the captured civilians, including the Town Chief, three white foreigners taken from the Sieromco Company in Mokanji (Moyamba District) and hundreds of others captured from

¹²⁰² This was a generic name for training bases and other Camp Lions existed in the country, notably in Makeni (Bombali District).

¹²⁰³ This Camp Zogoda, although it is a generic name, probably refers to the important camp located in Koya Chiefdom (Kenema District).

¹²⁰⁴ It is estimated that around 300 people were killed during this incident.

Mattru, were marshalled towards the town of Senjehun (Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom), near the Sewa River. They stopped at a junction near Senjehun, where the abductees, who were carrying stolen property for the RUF forces, were divided into five groups. The Town Chief was told that the troops were heading for their base at Camp Zogoda in Kenema District (Koya Chiefdom), where the RUF leader used to stay. These forces further explained that they had captured some elderly men, as the RUF wanted elderly people advise the parliamentarians they would have once they seized power in the House of Parliament. Some civilians, headed by the Town Chief of Tihun, were then told to go back to Tihun under an RUF escort while the others proceeded to Senjehun carrying the stolen property, crossed the Sewa River at Borleh and headed for Madina (Bum Chiefdom), from where the RUF said the civilians from Madina would continue the journey to Camp Zogoda.

Soon after this attack, SLA troops were sent to secure the town of Tihun. On 11 February 1995, the RUF attacked the town but faced stiff resistance from the SLA forces based there. Several other unsuccessful attempts were made by the RUF to recapture the town between 11 and 18 February, when the SLA forces were dislodged from the town by a strong and fierce attack. A lot of civilians were killed; young men, women and girls were abducted; and several houses were burnt. Children got lost in the battle and a lot of property was taken and carried away by the RUF forces, who left the town on the same day of the attack. They went to neighbouring villages like Moyorgbo, Gerehun, Bauya Junction and Karleh, where they took away and destroyed civilian property and abducted several people. In each village or town they visited, they deposed the traditional chiefs and appointed Town Commanders, Town Mothers and clerks, who assumed administrative responsibilities and the running of the towns and villages. As in other places, a system of "passes" was established and civilians caught travelling without their pass were severely beaten.

When they entered Bauya Junction, RUF forces wrote "RUF" on the doors of civilian houses before leaving for the nearby village of Semabu, two miles from Bauya Junction. People in Bauya fled into the bush as sooner as the RUF forces left the town. That same night, the RUF forces returned from Semabu, together with a large number of young men who carried property the RUF forces had taken from the people of Semabu. Some of the RUF forces then took the property to "Camp Charlie", returning four days later. They asked the civilians to return to the towns and stop sleeping in camps in the bush. They also imposed laws on civilians preventing them from travelling to Bo Town (Bo District) without permits; people caught travelling without the permit would be killed. Indeed, movement from one place to the other could only be done with a "pass". The forces elected administrative leaders in the town and surrounding villages. Often, people accused of coming from Bo by the RUF forces were shot dead without questioning. People were also killed if they were found with tobacco or food items like fish and any manufactured goods, as this was considered to be proof that they had gone to areas controlled by SLA forces, which were the only areas such items were available.

¹²⁰⁵ Information from Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom confirms that this chiefdom was used as a transit chiefdom for RUF forces, who did not settle there but used it to transport their stolen property, including televisions, bags of rice, corrugated iron sheets and food items, across the Sewa River and through Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom, Bo District) to Camp Zogoda in Kenema District.

¹²⁰⁶ Although it is not certain whether RUF forces came back to the town, it is clear that SLA forces did not launch any counter-attack the following months.

¹²⁰⁷ There was one famous "Camp Charlie" near Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District).

This continued for up to three months, when the RUF forces introduced another system known as "Man Power", by which civilians were forced to carry loads for distances of about 50 miles. At that time, wives of civilians forcefully became the "wives" of the RUF forces and the husbands were to thank them whenever they had intercourse with their wives. Civilians were also forced to have sexual intercourse with their relatives in public and those who refused to do so were killed.

Also in February 1995, RUF forces entered the headquarter town of Matuo (Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom), killed two civilians and burnt down 16 buildings including the Court Barrie. At Senjehun, a town used as a crossing point on the Sewa River, the forces terrorised the civilians by killing several people, burning down several houses and destroying the boats they found at the waterside in the town, on the grounds that civilians were using the village as an escape way to Bo District and other places. ¹²⁰⁸

During that month, ¹²⁰⁹ SLA forces based in Bonthe Town regularly patrolled the sea route in the north-west of Bonthe District between Dema Chiefdom and Gbangbatoke (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District). Civilians were banned from going to sea for fishing in this area, as the SLA feared that RUF forces might attack them and use their boats to continue their advance in the District. Civilians however continued to travel to Gbangbatoke, at night and SLA forces started to chase them and once captured, took away their fish and sometimes killed the faulting civilians.

On 25 February, the RUF made a successful counter-attack at the rutile mining site (Imperi Chiefdom), dislodging the SLA forces based there. During their stay, their behaviour was not as friendly as during their first stay. On the contrary, they told civilians that because civilians in the area had taken the side of the Government when the RUF was dislodged on 30 January, they would not spare any soul in the area. On that day in Imperi Chiefdom, in villages such as Mogwemo, Kpanguma and Moriba, the RUF forces ransacked villages, indiscriminately killed civilians, forced civilians into houses and set fire to them, destroyed and burnt houses, raped women and girls, conscripted young people into their movement and forced civilians to work for them. As in other places, any civilian caught with condiments or tobacco would be accused of going to areas under SLA control, where those items could be found, and would be killed.

Following the recapture of the mining area, RUF forces scattered throughout almost the entire chiefdom, taking control of the area for over eight months before being dislodged by SLA forces in November. For example, RUF forces entered Gbangbama on 20 February 1995, where they stole a lot of property, killed two people and captured many others. One week later, on 27 February 1995, the forces attacked the nearby village of Foinda. They took a lot of property, killed one civilian and abducted many others, who were forced to carry the stolen property to Mobimbi, which was previously the headquarter of the senior staff of the Sierra Rutile Company and became the RUF headquarters when they re-captured the town. Another example is Gaindema, which was attacked

¹²⁰⁸The same forces also entered Lawana (Bumpeh Chiefdom, Bo District) where they burnt down five houses and stole a lot of civilian property. They also killed four old people who were unable to escape from the attack. The town was attacked because of rumours that diamond mining was going on and a big diamond had been found there.

¹²⁰⁹ It is likely that this was a practice that was carried out for a number of months around February 1995. NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

on 1 March 1995. RUF forces invaded the village in the north of the District with heavy gunfire. They remarked that civilians were ungrateful to them, as they had laid down their lives to fight against the dictatorship government of the NPRC, which had earlier toppled the APC government. They described the NPRC government as selfish, not transparent and unaccountable. The RUF forces attacked the village from its landlocked side, leaving the direction to the river open; accordingly, people fled from the continuous gunfire into the river where some, who were unable to swim, drowned while others were shot. In the village, RUF forces captured civilians, killed some and conscripted others. These forces also took a lot of property, which they then transported to their headquarters.

These continuous attacks on the villages in the chiefdom led the majority of the population to leave Imperi Chiefdom and to find refuge in more secure areas like Bonthe Town on Sherbro Island. Their control of the chiefdoms in the north of the District, where the strategic roads spreading through the rest of the District originate, allowed RUF forces to proceed further southwards to Yawbeko, Nongoba Bullom and Bendu Cha Chiefdoms In these chiefdoms, most of the civilians were already living in camps in the bush, after they heard about the attacks in the north of the District. Furthermore, it is believed that the attack on the mining company, which led hundred of civilians jobless, resulted in increased favourable public opinion for the expansion of the Kamajors in the chiefdom.

The situation for Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom was, however, slightly different as it seems that the first RUF attack in the chiefdom, which took place in February 1995, originated from Pujehun District. Civilians ran into the bush leaving behind children and elderly people who were unable to run. Those forces, dressed in military attire, leaving dentified themselves as RUF forces based at Sulima (Soro Gbema Chiefdom, Pujehun District). Young girls who were caught were raped in front of their parents, including a 10-year-old girl, who was severely traumatised and remained ill for a long time. A lot of civilians were appointed as labourers to carry property as far as Dama, some 11 miles from Topain, where they were released and ordered to return back to Dama. People abandoned the town and stayed in the bush, where life rapidly became unbearable. Several visits were made to the town by the RUF forces in the following days but no one was found in the town so they stopped going there.

Most of their activities were then carried out at Bandakor, from where they raided the neighbouring villages. Tei was also attacked in February, at a time when most of the people had gone to their farms or fishing, leaving the youngest and eldest in the town. The RUF forces burnt down the whole town, including the school, the UBC church and the Town Barrie and took away property such as fishing nets, canoes, seed rice, livestock and poultry. Five civilians were killed, among them an 85 year-old man, and some young people were abducted and forced to carry the load.

During one of their raids on the villages, three young men at Kale resisted the attack and killed two of the RUF forces. Civilians in the neighbouring towns and chiefdoms were informed and they

¹²¹⁰ Although RUF forces were reported to be in the chiefdom in 1994, it seems that an important attack was carried out on the chiefdom from Pujehun District.

¹²¹¹ Starting in 1992, RUF forces acquired uniforms from the SLA, often taken after a battle. Some of those uniforms also came with SLA members who deserted their ranks to join the RUF.

immediately formed civilian-fighting groups or local militia to defend themselves, since the SLA forces was no longer able to contain the RUF advance. This group was composed of Kamajors, a Mende word for hunters. Civilians started contributing to the support of this civil force, donating single barrel guns and money for the purchase of cartridges. Other weapons like knives, spears and machetes were made by blacksmiths in the chiefdoms as part of their contributions. The main place for initiation was at Kaileh Wanjama (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom) but, as the group expanded, it was further divided into sections with its headquarter base at Kale, south of Topain.

On 21 March 1995, around 120 RUF members coming from Jong Chiefdom, dressed in new combat attire with red cloth tied around their necks, entered the town of Baoma (north-east of Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) as they had heard SLA forces were in the area. The RUF forces made civilians they met in the town lead them to the farmhouses, where they took civilians' property, including food items and livestock, and captured a lot of civilians to be trained as fighters. They then went north-east to the town of Gambia (Jong Chiefdom) with all the stolen property. The attack was reported to the SLA forces based at Gbap, south-west of Baoma. They came to the town two days afterwards, took the remaining food items and livestock and returned to Gbap. On hearing about SLA troop movements, a large number of RUF forces came back to the town on 27 March 1995. One man who was asked whether he had informed the SLA about the first attack was tied up and stripped naked, as was another man. The first man was hit with a bladed weapon on his neck until he died while the second one had his genital organ cut off before being hacked to death. On the same day, RUF forces went looting in the surrounding villages, burnt down houses and came back to Baoma with captives carrying their load before leaving the town for Gambia (Jong Chiefdom).

Two members of the RUF re-entered Baoma about a week later, on 5 April 1995. They encouraged an old man they found in the village to call all the civilians who were hiding in the bush to return to the town, as there was no other person in the town, but nobody responded to the old man's appeal. A few days later, the RUF forces raided the camps of the civilians in the bush and burnt down several huts and destroyed other property. They threatened to kill all those who failed to return to the town, as a result of which civilians returned to the town a few days later. Town Commanders were appointed and arrangements were made for the support of the forces while they were in the town. However the Town Commanders were fearful for their lives, having heard that SLA forces killed civilians appointed as Town Commanders and those who stayed with the RUF on the grounds that they were collaborators, so they advised the civilians to escape back into the bush.

The RUF forces continued to harass civilians in the neighbouring towns and villages. Also in April, the RUF forces dislodged the SLA from Gbap, where civilians had already fled the town. The retreating SLA forces went to Bonthe Town before coming to the chiefdom between May and June and settle at Yele, south west of Gbap. From Yele, the SLA exhorted the civilians to leave the Baoma area, as they were going to launch an offensive on the RUF. The SLA did not however succeed in dislodging the RUF forces who themselves launched a counter-attack on SLA position at Yele five days later. During this counter-attack, RUF forces killed a large number of civilians and a

¹²¹² The support of the force was voluntary at the beginning but as time went on it became compulsory and also included provision of food and other essential materials for the Kamajors.

few SLA forces. The few remaining SLA forces left for Bonthe Town and the RUF went back to Baoma, burning down some houses before leaving.

Around April, RUF forces attacked and settled in many villages in Yawbeko Chiefdom, in the centre of the District, including the chiefdom headquarter of Talia. The pattern they followed in the villages they entered was similar to what they had done so far in the north of the District. Local authorities were particularly targeted, deposed and replaced by Town Commanders and Town Mothers. Some of the local authorities were also molested and killed.

RUF forces coming from Jong Chiefdom reached Bendu Cha Chiefdom in May 1995. 1214 Their arrival was accompanied by severe brutality towards civilians and instances of killing, often with bladed weapons, raping, burning of houses, stealing of civilians' property and abduction of civilians were commonplace. For example, in May 1995, RUF forces reached Tigbe from Jong Chiefdom and shoot and killed two fleeing civilians. The forces cut off the dead men's genital organs, which they placed in the mouths of the bodies and left the mutilated corpses on the road. They then burnt down 10 houses before proceeding to another village, Tisama, where they beat a man with sticks almost to the point of death. Also in May, some RUF forces on their way to Malama passed by Molamdeh. They burnt a house in which a sick woman was lying in bed, allegedly because she did not give them water as they had asked. Once in Malama, they took a lot of property, including food items, which they forced captured civilians to carry to their base at Baoma (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom). They also killed a petty trader who refused to give them money.

Fighting between the RUF on one hand and SLA forces assisted with Kamajors on the other hand continued in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom. On 25 May 1995, RUF forces located the hidden camp at Taifa, where civilians from Tei had found refuge, and attacked it. The SLA and the Kamajors fought the RUF forces and a big battle took place at Tamgbassi, two miles from Taifa. About 50 RUF forces were killed while 10 SLA members and two Kamajors died.

Another heavy battle took place at Bombokor (Kwamebai Krim chiefdom) on 7 June 1995 as a result of which the RUF forces were dislodged; about 25 of them killed while five were captured alive. There were no civilian fatalities reported to have been committed by the SLA, as their commander ordered his forces not to shoot civilians. The SLA commander also returned the stolen property left behind by the retreating RUF forces to the civilians. On their way back to their base after the defeat at Bombokor, the RUF forces, apparently in retaliation, raped, beat and killed civilians with bladed weapons, including young children. Nevertheless, the RUF forces were driven entirely from the Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom. As such there was great influx of civilians from

¹²¹³ The date of their arrival in Talia could not be determined with precision. More details will be added for Yawbeko Chiefdom.

¹²¹⁴ Bendu Cha Chiefdom is a small chiefdom on the western edge of mainland Bonthe.

¹²¹⁵ This SLA officer who used to be based in the Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom favoured the idea of these local militia fighting alongside the SLA to bring the war to a speedy conclusion in the District.

¹²¹⁶ However, this action of the commander made his men dissatisfied and they became disgruntled. Shortly after, the SLA forces were over powered by the RUF during an encounter in the west of the Chiefdom; it was said the SLA forces could not face this battle, mainly due to the loss of morale following the episode of looting at Bombokor. Those RUF forces required that the commander identify himself and one junior SLA member pointed out the commander, who was then killed by the RUF forces.

the other chiefdoms into Kwamebai Krim, which caused a lot of hunger, starvation and disease, as there were not enough food and medicine.

However, RUF forces maintained control over chiefdoms in the centre of the District and continued their actions against civilians. For example, sometime in June 1995, RUF forces entered the village of Ghaloh (Bendu Cha Chiefdom), captured civilians, flogged some and later killed some of them. They also entered Bormimahun village but found no one in the town. They burnt down all the houses and traced the footprints of people to the camp in which they were hiding, where they killed some civilians and abducted the rest. As they were about to leave, they set fire to seven houses in the town. Kanga village was also raided and eight houses were burnt down and several civilians were abducted, including a 15-year old girl together with other women. The following month, civilians made another camp between the boundary of Jong and Bendu Cha Chiefdoms in the northwest of Bendu Cha Chiefdom. At some point during the month, this camp came under the attack of the RUF forces at about 6.00pm. A baby boy was hit with bladed weapons by the RUF forces. Several people were captured and girls were raped and abducted.

Again in Bendu Cha Chiefdom, on 30 August 1995, RUF troops coming from Baiama (Jong Chiefdom) attacked Momaya, where they abducted civilians, including one man whom they recruited into their fighting force and some young girls, who they made their wives. The RUF forces then headed to Bawoma and Kpetema (both in Jong Chiefdom). On their way they killed two civilians. On or around 15 September, the Muslim festival day of Eid al Adha, RUF forces attacked civilians who had moved out of their camps to observe prayers around Mindohun village. Civilians were captured in the mosques and abducted; two men were killed, allegedly because they did not properly carry out a task the RUF forces had asked them. On their way out, they encountered a young man of about 30, who they suspected of being an SLA member, so they tied him to a stick, poured petrol over him and set him on fire.

As RUF forces were progressing and affirming their control of the District, except Sherbro Island, and the SLA were increasingly unable to defend the District, rumours about the Kamajors began to reach Bonthe Town. This consisted of information about the development of Kamajors, armed with cutlasses and knives and rumoured to have mystical powers, who were coming together to restore peace in their villages in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom. At this time, Bonthe Town was full of displaced people and the local authorities decided to send around 300 youths to the area where initiations were being performed.¹²¹⁸ Once initiated, the Kamajors went back to various areas in the District, engaging the RUF forces and, initially, working hand in hand with the SLA.

On their return from their initiation, a group of Kamajors engaged the RUF forces based at Baoma (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) with heavy firing between September and October 1995. About 22 members of the RUF were killed and several of them and their wives were captured. They were taken to the Kamajor base at Karleh Wanjama (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom). Following the attack, the RUF completely left Baoma but one week later they regrouped and launched a counter-attack.

¹²¹⁷ Civilians were leaving the camp during the day to go farming or fishing and were coming back after their activities.

¹²¹⁸ The local authorities asked the representatives of the chiefdoms, who had found refuge in Bonthe Town, to present a number of their young men.

They succeeded in dislodging the Kamajors and burnt down the remaining houses in the town. On 5 November 1995, Kamajors also launched a fierce counter-attack on the RUF forces at Baoma. They finally succeeded in ousting them out of Baoma and Gbap and entirely chased them out of the Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom. This was the final battle between the RUF forces and the Kamajors in the chiefdom. Civilians returned to resettle in the various towns and villages in the chiefdom and also in the neighbouring Yawbeko Chiefdom.

In late October, rumours of imminent SLA attacks¹²¹⁹ and sounds of heavy gun firing coming from the Bo road led some of the RUF forces based at Mattru (Jong Chiefdom) to leave the town for Senehun, in the south-west, and Gbonge (Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom), 1220 although those based at Camp Lion refused either to leave or to release the civilians. On 25 October, a group of SLA Forces known as "Special Task Force" and composed mainly of ULIMO forces entered Mattru with heavy gunfire. They were accompanied by two jets, which were clearing the way for them before they entered the town. The RUF forces who had stayed in Mattru deserted their base as soon as the members of the Task Force arrived in the town, after killing many civilians who were with them. The following day, the Task Force attacked the RUF at Camp Lion in the north of Mattru Town. A lot of civilians including men, women and children were killed during that attack and the survivors were all brought into Mattru Town. Civilians in neighbouring villages were also requested by the Task Force to come and live in Mattru Town. While bringing civilians from the villages to Mattru, the Task Force faced pockets of resistance from the RUF but continued to defeat the RUF forces who, while retreating, imposed great havoc on the population, burning down houses wherever they were dislodged and killing many civilians. For example, in Kale Kowama, RUF forces retreating from Blama came across a family (parents and two small children) and killed the two parents. Civilians brought to the town undertook a massive brushing and cleaning of the town and surrounding villages but soon, started to lack food and other necessary items.

In one of their patrol to bring civilians to Mattru, members of the Task Force went to Njahun and Senjehun (Sogbini Chiefdom). On hearing this, the RUF forces at Bauya (Sogbini Chiefdom) gathered the civilians and told them to wait for a while and all the civilians would go to Mattru. More civilians, some from neighbouring chiefdoms, came to Bauya, either brought by the RUF forces or arriving of their own free will, hoping to find a safer haven in Mattru. Therefore, thousands of people where gathered at Bauya when the RUF forces divided them in two queues, one for men and one for women. The civilians were told to sing a song and the RUF forces started to take one person after the other and killed them either with a gun or a bladed weapon. When they realised what was happening, the civilians started to flee to the bush. RUF forces fired on the fleeing crowd, killing hundreds of people. The RUF forces also ambushed the town to catch and kill

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¹²¹⁹ Starting in August, SLA forces, who had just received military training from the South African mercenaries company Executive Outcomes, who were contracted by the Government of Sierra Leone, engaged in "mopping up" operations in the Southern Province, dislodging the RUF forces from various strongholds in Bumpeh Chiefdom (Bo District) and the mining area around Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District).

1220 At this time, Kamajors from Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom, in the south of the District started to have successful confrontation with RUF forces and went as far as Gbap (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom). This strong grip on the south east of the District probably explains why the RUF forces did not move south, using the Sewa River and Wanjei River, that flow in Nongoba Bullom and Kwamebai Krim Chiefdoms but rather retreated to Gbonge, a hilly area in Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom.

escaping civilians.¹²²¹ The surviving civilians went back to their camps in the bush, where RUF forces chased them, killing everyone they found, including young children. At Licono for example, they gathered the civilians they found in the Court Barrie, hacked some of them into pieces, opened the stomach of one pregnant woman and threw the foetus in the fire. Some civilians found refuge at Bahoi, on the Sewa River east of Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom, and were rescued by Kamajors from Senjehun who came and took them to their base. Around 200 RUF forces attacked the Kamajor base at Senjehun but were defeated by the Kamajors stationed there, who were assisted with civilians equipped with sticks. After this attack, the RUF forces went to the Gbonge hills from where they raided villages in Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom, burning houses, taking away property, killing and abducting civilians. Senjehun did not however sustain any further RUF attacks.

In November, SLA forces dislodged the RUF forces from Imperi Chiefdom and settled in the mining area, at Kpanguma and Mobimbi. 1222

Around October/November, Kamajors repelled the RUF from Yawbeko Chiefdom. To strengthen their positions, the Kamajors established more training bases in other chiefdoms than Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom, so that they could spread over wider areas of operation. Many young men and boys, some aged below 15, enlisted to be trained, calling themselves "Black December". One such base was at Talia (Yawbeko Chiefdom). Another base was at Gambia (Jong Chiefdom) where young men and boys initiated were called "Avondo".

On 13 November, Kamajors from Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom entered the village of Kpankpa (Bum Chiefdom) and killed 19 civilians on the allegation that they were accommodating the RUF forces in the village. The bodies were dragged into the river flowing by the village. The Kamajors who carried out this action were around 15 in number, only two of them had shotguns and all the others had cutlasses. After this incident, the Kamajors went back to their base at Karleh Wanjama (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom) before returning in the same month to attack RUF positions in Bum Chiefdom. The RUF forces' position at Mami was attacked and they were dislodged from the town. They regrouped at Madina, where they faced a serious confrontation with the Kamajors. The RUF forces were again dislodged from their Madina base but burnt down 25 houses and killed several civilians before leaving the town. Eighteen RUF members were killed during the encounter. The RUF left towards the north and went in the direction of Sumbuya (Lugbu Chiefdom, Bo District). 1223 As they were retreating, the RUF forces killed civilians they came across, abducted a large number of people and took with them all the young girls they found. In December, RUF forces launched hit and run attacks on the chiefdom from Bagbo Chiefdom (Bo District), north-east of Bum Chiefdom, but following their retreat from Madina they no longer settled in Bum Chiefdom, where more and more young men were initiated within the Kamajors society.

¹²²¹ This event resulted in the death of hundreds of civilians. In 1998, over 1,000 human skulls were discovered at Bauya Junction: AFP, 10 March 1998.

¹²²² No information on fighting with RUF forces was recorded. Those SLA forces would be joined by some ULIMO-K forces for a short while in January 1996.

¹²²³ Information gathered for Bo District reveals that in December 1995, RUF forces arrived in Bagbo Chiefdom from Bonthe District, repelled by Kamajors.

At a general meeting held in Mattru on 27 and 29 November 1995, civilians who had formerly served the RUF forces in various ways were identified and condemned to death. Some were later freed after investigations proved that they were innocent. At around this time, some of the Task Force members engaged in cannibalism, cooking and eating the bodies of RUF members they had captured and killed. In once incident, one child member of the RUF and known by the civilians for making "unruly" statements about the government forces was arrested by the civilians, who brought him to the Task Force members. Those shot him, removed the organs and left the body, asking civilians to dump it in the river.

As food was lacking, civilians living in Mattru were authorised by the SLA to go back to their villages in December with an SLA escort. The civilians were divided into groups depending on the area they were from and taken to their villages in order of the directions of the compass, with a group from the north going out one day, a group from the east when the first group returned and so on.

Towards the end of the year, the RUF were sill to be found in Bendu Cha Chiefdom. In an incident that took place around October or November, RUF forces came to Gordana, approaching it from the river side. Two civilians who had earlier been captured in the chiefdom were with these forces. They were mainly interested by food products and told civilians that the war was not over and that the rumours that they did not have any more ammunition were not true. Before leaving, they forced civilians to carry the property they had taken to the south of Jong Chiefdom.

<u>f)</u> Events in 1996

In January 1996, civilians continued to resettle in Jong Chiefdom and engaged in commercial transactions with SLA members from the navy branch and coming from Bonthe Town. This period is referred to by civilians as "being calm".

Since RUF forces had been repelled from the boundaries of the chiefdom in 1995, the inhabitants of Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom did not sustain any more RUF attacks. After the February elections, however, the Kamajors started subjecting civilians to physical violence, sometimes killing people, and stealing people's property. For example, the Kamajors erected a detention cage made of thorns at every checkpoint in the chiefdom, which they used to punish people who did not have proper papers or for other reasons. Civilians were targeted for a variety reasons and were often ill treated.

Many civilians, particularly adult males, sought initiation into the Kamajor society not because they wanted to go to the war front but to protect themselves and their families from mistreatment by the Kamajors. One specific example of this occurred at the beginning of 1997 in Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom. A civilian who was selling tobacco in the chiefdom came across Kamajors at Torma Gbangbahun, who took his tobacco. As he wanted to talk, they threatened to beat him. On his

¹²²⁵ No further details are available on this information.

¹²²⁴ The SLA forces were bringing condiments, tobacco, clothes and radios that the civilians in the chiefdom could buy or exchange for gari, cassava or palm oil.

return to Sohlon, some Kamajors he knew advised him to be initiated, because it would stop this kind of harassment. Accordingly, the man went to Talia (Yawbeko Chiefdom) for initiation.

The Kamajor presence expanded across the whole District, gaining control over areas previously under RUF control. They starting settling in the various chiefdoms and putting in place local structures. The collaboration with the SLA rapidly became problematic as tension, amounting sometimes to fighting, erupted between the two forces. Indeed, most of the activities reported for the year concern the Kamajors and the SLA, as the RUF forces were gradually being repelled from their positions across the whole District. While RUF forces were still present in some areas, they were more likely to be acting in small groups and looking for food rather than in large numbers and on the offensive. For example, RUF forces were coming from time to time to Bendu Cha Chiefdom, chasing civilians in their camps in the bush, especially in the coastal area of Tisagbe, where they burnt down houses and took away a lot of property.

In January 1996, Kamajors joined the SLA forces based at the mining site in Imperi Chiefdom. The ground commander for the Kamajors kept his men within the rules of the Kamajors and punished the few Kamajors who harassed civilians. On one occasion, for example, he ordered the arrest of one Kamajor who had seized a whole lorry of gari from a civilian. The Kamajor was put in a culvert pipe for sometime and had to pay a fine.

Kamajors also settled in Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom), which became an initiation centre where the High Priest and Chief Initiator performed initiations. A big camp was built behind the health centre, where the ceremonies were performed. Before being initiated, Kamajors had to bring money for initiation fees (Le 10,000) and other items like oil, old country clothes and razor blades. In Tihun, Kamajors and civilians together gathered the remains of civilians killed by the RUF forces and buried them in a grave dug in a graveyard. 1226

In January 1996, Kamajors based in the Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom held a meeting with the civilians at Baoma, where they appointed a chief or PRO they referred to as "AG" (Action Group). At the meeting, several laws were made regarding how the civilians were to behave, requiring them to observe the practices of the Kamajors, of whom there were 33 based in the town. The Kamajors took over all civil authorities in the town and surrounding villages, taking on the responsibility for judging all cases and settling disputes. Several restrictions were put on the civilians, who were forbidden to pound anything in a mortar¹²²⁷ and to hit a Kamajor with a broom. Contravention of these laws would lead to loss of life and the fine of demolition of the offender's dwelling house. The civilians were also tasked with feeding the Kamajors. In or around March, a woman violated one of the laws by pounding in a mortar and, as the Kamajors were chasing her in order to catch and kill her, she ran to the AG for rescue. The AG pleaded with the Kamajors, who demolished part of the woman's house as a fine. A civilian was also imprisoned on allegations that he was a rebel

¹²²⁷ This particular law did not fit in the pattern of civilians' life, where pounding was the basis of food preparation, be it pepper, cassava leaves or rice.

¹²²⁶ It is not clear when the RUF was dislodged from Tihun and whether the SLA carried out this operation alone or in conjunction with the Kamajors. On 20 November 1995, the Government claimed the SLA had retaken control over the town but this information could not be confirmed by independent sources: Xinhua News Agency, 20 November 1995.

collaborator. On 7 August 1996, some Kamajors from Gambia (Jong Chiefdom) sent by the High Priest Initiator, took a lot of food items from the civilians at Baoma, which was also an initiation centre for the Kamajor society in the chiefdom. In a separate incident, civilians were molested and beaten when one of the initiators fell from his motorbike after hitting a stick that was lying across the road. The people of Motefoe village, where this incident happened, were brought to Baoma, where they were punished. The commander ordered the people to pay for the parts that were damaged on the motorbike. The people who had been brought to Boama, together with the authorities of Baoma, paid the money.

SLA forces based in Bonthe Town and equipped with two gunboats (101 and 201) were working together with the Kamajors, entering the mainland to chase RUF forces. At this time, a lot of civilians labelled as RUF collaborators were brought from the mainland to Bonthe Town by both the SLA and the Kamajors, were killed and buried along the seaside, on the road opposite the military naval base. On one occasion, a man from Gbap (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom) accused of being a collaborator, as he cooked for the RUF, was brought to Bonthe town and killed. In a separate incident, a man from Bendu (Bendu Cha Chiefdom) was also brought to Bonthe Town, accused of being an RUF collaborator and was killed.

On 15 February, Executive Outcomes reached the District and deployed at the rutile mining site (Imperi Chiefdom). They held meetings with the civilians, SLA and Kamajors on strategies to protect the chiefdom. These three forces had different bases in the area and Executive Outcomes worked together with the Kamajors but not with the SLA, whose behaviour towards civilians was "not cordial". Indeed, the SLA engaged in taking away civilians' property and in chasing RUF collaborators. In one incident, the Town Chief of Mogwemo was killed without much questioning, accused of being an RUF collaborator.

Some SLA troops came to Jong Chiefdom from Bo road, as a support body for the Task Force in February 1996. The SLA forces occupied places captured by the Task Force from the RUF forces but, after staying in the chiefdom for a while, started to take civilian property, including zinc and palm oil, and began to beat up civilians who refused to work for them. In the meanwhile, Kamajors had deployed at Gambia, 228 east of the chiefdom, equipped with cutlasses, knives, shotguns, sticks and FM ropes. In the town, they appointed a chief (AG). Information gathered from Jong Chiefdom reveals the general laws the Kamajors had to abide by. For example, newly initiates could not have relations with women, could not lie on beds, could not bath and could not eat nut oil during the two weeks following their initiation. Kamajors were also not allowed to sit on mortar, to eat unscaled food or to stand at doorposts. It was believed that any Kamajors breaking those laws was no longer protected and would be killed by enemies during battles. To strengthen the force of the Kamajors in the chiefdom, more initiation began to take place at Gambia.

In a bid to control the chiefdoms where they were deployed, Kamajors established checkpoints and issued passes to civilians, thus regulating the movements of the population. In Bum Chiefdom,

¹²²⁸ It was allegedly a lack of ammunition that prevented Kamajors from attacking the RUF stronghold in Mattru in 1995.

¹²²⁹ This rope, one foot long with small sticks at its edge, was used to tie people at the ankle by their backs. "FM" means "frequency modulation", because when somebody was tied with such a rope, he would talk and reveal a lot.

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civilians coming to any village without such a pass were beaten, made to lie on the floor or forced to beat the back of their fingers on concreted floor, a practice referred to as "typing". They also appointed civilians as Town Chiefs (AG) and GS clerk, ¹²³⁰ to deal with administrative issues. At this time, the Kamajors' attitude towards civilians started to become hostile, as the villages were taxed in order to feed the Kamajors and, above all, summary executions of alleged RUF collaborators were carried out. On 27 January, Kamajors from Bum Chiefdom attacked Torma, killed some civilians, took away some property and vandalised the quarters and offices of the swamp rice project.

Sometime in 1996,¹²³¹ Kamajors from Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom attacked RUF forces who had retreated from Mattru and re-established in the Gbonge Hills (Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom). Sixty-eight civilians were rescued from the RUF, although 23 died in the crossfire. Seventeen RUF forces were killed and the Kamajors recovered the property the RUF had previously taken away.¹²³²

On 26 April, a serious fight broke between the Kamajors and the SLA forces based at Mabaka (Imperi Chiefdom), which resulted in some SLA members being killed. ¹²³³ Following this encounter, the SLA withdrew from Mabaka and went to their main headquarter at Mobimbi. Sometime in 1996, reports of actions carried out by "lawless" SLA forces reached the military headquarter in Freetown and those forces were removed from the mining site and brought by helicopter to Camp Charlie, an SLA base near Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili Chiefdom). Those forces who escaped this evacuation were believed to have gone to the Mokanji area (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District).

A few months after the 1996 general elections, ¹²³⁴ a conflict arose between the SLA and Kamajors in Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom. The SLA forces fell in a Kamajor ambush at the village of Kebawana, where one of the SLA members was killed. In revenge, the SLA forces killed seven Kamajors at Kebawana and displayed their bodies on the Mattru-Bo highway. Two days later, the Kamajors regrouped and attacked the SLA forces. However, the SLA forces defeated them, killing 40 Kamajors and burying them in a mass grave in Mattru. The two groups continued to live as enemies for another month until an SLA officer came and settled the conflict.

Local authorities were among the people harassed by the Kamajors. In March 1996, the Paramount Chief of Sittia Chiefdom went into hiding, opposed to the Kamajors deployment in his chiefdom and their behaviour towards civilians. This did not go down well with the Kamajors who chased them, severely beating one of his relatives to know about his hiding place. The Kamajors eventually found him, seriously beat him, went to another relative of the Paramount Chief who had hosted him and fined her Le 300,000, which she subsequently did not have to pay due to a reverend's intervention. However, the Paramount Chief was so severely beaten that he was transported for medical treatment to Freetown, where he allegedly died.

Sometime in May 1996, the Kamajors continued to harass civilians, particularly businesswomen and other civilians who often went in search of food in Sittia Chiefdom on Sherbro Island. Some of the civilians were punished by being forced to carry loads for the Kamajors or were beaten and

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¹²³⁰ Those GS clerks fulfilled the same kind of tasks as the clerks appointed by the RUF.

¹²³¹ This attack probably took place early 1996, before May.

¹²³² This attack may have been carried out by Kamajors deployed in different chiefdoms.

¹²³³ This was however not the only conflict between Kamajors and the SLA in Imperi Chiefdom.

¹²³⁴ The exact date of this event could not be ascertained.

sometimes killed. People deserted the towns and villages to go into hiding in camps. However, the Kamajors followed them to the camps and forcefully brought them back to the towns. In the same month, the Kamajors attacked the village of Mobayeh (Sittia Chiefdom), where civilians were hiding. They burnt down the whole village and killed three people, namely one old woman who had given notice to the inhabitants of the village of the Kamajors coming was tied up and left to burn in one of the houses; a pregnant woman, whose womb was slit open; and that woman's four year-old daughter.

In June 1996, the Kamajor ground commander of Sogbini Chiefdom ordered the killing of four people on the grounds that they were enemy collaborators, who were arrested at night, taken to Talia (Yawbeko Chiefdom) and killed.

In September 1996, Kamajors, who were mainly from Imperi Chiefdom in the north of Bonthe District, arrested 28 civilians and killed many of them in Sittia Chiefdom. There were cases reported of human flesh being cooked and eaten by the Kamajors. SLA forces were given notice about these civilians held captive by the Kamajors and went to attack them and free the captives. In retaliation, Kamajors laid an ambush for the SLA at Mbockie (Sittia Chiefdom). During the attack, some civilians who ran to the river and could not swim across it were drowned, while others were burnt in their houses by the fire sparked by fragments of RPGs. Two members of the SLA were also killed by the Kamajors. Over 50 Kamajors attacked the town and overpowered the 10 SLA soldiers who were based there. A large amount of stolen property was loaded into boats and carried away to Gbangbatoke (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District) by the Kamajors.

By the end of the year, the main Kamajor base was at Talia (Yawbeko Chiefdom). After the 25 May events, it would be called "Base Zero".

g) Events in 1997

By 1997, the Kamajors together with the SLA forces had succeeded in removing the RUF forces from most of their strongholds in the District. This notwithstanding, there were several clashes between the Kamajors and the SLA forces. The Kamajors also wrecked a lot of havoc on the civilians, as the SLA and RUF had done previously and continued to do.

SLA forces continued to mistreat civilians in the few areas in the District where they were deployed. A group of SLA forces from the navy branch posted at York Island used to take food and other non food items away from civilians. Civilians accused of committing crimes like killing or raping were punished by the SLA forces without many investigations into the truth of these accusations. The main punishment was to tie the suspect up, hang them upside down from the roof of a house and beat them. The most senior SLA member in command used to mete out this type of punishment. Cases of sexual violence against women by SLA members were also reported, including harassing civilians in order to take their wives. In one incident, some SLA members locked a woman in one room of her house and assaulted her sexually. As they heard her husband was coming home, they went outside the house and fired in the air to make people flee the area. Those SLA forces however

withdrew from York Island and went to Bonthe Town as reinforcements following the Coup in May 1997. 1235

In March 1997, a combined force of Kamajors and SLA from Bonthe Town launched a fierce attack on the RUF position at Bendu, the headquarter town in the west of Bendu Cha Chiefdom. The combined forces had about 20 to 25 wounded, who were taken to Bonthe Town for medical treatment. The RUF forces continued to occupy the town and sent several messages to the SLA forces and the Kamajors in Bonthe Town threatening to attack them and the town. Nevertheless, despite this collaboration, fighting between the two factions continued. In one incident, an SLA member who had come to an area under Kamajor control was killed at Foinda–Madina (Imperi Chiefdom).

In May 1997, the military overthrew the Government and put in place a military regime called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). This brought a total change in the attitude of the SLA forces based in Bonthe Town and its environs, who then joined the AFRC government. Civilians were continuously harassed, property was taken and a large number of people were killed on the allegation that they were Kamajors. The RUF forces, then referred to as "Peoples Army", joined the AFRC forces and the combined forces continued to attack and mistreat civilians in the Town. 1237 The Kamajors in Bonthe Town moved out of Bonthe Town, which is part of the Sherbro Urban District, to Sittia Chiefdom and to Bendu (Bendu Cha Chiefdom), where they regrouped to attack the AFRC forces now in Bonthe Town. Furthermore, Kamajors had been deployed since 1996 in all the villages along the river from Mattru down to York Island, three nautical miles to Bonthe Town. Accordingly, the RUF/AFRC forces were surrounded by Kamajors. 1238

Following threats of attack by the Kamajors on Bonthe Town, the AFRC forces mounted checkpoints at various locations in the town around July/August. Civilian movement was restricted and all boats and other vessels were grounded. Fishing nets and boats were seized from the civilians by the RUF/AFRC forces. Civilians were beaten, molested and deprived of their daily food. The AFRC commanders often sent their forces to attack villages occupied by Kamajors and to kill civilians. Sometimes civilians, suspected of being Kamajor collaborators, were arrested and brought to Bonthe Town, where they were imprisoned; those who could not be identified were shot and buried by the seaside opposite the naval base.

People were evicted from their homes to accommodate the RUF forces when they began to arrive in Bonthe Town in May 1997 and were harassed. At this time, the actions carried out by the RUF/AFRC members were masterminded by the AFRC forces, because the RUF forces, who mostly came from outside the District, did not know the area.

The Kamajors occupied SLA and RUF positions in Bendu Cha Chiefdom soon after the overthrow of the Government in May 1997. By July 1997, RUF/AFRC forces were shooting at civilian locations in the area. People in villages like Momaya were under serious attacks and during one

¹²³⁵ They would however come from time to time to patrol the island.

¹²³⁶ Casualty figures for the RUF forces could not be ascertained.

¹²³⁷ This would be the only time RUF managed to get a grip on Bonthe Town.

¹²³⁸ The Kamajors were however not deployed in York Island.

attack, a 15-year old girl was killed. People abandoned their villages in the area for camps in the bush. Those attacks carried out by RUF/AFRC forces also prompted many young people in the chiefdom to join the Kamajor society, in Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom and at Talia (Yawbeko Chiefdom). Reports however mention that as their number grew larger, they became out of control and created more havoc on civilians. ¹²³⁹ In November 1997, two young boys from Bonthe Town coming to Bendu to bring their relatives to Bonthe Town were arrested at the wharf by the Kamajors posted at Bendu checkpoint. When they admitted they were coming from Bonthe Town, they were accused of being "junta" collaborators and were killed with cutlasses.

Kamajor harassment and violence against civilians was reported in almost all the chiefdoms where they were deployed. In Bum Chiefdom, they targeted businessmen, especially if they were Fullah or Temne by tribe, and killed them. ¹²⁴⁰ In one instance, one man from Moyia who was coming back from Bo District with food items was intercepted by Kamajors at Moyia who took away his food, locked him up in a guard room and subjected him to punishment, as a result of which he died. Punishments included starvation or tying the elbows behind the back and projecting the chest forward. The harassment of civilians increased when an embargo was imposed on Sierra Leone. At the checkpoints they mounted, Kamajors from Bum Chiefdom used to take whatever property the civilians had. If they resisted, civilians were beaten and put in a 2" x 2" cage made of thorns. In Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom, Kamajors were forcing civilians to work for them and were also taking away their property. They would load vehicles with the property they had stolen and take it to Talia (Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom). On another occasion, a group of Kamajors in Mattru amputated the ears of one civilian. He was also severely wounded on the arm and later died of the wound. Another Kamajor killed two civilians at the Keiga checkpoint (Imperi Chiefdom).

The situation for the civilians in Bonthe Town worsened when RUF/AFRC forces imposed an economic embargo on the civilians in Bonthe Township. No one was allowed to leave Bonthe Town for Freetown and those who attempted were beaten and molested. Civilians therefore found themselves caught between the Kamajors and the RUF/AFRC forces, with the RUF/AFRC forces threatening them for being relations of Kamajors and the Kamajors threatening them for being "rebel" collaborators. This situation became unbearable by August 1997, so the elders of Bonthe organised a peace deal between the Kamajors and the RUF/AFRC forces. The peace was initiated after the peacemakers met with the Kamajors High Priest and Chief Initiator who was based at Talia (Yawbeko Chiefdom). Their trip to Talia was, however, accompanied by many obstacles, most of them being the Kamajors checkpoints all along the road to Mattru. Those civilian peacemakers were severely molested at a checkpoint at Momaya (Bendu Cha Chiefdom), where Kamajors opened fired into the air. They were also molested by Kamajors on their arrival at Talia. Nevertheless, they met the High Priest and Chief Initiator, who gave them a message for the RUF/AFRC based at Bonthe Town. In that message, the Chief Initiator asked those forces to stop killing civilians and Kamajors and, in return, he promised he would try to stop his men from launching attacks on Bonthe Town.

¹²³⁹ Around this period, it was suggested that there was "[...] a clear difference between newly-recruited Kamajors, who have access to automatic weapons and apparently operate outside the authority of chiefdom representatives, and the traditional Kamajors who are carefully screened and respect traditional chiefdom structures": Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 29 October – 18 November 1997. REG. NO. 97/0390.

¹²⁴⁰ It has to be remembered that the Kamajors were Mendes.

¹²⁴¹ This checkpoint was called "the gate of hell".

The peacemakers went back to Bonthe, escorted by some Kamajors responsible for the security of the High Priest, and the RUF/AFRC agreed to the peace plan.

However, the AFRC forces soon undermined the peace deal several times by attacking the positions of the Kamajors. For example, a few days after the return of the peacemakers from the negotiations, the RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Kamajor position at Gbangbatoke (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District). They were defeated and two members of the RUF/AFRC forces were killed. In September 1997, the RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Kamajors at Pembihun, north of Bonthe Town. The RUF/AFRC forces were again defeated and the Kamajors killed a lot of their number, including a very top RUF member. Soon after, the RUF/AFRC made another attack on Kamajor location in Bamaba, west of Bonthe Town, and were again defeated by the Kamajors. The RUF/AFRC forces continued to harass the civilians and killed people they suspected of being Kamajor collaborators in Bonthe Town. Dema Chiefdom, east of Sittia Chiefdom, was also affected by these attacks, as in December 1997, AFRC members went to Moyema by sea, over powered the few Kamajors posted there, looted some houses and a store and burnt down some houses before leaving. The AFRC members left for Bonthe Town but one of them proceeded to the village of Mokutu (Dema Chiefdom) and killed a youth, who allegedly tried to be "defiant". This AFRC member was later arrested on his way to Tissana and killed by Kamajors.

In the middle of 1997, newly initiated Kamajors settled at Mokossie (Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom), where they convened a meeting with the civilians to explain the new laws civilians would have to obey. These laws included no whistling in the town, no sitting on motorbikes by women, no trousers for women and no use of mortars at night. The penalty for the breach of one of these laws was the destruction of the civilian's house. The Kamajors decided on cases and tied people with a FM rope for various reasons.

Around 10 and 11 September 1997, the AFRC commanders ordered that all the important personalities in Bonthe Town be arrested, in particular those who initiated the peace talks, alleging they did not negotiate in the interests of the AFRC. The arrested people were, however, released in the evening. On 15 September, the Kamajors launched an attack on Bonthe Town, which was unsuccessful, as the RUF/AFRC forces had a large amount of weapons in the town. Several Kamajors and a lot of civilians were killed during the battle, which lasted for four hours. The dead Kamajors were buried in a mass grave dug by the RUF/AFRC forces. After the battle, the RUF/AFRC forces conducted a house-to-house search in Bonthe Town, looking for Kamajors. Civilians were advised not to host any Kamajor and to report any case of a civilian harbouring a Kamajor. Information of imminent Kamajor attacks on the town continued to arrive in Bonthe Town, through the businessmen travelling back and forth to Sittia Chiefdom. This led many RUF/AFRC forces to leave the town on gunboats for Freetown, taking with them a lot of property they had previously stolen. Few civilians were authorised to board the RUF/AFRC gunships on that occasions but on subsequent trips and during a transfer to the boat, the sea car they boarded capsized and many civilians drowned in the ocean.

¹²⁴² During the period of 1997 to 1999, Dema Chiefdom administration was entirely in the hands of the Kamajors, who presided over cases and served as chiefdom police sub chiefs and as Paramount Chief.

The RUF/AFRC forces who stayed in the town continued to take property and kill civilians in and around Bonthe Town. On 14 October, they arrested the SLPP secretary for Bonthe District, accusing him of being among the Kamajors who launched the attack on the town on 14 September. He was detained for three days, during which time physical violence was inflicted on him; the RUF/AFRC forces also burnt down his house. On 18 October, he was brought to the United Methodist Church, where he was mutilated and had his head cut off. The RUF/AFRC forces then dismembered the body, put his head on a stick and paraded across the town, asking civilians to give them money for the good work they did. Four days later, the civilians asked the RUF/AFRC members for authorisation to bury what was left of his body.

h) Events in 1998

In January, Kamajors went to York Island and stole a lot of property from civilians' houses, without killing anybody. They took their load and went back to Bendu Cha Chiefdom.

On 14 February 1998 the AFRC forces departed from Bonthe Town for Freetown. 1246 The Kamajors replaced them the next day, on 15 February. Two groups of Kamajors heavily armed with AK47s, RPGs and LMGs under different commanders, one numbering about 30 members and the other of unknown size, entered Bonthe Town on that day. A meeting was held with the civilians in the township, where some people were killed, mostly on the grounds that they were identified as "rebel" or "junta" collaborators. One of the civilians killed was a tailor who had made the "Kamajors uniforms" the RUF/AFRC forces sometimes used to attack the Kamajors by surprise. In another instance, Kamajors arrested a man who used to live in York Island but was now hiding in Bonthe Town. He was put in prison where two civilians and two policemen were already detained. He was severely beaten by a young Kamajor around 13 years old, following the order of a commander; a few minutes later, five Kamajors entered the cell and told them they would be killed because they were collaborators. They were then taken to the Kamajors High Command, where they were tied up and beaten. It was only due to the intervention of a parish priest that their lives were spared. Instead, they were allowed to pay a fine, which – because the original punishment had been death - was set at Le 200,000, although the first civilian was allowed to leave on payment of Le 54,000.

More Kamajors from the mainland chiefdoms arrived in Bonthe Town, where they looted houses and public offices before going back to the chiefdom from which they had come. Businessmen and traders were continuously harassed by Kamajors who took all their property from them; sometimes, people were killed. Checkpoints were established at various locations at the entry points of the town through which civilians coming from the mainland or from Sherbro Island had to pass. In one instance, Kamajors went to Mania, a trading place for civilians. On their way, they met some

¹²⁴³ It was reported that his organs were cooked and eaten at the naval base.

¹²⁴⁴ It is reported that the officers in charge of the town did not take any action, which led civilians to think that they actually masterminded every action carried out by the junior staff.

¹²⁴⁵ Those responsible for this action would be court marshalled in September 1998 and the mother of the man killed testified she was forced to eat her son's heart by the men who had killed him: AFP, 16 September 1998. ¹²⁴⁶ In late March, over 500 decomposed bodies were discovered in two shallow graves on Sherbro Island. It was believed that these bodies were hurriedly buried by the RUF/AFRC forces before they pulled out of Bonthe Town. It is not clear whether those people had been killed by the RUF/AFRC forces just before they retreated or throughout their stay in the town: AFP, 1 April 1998.

civilians going to the nearby village of Ndainga to trade. Those civilians were flogged and one was wounded with a dagger on his back. The Kamajors took most of the items the civilians were about to trade and left for Jimi. On their way, they saw a canoe going towards Ndainga. They took away all the traders' property and took control of the speedboat with the traders still inside, leaving their canoe out at sea. The civilians were disembarked on a piece of land and the Kamajors continued on their way to Jimi, where they set one house on fire.

The Kamajors continued to harass civilians, killing people alleged to be "junta" or "rebel" collaborators and stealing property. They were totally dependant on civilians for their food and starting taxing civilians, as a contribution to their feeding and to the purchase of ammunition. This made life for the civilians very difficult in the township and surrounding villages. The Kamajors burnt down villages like Gbogboma, Puokie and many others in the Sittia Chiefdom and killed people who occupied positions of respect in the community.

Throughout the remainder of the year and those following, Kamajors victimised civilians in towns and villages across the District. They deposed or ignored all the chiefdom authorities and themselves acted in those positions, including as chiefs and policemen. They added to the suffering of the civilians with their prohibition laws to protect their powers and their mistreatment of civilians, applicable only to the Kamajors. Civilians were required to obey a set of different laws, which included no stealing, no fighting and no travelling from one village to another without a pass, each with different penalties depending on their gravity. Furthermore, the Kamajors asserted that their authority was supreme and that the Town Commander called AG had the right to intercede between civilians and Kamajors.

While the Kamajor initiation was going on at Gambia (Jong Chiefdom) in 1998, one Kamajor commander raped a suckling mother at the market place in Goba town. He also threatened to kill the husband of the woman. On 27 March 1998, a one-year old boy was deliberately killed at Mowagor village near Mattru by a Kamajor commander.

i) 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002¹²⁴⁷

The Kamajors were not respectful to each other let alone to the civilians in the District, including instances of riots and fighting between different groups of Kamajors in the District. The High Priest would send his own men out on looting missions, but they would often encounter troubles with other groups of Kamajors in other chiefdoms. The Kamajor structure appeared blurred or non-existent to the civilians at this time: acts of violence against civilians and their property throughout the country led people to think that there was no more structural organisation, aside from the District Coordinator and High Priest.

In January 1999, a group of Kamajors from Sittia Chiefdom entered the island town of Timbima (Dema Chiefdom) and required the civilians to pay the sum of Le 1,000.00 and a quantity of fish for their feeding. Defaulters were tied up and made to lie down and look at the sun. Another group of

¹²⁴⁷ It is mentioned that Executive Outcome were based in the Moyamba District, and intermittently went into Bonthe District to give moral support to the Kamajors. However, Executive Outcomes left the country early 1997, therefore this information may refer to other forces.

Kamajors from Dema Chiefdom went to attack this first group, 1248 but could not find them in the town. This second group therefore required the civilians to pay for the cost of fuel used to visit the village. From September 1999 to the end of 2000, the administration of all of Dema Chiefdom was in the hands of the Kamajors, with the chiefdom ground commander assuming the responsibility and position of the Paramount Chief. They also made themselves into sub chiefs down to headmen and made additional laws, including prohibiting civilians from eating certain food, like bananas. Civilians were forced to obey their instructions and defaulters were always given severe beatings. Housewives were punished together with their husbands. The Kamajors continued these practices throughout the years of 1999, 2000, 2001 and the early part of 2002, when disarmament begun in the District, although on a lower scale.

Following the Freetown invasion by the RUF/AFRC in January 1999 and their subsequent defeat by ECOMOG and others, RUF/AFRC forces retreated hastily into the country and some arrived in Bonthe Town. While in the town, they raided villages in Sittia and Dema Chiefdoms, took property and burnt houses. Four months later, Kamajors from Dema Chiefdom agreed to regroup with those of Sittia Chiefdom to attack Bonthe Town. Civilians were requested to provide them with the items they needed, like food and cartridges. During a meeting with elders at the chiefdom headquarter of Tissana (Dema Chiefdom), the Kamajors were told that civilians could not gather the money to buy the ammunition, which did not please them. They molested the Paramount Chief and some began going around to collect money from civilians while others were chasing cattle. From Tissana, they moved to an island called Nyagai, where they found a man they accused of having been an attendant for the RUF/AFRC in Bonthe Town during previous years. The Kamajors amputated the man bit by bit, starting with his ears, before removing his eyes and internal organs and finally dumping him in the river. The people for whom the man was working for were obliged to pay a fine for having harboured and kept a collaborator. The Kamajors then launched their attack on Bonthe Town but were unsuccessful and about one month later, those Kamajors, now over 500 in number, launched a second attack on the town. In the meanwhile, the RUF/AFRC forces had started pulling out of the town, having learnt of this attack. 1250

On 24 May 1999, the deputy task force commander of Bonthe District led a troop of Kamajors and attacked Mattru Police station at midday. Two police officers were killed. On 8 July 1999, the same commander led a group of Kamajors at night to launch a strong attack on Kortumahun village (Yawbeko Chiefdom). A pregnant woman was shot in the leg during the attack and later taken to Bo Government Hospital.

In Sogbini Chiefdom, the Kamajors had no regard for the Paramount Chief. They defied his authority and claimed that they were only accountable to the CDF National Coordinator. Civilians were physically and sexually harassed. Children below the age of fifteen were abducted and some were forcefully conscripted and initiated into the Kamajor society. More and more youths joined the society to protect their relations and families from the continuous harassment and havoc

¹²⁴⁸ This second group of Kamajors were from Dema Chiefdom and were ordered by their commander to drive the Kamajors from Sittia Chiefdom back to their chiefdom.

¹²⁴⁹ Some Kamajors and few RUF/AFRC members were killed but civilian fatalities could not be ascertained.

¹²⁵⁰ It could not be ascertained whether there had been any fighting at all between the RUF/AFRC forces and the Kamajors.

wreaked by the Kamajors. In the town of Semabu (Sogbini Chiefdom) a notorious Kamajor killed civilians, took property and burnt down civilian houses. Fear of the Kamajor atrocities forced civilians to go back into the bush camps for safety, abandoning their property behind them. The Kamajors took all of that property that had been abandoned, sometimes visiting the bush camps to steal property and harass civilians.

Following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999, the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration program (DDR) was formally launched on 20 October 1999 by the President of Sierra Leone during a ceremony in Freetown. Very few combatants out of the estimated 45,000 combatants, however, laid down their arms at this time. 1251

The DDR process was halted in 2000, due to the insecurity in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the abductions of UN peacekeepers in May 2000. To reactivate this process, a ceasefire was signed in Abuja, Nigeria on 10 November 2000, which again had to be re-activated for the second time on 4 May 2001. 1252

Following a meeting between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF held at the UNAMSIL headquarters in Freetown, the parties agreed on the need to accelerate and complete the disarmament process, which included the opening of a DDR centre in Bonthe District. 1253 The second meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR took place in Magburaka (Tonkolili District) on 2 June 2001 and the parties agreed on an accelerated disarmament process meant to take place simultaneously in Kono and Bonthe Districts in June 2001, 1254 although the disarmament camp was not vet set up. 1255

Disarmament finally began on 2 July 2001¹²⁵⁶ although at a slow pace, as only nine CDF members turned in their weapons on the first day of the opening of the DDR centres. In fact, CDF members from the mainland expressed their wish to disarm in Mattru (Jong Chiefdom) and not in Moyamba District, as was planned. 1257 Therefore, following a meeting attended by the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, UNAMSIL's Force Commander and Deputy Force Commander, the CDF coordinator and other officials and a member of the NCDDR, the parties

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¹²⁵¹ In November 1999, only 1,500 combatants had disarmed out of the total 45,000 estimated combatants: IRIN West Africa, 17 November 1999.

¹²⁵² The security situation in the Northern and Eastern Provinces prevailing in 2000 urged the Government of Sierra Leone to negotiate a ceasefire with the RUF in November 2000. On 4 May 2001, the parties would meet again in Abuja, Nigeria to review the ceasefire. Further to the meeting in May 2001, they parties would hold monthly tripartite meetings under the Joint Committee on DDR. The final meeting took place in January 2002 when disarmament was declared complete and the war over.

¹²⁵³ In addition to the existing DDR camps in Port Loko, Bo, Moyamba, Kenema and Daru, the parties also agreed on the urgent need to open new DDR camps in the country, in the Northern Province (Lunsar, Makeni, Kamakwie, Masingbi and Alikalia), the Eastern Province (Koidu and Kailahun) and the Southern Province (Pujehun and Bonthe): UNAMSIL press release, 15 May 2001.

¹²⁵⁴ UNAMSIL press briefing, 5 June 2001.

¹²⁵⁵ UNAMSIL press briefing, 8 June 2001. The acceleration of the disarmament was meant to take place District by District.

¹²⁵⁶ UNAMSIL press briefing, 3 July 2001.

¹²⁵⁷ Kamajors wanted a fast-track disarmament to be able to return rapidly to their farming activities.

agreed to establish another DDR camp in Mattru. This camp was opened around 13 July and from this time, the disarmament process began to accelerate in the District: as of 27 July, 813 CDF members had disarmed in the two DDR camps in Bonthe District. On this date, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General visited the two centres to assess the disarmament progress and to stress the importance of having this process complete by the end of July. 1259

During a meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR, the parties formerly declared disarmament in Bonthe District complete in September. UN peacekeepers of the Nepalese contingent deployed in the District in late 2001. 1261

3. Conclusion

Sharing a border with Pujehun District, Bonthe District was affected by the RUF/NPFL incursion into Sierra Leone as early as 1991. The effect of the conflict, however, differed slightly from the experience in Pujehun District. Until 1995 in Bonthe District, the conflict had only spread into the three chiefdoms of Kwamebai Krim, Bum and Nongoba Bullom, while in 1991, although only for a few months, RUF/NPFL forces had spread across the whole Pujehun District. After a first short stay in Kwamebai Krim Chiefdom in 1991, RUF/NPFL forces would visit the District sporadically, often in small numbers, but would not establish a real presence there, except in Bum Chiefdom for six months in late 1991/1992.

The natural features of the District, particularly the swamp areas and rivers in the south, could explain the containment of the conflict to the three aforementioned chiefdoms during its early stage. This is reinforced by the fact that the major incursion penetrating the District in 1995 was carried out from the north of the District, where the road network is the more developed.

By 1995, the conflict had taken a new turn, as RUF forces spread across the whole country. The attacks on the east and south of Moyamba District and the north of Bonthe District in January 1995 was in fact preceded by a massive RUF operation in Bo District, where RUF forces launched attacks on camps and headquarter towns in the centre of the District all within a couple of days towards the end of December 1994. RUF forces then proceeded directly to Moyamba District and then to Bonthe District.

RUF forces attacked and thus paralysed the economically vital mining area, which spreads across the north of Bonthe District and the south of Moyamba District. This new development was dramatic for the Government of Sierra Leone, as the income from mining activities and the selling of cash crops produce had already dropped considerably following the previous occupation of Kono and Kailahun Districts. RUF forces spread across the mainland District, failing however to reach Sherbro Island.

Their progression and the violations they committed were hampered by the intervention of a special military unit in late 1995 and the continuous development and successes of the Kamajors. By the

¹²⁵⁸ UNAMSIL press briefing, 6 July 2001.

¹²⁵⁹ UNAMSIL press briefing, 27 July 2001.

¹²⁶⁰ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 01 - 30 September 2001. Disarmament would only be declared complete for the whole country in January 2002.

¹²⁶¹ UNAMSIL press briefing, 16 November 2001.

end of 1996, the RUF forces were dislodged from their positions across the District and the subsequent actions they carried out was the fruit of small pockets of RUF remnants.

Unlike Pujehun, Bo, Kenema and Kailahun Districts, after the overthrow of the Government and the establishment of the AFRC regime, the Kamajors did not withdraw from their positions and go underground, as the RUF/AFRC forces were concentrated in Bonthe Town and not in the rest of the District. Furthermore, most of the RUF forces who joined the AFRC members in the Bonthe Town did not originate from the District but came from Kailahun District.

From February 1998 and following the withdrawal of the RUF/AFRC forces from Bonthe Town, the pattern of actions in Bonthe District was similar to how the conflict affected the other Southern Districts of Pujehun, Moyamba and Bo. Free of RUF/AFRC presence, Kamajors actions, originally aiming at defend their chiefdoms against RUF attacks and violence, became oppressive for the civilians, as Kamajors affirmed their control not only of the security of District but also of the local administration, substituting themselves for the local authorities, and of the civilians living in Bonthe District.

After 1998, the conflict concentrated in the Northern Province and areas of the Eastern Province, where the CDF members were not able to put up a firm and continuous resistance to the RUF/AFRC advances and where the main mining areas were located.

Violations committed by Kamajors during this period were fewer reported than the violence carried out by the RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC forces. This is probably mainly due to the fact that key people mostly reported violence when carried out during an attack; from 1998 onwards, the Kamajors were in total control of the District, so the day-to-day violations were most of the time not reported, blurred in the memories of the key persons.

As RUF forces did not settle in the District for a long period and the intensity of fighting was generally lower than in the rest of the country, Bonthe District was one of the least affected Districts in term of destruction of property, displacement of people¹²⁶² and violence against civilians.

c. Moyamba District

1. Introduction

Moyamba District is one of the four Districts in the Southern Province of the Republic of Sierra Leone. It is bounded by Bo District in the east; Tonkolili and Port Loko Districts in the north; Bonthe District in the South; and the Western Area in the west. The headquarter town, Moyamba Town, is located in Kaiyamba Chiefdom, in the centre of the District.

There are 14 chiefdoms in the District:

<u>Chiefdom</u> <u>Headquarter</u> Bagruwa Sembehun

¹²⁶² Although there was no massive displacement of population between towns inside the District and outside the District, civilians often took the bush, leaving in bush camps called "sorkoihun".

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Banta Gbangbantoke

Banta Mokele Mokele Bumpeh Rotifunk Dasse Mano Gandohun Fakunya Kagboro Shenge Kaivamba Movamba Kori Tajama Kamajei Senehun Kongbora Bauya Kowa Njama Ribbi Bradford Timdel Bomotoke

Having borders with both the Southern and the Northern Province, Moyamba District would be affected by the development of the conflict in those two Provinces, both of which were used to launch attacks on its borders, primarily from the south.

Two strategic roads pass through the District. The main highway leaving Freetown for the Provinces separates into two roads at Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). The first road goes from the west to the north towards Magburaka (Tonkolili District) and Koidu (Kono District), while the second one reaches Bo and Kenema through Moyamba District. This second road reaches Moyamba District in the east, and runs in the District from the extreme north-east of Fakunya Chiefdom and its headquarter town, Moyamba Junction, Taiama (Kori Chiefdom), and Senehun (Kamajei Chiefdom) before arriving in Bo District in Gbo Chiefdom. From Moyamba Junction (at the border with Tonkolili District), a road leaves to the south-west to reach Moyamba Town. Accordingly, controlling Moyamba Junction would allow access to the north-west to Tonkolili District, to the south-west to Moyamba Town and to the south-east to Bo Town. When circumstances make using this highway impracticable, an alternate route to reach Bo from Freetown runs through Moyamba Town. It leaves the Western Area through Songo and goes south-east to Moyamba District, passing by the headquarter towns of five chiefdoms, before ultimately reaching Bo District through Bumpeh Chiefdom. The control of this road would be of a critical importance, as it makes Freetown reachable from Moyamba District.

Its main economic activities, besides salt production on the coast, are rutile and bauxite mining. The mining area is located in the south of the District, in Banta Chiefdom, and in the north of Bonthe District (Imperi Chiefdom). The headquarters of the bauxite company are in Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom), while the headquarters of the rutile company is in Imperi Chiefdom (Bonthe District). Those mining activities were of vital importance for the Sierra Leone Government, as mineral resources made up the bulk of its exports before the war.

Njala University College (south of Kori Chiefdom), by the Taia River that flows south-north in the east of the District, is part of the University of Sierra Leone and is the only University Campus in the Provinces.

The way the conflict affected the District can be divided into three distinct stages. The first stage was from 1991 to 1994, the period before the RUF forces entered the District. During this time, SLA forces were deployed in the District but harassed civilians, including taking away their property. Cases of rapes and killing were reported and the chasing of collaborators increased by the end of 1994 as rumours of imminent RUF attacks grew stronger.

The second stage ran from 1994 to 1998 and saw the progression and settlement of RUF forces in the District and the development of the Kamajor society. In early 1995, RUF forces made an incursion in the District and, shortly after, began to make their way towards Freetown. As this advance was stopped by SLA forces, the RUF forces settled in the District, progressively reaching all the chiefdoms and establishing a strong base in the north. The chiefdoms in the south of the District were less affected and most of the actions were concentrated in the north of the District. Civilians began organising themselves into Civil Defence Units (CDUs) and by early 1996, the first Kamajors deployed in the District and engaged RUF forces. They however also fought SLA forces who were asked by the civilians to leave in 1996. The following year was described as the peak of Kamajor activities in the District. RUF forces were still active in the north of the District but had been repelled from the south and centre.

During the AFRC regime, RUF/AFRC forces were only deployed in limited areas of the District and were strongly resisted by the CDF. This second phase was characterised by violence inflicted on civilians mainly by RUF forces but also by SLA forces and Kamajors. RUF forces, once stopped on their progression to Freetown, mainly carried out hit and run attacks, entering villages, taking away property and burning houses but also killing civilians, raping girls and capturing civilians to carry their loads, usually to their main base. They also killed number of civilians on the grounds they were Kamajor collaborators. During this period, the behaviour of the Kamajors towards civilians began changing, as they intensified their fight against the RUF and, later, RUF/AFRC forces and started gaining control over different areas. Civilians were initially requested to provide them with food and other basic items but soon, Kamajors began harassing civilians and taking their property. Kamajors did not recognise the authority and power of local authorities and other Government personnel, as they only had respect for those who had been initiated and they soon extended administrative authority over civilians in the areas they occupied. Their control of an area included physical violence against civilians in general, including sexual violence against women. Alleged RUF or AFRC collaborators were killed without first undertaking an investigation. The Kamajors made certain laws for the civilians and those who broke those laws were subject to various punishments, including imprisonment in a small cage made of sticks and thorns.

The third and final stage ran from 1998 to 2001 when disarmament was complete in the District. Following the retreat from Freetown, RUF/AFRC forces pulled out of the entire District, which was therefore in total control of the District. Only few and limited attacks were carried out in the north of the District by RUF/AFRC forces based in Tonkolili District. This period was however marred with a lot of atrocities, and most of the CDF actions described in 1997 also happened in 1998. Alleged RUF or RUF/AFRC collaborators were killed and traders and businessmen were particularly targeted for their belongings. Fighting between two factions of the CDF erupted in the District in 1998 and 1999.

However, by the end of 1998 CDF activities against civilians started to decrease and, gradually, civilians became free from attacks and harassment. People returned to their various towns and villages and started resettling. This continued until the disarmament of the CDF in the entire District by 2001.

2. Factual analysis

<u>a)</u> Events in 1991 – 1994

Sierra Leone Army (SLA) forces were deployed across the country in the District's headquarter towns and other sensitive areas soon after the coup d'état in 1992, with the aim of securing the country from the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces, which had entered Sierra Leone from Liberia in 1991. Around this time, new SLA units emerged, such as Tiger Battalion, Scorpion Battalion and SLA Rangers. In Moyamba District in 1992, ¹²⁶³ some SLA members deployed in Fakunya Chiefdom in the central north of the District, which shares a boundary with Tonkolili District. They deployed in two sensitive areas of the chiefdom, namely Moyamba Junction, 102 miles from Freetown on the Freetown-Bo highway, 22 miles to Moyamba and Njagbahun Junction, on the Moyamba Junction-Moyamba road, 8 miles from Moyamba Junction and 14 miles from Moyamba town. ¹²⁶⁴

At this time, the District was free of an RUF/NPFL presence, as those forces were confined to the south-east and north-east of the country. However, the war had already begun to affect civilians, who were harassed by SLA forces, mainly for their food and domestic animals. Food was often stolen at the checkpoints mounted by the SLA, but also when SLA forces would leave their checkpoints and visit towns and villages in the chiefdoms for the purposes of finding food. In addition, cases of physical violence, killings and rapes were reported. At the checkpoints, SLA forces took some women and girls away and sexually assaulted them. The forces also took aside civilians suspected of being "rebels", inflicting physical violence on them and sometimes killing them when they could not be identified by relatives or other civilians. ¹²⁶⁵

By the end of January 1994, the then Head of State declared "total war" against the RUF forces and launched a massive recruitment process, more than doubling the ranks of the SLA. ¹²⁶⁶ In addition, in April 1994, an SLA captain visited Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom), ¹²⁶⁷ in the north-east of the District, where he held a meeting with the people of the town. During that meeting, he instructed the people of the town to give their young men to be trained as vigilantes to help the SLA fight the RUF forces and to further protect their chiefdoms in the Districts. The trained youths formed a Civil Defence Unit (CDU). ¹²⁶⁸ The people of the town were instructed to provide the CDU with

¹²⁶³ The date is not clear from the record, but this was probably sometime in 1992.

¹²⁶⁴ Whoever controlled these junctions would have open access to Moyamba Town (Kaiyamba Chiefdom), southeast of Fakunya Chiefdom.

¹²⁶⁵ No more detail was available on this information, nor the precise year of its occurrence.

¹²⁶⁶ In late 1993, RUF forces launched a massive operation in the south of Kenema District and rapidly spread across the District. By the end of 1994, they were all over Kenema, Pujehun and Bo Districts and continued their inland progression.

¹²⁶⁷ There is also a Bumpeh Chiefdom in Bo District.

¹²⁶⁸ A CDU was the most developed form of organisation the civilians put in place for the defence of their chiefdoms. This was the step prior to the initiation and development of the Kamajors.

food and logistics but as elders were reluctant to tax an already poor population, the Chiefs decided to tax themselves to support the youths. The CDU kept guard at certain locations in Rotifunk and the surrounding villages. Other units were formed in other chiefdoms in the District. Additional security was provided for the workers at the mining company¹²⁶⁹ in Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom) by SSD (State Security Division) forces, who arrived on 4 July 1994.¹²⁷⁰

However, towards the end of 1994, the actions of the SLA against civilians continued to increase. For example, SLA forces who introduced themselves as SLA members went by military truck to the town of Rotawa (north of Fakunya Chiefdom) on 14 October 1994. Those men were dressed in full military uniforms. They took civilian property, mainly food items and livestock, and proceeded to Falaba and Gbotima, in the north of Fakunya Chiefdom, where they carried out the same action. Another group of SLA forces, allegedly coming from Mofokoya (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), five miles to the north of Rotawa, entered Rotawa on 16 December 1994. They entered the compound of an elder, once a Regent Chief, and took her 16-year daughter whom they began to beat up. When the girl's father and one of his guests pleaded for her release, the SLA killed them; the father was beaten with stick and the guest was shot and killed. On their way back to Tonkolili District, they came across a woman whom they raped before giving her Le 1,000. They further told her they were SLA forces from Camp Charlie at Mile 91. Also, the town of Kwellu (Fakunya Chiefdom) was raided on 11 December by the SLA forces, who took a lot of property from civilians living there.

On 14 November 1994 the SLA forces came to Mano (Dasse Chiefdom), situated on a highway leading Fakunya Chiefdom to Dasse Chiefdom, through Kori Chiefdom southwards into Bo District. They were fully dressed in military uniforms and armed with RPG and automatic riffles. The SLA forces established a base in the town and erected checkpoints in the town at roads leading out towards Taiama to the north, Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom) to the south and Bumpeh Chiefdom (Bo District) to the south. Soon afterwards the SLA forces started harassing civilians in the town, taking money from people at the checkpoints, and even went to other towns and villages in the chiefdom. Civilians were beaten and their property was taken. Following the attack on Bo Town in late December 1994, the SLA imposed a curfew from 6.00pm to 7.30am and started suspecting civilians of being "rebels" or "rebel" collaborators; several people were beaten, imprisoned in the guardroom and even killed. 1273

By the end of 1994, news about possible attacks by the RUF forces began to be heard in the District. There were rumours that the RUF forces were fast advancing to attack the mining town of Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom) and make a base there. Around 28 December 1994, SLA forces coming from Freetown were airlifted to Mokanji as reinforcements for the SSD.

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¹²⁶⁹ Sierra Leone Ore and Metal Co. (Sieromco), a Swiss-owned mining company based in the southern area of Mokanji was the only bauxite producer in the country and was mining deposits within 4 km of the washing plant at Gondama, in the centre of the Chiefdom: The Mining Journal, 29 May 1994.

¹²⁷⁰ The year is uncertain, as the SSD may have deployed in July 1993.

¹²⁷¹ Reports for Tonkolili, however, do not make mention of SLA troops based at Mile 91 around this time.

¹²⁷² Around this time, RUF forces had spread across Bo District and were approaching Bumpeh Chiefdom, which adjoins Dasse Chiefdom to its west.

¹²⁷³ Massive attacks were carried out during the Christmas week in Bo District. RUF forces first attacked an IDP camp before attacking Bo Town and major cities in its environs.

Civilians were very much disturbed by the presence of the SLA forces in the District as those forces were treating them roughly and although RUF forces had not yet reached the District, civilians began to mistrust the SLA.

b) Events in 1995

On 11 January 1995, SLA forces entered Njama (Kowa Chiefdom, in the east of Moyamba District) and their commander introduced them to the Paramount Chief as troops sent from the SLA Brigade headquarter at Bo Town to secure the chiefdom, as RUF forces were on their way to the chiefdom. The SLA forces erected checkpoints in the town but departed the town on the following day, led by civilians taken to lead the way, en route to attack RUF forces that were based at Momajoe (Bagbo Chiefdom, south of Bo District). However, they returned to Njama later the following day, overrun by the RUF forces at Momajoe; that evening, Njama was attacked by RUF forces.

This first RUF attack into Moyamba District was the prelude of a massive operation, at the end of which RUF forces attacked and spread across most of the District. There was, however, some confusion at the time of the attack on Njama, as the SLA present in the town appeared to put up no resistance to the RUF forces and some of them were seen outside the town, rubbing black and blue materials on their faces and putting on masks. RUF forces entered the headquarter town, shooting randomly and shouting at civilians to fight them with sticks and cutlasses. 1274 As they started to set houses on fire, civilians ran away from their houses. One hundred and six houses were burnt down that day and the houses that were not burnt were looted and the shops vandalised. RUF forces molested and beat civilians, raped seven girls, whose age could not be ascertained, and killed 10 civilians, including the Chiefdom Speaker and the Paramount Chief's son and younger brother. The RUF forces spent the night in town before departed the next day, early in the morning of 14 January, with some civilians whom they had abducted to carry the load. They arrived at Mokoya (Kowa Chiefdom), where they took property from the village. No casualties were reported, as all the civilians had deserted the village before they arrived. On the same day, an SLA gunship coming from the direction of Bo shot at Njama for two hours.

On 15 January 1995, RUF forces battled with SLA coming from Mano (Dasse Chiefdom) on their way to Njama. This battle took place at Pelewahun (Kamajei Chiefdom) some six miles to the northeast of Mano. The RUF forces overpowered the SLA, which forced them to retreat hastily to Mano. Before this battle, RUF forces had attacked some villages in the extreme south-east of Kori Chiefdom, west of Kamajei Chiefdom. RUF forces attacked Njala, including the University campus, and Mosongo, where they burnt 12 houses and killed some civilians. It appeared that RUF forces then separated, with one group advancing north to Kamajei Chiefdom and one going south-westward to Dasse Chiefdom.

In Kamajei Chiefdom, RUF forces attacked villages in the south of the chiefdom, including Buma and Ngiyehun. At Buma, two civilians were killed and others abducted and taken to Njala (Kori Chiefdom). Although the RUF forces did not attack Senehun, the headquarter town, most of the

¹²⁷⁴ This referred to the attack on Bo Town in late December, during which RUF forces were repelled by civilians equipped with sticks and cutlasses. See Bo District for further information.

¹²⁷⁵ It is not clear whether they divided before or after the battle at Pelewahun.

civilians left the town and went to live in the bush or, for those who had money, to Bo Town. RUF forces established a base at Pelewahun Kenneh, where they would stay for 11 months and from where they would launch attacks on Kori and Kamajei Chiefdoms. For example, Pelewahun¹²⁷⁶ was attacked on 18 February, by RUF forces dressed in military uniforms, underneath which some of them had attire adorned with the RUF initials.

The RUF group that had advanced in the direction of Dasse Chiefdom pursued the SLA forces to Mano, where they discovered that the SLA had fled the town. The RUF forces captured eight civilians and introduced themselves as "freedom fighters", coming to redeem the Sierra Leoneans from the APC regime. The RUF forces spent six hours in the town but did not inflict harm on the civilians. They then attempted to take the Mokanji road but were ambushed by the SLA on the bridge over the Taia River. Sixteen RUF members were killed and two civilians, who had attempted to escape, drowned in the river. The RUF left the area and spent the night at Benduma.

SLA forces and civilians who were in hiding returned to Mano and the SLA continued to harass civilians. People were killed on the suspicion that they were "rebels" or "rebel" collaborators. More checkpoints were established throughout the town and youths were asked to work as vigilantes, which included running the checkpoints but also doing menial work for the SLA like fetching water or cooking. When an attack was imminent, those youths were given weapons to fight.

From Benduma, the RUF forces proceeded to the south to attack Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom), the location of the Sieromco Company, a Swiss-owned company that specialised in the mining of bauxite. Prior to this attack, some SLA forces who were stationed in Mokanji had left the town for Njama (Kowa Chiefdom) to fight the RUF but were repelled at Pelewahun on 15 January and came back to the town. ¹²⁷⁷ On 17 January, 30 SLA members, allegedly from Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District), were airlifted as reinforcement to Mokanji. ¹²⁷⁸

On 18 January 1995, the RUF forces from Banduma passed by Kabiama (Banta Chiefdom), where they abducted a diamond dealer, his wife and other civilians and continued to Mokanji, three miles from Kabiama. In Mokanji, no houses were burnt, but several civilians, both locals and foreigners, were abducted, including the personnel manager of the Sieromco company and civilians were killed, including the Government representative to the mining companies, a retired Inspector of Police, a worker from the company, a Fullah man and two SLA members. SLA forces deployed at the Sierra Rutile Company (Imperi Chiefdom, Bonthe District) came to the town, in order to consolidate the SLA forces at Mokanji and thus to protect the security of the other mining company. However, the RUF did not stay long in Mokanji and by the end of the afternoon had left the town

¹²⁷⁶ There are two Pelewahuns in the south of Kamajei Chiefdom.

¹²⁷⁷ It is likely that they regrouped with the SLA forces who were deployed at Mano (Dasse).

¹²⁷⁸ A strong SLA military base was located at Daru, called Moa Barracks. This base had been attacked many times during the first years of the conflict by RUF/NPFL forces but SLA forces always repelled them, which led civilians in Mokanji to say that those SLA forces "knew how to fight". It is also alleged that this reinforcement was not too much encouraged, as the SLA forces already stationed in the town were poorly dressed in half combat, were carrying cutlasses and half of them were wearing bathroom slippers.

¹²⁷⁹ During the attack on Mokanji, it appeared that the RUF were "all over the town", as gunshots were heard from everywhere. This may suggest two things: either RUF forces were already in the town before the attack, disguised in SLA uniforms, or some SLA forces left their ranks and joined the RUF.

and proceeded further south to Tongor (Banta Chiefdom) where they took a lot of civilian property. From there, they moved to Imperi Chiefdom (Bonthe District), the location of the Sierra Rutile Company, which would be attacked on 19 January 1995. Military strategists in Freetown suspected that the RUF forces would use the Sierra Rutile area as a base to access the sea through the port of Nitti (Banta Chiefdom), where major shipments of mineral products from both Sieromco and Sierra Rutile companies were exported by sea to Europe. 1280

More SLA members were again airlifted to Mokanji to reinforce the forces already in the area. Supported by Nigerian Alpha Jets, they fought the RUF forces who had not gone to Bonthe District and who were allegedly still in the Mokanji Hills area. The workers of the mining company and their families were evacuated to Freetown. SLA forces based in Mokanji, however, began to harass civilians and to chase them out of their villages to steal their property, forcing them to live in the bush. For example, around 13 February, the SLA forces went to a bush camp in order to take civilians and to make them work for them. During their escape, a woman and her four children drowned in the Taia River. They also killed civilians they accused of being "rebel" collaborators.

For two months, the RUF forces concentrated on Bonthe District. ¹²⁸² and to a limited extent on the south of Moyamba District. In February, RUF forces entered Mokele, the headquarter town of Banta Mokele Chiefdom. They burnt down the Paramount Chief's compound and four other houses and stayed in the town for two weeks before leaving. During the time of their stay, the civilians had fled to the bush. The RUF forces were also scattered in villages throughout Banta Chiefdom, including Yebanna and Mogbomo Junction in the south of the chiefdom, and asked civilians whether any SLA forces had visited their villages at any time. In late February, RUF forces coming from the rutile area (Imperi Chiefdom, Bonthe District) launched an unsuccessful attack on Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom). Until August, RUF forces would make other unsuccessful attempts to dislodge the SLA forces and to take control over the mining company.

In March 1995, a massive RUF operation was launched in Moyamba District. The pattern of the RUF actions clearly demonstrated that their goal was Freetown and that they initially did not intend to settle in Moyamba District, which they used more as a transit towards the capital. RUF forces simultaneously attacked Moyamba Junction (Fakunya Chiefdom) and Moyamba Town, following the same pattern in each attack. The group that attacked Moyamba Town would then follow the Moyamba-Freetown road, attacking the major roads on its way, before being halted in Ribbi Chiefdom, in the north-west of the District.

Prior to the attack on Moyamba Town, RUF forces attacked the town of Mokele (Banta Mokele Chiefdom). On their arrival in the town, the commander informed the civilians that they were peaceloving citizens fighting to liberate the people of Sierra Leone, which was why they were called "freedom fighters." However, no sooner had the meeting ended than the harassment of civilians begun. The forces stole civilians' property and took away all the young men and women including

¹²⁸⁰ Xinhua News Agency, 24 January 1995.

¹²⁸¹ AFP, 25 January 1995.

¹²⁸² By February 1995, all the chiefdoms in the north of Bonthe District had been attacked by RUF forces.

¹²⁸³ It is probable that the RUF group who attacked Moyamba Junction, to the north of the District came from Tonkolili District, and the one who attacked Moyamba Town came from Bonthe District.

girls between 13 and 16 years old. They looted the township and forced the young men and women to carry the loads. Another group of RUF forces entered the town of Mosekie (Banta Mokele Chiefdom) where they had a meeting with the civilians. At the meeting people were ordered to cook for the them, after which the town was looted and the property was carried for them by young men captured in the village. Some houses were burnt but no one was killed. Around the same time, the RUF forces also entered Mokepie village (Banta Mokele Chiefdom), where they introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" and took property from civilians. They burnt down some houses in the town and abducted youths, for the purposes of recruiting them into their fighting force. 1284

These RUF forces, dressed in military uniforms, reached Moyamba Town (Kaiyamba Chiefdom), close to the centre of Moyamba District, on 14 March 1995. At the time of the attacks, members of the CDU were deployed in the town but had to withdraw, as they could not withstand the heavy firepower of the RUF forces; the SLA forces, similarly overpowered, also had to retreat. Twenty-five civilians were killed in the town and several young girls and women raped. The RUF forces also burnt down 23 houses, including the Moyamba Police station and took away a lot of property from civilians and shops. Captured civilians were forced to carry property taken by the RUF forces, who also captured some children to be conscripted into the fighting forces. The RUF forces spent only one night in the town and continued their way on the Moyamba-Freetown road, passing by Yoyema (Kaiyamba Chiefdom).

Another group of armed men entered the town on 17 March 1995 and set up base in the compound of the Moyamba Boys Secondary School. They introduced themselves as SLA forces and encouraged civilians to come back to the town; civilians were convinced that these were SLA forces, as they were wearing military uniforms. Furthermore, the commander introduced himself as a famous SLA officer. However, three days later, those men began breaking into houses, shops and Government buildings and taking everything they could lay their hands on. They stayed in the town for one more month, during which they harassed civilians for their domestic animals and created more havoc, killing, raping and abducting civilians. They only left the town on hearing the rumour that SLA forces were on their way to the town. Civilians then identified those armed men as RUF forces. 1285

At Yoyema (Kaiyamba Chiefdom), which they reached on 15 March, RUF forces also beat civilians, killing some, took away all the domestic animals and left the same day, continuing their journey westwards. Five days later, another group of armed men claiming to be SLA forces reached Yoyema and, as they did in Moyamba Town, persuaded people to resettle in the town; for one week, the town was calm. However, pandemonium broke out not long after, including the massive stealing of property throughout the town, and those forces were then identified by civilians as RUF forces. These forces also left on hearing that SLA forces were approaching Moyamba Town.

¹²⁸⁴ Although this action was reported to have taken place on 19 March, it is likely that it took place before the attack on Moyamba Town on 14 March, as it is located in the south of the District and RUF forces reached Moyamba Town from Bonthe District, which is further south.

¹²⁸⁵ It is however not clear whether those armed men where RUF forces or ex-SLA forces deserting their positions and acting like the RUF. Civilians however recounted that they were RUF forces in disguise.

The next chiefdom to the west was Kongbora and Bauya, the chiefdom headquarter town, is located on the main road. RUF forces who had left Yoyema on 15 March attacked villages on the road but by-passed Bauya. They entered Morkorewo (Kongbora Chiefdom) on 16 March and burnt down the first house of the village. They killed some people, among them two elderly people, and abducted others. Those captured civilians were to carry their property while young boys, some of whom had weapons, were to fetch water. One old man who was captured at Yoyema the day before and who told them he was tired to carry the load was killed. The RUF forces stole property from the old part of the village and stayed for three days, during which time they killed some civilians and took all the livestock. These RUF forces were accompanied by men and women fulfilling different missions, some of them being engineers, cooks, first aid men, load carriers or road map directors.

The headquarter town of Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom), which is also located on the main road, was attacked in the afternoon of 18 March 1995. Civilians were abducted and killed; people coming to the town one week later found a lot of bodies in the centre of the town, some already beginning to decompose. Many houses were burnt, mostly on City Road, and property was taken. The day before this attack, armed men introducing themselves as SLA forces had come to the town. However, on the day of the attack, those armed men took red pieces of cloth out of their pockets and tied them around their heads. This made civilians understand that those armed men were not SLA forces coming to protect them as they pretended but RUF forces. Before leaving the town, the forces wrote on some of the houses: "RUF heading for the city Freetown – we will be back soon".

RUF forces then attacked the headquarter town of Bradford (Ribbi Chiefdom), to the north-west of Rotifunk. All the civilians in the town ran into the bush while the forces burnt down many houses, killed 13 civilians and took a lot of property. They were however repelled by SLA forces who had come from Freetown on three trucks the day before. During the fighting, one RUF member and two SLA members were killed. Although they had defeated the RUF, the SLA forces did not stay in the town.

After the attack on Bradford and their encounter with SLA forces, RUF forces came back to Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom). They established a camp, known as "Camp Fol Fol", ¹²⁸⁷ located in a strategic position on a hilly hideout at the border with four chiefdoms, Bumpeh, Ribbi and Kongbora Chiefdoms (Moyamba District) and Yoni Chiefdom (Tonkolili District). From this camp, they went on to attack villages, notably the villages surrounding Rotifunk, where they killed civilians and took property. At Berembu, a woman was killed and in Makombrabai the RUF forces killed three people, one woman and two men. At Mokebbi, five miles from Rotifunk, no one was killed but several people were captured and property was taken. Old men and women were forced to carry the stolen property, including mattresses, rice, palm oil, gari and cattle, while young boys and girls were taken to the RUF base for training and recruitment. One young boy who attempted to run in order not to be abducted was shot and killed by an RUF member. When they reached Levuma, in the north-west of Kongbora Chiefdom, near their base, RUF forces released the carriers, as they did not want them to know the location of their base. A guard place or second camp was established at Motokoh, two and a half miles from Camp Fol Fol, where civilians abducted to carry loads from the

¹²⁸⁶ The red headband was characteristic of the RUF forces who had worn it since the beginning of the conflict.

This red headband distinguished them from the NPFL forces during the early stages of the conflict.

¹²⁸⁷ This camp was reported spelled in two different ways, the alternative one being "Camp Fall Fall".

villages were released and told to return to their villages. RUF forces also made several visits to Rotifunk town, which was completely deserted by civilians for some weeks. All these attacks led many civilians to find refuge in the centre of the chiefdom, notably in Bumpeh, a village virtually only accessible by the Bumpeh River, which originates in the ocean.

More than 200 RUF members, armed with AK47s, RPGs and a Anti Aircraft gun mounted on a lorry, attacked Bauya (Kongbora Chiefdom) sometime in March. Several buildings were burnt, including the Chief's house, the Secondary School, the Court Barrie and the market. More than 30 people were killed and a lot of property was taken. From Bauya, they attacked the surrounding villages. Besides Camp Fol Fol, a secondary training base was opened at Levuma (north-west of Kongbora Chiefdom). The area soon became deserted, as the RUF forces were settled and in control of the area.

In the other wave of attacks occurring concurrently with the attacks on Moyamba Town, Moyamba Junction (Fakunya Chiefdom) was attacked on 14 March 1995, probably by RUF forces coming from Tonkolili District. Early in the afternoon, armed men with full military uniforms entered the town with sporadic shooting; giving no excuse for the shooting, they left the town towards Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), where they claimed they came from. Late in the evening, those armed men came back and attacked the town again. At the time of the attack, the SLA forces posted there were nowhere to be found. The RUF forces burnt down nine houses and captured several people. These forces then went south, attacked Waterloo in the evening and proceeded on to Njagbahun Junction, where SLA forces were based. Although no fatalities are reported, RUF forces succeeding in capturing a lot of newly supplied arms and ammunition from the SLA. From Njagbahun, they headed back in the direction of Waterloo and, on their way, attacked Kpetema Fanday at midnight. Property was taken and several people were captured in the town. On 15 March, civilians who had been abducted from Moyamba Junction and surrounding villages were forced to carry the stolen property to an RUF camp called "Borkor One" near Lumleblu village.

In about mid April 1995, the RUF forces attacked Motobong (Bumpeh Chiefdom), 16 miles from Rotifunk. As they opened fire while entering the village, civilians ran into the bush. The RUF forces shot two cows and took away other domestic animals to Moshibara Junction, where they entered the town, killed one woman and wounded another civilian. They then advanced to Moshemoi, capturing many civilians without resistance or the need for gunfire during the night. They asked a girl to show them the direction of the Paramount Chief's farm and, as they realised she gave them the wrong direction on purpose, they raped her. They then gave her Le 10,000, telling her that they would come back for her, and left for their base at Camp Fol Fol.

¹²⁸⁸ Although it took place in March, this attack may have taken place before the establishment of Camp Fol Fol. It is also possible that some of the RUF forces had settled in villages in Kongbora Chiefdom, while the bulk of the RUF forces were heading to Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom). Accordingly, the exact date of these events could not be ascertained. They took place either before or after the Rotifunk and Bradford attacks.

¹²⁸⁹ Around the same period, RUF forces attacked Mile 91, a strategic town on the highway to Freetown, in Tonkolili District.

¹²⁹⁰ At this time, SLA forces were deployed in Mile 91 in Tonkolili District.

¹²⁹¹ No further information was available on this event.

¹²⁹² Although the location of this camp could not be ascertained, it was probably a secondary camp.

The SLA forces who had earlier prompted RUF forces, disguised as SLA members, to leave Moyamba Town in late March/early April, arrived in Moyamba Town on or around 20 April 1995. The SLA forces defended the town from several more attacks by the RUF forces, who never succeeded in retaking the town. Their stay in the town was described as "peaceful" and no acts of violence against civilians were reported.

Probably coming from Camp Fol Fol, RUF forces came to Rotifunk (Ribbi Chiefdom) around 14 June 1995, although at that time, most of the people were living in the bush. On their way to Rotifunk, they came across a civilian at Mokaikono, whom they asked to lead them to the other civilians in the bush. As he did not want to disclose their location, he was hit with a bladed weapon and left for dead in the bush. The man however survived and after two days, managed to go back to his camp.

Sometime between June and July, Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom) was attacked for the fourth time by RUF forces probably coming from Bonthe District. They were repelled by SLA forces and 28 of them were killed. No SLA member or civilian was killed but SLA forces were actively engaged in stealing and vandalising the Sieromco Company.¹²⁹³

During August 1995, the upper part of Bumpeh Chiefdom was under the control of the RUF forces. Villages in Bumpeh Chiefdom including Berembu, Topkumbu, Mosenesse, Kpamgbaya, Komrabai and Yenkissa were attacked. The RUF forces burnt a house at Tokpumbu and took the property of a civilian at Kpamgbaya. In that town, they also forced a man who was a Muslim and had never drunk wine in his life to drink alcohol; as his wife came out of the bush crying, she was shot and killed and acid was sprinkled on her body. The town of Mokebbi was attacked for the second time by the RUF forces and they proceeded to Mogbindi. Finding nobody in the town, they burnt all the houses there.

At that time, however, RUF forces were launching those attacks by group of 20 to 30 men, of whom only four to five had guns. It thus appeared that the progression force of the RUF as evidenced by their attacks on Moyamba Junction, Moyamba Town and the main towns on the highway had come to a halt during this period, and RUF forces were more engaged in looting.

In October 1995, another wave of attacks were carried out in Fakunya Chiefdom, by RUF forces coming from their main base at Camp Fol Fol. On 9 October 1995, they passed through the towns of Rotawa, Falaba Gbotima and arrived at Sembehun Kortuwabu, where they set up a temporary base. Many civilians were captured in the town on their arrival. The commander informed the people of the town that they were RUF forces and that both the town and all its surrounding villages were under their control. The RUF forces attacked neighbouring towns and villages and various items were stolen, including food products such as rice, groundnut, pepper and palm oil as well as personal effects, including tape recorders, radios, clocks, clothing and cameras. In those villages, some women were raped. On 10 October 1995, the RUF forces attacked the town of Kpangbama. After they entered the town, the RUF commander ordered the forces not to shoot, so they did not shoot. Over 100 people were captured, including women, including suckling mothers, and children.

¹²⁹³ RUF forces carried out a fifth and last attack on Mokanji in August but were, once more, repelled by SLA forces.

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The captured civilians were forced to carry property stolen from the town to Sembehun Kortuwabu, escorted by one RUF group, while another group left intending to attack Njagbahun Junction but instead went back to Sembehun Kortuwabu, as they did not find any SLA forces at the Junction.

Other attacks were launched in the surrounding villages of Ngandorhun, Kwellu, and Falaba. The attacks were successful and a lot of property was taken. Again, captured civilians were forced to carry the stolen property to Sembehun. SLA forces who had come from Moyamba Town staged an ambush for the RUF forces but, as they could not withstand the firepower of the RUF, they went back to Moyamba Town. Some captured civilians managed to escape during the crossfire. In retaliation for the attack, RUF forces burnt down Kpangbama, accusing civilians of having warned the SLA they were there. Over 100 goats from the surrounding villages were killed and smoked, for later consumption at Camp Fol Fol. During their six-day stay in Sembehun Kortuwabu, RUF forces raped women and many girls, sometimes aged below 11, and killed three civilians who attempted to escape.

On 14 October, the RUF commander sent a message to Camp Fol Fol for the High Command to send more men, both captured civilians and RUF members, to collect the looted items, as he, and his troops, together with the civilians captured in the area were heading for Njala University (southeast of Kori Chiefdom). The commander told the civilians that this university would not function until the RUF took over government. RUF forces entered the town of Mokorewa (Fakunya Chiefdom) on 15 October 1995 and took property, mainly personnel items like tape recorders, radios and clothing, from several houses. Two civilians were killed and several more were captured. They told the civilians they came from Sembehun Kortuwabu and were heading for Njala University. Just over a week later, on 24 October, the forces visited the town again and attacked surrounding villages, stealing property, raping and sexually harassing women and young girls. They stayed at Mokorewa for four days, during which time they abducted many civilians, the majority of whom were children. Civilians were forced to carry stolen property for the RUF forces. 1295

A subsequent attack was launched on Sembehun Kortuwabu and its environs around 2 December 1995. A large number of the RUF members were children between the ages of 12 and 15 years, who had been captured in schools in Lunsar, Port Loko Town (Port Loko District) or Kambia. Civilians were captured and maltreated by the RUF forces in an attempt to learn where the civilians were keeping their food and sexual violence was rampant. From December to March 1997, it appeared that the civilians in Fakunya Chiefdom suffered greatly, as both RUF and SLA forces raided their villages and camps in the bush, mainly to steal food and other property; some of the civilians were beaten and some women were raped.

On 15 December 1995, RUF forces coming from Camp Fol Fol reached the north of Kagboro Chiefdom, to the south of Bumpeh Chiefdom. At this time, an influx of people had arrived in Shenge, the headquarter town located by the ocean, south of Kagboro Creek. The RUF forces came

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¹²⁹⁴ Njala University was attacked by RUF forces on 27 December 1995. BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 28 December 1995.

¹²⁹⁵ This attack on Mokorewa may have been carried out a few days earlier, before the RUF forces sent their message to Camp Fol Fol.

¹²⁹⁶ No more details were available on this information.

mainly for the purposes of finding food and, as they had done earlier in the beginning of 1995, introduced themselves as SLA forces. They entered Morkandor, where they took away domestic animals before continuing their journey to nearby villages, including Bandasuma and Mokana. In all these villages, they abducted civilians to carry the loads, mainly consisting of domestic animals, to their base at Camp Fol Fol. Civilians were warned by the RUF commander that they would be killed if they could not continue the journey. When they arrived near the base, those civilians were released and told to go back to their villages.

Following these attacks, a CDU comprised of civilians with cutlasses, swords and a few shotguns was formed in Kagboro Chiefdom. In addition, the attacks on Bumpeh Chiefdom led the elders to hold a meeting in Moyeamoh in December, at which they sought to find means by which they could repel the RUF forces. One Section Chief asked all the civilians with hunting rifles to surrender them to the Chiefs. Only nine guns could be gathered and 29 youths gave themselves up for training and to form a CDU. 1297

On 28 December 1995, RUF forces attacked Senehun, the headquarter town of Kamajei Chiefdom, where they killed 28 civilians, burnt houses and took property, mainly money and other valuables. As a result of the attack, most of the civilians left the town and went to camps in Bo and Freetown.

c) Events in 1996

Kamajors from Bonthe District came to Moyamba District to assist the CDUs in the defence of their chiefdoms. At that time also, members of the CDUs and other young men progressively became initiated into the Kamajor society. They initially went to Bonthe District before initiation ceremonies began to be performed in Moyamba District. In February, the first Kamajors of Kagboro Chiefdom came back to the chiefdom from their initiation.

In early 1996, members of the newly formed CDU of Bumpeh Chiefdom had their first encounter with RUF forces between Moyah and Mogbainchain (Bumpeh Chiefdom). They staged an ambush, killing two RUF members, capturing one and taking two AK47s. Soon after, a few Kamajors from Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom, Bonthe District) came to the chiefdom and started patrolling in the area, looking out for RUF members. They went to Moyah, where they joined the members of the CDU. In February, both the Kamajors and the members of the CDU went to attack Motokoh, the guard place or secondary camp near Camp Fol Fol. As they took the RUF forces by surprise, they succeeded in dislodging them. They killed some RUF members, took some arms and ammunition, destroyed the base and went back to Moyah. The relations between the Kamajors and the members of the CDU, however, began to deteriorate and they started to quarrel over the Kamajors behaviour. Their main complaints were that the Kamajors wanted the CDU to be their juniors, because the Kamajors had mystical powers; they were harassing civilians, beating them up whenever they did something wrong; and they were taxing civilians and treating the Chiefs and elders without respect.

Initiation ceremonies began to take place at Taninehun (Kongbora Chiefdom) in early 1996 at first only for men recommended by the Section Chiefs. Prior to this, in 1995, a few men had left the Chiefdom to be initiated as Kamajors and had come back to the chiefdom, chasing the RUF who

¹²⁹⁷ Those men were not initiated Kamajors.

¹²⁹⁸ It could not be ascertained what happened to the captured RUF member.

were sporadically raiding small villages, taking away property, abducting young boys and girls and killing some people. As more and more men were initiated, the Kamajors established checkpoints across the chiefdom, notably three in Bauya, the chiefdom headquarter town. An administration for the Kamajors was set up in the chiefdom with the following positions: Supreme Leader and Initiator, Deputy Initiator and Battalion Commander, Deputy Battalion Commander, Chiefdom Ground Commander and Commanders. Kamajors, equipped with hunting guns, swords, spears, knifes and other bladed weapons did not initially attack identified RUF positions but began by staging ambushes, capturing small groups of RUF forces on food finding missions. They killed a lot of RUF members and took their arms and ammunition. As their number grew, the Kamajors began organising their deployment in strategic areas of the chiefdom.

Before the elections scheduled for 26 February, RUF forces entered Moyoka (Fakunya Chiefdom), and killed with bladed weapons eight civilians attending a church service. They then headed for Moyolo and on their way, killed a man and left the body in the bush. On approaching Moyolo, some entered the bush and encircled the town while others in military uniforms and Kamajors attire entered the town, telling people they had come to talk about the initiation process. Youths came from their different locations and the RUF forces disguised in SLA members and Kamajors ordered them to assemble at the Court Barrie. The civilians were told to undress and were kept locked in houses. Some 18 civilians were then taken out of the houses, were set on fire and died. As this was going on, three women were raped by many RUF members and were then mutilated, one being forced to sit in a solution of caustic soda and another had her breast cut off with a knife. The third woman was sexually assaulted with a stick, as a result of which she died. Five more civilians including two children aged 12 and 15 were taken out of their houses and, after they were told by the RUF forces to identify which was their predominant hand, this hand was cut off.

The RUF forces left the next morning and one day later, SLA forces from Njagbahun came to the town. They told civilians who were burying their relatives that they had come to assess the damage caused by the RUF forces. However, they took civilians' property, including domestic animals, rice, groundnut and clothing. Three days later, SLA forces came back to the nearby villages of Mobayngahun, Salima, Bembeh, Mopotey, Njala Gofor, Gbeworbu, Potehun and Batama, where they took property, forced civilians to carry the load to their base at Njagbahun and sexually harassed women.

After the February elections, RUF forces came back to Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom) and burnt down more houses, but by this time most of the civilians had deserted the town. RUF forces were described as being "totally out of control", as each time they went to a village, they burnt down houses, took away property and killed anybody that they came across.

The north-east of Kamajei Chiefdom was attacked by RUF forces coming from Valunia Chiefdom (Bo District), to the east of Kamajei Chiefdom. They established a base in Yelina Section in March 1996 and abducted some young boys and girls to carry loads and to show them the various routes and passages through the chiefdom. In the same month, Kamajors arrived in the chiefdom to

¹²⁹⁹ It could not be ascertained where they went for the initiation ceremony.

¹³⁰⁰ It is also suggested that those RUF forces introduced themselves as officers of the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC), coming to educate the people of the town about the electoral system.

protect Gondama.¹³⁰¹ The Kamajors attacked the RUF forces in Yelina section and rescued many civilians, who they then brought to Gondama. However, Gondama was attacked shortly after, with over 30 people being killed by the RUF forces, and the Kamajors left the town. Most of the people killed were civilians recently brought to Gondama by the Kamajors and, accordingly, did not know any escape routes. During this attack, the RUF forces did not burn any houses but took away property, mainly livestock.

In late March/early April 1996, RUF forces attacked the town of Mokainsay (Kagboro Chiefdom), in the south of the District. At first, the Kamajors put up a stiff resistance but they were soon forced to withdraw, as they ran out of ammunition. The RUF burnt some buildings, including a mosque. They left the town and two days later, killed an old man in his hammock and burnt houses at Mojana, in the east of the chiefdom. The RUF forces then retreated to their base at Camp Fol Fol.

Bagruwa Chiefdom, also in the south of the District, was attacked by RUF forces for the first time around April 1996. RUF forces coming from the north of Bonthe District through Banta Chiefdom arrived in the south of Bagruwa Chiefdom. At this time, the Paramount Chief hired Kamajors from Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom, Bonthe District) to defend the chiefdom. RUF forces were dislodged in a fierce battle at Mogboi. The battle lasted for several hours and a large number of RUF forces were killed. At Mattru Bangay, one Kamajor killed a civilian on the allegation that he was an RUF collaborator.

In late May, RUF forces came back to Kagboro Chiefdom and attacked Mokobo (north-east of the chiefdom) for the second time, with the intention to establish a base there. They stayed in the town for two days, stealing civilians' property in the town and in the surrounding villages and forcing civilians to carry the load. These attacks led civilians to desert the town and go to live in the bush. The RUF forces then divided into four groups and scattered throughout the chiefdom, including at Tissana, Morkandor, Bandajuma, Mokana, Suen and Mohiteh, where they harassed civilians, stole their property and forced them to carry the load. They also made a rapid incursion into Timdel Chiefdom, east of Kagboro Chiefdom.

RUF forces attacked Sembehun, the headquarter town of Bagruwa Chiefdom, around 3 June. They broke into all the houses, took away property and captured four boys and four girls who cooked for the RUF forces at their temporary base at Kongonani. They then left the area, heading in the direction of Bonthe District. On their way, they stopped at Mokassie, where they released some civilians they had abducted but killed one man because he refused to go with them. Another man was killed for the same reason at Jondu. Following the attack on the town, CDUs were formed in Sembehun and young people, equipped with sticks, machetes and shotguns, established checkpoints.

Around May or June 1996, a new wave of attacks were carried out in Fakunya Chiefdom and its environs by RUF forces using Falaba Gbotima village as their base. They raped women and took

¹³⁰¹ This is a different Gondama Town from the one in Bo District, which hosted an IDP camp.

¹³⁰² At the time of this attack, RUF force had already been dislodged from their positions in the north of Bonthe District and had scattered throughout the bush.

¹³⁰³ It is not clear whether those children were released after doing the cooking.

property in more than 30 villages in the area, capturing several civilians who were forced to transport their loads to Falaba Gbotima. Around the same period, Kamajors who went to be initiated came to Kwellu together with some Kamajors from Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom, Bonthe District) and began engaging the RUF forces, who were continuing their attacks on the small villages of the area. Between June and July, Kamajors based at Kwellu heard that RUF forces were going on looting sprees in Kpangama, Gbengbedu and Mayendu. Four Kamajors met the RUF forces at Nyandehun and engaged them in battle, which left some civilians and some RUF forces, including their commander, dead. The following day, 45 RUF members came to Nyandehun to find their commander, as they could not believe four Kamajors had defeated them and killed their commander. They found the body of their commander displayed at the centre of the village and in retaliation, burnt the village. On their return to Falaba Gbotima, they captured a civilian whom they then mutilated and killed. While still alive, his genital organ was cut off and forcibly put in his mouth. His stomach was then slit open and his intestines tied across a stick by the side of the road. At the time of these attacks, the SLA forces were still based at Njagbahun, four miles from Nyandehun, but did not make any move. They would later comment on this by saying that the area was "divided" and as the RUF forces had not come to their area, there was no need for them to go and attack the RUF forces.

As Kamajors continued to attack RUF positions in Yelina Section (Kamajei Chiefdom), RUF forces launched a second attack on Gondama (Kamajei Chiefdom) around 28 June 1996. No casualties were reported, as most of the civilians were by then living in the bush, but the RUF forces burnt down the town. This attack was the last ones in the area, as the Kamajors started patrolling around Gondama. In the neighbouring chiefdom of Kori, Kamajors deployed at Wayima (north-east of the chiefdom), where they mistreated civilians and passers-by, notably by imprisoning them in cages made of thorns. On one occasion, they severely beat the Village Chief of Ketumah, near Wayima, on the grounds that he had made a statement against Kamajors. On another occasion, those Kamajors from Wayima killed three brothers who had travelled from Markoli to Ketumah to meet their mother, accusing them of being RUF members. When their father came to enquire about what had happened to them, he was hit with a bladed weapon and killed.

Around June, the Paramount Chief of Bagruwa Chiefdom sent 70 young men to be initiated at Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom, Bonthe District). Prior to this development in the chiefdom, some members of the SSD had been sent to the headquarter town of Sembehun to protect the town from RUF attacks. However, those SSD members soon began to harass civilians, moving from village to village and taking away civilians' property, including domestic animals. On one occasion, they killed one young man at Gbangbatoke Junction. This harassment prompted the Paramount Chief to request the presence of Kamajors in the Chiefdom and to report the matter to the Paramount Chief of Kaiyamba Chiefdom. While the Kamajors did come back to Bagruwa Chiefdom, they also soon began harassing civilians.

On 13 July 1996, RUF forces entered Waterloo Town (Fakunya chiefdom) for the second time, from the direction of Rogboya (Fakunya Chiefdom). One of the RUF forces, described as a young boy, killed a civilian. On their arrival in the town, an old deaf man was in his garden, working with a machete, and as he did not drop his machete when told to do so by the RUF forces, a child soldier shot and killed him. During this attack on Waterloo, RUF forces burnt down 23 houses and attacked

nearby villages, including Kondiama, Tombay Gbahama and Togbie. In those villages, a lot of property was taken away and civilians were abducted to carry the stolen property to the RUF base at "Camp Fol Fol".

Between June and August, RUF forces battled with Kamajors in Nyaogihun (Kagboro Chiefdom). Four members of the CDF were killed, including their commander. The RUF forces beheaded two of the bodies, cut their stomachs open and displayed their intestines across the road at a checkpoint. The RUF forces then burnt the village before crossing over to neighbouring villages in Timdel Chiefdom where they took property, mainly cattle, and harassed civilians. At this time, Timdel Chiefdom had no Kamajors, as it had never been attacked by RUF forces and the Paramount Chief paid for Kamajors to come from other chiefdoms, requesting subscriptions from the civilians to pay for their services.

As this harassment on Timdel Chiefdom grew, Kamajors from Kagboro Chiefdom went to Bumpeh Chiefdom to obtain reinforcements. They agreed with the Kamajors from Bumpeh that each would send reinforcements to the other chiefdom when it was under attack. Kamajors from the two chiefdoms went to Timdel Chiefdom and staged an ambush near Mokobo (Kagboro Chiefdom), killing many RUF forces. The remaining RUF forces fled the area but promised they would come back. More men from Kagboro Chiefdom were initiated, in Banta Chiefdom and in Kangahun (Kaiyamba Chiefdom) and deployed in different sections of the chiefdom in or around October. Men from Timdel Chiefdom were sent for initiation in Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom, Bonthe District). No further RUF attacks took place in Timdel Chiefdom and the Kamajors established a base at Mosanda.

Around August, armed men claiming to be SLA forces arrived in Yoyema Town (Kayima Chiefdom), soon followed by another group composed only of women. Despite their claims, civilians understood that they were actually RUF forces, because the initials "RUF" were written on the weapons carried by the women. The RUF forces sent a message to the SLA commander in Moyamba Town. The SLA forces went to Yoyema and after a fierce battle, repelled the RUF forces out of the town. The SLA commander left some troops in the town and went back to Moyamba Town. The SLA forces left in Yoyema took away civilian's property and left for Moyamba Town three days later. RUF forces came back to Yoyema and stayed for five days, during which they maltreated and killed some civilians, raped some women and abducted about 20 children for conscription.

Around the same time, SLA forces were asked to leave Moyamba Town by the people. It seems that following all the reports of SLA harassment across the District, the Paramount Chief of Kaiyamba asked the Government to withdraw the SLA forces, which he did. After the departure of the SLA forces, the people of the town decided to initiate themselves as Kamajors so that they could defend themselves, since they did not want any SLA forces in the town. The men in the town made it clear that the Kamajor society was only open to people who were Mende by tribe and taxed every

¹³⁰⁴ This event could, however have taken place in June, as around this period, Moyamba Town was under RUF siege and SLA forces thought the RUF were provoking them to violate the ceasefire, signed earlier that year following the elections: AFP, 7 June 1996.

household to pay a contribution of Le 1,000. Whoever did not pay the contribution was tied with a FM rope. 1305

However, the Kamajors engaged in continuous harassment of civilians, including taking property, forcing women into marriage and sexually harassing them. The Kamajors also killed two SSD officers in Moyamba Town, taking their guns and uniforms. Those Kamajors went to Yoyema after the RUF departure from the town. They told civilians to call those who were hiding in the bush and "screened" them, looking for RUF members and collaborators. As in Moyamba Town, they taxed each household as a contribution to their feeding before leaving the town. ¹³⁰⁶

A large number of RUF forces returned to Kagboro Chiefdom in November. Having seen this large group, Kamajors from Mokobo asked for more reinforcements from the other sections. In the meanwhile, two Kamajors who had advanced on the RUF forces were killed. Their bodies were beheaded and their intestines were tied on two sticks across the road to act as a checkpoint. At Nyayagoihun, the RUF forces killed two pregnant women and three children, who were hiding under a bed, and burnt the houses of the village. Around the same period, RUF forces made another incursion in Bagruwa Chiefdom. They killed one man at Moseinongor and burnt three houses at Ngayebu. They also encountered SLA forces from Moyamba Town who were patrolling the area and some fatalities on both sides were reported. As they approached Gbangbatoke Junction, they burnt two commercial vehicles going to Shenge (Kagboro Chiefdom) but the passengers managed to escape by running into the bush. The RUF forces then left the area and went back up north.

At around this time, the Kamajors began increasing their numbers and, consequently, began putting in place structures for better coordination amongst themselves. Kamajors from Kagboro, Timdel and Bagruwa Chiefdom organised themselves and appointed one man as the Chief Kamajor for the region. Men from Banta Mokele Chiefdom were sent for initiation to Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom, Bonthe District). Around the same period, Kamajors from Bonthe District arrived at Mano, the headquarter town of Dasse Chiefdom. However, as time went on, Kamajors started harassing civilians and summary executions of alleged collaborators took place at the Kamajor base at Mosanda. On one occasion, a man was brought to Mosanda from Sembehun (Bagruwa Chiefdom), was beaten and put in a cage made of thorns for one full day before being released.

By the end of the year, probably around November, the Kamajors from Kongbora Chiefdom launched their first attack on RUF positions at Levuma, north-west of the chiefdom. The Kamajors shot down a helicopter and succeeded in dislodging the RUF forces from their positions. A large cache of arms, ammunition and weapons that the Kamajors did not have so far – in particular AK47s and RPGs – was captured. Following this successful attack, Kamajors launched an offensive on Camp Fol Fol, the main RUF base in the area. The battle went on for two days and the RUF

¹³⁰⁵ This rope had two sticks on its edges. "FM" means "frequency modulation", for it was believed that once tied with such a rope, anyone would talk.

¹³⁰⁶ No more information was available on these events.

¹³⁰⁷ Although it seems that the RUF forces were repelled from the chiefdom, there is no further report on fighting with Kamajors in the chiefdom. In the south of Bumpe Chiefdom (north of Kagboro Chiefdom), RUF forces battled for two days with Kamajors before being chased away.

forces were eventually dislodged.¹³⁰⁸ Kamajors came back from this battle with a lot of arms and ammunition and other property, including televisions and fridges. These victories led more and more men to be initiated into the society, fighting the RUF stationed in the north-west of the chiefdom. Kamajors brought back a lot of RUF members and people they suspected of being RUF members or collaborators and killed them; civilians recounted that they regularly heard that a "rebel" had been captured and that they knew he was going to be "washed", meaning killed.

In December 1996, RUF forces entered Benge (Bumpeh Chiefdom) where they killed a civilian who refused to have sex with his mother. They proceeded to other villages like Mobainda and Nyadahun (Bumpeh Chiefdom) where they took a lot of property from civilians.

In late 1996 and probably after the Abidjan Peace Agreement of 30 November, civilians refused to allow deployment of SLA forces in the District. By 1996, the population of Moyamba had developed a complete distrust of SLA forces, since the RUF forces who came to the District were wearing military uniforms and the SLA forces deployed in the District, mainly in Kaiyamba, Fakunya and Banta Chiefdoms, were harassing civilians.

d) Events in 1997

At the beginning of the year, resettlement of displaced persons, which had began in late 1997, continued as the Government declared the Southern Province safe for resettlement. Nevertheless, the year continued to be marked by violence against civilians and between all the different fighting factions.

On 3 January 1997, SLA forces based at Taiama (Kori Chiefdom), together with SLA forces from Bo Town, attacked Kamajors at Taiama. Prior to this event, tension between the SLA and Kamajors deployed at Taiama had built up to the extent that both forces were controlling different checkpoints in the town. In late December, one SLA member destroyed a Kamajor checkpoint in the town; civilians were killed during the subsequent attack in January. SLA forces then headed to Njala, south of Kori Chiefdom. On their way to Njala, those SLA forces stopped by Mokonde, where they ransacked the hospital. At Njala University, they went to a "customers store", broke into it and took everything they could carry away with them.

In January, villages in the Kovella Section (Fakunya Chiefdom) were tasked with sending men for initiation at Kwellu (Fakunya Chiefdom). On 30 January, Kamajors battled with the SLA troops based at Njagbahun for two hours before dislodging the SLA from the town, killing some SLA members during the battle. This battle was the last of a series of fights between the two fighting factions in the chiefdom.

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¹³⁰⁸ The RUF spokesman stated that the constant attacks on their main bases in the District from the air and the land around 9 and 11 November were undermining the peace process. Furthermore, conflicting information was reported about the crash of a helicopter in the Rotifunk area. According to the RUF, this was an SLA helicopter bringing reinforcements to strategic sites in preparation for a ground assault while it carried out aerial bombardment on RUF bases. The RUF claimed to have brought it down with an Anti-Aircraft weapon. However, military sources spoke about a helicopter bringing relief supplies, which had to undertake an emergency landing after developing engine trouble and was then set on fire by the Kamajors: AFP, 13 November 1996.

1309 This resettlement went on in various areas in the south and at the same period, thousands of IDPs left the camps in Bo District and returned to Pujehun District.

On 26 January, Kamajors attacked the SLA forces based in Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom), allegedly because those forces had been stealing property. The Kamajors were defeated by the SLA forces and three SLA members, a lot of Kamajors, including the son of the High Priest and Chief Initiator, and some civilians were killed. Three days later, the SLA forces were transferred to Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), leaving the way open for the Kamajors to settle in the town and erect checkpoints. Soon, they began harassing and ill-treating civilians; any person found having a link with a member of the SLA member was targeted and killed. Kamajors also cleared out what was left in the Sieromco Company during an operation they named "Operation clear all". Some months later in the south of the District, at Gbessebu (Kamajei Chiefdom), SLA forces killed a Kamajor while they were going to Pelewahun (Kamajei Chiefdom).

In February 1997, tired and hungry RUF forces entered Kawama (Kori Chiefdom) on a food finding mission. They asked civilians to cook for them and took away civilians' property. They also took with them five strong men to carry the load and three young girls between the ages of 15 to 18 years; since that time, their fate remains unknown.

Since they had taken control of Moyamba Town, in around August 1996, Kamajors had been mistreating the civilians in the town. Indeed, for the inhabitants of Moyamba Town, the only difference between the Kamajors and RUF forces was that the Kamajors were in the towns, while RUF forces were in the bush. In February 1997, Kamajors from Moyamba Town went to Korgbotuma, where they beat the Village Chief for two days and forced him to swallow stones, as a result of which he died. The villagers were then taxed Le 400 as a contribution to the Kamajors, who burnt the houses of those who did not pay. Kamajors also stole most of the remaining property in the town, including zinc from the houses and zinc recently provided by an International NGO. Civilians were forced to give money and rice every two weeks and whoever did not do so was killed.

Sometime between January and May 1997, RUF forces attacked Mano (Dasse Chiefdom) but were repelled by Kamajors from Bonthe District who had deployed in the chiefdom in late 1996. This attack prompted the chiefdom elders to initiate their own Kamajors and civilians were asked to contribute a small amount of money for the initiation ceremonies. A Kamajor administration was put in place in the chiefdom and the following positions were established and filled: Chiefdom Ground Commander, Deputy Chiefdom Ground Commander, Section Commanders, Patrol Commander and Welfare Officers (AG). The Welfare Officers were generally civilians appointed by Kamajors to act as a liaison between the civilians and the Kamajors.

Shortly after the Coup on 25 May, which saw the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council overthrow the government and seize power, RUF forces from Bumpeh Chiefdom left their camp and went to Freetown to join the AFRC regime. However, they later returned to Rotifunk, the headquarter

¹³¹⁰ Around this time, SLA forces were deployed at Mile 91, where fighting with the CDF was also reported.

¹³¹¹ Later during the year, in November, the Sieromco Director contracted Executive Outcomes to protect a team sent to evaluate the damage at Mokanji: Africa Energy & Mining, 11 September 1996. Executive Outcomes was a mercenary company hired by the Government of Sierra Leone in 1995.

¹³¹² It is not clear whether an attack on the camp took place in 1996 and, if it took place, whether the RUF forces went back to the camp afterwards.

town, and took away the zinc from the remaining houses. RUF forces brought the zinc to Waterloo (Western Area), where they met their business partners. All the Kamajors from the chiefdom assembled at Mokkebi, ready to attack RUF/AFRC forces if they came back, which they did two days later and were attacked by the Kamajors. 1314

After the Coup, the AFRC forces made an announcement over the radio that Kamajors should lay down their arms and surrender to the nearest Police Station, which the Kamajors in Moyamba District did not do. RUF/AFRC forces established checkpoints from Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom) to Mabang (Ribbi Chiefdom, at the boundary with Port Loko District) and on the highway, as they knew there were Kamajors in Bumpeh Chiefdom. Nevertheless, the Kamajors continued their attacks, and after few months, they had succeeded pushing the RUF/AFRC forces beyond the Mabang Bridge, thus controlling Ribbi, Bumpeh, Kongbora and Kayima Chiefdoms.

From May 1997 until January 1998, the RUF/AFRC forces killed a number of civilians travelling on the Taiama (Kori chiefdom) to Bo (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District) highway, during which time they also took a lot of property from the travellers. Men were particular targets, as the RUF/AFRC forces alleged that any man in Kamajei and Kori Chiefdoms was either a Kamajor or a Kamajor supporter. Kamajors from Kamajei Chiefdom, together with some Kamajors from Mongere (Valunia Chiefdom), also ambushed vehicles they claimed to belong to AFRC members. The stolen property was taken to Gondama (Kamajei Chiefdom) and to Mongere. Civilians in this area were therefore caught between the two fighting factions.

On 5 June 1997, RUF forces from Kailahun District and en route to Freetown to join the AFRC regime raided the town of Senehun (Kamajei Chiefdom). They took a lot of property from the civilians, as a result of which civilians fled the town. On 7 June, RUF/AFRC forces entered Moyamba Town, although it had been under Kamajor control since August 1996, when Kamajors forced the SLA forces out of town. RUF/AFRC forces killed 12 civilians and took away property, leaving the same day and promising they would come back.

Around 16 June, RUF/AFRC forces entered Yoyema (Kaiyamba Chiefdom), where RUF forces had been repelled around August 1996. They told civilians they had come to thank them for voting for the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP). They burnt down many houses in the town and killed a tremendous number of civilians.

Since the Kamajors had been in control of Kagboro, Timdel and Bagruwa Chiefdoms, in the south of the District, since late 1996, there was a shift in their organisation. At this time, the Kamajors were identified in two different categories: the "old" and the "new"; it was believed that most of the havoc on civilians was created by the new Kamajors, most of whom had been initiated after the RUF forces made their last attack on the chiefdoms. Thus at this time both old and new Kamajors from Kagboro reorganised themselves and, having taken control over an area, began to harass not only civilians but also their own colleagues. For example, starting in June, a base commander from Sembehun (Bagruwa Chiefdom) used to visit Shenge (Kagboro Chiefdom). On these occasions he

¹³¹³ There are two Waterloo Towns in Sierra Leone, one in the Western Area and one in the north of Fakunya Chiefdom

¹³¹⁴ The outcome of this battle and any casualties could not be ascertained.

and his men would loot the town and harass the inhabitants. On one occasion he killed two civilians visiting Shenge and left their bodies near a bridge at Sembehun. One of these civilians was a trader, carrying US dollars to the value of Le 11,000,000, which was taken away by this Kamajor commander. During these raids, this Kamajor commander also threatened some Kamajors from Kagboro Chiefdom at gunpoint. On another occasion, Kamajors based at Mossanda (Timdel Chiefdom) went to Mokobo in Kagboro Chiefdom where they took some cattle away.

Kamajors at Shenge and elsewhere also made cages constructed with different kinds of thorns, where suspected "rebel" collaborators and civilians or Kamajors who violated their laws were imprisoned. Civilians were flogged with sticks and forcefully pushed into the cages, the floors of which were also lined with broken bottles. The CDF forces also had another form of punishment for civilians known as "FM": a thin nylon rope was tied on two short equal sticks and then wrapped either on the two wrists or above the elbows. It was continually rolled until the nylon was squeezed into the body, injuring veins and muscles as the circulation of blood stopped in the affected areas. When the person was released, usually either their hands were broken or very swollen, which often led to partial deformity. These forms of punishment (FM and cages) were found in almost all the chiefdoms in the District where CDF were based. For example, at Mano Junction (Kagboro Chiefdom), two members of a church were accused of preaching against the Kamajors and were put in the cage into which hot ashes were poured; Kamajors referred to this as "a jet is bombing".

CDF members in other chiefdoms continued their harassment of civilians, inflicting sexual, physical and mental violence. In fact, this period was described by some civilians as the peak of the CDF activities in the District, with Kamajors being described as "having spoiled their mandate". People who defied the Kamajors' authority were often killed. For example, at Banta Chiefdom, three youths who went to purchase gari at Gbangbatoke were arrested for not paying due respect to the CDF command. Two of them were killed and the third was severely beaten before being released. This harassment led to an incident in Gbangbatoke in September, during which civilians threw stones at Kamajors and told them they would take care of their defence themselves. At Dodo Bridge (Bagruwa Chiefdom), summary executions were carried out. Checkpoints were established and travel cards issued to civilians. A civilian without such a card was considered to be an RUF member and was dealt with accordingly.

In Banta Mokele Chiefdom, Kamajors also passed laws civilians had to abide by, presided over cases and acted as Chiefs. The Kamajors' behaviours in Kamajei Chiefdom (north-west of the District) also began to change after the signing of the Abidjan Peace Agreement and they were described as being the "chiefs". They decided cases and punished people they found guilty: Town Chiefs and Section Chiefs were molested by young Kamajors, civilians were maltreated and sometimes, were put the cages made of sticks and thorns. In other cases, women were beaten publicly, particularly when they refused to marry a Kamajor.

In Dasse and Kowa Chiefdoms, civilians recounted that the checkpoints, originally set up by the Kamajors to search for RUF members and weapons, were now used to harass civilians and drivers, asking them for money and taking their property. Cages made of thorns were built at these checkpoints and were used as prisons or guardrooms. On one occasion, a student coming from Bo

¹³¹⁵ AFP, 26 September 1997.

had his shoes and his money taken away at Mano (Dasse Chiefdom). As he wanted to talk, he was a hit with a rifle one Kamajor was carrying.

RUF/AFRC activity in the second half of the year continued with numerous attacks on different towns and villages. During the night of 25 June 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Mokonde, south of Kori Chiefdom near Njala University. As it was dark, it was difficult for people to see where they were going when they tried to escape and many drowned in the Taia River. Others were shot and killed by the RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces went to Njala College and stole a lot of property. Before leaving, they captured some civilians to carry the load; one of them was later shot and killed when he said he was too tired to carry the load. RUF/AFRC launched subsequent attacks on Mokonde and its environs throughout the year, almost without exception on a hit and run basis.

In the north of the Chiefdom, at the boundary with Yoni Chiefdom (Tonkolili District), RUF/AFRC forces entered Negeleboiya at night sometime in July. They gathered the civilians who did not manage to escape at the Court Barrie and began calling people's names. Those who were called had to lie down and then the RUF forces then cut their throats; 40 men were killed that night in this way.

On 28 June 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Moyamba Junction (Fakunya Chiefdom) and villages on the road leading to Moyamba Town. Houses were burnt at Kpangbama and Ngandorhun while civilians were killed between Kpetema Junction and Waterloo. Sometime the next month, a large number of RUF/AFRC forces went from Moyamba Junction to Moyamba Town (Kayima Chiefdom). They captured 11 commercial vehicles at Moyamba Junction and mounted an anti-aircraft gun on one of the vehicles, which they used to fire at towns and villages they passed on their way to Moyamba Town. They burnt down several houses at Kpangbama and Ngandorhun (Fakunya Chiefdom). Kwellu (Fakunya Chiefdom) was fiercely attacked, as it was an important initiation centre. Despite stiff resistance from the CDF, between four to eight civilians and one CDF member were killed during the battle and eight houses were burnt down. The RUF forces reached Moyamba Town around mid to late July and dislodged the CDF forces after a stiff battle.

Moyamba District in a whole and Moyamba Town in particular, was a target for the AFRC when it came into power in May 1997 due to the earlier rejection of SLA forces by civilians in the District. During their short stay of eight days in Moyamba Town, the RUF/AFRC forces killed almost all the young men they found; women, children and even livestock were also killed. They hunted people who had fled into the bush and killed them. Section Chiefs and elders were targeted and killed, including one prominent Section Chief. His death terrified all the chiefdom elders as well as the young men, as a result of which many young men volunteered to join the Kamajor society to defend their chiefdoms.

After eight days in the town, RUF forces returned to Moyamba Junction with all the property they had taken. The RUF/AFRC settled in Moyamba Junction, which led to the harassment of civilians, who by then were mostly living in the bush. One group of RUF/AFRC members was everyday going to the bush to take away civilians' property. During this period, women and girls were constantly sexually harassed.

Two days after the RUF/AFRC forces had left, Kamajors returned to Moyamba Town, sending messages to people in the bush telling them to come back to town. Civilians were screened for RUF members or collaborators when they came out of the bush and every household was taxed Le 2,000 to contribute to the feeding of the Kamajors. The Kamajors conducted a house-to-house search and took away any property that had not been burnt or stolen by the RUF/AFRC forces. The Government agricultural office was also looted. As many civilians left the town and found refuge in the nearby village of Korgbotuma, the Kamajors went there and threatened to kill civilians who would not come back to the town. On their way back, two civilians were shot and killed by Kamajors.

Kamajors imposed their authority on everybody. They used a building on Coromboya Road as their secretariat and established laws and decrees. Chiefs were prevented from exercising their powers and were molested, beaten or tied up. Kamajors exercised all the powers normally vested in different official bodies and fulfilled the tasks of chiefs, judges and policemen. They set up tribunals and presided over cases. Civilians were continuously harassed, for all the non-initiates were treated with disrespect. Wealthy civilians were targeted and all their money and valuables were taken away, often at checkpoints. On one occasion, four Kamajors killed a trader and burnt down his compound. In another incident, a civilian was killed at a checkpoint for Le 500. Women were sexually harassed and forcefully became the "wives" of Kamajors. RUF/AFRC members, if captured, were killed. Kamajors also killed civilians, on the allegation that they were collaborators. The way they qualified the collaboration was so wide that relatives of RUF/AFRC forces were killed, even if they had nothing to do with their relatives in the RUF/AFRC: having the same name as an RUF or AFRC member was sufficient to be "washed", i.e. killed. On one occasion, an employee of the District Office was accused of being a "Junta" collaborator and beheaded at Sembehun Road.

Kwellu (Fakunya Chiefdom) became the centre of administration in the chiefdom and cases were directed to the CDF leaders based in the town. The head of the CDF initiation process and his assistants presided over all cases. RUF members captured at the war front were brought to the town and were killed. On one occasion, a civilian alleged to be a "rebel" collaborator was arrested at Falaba Gbotima and was hit with a knife and severely beaten before he was taken to Kwellu, where he died. Other civilians were killed on the same grounds, including one man from Madina and one man and his son from Monyanga. Cages made of thorns were built, where civilians and Kamajors who did not respect the laws the Kamajors had established were imprisoned. The local authorities, including Paramount Chiefs, Section Chiefs and Town Chiefs who did not want to be initiated no longer had any control or power.

On 10 December 1997, the CDF launched a successful attack on the RUF/AFRC forces at Moyamba Junction (Fakunya Chiefdom). Five RUF/AFRC forces were killed and the town was captured by the CDF. This attack was the first of series of battles for the control of Moyamba Junction, where RUF/AFRC forces were based and Waterloo, where Kamajors were based. Ultimately, Kamajors would keep the control of Waterloo and would also dislodge the RUF/AFRC from Moyamba Junction. 1316

¹³¹⁶ In December, an increase in Kamajor activities was reported, despite the declaration of a ceasefire on 22October as part of the Conakry Peace Plan: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 19 November - 2December 1997.

The RUF/AFRC forces launched a counter-attack on 16 December, reinforced by RUF/AFRC forces from Bo and Camp Charlie. A helicopter gunship was also brought by the RUF/AFRC forces, which they used to overpower the CDF, leaving one of them dead. The RUF/AFRC forces captured two other CDF and killed them. Nevertheless, the CDF captured a lot of weapons from the RUF/AFRC forces. On 25 December 1997, the CDF again attacked Moyamba Junction and captured the town. However, on 27 December the RUF/AFRC forces launched a counter-attack and recaptured the town, killing one member of the CDF. On 31 December, the Kamajors finally chased the RUF/AFRC forces out of Moyamba Junction, forcing them to leave a lot of arms and ammunition behind.

Once the Kamajors consolidated their control over the whole Fakunya Chiefdom (they already had control over Kwellu), they increased their pressure and harassment of civilians, establishing laws that civilians had to abide by. Those laws, among others, prevented civilians to pound food in mortars at night and forbad them from giving the Kamajors bananas or any food containing banana. As in Kwellu, cages of 2 ½ feet high and 3 ½ feet wide and made of thorns were built and used as prisons. The punishments for not obeying the laws were varied and ranged from being fined to receiving lashes, being imprisoned in the cage and going "round the kabba" seven times, asking for forgiveness, during which the Kamajors would encircle the violator and give them lashes while they went around seven times.

The last major attack on the town of Njala (Kori Chiefdom) was on 23 December 1997, while Kamajors were carrying out the operation "Black December". RUF/AFRC forces burnt houses from Mokande to the College and occupied Njala for seven days. They killed civilians and captured and raped a lot of young girls and women in the town. Surrounding villages like Pujehun and Bambuibu (both in Kori Chiefdom) were also attacked at this time. The RUF/AFRC forces then went south along the main road to Mano (Dasse Chiefdom), chasing civilians who had found refuge in the bush. The "sorquehun", bush camps, were ransacked and property was taken away. On the walls of some houses, the forces wrote the names of some of their commanders in blood.

In December 1997, the CDF high command announced over the radio the commencement of the "Black December Operations", namely that no vehicle should travel to Freetown. This operation was designed to cut off the AFRC forces in Freetown from the rest of the country. The CDF in the District stopped all vehicles and boats from travelling to Freetown and severely punished those who did not obey the announcement. For example, a defaulting vehicle, which did not stop as requested was fired on at Bengeh (Bumpeh Chiefdom), killing two people.

e) Events in 1998 to 2001

After they were driven out of Freetown during the first week of February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces left Moyamba District, although little information was recounted on this departure, except the following incident. RUF/AFRC forces attacked Korgbotuma (Kaiyamba Chiefdom) from four

¹³¹⁷ This camp was located in the outskirts of Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District).

¹³¹⁸ The kabba is a cube-shaped building in Mecca, which Muslims believe was built by Abraham for the worship of Allah. When going on Hajj, namely the journey to Mecca, pilgrims begin by going seven times around the kabba.

different points and battled with the CDF in the town, defeating the CDF and capturing the town. The RUF/AFRC commanders informed the civilians that their mission was to carry out "Operation no living thing" in the town and its environs. The forces stayed in the town for eight days, during which they killed a lot of civilians, took property and burnt down houses in the town. Two days after their departure the CDF took over the town and ordered all the people in the bush to return to the town even when they had no where to sleep since almost all the houses were burnt.

In early 1998, Kamajors from Bo District came to Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom) and told the Kamajors from Bumpeh Chiefdom that they had received instructions from the CDF High Command to reinforce those already deployed at Rotifunk, in order to prevent the RUF/AFRC forces retreating from Freetown using the Mabang Bridge (Ribbi Chiefdom, at the border with Port Loko District). Those Kamajors soon took control of the township and the Kamajors from Bumpeh Chiefdom went under cover, for they had less arms and ammunition than the recently arrived reinforcements. One month after they had arrived, the elders of the chiefdom met at Moyamba Town to find a way to move out the Kamajors from Bo District. It was agreed that more men should be initiated, so an initiator was brought to perform initiation ceremonies at Bellentin. Within two weeks, he had initiated over 400 men and one woman. Those new initiates, equipped only with bladed weapons, drove out the Kamajors from Bo. Nevertheless, the new Kamajors established checkpoints on the highway and took money from drivers at those checkpoints. Drivers who did not want to pay would be beaten or their vehicle damaged. On one occasion, one driver who could not give Le 10,000 as requested had two of his tyres shot out.

ECOMOG forces deployed in various areas of the District in February 1998 and ensured the security of the District, notably by setting up checkpoints that they operated together with Kamajors. In Kamajei Chiefdom, for example, they set up checkpoints at the headquarter town of Senehun and at Lonponga. However, Kamajors who assisted the ECOMOG forces at those checkpoints were still mistreating civilians. Vehicles suspected of carrying RUF or AFRC members or goods without proper documents were detained at those checkpoints and passengers were forced to remain there and sleep on the ground. Women who openly opposed the activities carried out at those checkpoints were stripped naked and forced to lie on the ground. The situation worsened when the ECOMOG forces left the checkpoints in the hand of the Kamajors, who would only dismantle those checkpoints in November 2001.

Immediately after the RUF/AFRC forces were pushed out of power in early 1998, an internal fight occurred between different factions of the CDF. Kamajors operating in the Southern Province accused the Gbethies, who were active in the Northern Province, of supporting AFRC members in their fight against Kamajors. A group of Gbethies from neighbouring chiefdoms in Tonkolili District attacked the Kamajors base at Gondama and Fogbo (Kori Chiefdom). Nobody was killed during the attack but houses were burnt by the retreating Gbethies. Five days later, the Kamajors

¹³¹⁹ "Operation No Living Thing" was the name of the operation carried out by the RUF/AFRC forces retreating from Freetown, during which atrocities committed against civilians reached unprecedented levels. It was mostly carried out in the Northern Province and in Kono District.

¹³²⁰ It could not be ascertained when ECOMOG forces exactly came in the District, nor when they left Kamajei Chiefdom.

launched a counter-attack on the Gbethies at Pateful (Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). The situation was finally resolved through the intervention of the elders.

On 29 March, a letter issued by the CDF headquarter was circulated to all Kamajors in the District, ordering that since the Sierra Leonean President had now been reinstated, the Kamajors should let the Chiefs assuming their functions and stop presiding over issues. However, Kamajors from the chiefdoms in the south of the District, Kagboro, Timdel, Bagruwa, Banta and Banta Mokele Chiefdoms continued to affirm their authority and to maltreat civilians and authorities. CDF in Moyamba Town (Kaiyamba Chiefdom) also continued to rule as chiefs and to control the live of civilians, as they had done in 1997. For example, around 5 March 1998, a young woman moved from Foyah to Matta Gelema in Banta Chiefdom to sell cassava leaves. At a checkpoint on her way, she was asked by a Kamajor to show him her pass. The woman told the Kamajors that her father was a Town Chief and that they did not know about this system of pass. Kamajors replied by saying that Kamajors were now the chiefs and authorities and that they were not respected by the civilians, who treated them with over-familiarity. They took her cassava bag away and detained her for two hours before she was freed. Her father, the Town Chief, reported the matter to the Ground Commander to no avail, as the Ground Commander told him he had no time for reports, for he knew his men were doing a good job.

In Kagboro Chiefdom, by 1998, the CDF had established checkpoints along the road going through the middle of the chiefdom at Yoyema, Gondama Junction, Talia and Tawovahun. Vehicles were checked for guns and "rebels" or "rebel" suspects. Anyone caught as a "rebel" or "junta" soldier or who was suspected to be such by the Kamajors was immediately carried away and "washed", a term the CDF used for killing. People were killed at the checkpoints very often, sometimes for money or other property. In other places where the CDF had checkpoints, people who were not from that chiefdom were often singled out to be victims.

The CDF frequently beat women and one commander in particular travelled around the chiefdom harassing young men and women and molesting the elderly. From Bauma to Blama and from Mamboma to Senehun, this commander was well known for this type of behaviour. On one occasion, he ordered his boys to torture a civilian whose daughter was alleged to have been in love with an RUF/AFRC member. In another incident in Mokebay Section, Kamajors killed a lady who had come from Bumpe to buy fish. They removed her body parts for rituals, as they allegedly believed that the ritual murder would prevent their "evil deeds" from been exposed. Several other civilians were killed afterwards. Other civilians killed included one man from Yorgborfore, one from Mbawoma, one from Metiba and one from Bumpetoke. A Kamajor cut off the ear of a woman from Bonthe District with a cutlass and chewed it. The woman latter suffered severe pain from the ear. Another Kamajor declared one day that any civilian not abiding by their laws would be killed and eaten raw. In Timdel Chiefdom, at Morkandor, one civilian was beaten with orange sticks covered in thorns, as he failed to be his contribution for the feeding of the Kamajors. He was them asked to contribute with three bushels of husk rice or would be killed. The deputy Town Chief of Morkandor was severely beaten because he refused to act as a town crier.

In April or May, a schoolteacher riding his bike between Mokonde (Kori Chiefdom) and Pelewahun (south of Kamajei Chiefdom) was caught by Kamajors who had established a checkpoint at

Pelewahun. The man was dragged in the bush, had his stomach cut open and his intestines removed. The Kamajors then set the body on fire, taking his bicycle and his two months salary he had just received. This killing was carried out because one of the Kamajors wanted to take his revenge on this schoolteacher, the new partner of his ex-girlfriend. Police officers from Taiama (Kori Chiefdom) investigated the matter and the four Kamajors who killed the schoolteacher were arrested, put in prison and tried in the High Court in Bo. Following this arrest, the other Kamajors left Pelewahun.

In 1999, some incursions were carried out in the District by RUF/AFRC forces based in Tonkolili District. Those attacks were, however, limited to villages in Fakunya Chiefdom, along the border with the Northern Province. Sometime in March 1999, RUF/AFRC forces based in Tonkolili District launched a series of attacks on villages on the Fakunya/Yoni boundary, mainly for searching for food and other items. One serious attack was made at Mataradegba, one mile from Rogboya, by the RUF forces from Mile 91 in late March 1999. It was a silent attack and they entered the town without discharging their weapons. Sixteen people were locked in a house, which was then set on fire and set ablaze. The RUF forces also shot and killed another five people. They then went to Rogboya, where they met with stiff resistance from the CDF forces in the town. On their retreat, they fell in a CDF ambush; six of the RUF forces were killed and a lot of their arms and ammunition captured. On 18 April 1999, the RUF forces launched another attack on Rogboya and succeeded in capturing the town. They were, however, soon repelled from the town by CDF from other towns nearby. On their way back to Tonkolili District, they had a battle with some Kamajors, which left over 40 RUF/AFRC members dead. This was to be the last battle between the CDF and RUF forces in Fakunya Chiefdom.

During the same period, some RUF/AFRC forces coming from their base at Okra Hills (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) crossed into the north of Ribbi Chiefdom, mainly chasing civilians in the camps they had built in the bush.¹³²¹ They took away the rice and burnt a farmhouse near Makabie before heading for Makabie, where they abducted one man. This man was told to deliver the message to the inhabitants of Makabie that they would come back again to the village, as one of their boxes of cigarettes had been stolen. They further added that anyone they caught would be either mutilated or killed, depending on their will. When they came back to the village, they took some property away, burnt the houses and abducted one man, who they later killed.

The inhabitants of Ribbi Chiefdom, north-west of the District at the border with Port Loko District, were in total disarray at this time because of one group of CDF, who were opposed to the Gbethies from Port Loko District and who were inflicting a lot of violence on civilians in the chiefdom. On 24 March 1999, Kamajors and Avondos came to Bradford, the headquarter town of Ribbi Chiefdom and began to shoot indistinctly. One civilian was caught escaping and was accused by the Kamajors of being a "rebel". Those Kamajors and Avondos told the civilians they had come to Ribbi because they knew they had been RUF/AFRC forces in the chiefdom. Some civilians were

¹³²¹ Okra Hills was the base of the West Side Boys, a fighting faction that emerged from the RUF/AFRC forces in late 1998: see the analysis for Port Loko District for more information.

¹³²² It is not clear where those CDF members came from. It seems that the Avondos came from Taima (Kori Chiefdom) while the group of Kamajors came from Kongbora and Bumpeh Chiefdoms.

¹³²³ It seems that there were no Kamajors operating in Ribbi Chiefdom before this incident.

killed, accused by the CDF members of selling food to RUF/AFRC members. Throughout May and April, the two groups deployed in the town and went to the surrounding villages, killing civilians and burning houses. For example, they went to Rogbonkol, burnt 10 houses and killed 20 people; at Mothankey, they killed one woman and took away her two children and all her property. They also crossed the Ribbi River and went to Bathpon (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District). On their return to Bradford, the Kamajors and Avondos met a deaf woman in her garden and asked her what she was doing there. The woman told them that since they were "soldiers" – because they were wearing military uniforms – they should not disturb her. The CDF members told the woman they were going to kill her, as they said she was inhabited with devil spirits. The Avondo commander ordered his men to kill her, so she was shot and killed.

The CDF members then moved to Makabie, where they established a checkpoint on the highway leading to Freetown. Any civilian caught speaking Temne was accused of being a Gbethie collaborator, who were their targets at this time. Anybody thus accused was forced to lead them to the place where he was living and all his property was taken away. The inhabitants of Makabie were gathered, accused of being "rebels" and threatened with death; they were not, however, killed and the Town Chief was forced to pay Le 15,000 instead. Civilians were told that they could not go anywhere without the permission of the CDF members and that as long as they remained in the town, the civilians were responsible for their feeding. It was alleged that the main purpose of the CDF members was to steal their property and that the allegation of collaboration was a pretext. Some CDF members then left the town and went to Rosint Loko, where they abducted civilians, subsequently releasing all but one. The captured civilian who was not released was killed, as he failed to lead the Kamajors to the Gbethies. He was hit with a bladed weapon on his face and as he was wiping away the blood, the Kamajor commander told him not to waste his blood as he was thirsty and wanted to drink it. The man was then shot and killed; he was later buried by civilians from Makabie. A report on this incident was made to the ECOMOG forces deployed at Songo (Western Area). ECOMOG forces arrested the CDF members but released them shortly after. 1325

The CDF members returned to Ribbi Chiefdom and resettled first at Mo Lamina and then at Mo Goba, from where they raided the surrounding villages, harassing civilians for their property. One truck belonging to the International Labour Organisation was stolen in Moyamba village (Ribbi Chiefdom) and used by the CDF members to carry the property they were stealing. At Massampa, for example, they entered the town shooting their guns and killing one student. They looted the town and burnt five houses. At Sueu, they shot the Chiefdom Speaker, stripped him, tied him up and took him to Bumpeh Chiefdom, where they allegedly had their main base. At Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom), one of the commanders wore the fingers of the late Chiefdom Speaker on a necklace around his neck. The CDF members went back to Moyamba village (Ribbi Chiefdom), burnt 19 houses and captured two traders, whom they later killed. Other incidents included another attack on Bradford, where they took a significant sum of money from traders and another attack on Sueu, where they killed one woman and took away her property. CDF members also went to Mabang,

¹³²⁴ Both the Avondos and the Kamajors had their own commanders, although they carried most of these actions together.

¹³²⁵ No more details were available on this arrest.

after the RUF/AFRC forces had left the bridge, ¹³²⁶ and killed a lot of civilians and harassed anybody using the bridge. ¹³²⁷

The Kamajors stayed in Bradford for a while, forcing civilians to bring them food and money and to work for them, harvesting palm nuts. These actions continued until the Government announced that all the fighting factions had to stop hostilities. 1328

By May 1999, some commercial vehicles used the alternative highway from Freetown to Bo, through Moyamba, without encountering any attack, although the highway was not yet reopened for traffic. 1329

Probably in 1999 or 2000, Kamajors from Bumpeh Chiefdom battled with Kamajors from Kagboro Chiefdom, for one lady trader from Bumpeh Chiefdom had been beaten and her money taken away by Kamajors at Ribbi (Kagboro Chiefdom). The Kamajors from the two chiefdoms were later reconciled through the intervention of the Paramount Chief of Bumpeh Chiefdom and elders of Kagboro Chiefdom.

Following the Freetown invasion in January 1999, a peace accord marking the end of the conflict and known as the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed on 7 July in the Togolese capital. Pursuant to this accord, the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process was formally launched by the President of Sierra Leone on 20 October 1999 during a ceremony at Wilberforce Barracks, Freetown and began properly on 4 November 1999. Five demobilisation centres were opened at Lungi (Port Loko District), Port Loko South, Port Loko North, Kenema and Daru (Kailahun District). In early 2000, UN peacekeepers from the Guinean contingent were deployed at Moyamba Town. Moyamba Town.

On 10 March 2000, the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR) identified two more sites, one of which was at Levuma (north of Kongbora Chiefdom). However, disarmament started at a slow pace and was halted temporarily in May 2000, as fighting were still going on in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and peacekeepers were abducted by RUF/AFRC forces. Although Moyamba District was not directly concerned by these events, it seems clear that the CDF members would not disarm as long as the other fighting factions were still carrying out armed operations. The DDR process would be given a new start in November 2000 when the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF signed a ceasefire in Abuja, Nigeria on 10 November 2000. On 4 May 2001, those parties would meet again in Abuja, Nigeria to review the cease-fire. Further to this meeting, those parties held monthly tripartite meetings under the Joint

¹³²⁶ RUF/AFRC forces were in Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District), on the other side of the bridge.

¹³²⁷ No further information was available on this incident.

¹³²⁸ A ceasefire was signed in May 1999. No more information was available on what exactly happened in the chiefdom following this announcement.

¹³²⁹ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 1 - 17 May 1999.

¹³³⁰ The launch of the DDR process was delayed as it was meant to start within six weeks of the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement.

¹³³¹ IRIN West Africa, 12 April 2000. On 22 October 1999, the UN Security Council had adopted Resolution 1270 approving the deployment of 6,000 armed peacekeepers alongside the 260 unarmed military observers. Their number would increase over the subsequent months.

¹³³² IRIN West Africa, 17 March 2000.

Committee on DDR and decided on an accelerated schedule for the completion of the disarmament process. During the fourth meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR in Kenema on 10 August 2001, it was agreed that the next stage of disarmament was to take place simultaneously in Moyamba and Koinadugu District, between 15 and 30 August. However, disarmament was not complete by 31 August, mainly for logistics reasons.

In a symbolic disarmament ceremony in the town of Moyamba on 20 October 2001, CDF combatants and their senior commanders handed over more than 50 weapons to UN peacekeepers, in the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary General in Sierra Leone. At the end of the seventh meeting of the Joint Committee on DDR on 9 November, disarmament was declared complete in Moyamba District. On 30 November 2001, a Nepalese Battalion of peacekeepers was deployed in Moyamba Town and Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom), at which time the war officially came to an end in Moyamba District.

3. Conclusion

Moyamba District was the last District of the Southern Province to be attacked by RUF forces. The first incursion into the District was launched in early January 1995, at a time when NPFL forces, originally fighting alongside the RUF from 1991, had long since withdrawn to Liberia. This first wave of attacks was carried out from Bo District and in the aftermath of a series of attacks on major towns in Bo District. Attacks on Moyamba District were subsequently carried out by RUF forces who settled in the District but also from the neighbouring Districts of Bonthe and Bo in the Southern Province and Tonkolili in the Northern Province.

The spreading of RUF forces into Moyamba District was one of the latest developments of a new phase of the conflict, which started in late December 1993 in the south of Kenema District. From this date on, RUF forces took to the bush and adopted guerrilla warfare tactics, progressing to Districts so far unaffected and by 1995, had established positions in all the Districts.

In March 1995, it was clear that the ultimate goal of the RUF forces who attacked Moyamba District was to reach Freetown. To this end, they progressed through the District using the highway that leads to Songo in the Western Area, systematically attacking the major towns located on this highway. It was only when their progression to Freetown was stopped that they settled in the District and established a strong base in the north.

As in the other Districts of the Southern Province, Kamajors progressively halted the actions of the RUF forces from the beginning of 1996. The initiation of youths and local hunters, members or not of the CDUs, started in early 1996 and developed throughout the year. Bonthe District played an active role in the development of Kamajors throughout Moyamba District, as many men from Moyamba District went to Bonthe District for initiation also because Kamajors from Bonthe District went to Moyamba District to fight the RUF forces.

¹³³³ UNAMSIL press briefing, 14 August 2001. At that time, the disarmament was complete in Port Loko and Kambia Districts. As of that date, 1,500 CDF members had disarmed in Moyamba District.

¹³³⁴ UNAMSIL press briefing, 23 October 2001.

¹³³⁵ UNAMSIL press briefing, 9 November 2001.

¹³³⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 06 - 30 November 2001.

The chiefdoms in the south of the District were under Kamajor control earlier than the chiefdoms in the north. By late 1996, Kamajors had taken control of the southern chiefdoms and no more RUF attack was reported in those areas. This was probably also due to the fact that around this period, Kamajors had already dislodged RUF forces from Bonthe District. The situation for the chiefdoms in the north of the District was far different. Although their main base, Camp Fol Fol was destroyed in late 1996 by Kamajors, the RUF forces and, shortly after, RUF/AFRC forces were present in many of the chiefdoms in the north, wreaking a lot of havoc on civilians. At this time, both Port Loko and Tonkolili Districts, which adjoin Moyamba District to the north, were also infiltrated by RUF and RUF/AFRC forces.

Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in early 1998, the actions of the RUF/AFRC forces were concentrated in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Free from RUF/AFRC incursions, the Kamajors affirmed their control of the security of Moyamba District and expanded this control to civilians and local authorities. In this regard, the pattern of actions in Moyamba District at this time would converge with what happened in the other Districts of the Southern Province.

d. Pujehun District

1. Introduction

Pujehun District, with its headquarter of Pujehun Town, is one of the four Districts of the Southern Province, the other three being Bonthe, Bo and Moyamba Districts. It is bordered on the east by Liberia, on the northeast by Kenema District (Eastern Province), on the northwest by Bo District and on the west by Bonthe District. At its southern edge is the Atlantic Ocean.

There are 12 chiefdoms in the District:

<u>Chiefdom</u> <u>Headquarters</u>

Barri Potoru Gallinas Peri Blama Kpaka Massam Makpele Zimmi Malen Sahn Mano Sakrim Gbonjema Panga Kabonde Pujehun Panga Krim Gobaru Peje Futa Soro Gbema Fairo Sowa Bandajuma Yekomo Kpukumu Krim Karlu

The main rivers flowing through the District would prove to be of strategic importance during the conflict. The Mano River that flows on the eastern edge of Makpele and Soro Gbema Chiefdoms constitutes the natural border between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The entry point to the District is

located in Soro Gbema Chiefdom, at the Mano River Union Bridge, Bo Waterside, which was a joint venture between Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Control of the bridge would be of great importance for the RUF/NPFL and later on for the RUF forces, as it allows easy penetration into the District and the transport of supplies from Liberia. Accordingly, throughout the conflict, the RUF forces would mainly be based in the east of the District. The Moa River originates from the ocean between Gallinas Peri and Soro Gbema Chiefdoms, following more or less the border between those two chiefdoms through Barri Chiefdom before reaching Kenema and Kailahun Districts, thereby isolating Soro Gbema and Makpele Chiefdoms from the rest of the District. Other rivers located in the south of the District and of lesser strategic importance would be used by the fighting factions, mainly the RUF forces, to move within the District.

Crossing the Mano River Union Bridge, there is only one motorable road linking Fairo (Soro Gbema Chiefdom headquarters) to Sulima in the south (Soro Gbema Chiefdom) and to Zimmi in the north (Makpele Chiefdom Headquarters). Furthermore, this road to Zimmi is the only way to reach Pujehun Town, other than by using bush paths. From Zimmi, it continues westwards to Potoru (Barri Chiefdom headquarters), Futa (Peje Chiefdom headquarters) and Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom Headquarters). Bandajuma is located on the main road that links Pujehun and Bo Districts, starting in Pujehun Town and leading to Koribondo and Bo Town (Bo District). From Potoru, an alternative road passing by Gallinas Peri and Kpaka, the two central chiefdoms, goes to Pujehun Town.

The small number of roads providing access to other Districts is an important factor in how the RUF/NPFL forces would attack surrounding Districts. To go to Kenema District in the north-east, there are only two alternative roads, through Makpele Chiefdom or through Peje Chiefdom. Two roads also allow the penetration of Bo District, the main one being a highway passing through Panga Kabone and Sowa Chiefdoms, while the second one leaves Pujehun Town to pass through Malen Chiefdom in the west. There are no motorable roads linking Pujehun District with Bonthe District in the south-east; accordingly, this District would not be affected during the first years of the war, as access was achieved only later through Bo District.

The main economic activities of the District consist of mining, fishing and cash crops, notably coffee and cocoa plantations. In some chiefdoms, primarily in Makpele Chiefdom, the main economic activity is diamond mining.

Pujehun District, at the border with Liberia was concerned by the conflict as early as March 1991 when Revolutionary United Front (RUF)/ National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) forces crossed the border at the Mano River Union Bridge into Soro Gbema Chiefdom. From this first incursion, the conflict would affect the District through three discernable phases.

The first phase, which ran from 1991 to 1993, was first marked by the first incursion in 1991, where almost all the chiefdoms and major towns, including Pujehun Town, were attacked by RUF/NPFL forces within one month. This first incursion was characterised by widespread violations committed by RUF/NPFL forces. Those forces would follow the same pattern upon entry to a village: they would gather the civilians, identify themselves as "freedom fighters" coming to redeem Sierra Leone from the corrupted All People's Congress (APC) regime and depose and replace the local

authorities, setting up basic administrative structures. Their arrival and stay in a place was accompanied by the infliction of physical and mental violence on the people of the village, as well as the abduction of members of the population, including children, for use as forced labour, as soldiers, as cooks and as "wives". RUF/NPFL forces also engaged in widespread theft and property destruction, notably the burning of houses. However, from July to September 1991, SLA forces, assisted by foreign troops, dislodged the RUF/NPFL forces from most of their positions, pushing them back to the Liberian border. This SLA offensive and control of the District was nonetheless soon accompanied by violence inflicted on civilians, in particular those labelled as collaborators with the RUF/NPFL. Attacks, probably carried out by remnants of RUF/NPFL forces, were however still recorded at the end of 1991 and in 1992. At the end of 1992 and beginning of 1993, RUF forces launched a powerful attack from Liberia, established a stronghold in Soro Gbema Chiefdom and started spreading across the District. This second incursion was, however, less successful than the first one as they were soon defeated in most areas by SLA forces. While in control, SLA forces continued to inflict great havoc on civilians, killing a lot of alleged collaborators, chasing civilians for their property, destroying some property and engaging in mining activities in the east of the District.

The second phase spanned from 1994 to May 1997, during which time the RUF forces succeeded in spreading throughout the country, shifting their tactics away from direct confrontation with the SLA to bush warfare, during which they mainly staged ambushes. At this time, thousands of civilians had fled the District for a refuge camp in Bo District. Starting in 1996, newly initiated Kamajors, initially operating in collaboration with SLA forces, engaged the RUF forces and by 1997 had succeeded in taking control of most of the RUF positions across the country, which led thousands of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to resettle in the District. However, their control was also accompanied by harassment of civilians, including constant requests for food and the taking of property. Physical violence was also inflicted, in particular on those they identified as being RUF collaborators.

The third phase of the conflict started in May 1997, when a military regime – the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) – seized power in the capital and concluded at the end of 2001, when the disarmament process was complete for Pujehun District. Shortly after the Coup, RUF forces who had been living in the bush for some months joined the AFRC and Kamajors in the District went underground. During their stay in the District, the RUF/AFRC forces imposed great harms on civilians in general and on alleged Kamajors collaborator in particular, including physical violence, killing, rape, abduction for use as forced labour, soldiers or "wives" and stealing and destruction of property. Starting in October, Kamajors regrouped and intensified their fighting against those combined forces, gaining more and more ground; by March 1998, following ECOMOG deployment in the District, the RUF/AFRC forces were repelled from the District. From this date onwards, the District remained under control of the Kamajors, who imposed their authority in all aspects of life, restricted the movement of the population by establishing checkpoints, replaced the local authorities and themselves administered the District, increased their violence against all civilians and engaged in mining activities. This would continue until the completion of disarmament at the end of 2001.

2. Factual Analysis

<u>a)</u> Events in 1991

On 28 March 1991, RUF/NPFL forces crossed the Mano River Union Bridge¹³³⁷ at Jendema (Soro Gbema Chiefdom), 7 miles from Fairo. They then headed for Malema, where they seized weapons from the SSD store, before heading for Fairo. From Soro Gbema Chiefdom, the RUF/NPFL forces would then head for Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom, in the east of the District), passing by Makpele, Barri, Peje, Sowa, Kpaka and Gallinas Peri Chiefdoms, leaving behind some forces to settle in each of those areas. A few days after the RUF/NPFL forces crossed the Mano River Union Bridge, the RUF and NPFL leaders paid them a brief visit at Bo Waterside, allegedly to check that the forces had crossed the river and to receive food items and furniture taken from the Police Barracks at Jendema. ¹³³⁸

At the time of this incursion, SLA forces were deployed in the District, chiefly in Fairo (Soro Gbema Chiefdom), Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom), Potoru (Barri Chiefdom) and Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom).

At Fairo (Soro Gbema Chiefdom), a short battle took place with some SLA forces and SSD members who were posted there. 1339 The house of the Paramount Chief, occupied at the time by SLA forces, was burnt down and the first killings of civilians and taking of their property was recorded at this time. Gunshots were heard in the town until night fell. The following morning, the civilians were gathered in the Court Barrie and addressed by the RUF/NPFL forces, who told them they should not be afraid, as they had come to redeem the civilians from the APC regime. However, a few days later, the RUF/NPFL forces killed one civilian who refused to give them food at Jendema. At Sulima, in the south of the chiefdom, they also killed one civilian, allegedly because he questioned them about the previous killing. Following this incursion, civilians from Wai, a town located on the main Fairo-Sulima road in the chiefdom, fled the town; some went to Liberia, first hiding their property, as they had heard from fleeing civilians that the RUF/NPFL forces were stealing food and any other items that took their interest. However, those who fled Sierra Leone did not find a safer haven in Liberia, where a civil war was raging; while in Liberia, the people who had fled the war in Sierra Leone were harassed by NPFL forces, who took their property and sexually assaulted their daughters and wives. 1340

After they took control of Malema and Fairo (Soro Gbema Chiefdom), two training camps were opened in those towns to train conscripts on how to use weapons. The RUF/NPFL forces first went from village to village to get people to join their movement, but when they realised that few young people were joining them, they forced villages as a whole to contribute and to give some of

¹³³⁷ The control of the Mano River Union Bridge, a joint venture between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, would be of great importance as it allows penetration of the territory of Sierra Leone from Liberia.

¹³³⁸ During the first weeks of the conflict, many reports mention the visit of the RUF leader to Pujehun and Kailahun Districts, although it appeared that he spent more time in Kailahun District than in Pujehun District, while the NPFL leader is only mentioned as being present at Bo waterside.

¹³³⁹ The SLA forces were only 10, together with five SSD members, and had little ammunition, mainly only to defend themselves.

¹³⁴⁰ Since 1989, the NPFL had been waging war against the then President, Samuel Doe, who would be killed by a splinter group of the NPFL in 1990. Also in 1990, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sent some Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) forces to assist the Liberian Government to end the war. As part of this mission, ECOMOG based some forces at Lungi, Sierra Leone's international airport to the north of Freetown.

their inhabitants for training, threatening them with the destruction of the village if they refused. In this way, the RUF/NPFL forces recruited many young boys and girls and whoever refused to join or tried to hide during training was killed on the spot. Furthermore, those newly conscripted members were told to point out houses where young people had not volunteered to join, after which the RUF/NPFL forces looted and then burnt them. This situation led many families to give one of their family members to join the movement. RUF/NPFL forces also chased people who were hiding in farm huts in the bushes, raiding them at night, stealing their food and other valuable items and capturing young boys and girls. While the boys were conscripted into the fighting forces, the girls were used for sexual purposes. On one occasion, in the area of Malema, a five-months pregnant women was raped by five RUF/NPFL members and, as a result, had a miscarriage. In another incident, also in the Malema area, one girl was raped during a night raid. That same night, the commander of that RUF/NPFL forces told the people that the RUF leader had told them in Liberia that all the Sierra Leonean women were their wives and all the property they could find was also theirs.

The RUF/NPFL forces nominated a former candidate in the 1982 elections to be the chairman of their war council in the chiefdom. Following the 1982 general elections, a fight had erupted between the partisans of the two political groups contesting the elections and many civilians were killed and much property destroyed. The nomination of the war council chairman for the chiefdom recalled these events in 1982 for the civilians of Soro Gbema, as the newly appointed chairman was the candidate in the 1982 election who had not been elected to represent the Pujehun east constituency in Parliament. Some supporters of the man who was elected chairman and leader of the Ndorgbowusui group, saw this nomination to the war council as an opportunity to take revenge for atrocities committed against their families almost 20 years ago. For this reason, they voluntarily nominated some of their children to join the RUF/NPFL forces. Thus, civilians who were not members of the Ndorgbowusui group were particularly targeted during the RUF/NPFL presence in the chiefdom in 1991.

In late March 1991, civilians fleeing the RUF/NPFL advance in Soro Gbema Chiefdom crossed the Moa River that flows on its west edge and took refuge in Gallinas Peri Chiefdom, at Gbanahun, returning to their chiefdom a week later.

Zimmi, ¹³⁴² the headquarter town of Makpele Chiefdom, and the surrounding villages are diamondrich area. On 3 April, RUF/NPFL forces entered the town and established a base there that became their main one for the District. During their stay in the chiefdom, up to December 1991, the RUF/NPFL forces attacked many villages, where they followed the same actions upon taking control of the different villages. The RUF/NPFL forces would enter the town and gather the inhabitants at the Court Barrie, where they would introduce themselves as the Revolutionary United Front, their purpose being to remove the APC Government from power and liberate Sierra Leone. At this meeting, or soon after, they would depose the Town Chief and replace him or her with their

¹³⁴¹ It is accordingly not a coincidence if the RUF/NPFL nominated somebody who opposed at one time to the APC regime representative.

¹³⁴² Zimmi is a strategic town for many reasons because, aside from its location in a diamond mining area, it is the first major town to be reached when crossing the border from Liberia and it allows further inland advances in the east of Kenema District.

own Town Commander, who was sometimes appointed from the civilian population. While in the town, the RUF/NPFL forces would destroy property; take food and other items; force civilians to work for them, such as by cooking and fetching water; tie civilians up; kill people; and abduct people, both adults and children. The following incidents are examples of the attacks carried out and the violence inflicted on civilians in the chiefdom, most of them taking place in April.

Between April and December, Gbaa was burnt three times, virtually all the property in the town was taken and some people were killed. On 9 April, the RUF leader visited the town, gathered hundreds of civilians for a meeting and stated that RUF were peacemakers, coming to free people from slavery. Zimmi became a main base in the District and beyond, in the south-east, and the RUF leader had a lodge reserved for him there. At Palima, on 25 April, RUF/NPFL forces fired on a car full of police officers being driven into the town, as a result of which the driver and one police officer were killed. Cattle and poultry were also taken from Palima and brought to Zimmi. In the same month, RUF/NPFL forces, nine in number, attacked Vaama Kortu and entered the town accompanied by gunfire. The sheep and goats of the village were taken away. During the same attack, two women were raped and three boys (two aged 18 and one aged 15) were taken away; their fate still remains unknown. At Sembehun, a group of 15 RUF/NPFL forces took property from houses, including furniture and other belongings, and forced inhabitants to carry the loads to the RUF base in Zimmi. Those who did not obey the order were beaten, tied up, forced to roll and look at the sun and eventually carried the load at gunpoint. Goats and sheep were taken away, as well as two sewing machines and a bailing machine belonging to a diamond dealer, carpentry tools and blacksmith's equipment. Fifteen houses were burnt down at this time.

At Njabaama, also in April 1991, a woman was raped in the presence of her husband and another woman was taken to be the "wife" of one of the RUF/NPFL forces coming from Liberia. That same day, the village was burnt down in retaliation for the inhabitants not welcoming the RUF/NPFL forces. Household property, furniture and money were taken. On 22 April, a group of seven RUF/NPFL forces entered the village of Gbahama and appointed a 24 year-old man as the Town Commander. This newly appointed Town Commander, who was unable to refuse this appointment, was told to mobilise the civilians to operate checkpoints. Women were told to cook for the RUF/NPFL and eight people were forced to carry a load comprised mainly of coconuts to Zimmi. This continued until June, by which time most of the civilians had managed to leave the town and found refuge in Liberia. At Gbeakor, 27 RUF/NPFL members entered the town, instantly killing seven people. The Town Chief was deposed and a new Town Commander was appointed. Before leaving, the forces took with them all the cattle and poultry they could find.

At Ngombu, in June 1991, 70 houses were burnt and 42 kitchens and 15 toilets were destroyed by a group of 30 RUF/NPFL members. Diamond mining towns were also visited, such as Gbahama in April 1991, where property was taken and civilians were used to carry the loads. In this town and others, such as Baguihun, the RUF/NPFL forces engaged in mining activities and stole everything that was in the offices of the mining company. Daar-es-Salaam, a town north of Zimmi on the bank of the Mano River, was at this time hosting a camp for thousands of refugees from the Liberian war. In April, the camp was attacked and all the property belonging to various NGOs and UNHCR was taken; fleeing civilians died, drowning in the Moa River. 1343 It appeared that the RUF/NPFL forces

¹³⁴³ No more information could be obtained on this event, either from the records or open source materials.

had registered in large numbers as refugees in the camp, so that they would have easier access. Daar-es-Salaam became a training camp, known as the second Camp Zogoda. Wonde, another border town hosting a refugee camp, was also visited in April 1991; the RUF leader came to the camp and asked civilians to join the RUF. It appeared that only few of them did in fact join and a lot of refugees left the camp, leaving their few belongings in the hands of the RUF/NPFL forces. Due to these constant attacks, many civilians left the chiefdom, the majority of them going to Liberia.

On their way to Pujehun Town, in early April 1991, RUF/NPFL forces¹³⁴⁵ coming from Zimmi passed by Moala (Barri Chiefdom), located on the west bank of the Moa River. After Moala, they headed for Potoru (Barri Chiefdom headquarter), which is at a junction on the main road to Pujehun Town (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom) from Kenema District. 1346 In both towns, they introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" coming to save people from the corrupt APC regime. On arrival, they searched for SLA forces and gathered the civilians in the Court Barrie. While some of the forces were addressing the inhabitants, telling them they were not going to steal anything or take their women as wives, others were parading in the towns, entering houses in search of food and money. Local authorities were deposed and new Town Commanders were appointed. At Moala, three people were killed with berretta guns, allegedly because they were reconnaissance/spies, since they run from the RUF/NPFL forces. During one night, some women were taken from their husbands. At Potoru, a Fullah man was killed for refusing to give them his sheep. Ten other civilians were also killed, accused of being reconnaissance and, for two of them, for refusing to hand over their bags; at least one man was shot in the head with an AK47 and two were beaten to death with a bladed weapon. Checkpoints were mounted where cards called "pass" were issued, which allowed civilians to move through the chiefdom. During their stay in the town, women and underage girls were sexually assaulted. All this violence led many people to leave the town for Sowa Chiefdom and Bo District.

From Potoru, some of the RUF/NPFL forces (a group of 25 to 30 men) went to Waima, four miles from Potoru. After calling the inhabitants for a meeting, they undertook a house-to-house search, removing the people they found and shooting some of them. Those forces were speaking a number of different languages, but the majority language was Liberian. Before leaving the town, they abducted girls under 15 years-old and then headed for other villages in the chiefdom, including Kotumahun and Dendegahun, where the same kind of attacks took place.

From Barri Chiefdom, some RUF/NPFL forces went to Peje and Sowa Chiefdoms, relatively small chiefdoms located to the west of Barri Chiefdom, while others probably went to Pujehun Town

¹³⁴⁴ Zogoda, meaning "land of freedom" is a generic name given to training bases, like "Camp Lion" in other places. Other camps called Camp Zogoda were to be found at different times in Kenema and Kailahun Districts. This camp in Pujehun District was called "second Camp Zogoda", because the first one was established in Kailahun District.

¹³⁴⁵ These forces were armed with berretta guns, AK47s, single barrel rifles, RPGs and machetes and were dressed in military attire or with headbands with "RUF" written on it.

¹³⁴⁶ Potoru is the necessary entry point for Kenema District from the south-west, whereas Zimmi allowed penetration from the south-east.

¹³⁴⁷ Two main roads leave Potoru, one going to Peje and Sowa Chiefdoms and beyond to Wunde Chiefdom (Bo District) while the other one links Potoru to Pujehun (Panga Kabone Chiefdom), through Gallinas Peri and Kpaka Chiefdoms.

(Panga Kabone Chiefdom) through Gallinas Peri and Kpaka Chiefdoms.¹³⁴⁸ At Futa (Peje Chiefdom), on or around 17 April 1991, around 100 RUF/NPFL members gathered the civilians in the Court Barrie; those who refused were severely beaten with sticks and gun butts and some were killed. This first group of RUF/NPFL forces were joined the next day by another group,¹³⁴⁹ who merged before dividing into two groups: while one went to Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom, west of Peje Chiefdom), the other group went back to Potoru, allegedly to join other RUF/NPFL forces before their attack on Pujehun Town.

The RUF/NPFL forces then proceeded to Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom), where SLA troops were posted. Those SLA forces advised civilians to go indoors while RUF/NPFL forces were approaching. However, after a one-hour battle, RUF/NPFL forces entered the town, forced the inhabitants at gunpoint to gather at the Court Barrie, paraded in the town and killed some civilians who attempted to escape or who refused to go to the Court Barrie. Some civilians accused of being SLA members who would go and call their colleagues were killed, while others were beheaded. It appeared that the RUF/NPFL forces then left the town¹³⁵⁰ and SLA forces arrived in the town, but RUF/NPFL forces returned with a mounted anti aircraft gun while the inhabitants were busy burying their dead. The SLA and the RUF/NPFL fought all day, with some casualties being reported on both sides. The SLA forces were unable to repel the RUF/NPFL forces and ordered the civilians to leave the town and to go to Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom, Bo District¹³⁵¹) for safety. One week later, the SLA forces, reinforced by ULIMO, were eventually able to dislodge the RUF/NPFL forces from the town.

Repelled from Bandajuma, RUF forces concentrated on Futa (Peje Chiefdom) and Potoru (Barri Chiefdom), where they trained people who had joined willingly as well as those conscripted by force. They remained scattered in those two chiefdoms until the major SLA attack in August 1991. Some of the RUF/NPFL forces who had been repelled from Bandajuma went to Jeoma (Sowa Chiefdom). Civilians from the upper part of the village were gathered together and the men were forced to go into the veranda of the first house on the road from Bandajuma and Pujehun Town, while the women and children were put in a school compound. The RUF/NPFL forces shot at the men gathered in the veranda and 26 of them died; two managed to escape to the bush after pretending to be dead beneath the corpses. ¹³⁵²

In mid April 1991, a RUF/NPFL group, different from the one that took control of the aforementioned chiefdoms, entered Gbanahun (Gallinas Peri), two miles east of Bumpeh. This group was coming directly from Soro Gbema Chiefdom (located to the east of Gallinas Peri Chiefdom¹³⁵³) and came mainly for the purposes of finding food, as they did not stay in the village

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¹³⁴⁸ Information gathered concerning Kpaka Chiefdom tends to demonstrate that RUF/NPFL forces used this chiefdom as a transit point, using the main highway from Potoru to reach Pujehun Town. Accordingly, RUF/NPFL forces must have passed through Gallinas Peri Chiefdom where the highway lies in the north, although no information was recorded on this.

¹³⁴⁹ It could not be ascertained where this second group came from.

¹³⁵⁰ The RUF/NPFL forces apparently left the town when they heard the noise of a truck coming to the town, thinking it could be SLA reinforcements. The truck however did not pass by Bandajuma.

¹³⁵¹ At this time, SLA forces were deployed at Koribondo, their main base in Bo District.

¹³⁵² No details could be obtained on what happened to the women and the children.

¹³⁵³ The Moa River is more or less the natural border between those two chiefdoms.

nor did they go to Bumpeh, which is a bigger town. At Gbanahun, nevertheless, they appointed a Town Commander who was asked to provide food for them. After eating, the RUF/NPFL forces looted the shops of the village and forced young people to go with them to their base to carry the stolen property, which included domestic animals. Fullah people were targeted and two men were severely tortured. On their way back to their base in Soro Gbema Chiefdom, they passed by Bomi (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom), where they shot dead one man they accused of being a SLA member and again abducted young people to carry the property they had stolen. Those young boys from the two villages were then conscripted and when they came back to the chiefdom, they returned as members of the RUF/NPFL forces.

On their way to Pujehun Town on 17 April 1991, RUF/NPFL forces coming from Sowa Chiefdom passed by Koranko (Kpaka Chiefdom), reaching the headquarter town of Massam the following day. At Koranko, this RUF/NPFL group composed of 10 men dressed in black t-shirts and military trousers entered the town firing indiscriminately; they gathered the people and told them they should obey their laws forbidding raping and telling lies, which were punishable by death. The RUF/NPFL forces appointed a Town Commander and a secretary. Poultry from the village was taken and cooked for the forces. The next day, five of the RUF/NPFL members, followed by reinforcements from Potoru (Barri Chiefdom), went to Massam and, as in other villages, followed the procedure of holding a meeting in the Court Barrie, introducing themselves, appointing Town Commanders and so on. They slept in the town, mounting checkpoints to ensure their security. One man who was accused of being an APC sympathiser had his property taken away. One teenage girl was taken away to be a "wife"; her whereabouts remain unknown.

RUF/NPFL forces advanced further towards Pujehun Town, only a few miles from Massam, and laid an ambush between Massam and Yonni (Kpaka Chiefdom, at the border with Panga Kabone Chiefdom), killing one SLA member¹³⁵⁴ who was riding his bicycle to Massam to check about the rumour of an attack on the town. A reinforcement group of RUF/NPFL forces came from Potoru (Barri Chiefdom) to Yonni and headed for Pujehun Town, which they captured between 19 and 20 April 1991. By then, following the death of the SLA member in the ambush between Massam and Yonni, the few SLA members stationed at Pujehun Town had left the town. A Ministry of Social Welfare employee on his way home in the centre of Pujehun failed to stop when requested to do so by RUF/NPFL forces, so they followed him to his house. There, they asked for the keys of his motorbike and, when he refused, one of the RUF/NPFL members shot and killed him with an AK47 then took the key from his pocket. Other civilians were killed for trivial reasons, such as one man, killed because he was allegedly an APC sympathiser, although he was killed before he had time to answer the question whether he was or not. On another occasion, RUF/NPFL forces killed a petty trader who had refused to give them his motorbike. The petty trader's shop was also looted, together with other shops in the town that were broken into and looted.

Checkpoints were established to prevent civilians from escaping and the RUF/NPFL forces undertook the familiar gathering and address. Other meetings would be held during the time of their stay in the town, including one that took place four days after their arrival. At that meeting, the RUF/NPFL forces declared that the premises of a bank were now used to be as a "task force" office, revealing they were taking direct orders from the Head Office at Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom)

1354 At this time very few SLA forces – 10 in number – were based at Pujehun Town.

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and requesting elders and other literates to work for them on administrative matters. One week later, as the elders complained about the starvation of the civilians, a system of "pass" was put in place, allowing civilians to move within the area under RUF/NPFL control.

Also in April, prior to the capture of Pujehun Town, Gallinas Peri Chiefdom was again visited by small groups of RUF/NPFL forces coming from the south of Barri Chiefdom. On their arrival in Bumpeh, they pointed guns at civilians, threatened to kill them if they did not join them and beat some of them, returning on the same day to Barri Chiefdom. As with the first incursion from Soro Gbema Chiefdom, the elders decided to report the matter to the few SLA forces posted at Pujehun town, but no action was taken. RUF/NPFL forces came back to Bumpeh and Gbanahun, having learnt that the matter had been reported to SLA forces at Pujehun Town. At Konia (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom), one person suspected of having a link with the SLA forces was killed by the RUF/NPFL commander. Near Fonikoh, a man on his bicycle was killed after having refused to stop. Three people were killed at Blama Massaquoi and on his way back to Moala (Barri Chiefdom) with his men, the commander killed two more people at Fonima for running away when they saw the forces approaching.

From Pujehun Town, some RUF/NPFL forces boarded a car and a motorbike headed towards Gbandapi, a trade fair centre, passing through Najay. Gbandapi, in the south of Panga Kabonde Chiefdom, is located on the bank of Malemie River, which joins the Wanjei River flowing to Bonthe District. In all the villages along the road to Gbandapi that they visited, RUF/NPFL forces gathered the inhabitants, asked for weapons and enquired about the presence of SLA forces. They also established checkpoints, appointed a Town Commander, who was to send a daily report to the area commander, and told the civilians to bring food including rice, poultry, goats and sheep to Pujehun Town. Punishments for failing to bring food included beating with sticks and gun butts and the order to roll on the ground or swim in dirty water in a gutter.

The RUF/NPFL forces followed the Malemie River with speedboats to attack Benganie, which is the largest town in Mano Sakrim Chiefdom, albeit not the headquarter town. A meeting was summoned, checkpoints mounted, travelling passes issued, a Town Commander appointed and a green flag raised, meaning that the chiefdom was under RUF/NPFL control. The commander who mounted the green flag that day made it clear to the civilians that no other commander had the right to occupy the town and its environs without his consent, which would lead to internal fighting in May. Since it is located by the ocean, Benganie inhabitants were regularly asked to provide salt - a valuable and expensive commodity at this time - to forces stationed at Gbandapi and to those coming from time to time by boat.

Again in April, the RUF/NPFL forces from Pujehun Town proceeded further west to Malen Chiefdom, which shares boundaries with Bonthe District on the south-west and Bo District on the north-west. Before their arrival, people from the chiefdom had already fled to Bagbo Chiefdom (Bo District), upon hearing of the attack on Pujehun Town. The RUF/NPFL forces arrived in the

¹³⁵⁵ This information was reported specifically for Najay town, but is illustrative of general practice at this time.

¹³⁵⁶ The civilians would carry the food on their heads to the next village, where new people would take the load to the next village until it reached Pujehun Town.

¹³⁵⁷ See below for more details on this infighting.

chiefdom headquarter of Sahn on 24 April, when they summoned a meeting at the Court Barrie, asking for the Paramount Chief. When he arrived, the RUF/NPFL forces¹³⁵⁸ told the Paramount Chief that he should join them and exhort his people to do the same, while other RUF/NPFL members were looting property in the village and establishing checkpoints. An 11-year-old RUF/NPFL member called "child soldier" handcuffed the Paramount Chief. The first civilian to be killed in this chiefdom was a man riding his motorbike from Jimmi (Bagbo Chiefdom, Bo District) to Taninahun (Malen Chiefdom) who did not stop and accordingly was considered to be a member of the SLA or SSD. The RUF/NPFL forces then departed for Pujehun Town, taking with them the motorbike of the man they had killed.

At this time, a place in Gadorhun (Malen Chiefdom) known as Kuwait, due to the valuable items that could be found in the town, was used to launch attacks on Bagbo Chiefdom in Bo District.

On 18 May, following the announcement over the BBC that the Paramount Chief from Malen Chiefdom had fled with his family between 9 and 10 May, ¹³⁵⁹ RUF/NPFL forces came back to the chiefdom from Pujehun Town. Those RUF/NPFL forces coming in two trucks and armed with AK47s, bladed weapons and sticks, went straight to Taninahun in the north of the chiefdom, where they shot and killed the Town Chief with an AK47. They then went to Sahn, where they tied up prominent elderly people with bush ropes, forced six elderly women to sit on the floor in the Court Barrie, shot and killed some civilians, including women and children, raped one women and took her away, together with her son. Fifteen houses were burnt, including the Paramount Chief's compound. At Fonikor, near Sahn, nine civilians were killed with AK47s by RUF/NPFL forces looking for the Paramount Chief's mother. From that day until July 1991, the RUF/NPFL forces remained in control of the chiefdom.

During their stay at Massam (Kpaka Chiefdom), RUF/NPFL forces forced young men to manage checkpoints for them while others were used to carry their loads, as the forces were expanding their control to surrounding villages, like Manjama, Nyayahun and Bendu, stealing food and domestic animals. In May, a training base was opened at Gobaru, two miles from Massam, where a lot of school-going children were conscripted. A herbalist and fortune teller performed rituals during the training that were believed to make members invulnerable. ¹³⁶⁰

In May, an RUF/NPFL commander together with some of his forces arrived at Benganie and started stealing property. On hearing this news, the RUF/NPFL commander who had earlier warned civilians that no other commander should come to the town without his consent sent some troops, who captured the commander and the other members who carried out the looting. The captured commander tried to escape but was re-captured and brought back to Benganie, where he was publicly disgraced, tied up and seriously beaten. The other boys were taken to Gbandapi (Panga Kabone Chiefdom) for further interrogation, but their fate remains unknown. In late May, a similar

¹³⁵⁸ The commander of these forces was speaking a Liberian Creole, which led people to identify him as a NPFL member.

¹³⁵⁹ The Paramount Chief allegedly fled through Bum Chiefdom (Bonthe District) to give information about what was happening in Pujehun District to the authorities in Bo Town.

¹³⁶⁰ It is reported that the belief in the powers of this person attracted many school children and other youths who decided to join the movement.

incident took place and two commanders who had been stationed at Benganie were punished the same commander as the previous time for sabotaging the administration he had set up in the village. In early June, another commander with his troops came to Benganie and, stating he was a good dancer, ordered the civilians to dance. Everybody was obliged to attend the dance, except the elderly, all doors had to stay open and the dance itself was organised so that the men were to lead the dance, followed by drummers and then by women at the end together with the RUF/NPFL forces. One man who defied the order and went to bed was severely beaten and tortured. When the dance started, the men at the front realised that the women at the back were being raped by the RUF/NPFL forces. This dance continued for four nights until the RUF/NPFL forces left the town.

By late June, SLA forces, together with United Liberation Movement for Liberia¹³⁶² (ULIMO) forces, recaptured Dandabu (Panga Kabone Chiefdom), on the highway linking Pujehun Town and Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom) and then Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District). As this town was the first one to be recaptured in the chiefdoms located to the west of the Moa River and as this town is on the road that goes to Bandajuma, it is highly likely that the SLA forces, reinforced with ULIMO forces, who recaptured those chiefdoms came from Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom). Within two months, the SLA and ULIMO forces were able to dislodge the RUF/NPFL forces from all the chiefdoms located on the west bank of the Moa River.

On or around 14 July 1991, combined SLA and ULIMO forces successfully repelled RUF/NPFL forces from Pujehun Town and its environs, in particular Gobaru, Yonni and Massam (Kpaka Chiefdom). The RUF/NPFL forces withdrew to Bumpeh (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom). Following this attack on Pujehun Town, a curfew from 4:00pm to 6.00am was imposed in the south of Panga Kabone Chiefdom in the villages along the road leading to Gbandapi. Inhabitants from Najay saw a truck loaded with RUF/NPFL forces passing by their village without stopping. Two days later, SLA forces boarded a jeep and pursued the RUF/NPFL forces into Gbandapi, returning to Pujehun Town the same day. The retreating RUF/NPFL forces then passed by Benganie (Mano Sakrim Chiefdom), where one civilian had his slippers and tape recorder stolen. The next day, another batch of disgruntled and hungry RUF/NPFL forces previously based at Yonni (Kpaka Chiefdom) arrived in Benganie, requested civilians to cook for them, looted the houses and forced young men to carry the loads. One day, probably in August, youths from the chiefdom went to Pujehun Town to tell the SLA and ULIMO forces they had learnt that an RUF/NPFL commander who was hiding in the bush with his wife and daughter had recently asked a civilian for accommodation. ULIMO forces arrived in the chiefdom in search of the commander and killed the civilian who had hosted him. In late August, ULIMO forces tied up young people accused of being RUF/NPFL collaborators, as a result of which two of the young people died.

SLA and ULIMO forces successfully attacked RUF/NPFL forces at Gobaru (Kpaka Chiefdom, near Pujehun Town) on 14 July 1991. Some retreating RUF/NPFL forces passed by Largo (Kpaka Chiefdom) and one of them forced a woman to have sexual intercourse with him, threatening to kill

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¹³⁶¹ The two commanders were requested to fight bodily as enemies and as one was much younger, this one was then beaten by the commander. The two men were then undressed, ordered to dig two holes, which were filled with pepper, and ordered to put their genital organs in the holes.

¹³⁶² This fighting faction, composed mainly of supporters of the late previous Liberian President, Samuel Doe, emerged in May 1991 to fight the NPFL.

all the other women of the house if she refused. While at Gobaru, the SLA and ULIMO forces requested the civilians to come to the town, for screening and registration purposes. However, molestation of civilians was at its highest peak during this time, as young people were undressed and beaten with gun butts; the screening test was so stringent, a lot of young men were killed accused of being RUF member without much investigation. Women and girls were also alleged to be the wives of the RUF/NPFL forces. Night searches for RUF/NPFL members were also instituted. In one incident, during such a search, a man who hid under his bed after SLA forces had knocked on his door was killed, on the allegation that he was a "rebel". In early August, as the number of civilians coming to the town was increasing and as a lot of people had already been killed during the screening process, SLA forces required civilians to assist in the screening process and established an action group composed of three SLA member and six civilians. As food coming from an international NGO was provided at Gobaru, Yonni and Massam, SLA forces mounted checkpoints at Massam to enhance security, particularly because RUF/NPFL forces were still present in the District, on the east side of the Moa River (Soro Gbema and Makpele Chiefdoms). At those checkpoints, young people were screened and on one occasion, on 21 August, one man was killed as documents were found in his bag demonstrating he was a secretary for the RUF/NPFL forces. Civilians were also required to operate checkpoints for the SLA forces, especially at night. As the SLA commander was replaced sometime between September and November, the situation changed slightly as civilians were no longer required to operate checkpoints and those suspected of belonging to the RUF/NPFL were thoroughly investigated.

On 18 July, four days after the recapture of Pujehun Town, 28 members of the SLA and ULIMO forces drove the few remaining RUF/NPFL forces out of Malen Chiefdom, with ULIMO forces killing one RUF member at Sahn. However, 47 men and children were also killed by ULIMO and SLA forces. Most of them were shot with AK47s and one man was killed with a knife, accused of having been trained by RUF/NPFL forces when they took control of the chiefdom after the Paramount Chief had left. Twenty members of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP) were then deployed in the chiefdom.

Repelled from Pujehun Town in July 1991, RUF/NPFL forces resettled in Bumpeh (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom). A checkpoint was established at Koni Junction, ½ mile west of Bumpeh, and civilians from the surrounding villages were forced to operate it. During their one-month stay, RUF/NPFL forces harassed and beat civilians and raped girls. For example, civilians who refused to take their turn at a checkpoint were given 100 lashes each. The rate of killing increased at this time and there are reports of a practice whereby RUF/NPFL forces made people form a line and killed the 10th person in the line. A camp was opened to train young boys and girls who had been conscripted. It is reported that over 100 civilians were killed during the RUF/NPFL stay for not collaborating with them. Among those people killed were one woman who had come to buy palm oil and was accused of being a spy for SLA forces and a man who was killed because he was coming from an area behind the front line and accordingly was considered to be an SLA collaborator.

Those RUF/NPFL forces were reinforced in late July by two groups crossing the Moa River, both of whom killed civilians on their way to Bumpeh. At Gbanahun, the first group shot and killed six

1363 It is however reported that the ULIMO were more abrupt in screening and killing young men than SLA forces.
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civilians who had previously quarrelled with an RUF/NPFL child soldier. The other group that crossed the Moa River near Saama killed one man who failed to offer them his cassava leaves.

On 3 August, RUF/NPFL forces resisted an attack from combined SLA/ULIMO forces who, after a fierce battle, ¹³⁶⁴ went back to Pujehun Town, from where they had come. After this battle, the RUF/NPFL resettled in Saama, south of Bumpeh, where they frequently mistreated civilians at their newly-established checkpoints. These forces often sought out women and girls who were still virgins and raped them and civilians' valuable items and food were stolen. In one incident, all the inhabitants were told to undress, form two lines - one for men and one for women - and dance until nightfall. Women were later raped and those who refused to have sexual intercourse were killed. At this time, the forces were under the command of NPFL commanders. However, by the end of August 1991, combined SLA and ULIMO forces successfully dislodged the RUF/NPFL forces from the chiefdom, which was declared a "rebel- free area".

Until August, it is unclear who was in real control of Potoru (Barri Chiefdom), whether it was the RUF/NPFL forces or the SLA forces who, throughout April and May, claimed to have retaken the town from the RUF/NPFL forces. However, the only attack that is reported by civilians, possibly because it was the major one, took place in August in Potoru and other places in Barri Chiefdom; this freed the chiefdoms from any RUF/NPFL presence. Accordingly, although they may have been exchanges of control of the town and skirmishes between SLA forces and RUF/NPFL forces from April to August, because this period is characterised by the RUF/NPFL periodically crossing the Liberian border and both SLA and RUF/NPFL forces launching sporadic attacks on the other fighting faction, two periods can clearly be identified for Peje and Barri Chiefdoms: from April to August/September, when RUF/NPFL were present in the chiefdoms and from August/September, when SLA forces took control of the chiefdoms.

During the SLA attack on Potoru (Barri Chiefdom) in August, during which SLA forces were armed with anti aircraft guns, RPGs, hand mortars and AK47s, about 30 civilians and 42 to 45 RUF/NPFL members were killed and about 15 houses were burnt. From Potoru, RUF/NPFL forces were pursued to Moala, on the bank of the Moa River, where RUF/NPFL forces managed to cross the river towards Makpele Chiefdom, together with a number of civilians. SLA forces also went to Peje Chiefdom to dislodge the remaining pockets of RUF/NPFL forces, taking those forces they captured to Potoru. SLA forces began to patrol Barri and Peje Chiefdoms, sometimes falling into ambushes laid by the few RUF/NPFL small groups who had not been dislodged.

Under SLA control, any person suspected of being a "rebel" or a "rebel collaborator" was maltreated and some were killed. Youths from different chiefdoms, accused of being RUF/NPFL members, were brought to Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom), where they were killed. The Paramount

¹³⁶⁴ Both fighting forces had the same kind of weapons, including AK47s, AK58s, RPGs, hand grenades and "local" guns.

¹³⁶⁵ See, for example, BBC, 19 April 1991; there were also additional reports on this in April.

¹³⁶⁶ It is reported that the RUF/NPFL forces convinced civilians to go with them in Liberia so that they would not be killed by the SLA forces. This statement may also refer to what happened in other places such as Kailahun District where retreating RUF/NPFL forces succeeded in taking with them a large number of civilians by telling them they would be considered as RUF/NPFL collaborators by the SLA forces who would accordingly kill them. ¹³⁶⁷ It was not disclosed what happened to those captured RUF/NPFL members.

Chief of Barri Chiefdom was arrested, stripped, beaten, thrown into a military truck and taken to the military base at Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom). At the base, he was accused of having harboured RUF/NPFL forces in his compound; his fate remains unknown. By the end of 1991, civilians who had fled to the bush and to the nearby District of Bo had resettled and resumed farming activities in Barri, Sowa and Peje Chiefdoms.

In September 1991, people staying at Bo Waterside were requested by the retreating RUF/NPFL forces to go onto the Mano River Union Bridge, which led to over 2,000 people gathering there. The civilians were forced to stay on the bridge for two days and nights, without access to food. Some children died and youths were killed when, authorised to leave the bridge, they headed for Sierra Leonean territory. It is believed that it was following this RUF/NPFL forces attempt to contain advance of the SLA and Guinean forces that those SLA and Guinean forces attempt to control of the bridge, thus cutting off the supply route for the remaining pockets of RUF/NPFL forces in the District. During their stay in Soro Gbema Chiefdom, SLA and ULIMO forces killed any suspected RUF collaborator, although they could escape death once arrested if their family gave money and/or women to the SLA forces. Valuable items were also taken from civilians during this period and transported to Freetown.

Activities resumed on 3 September 1991 in Gallinas Peri Chiefdom, when RUF/NPFL forces crossed the Moa River and came to Bopon, 15 miles south of Bumpeh, as they saw that there was no SLA deployment along the Moa River. In Bopon, they killed one prominent man, cut off his head and displayed it at the Gondema checkpoint in Soro Gbema Chiefdom. Three miles from Bopon village, they killed the 15 inhabitants of a farmhouse, including a pregnant woman whose stomach was split open and the foetus removed. After that killing in the farm, SLA soldiers took control of the whole chiefdom and reinforcements were sent to the various crossing points along the Moa River. No RUF/NPFL incursion was felt for the rest of the year, until April 1992.

In late 1991, as fighting on the east bank of the Moa River was taking place, SLA forces based on the west side appealed to the Paramount Chiefs of Kpaka, Panga Krim and Panga Kabonde Chiefdoms to give them young men to help them maintaining the security of the chiefdoms.

b) Events in 1992 –1995

The number of incidents for 1992 to 1994 drops considerably when compared to 1991,¹³⁷⁰ which is instructive of how Pujehun District was affected by the war. By 1992, SLA forces together with ULIMO forces had driven most of the RUF forces out of the District. The RUF, together with NPFL forces, nevertheless came back to the District from the Liberian border in late December 1992, when they established their stronghold in Soro Gbema chiefdom.

¹³⁶⁸ It is not clear from the records who killed those civilians, whether it was SLA or RUF/NPFL forces, and open source information does not clarify the matter. Accordingly, to say that the RUF/NPFL forces used the civilians to protect themselves from the SLA forces is an inference gleaned from the records, although it was not expressly stated.

 $^{^{1369}}$ According to the Agence France Presse, the bridge was retaken on 6 September 1991: 06 September 1991. 1370 Thus, the number of records for 1992 represents 1/5th of the records for 1991, 1993 – 1/6th and 1994 and 1995 together 1/10th.

Therefore most of the fighting as such was concentrated in the east, at the Liberian border, which may account for the fewer number of incidents during this time period. In addition, in 1993, most of the residents of the District were advised to go to Gondama camp, which may also explain the scarcity of the incidents of this period. However, beginning in 1992, there were increasing incidents of violations committed by SLA forces.

Events in 1992

Although SLA forces claimed to have recaptured Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom) in August 1991,¹³⁷¹ it appears that Makpele Chiefdom came under SLA control only in January 1992, when SLA forces took over Daar-es-Salaam, the easternmost point of Pujehun District on the border with Liberia, and many other towns in the chiefdom. RUF/NPFL bases became SLA bases; Zimmi camp and Baquima were now under their control. SLA forces were also based at Gofor in the south of the chiefdom along the road that goes to Soro Gbema Chiefdom, where they brought poultry and other domestic animals they had found in the villages they had visited.

However, SLA forces began to harass and mistreat civilians from the beginning of 1992. Sexual assaults are reported, such as a woman from Joporwahun who was raped by an SLA member while she was at Zimmi. SLA forces chased civilians for their food, restricted their movement and forced them to work for them, including by hunting or fishing. SLA forces also engaged in mining and at Gbojibu, which became one of their mining villages, they set 13 houses on fire as they did not want to have civilians in their midst. This drove civilians to regional towns like Kenema or Bo or to Liberia.

In January 1992, following the appeal of the SLA commander to the Paramount Chiefs of Kpaka, Panga Krim and Panga Kabone Chiefdoms, youths¹³⁷² from all these chiefdoms, some of them being local hunters, gathered in Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom) to receive summary training and some ammunition for their barrel guns. Shortly after, they were sent to Bumpeh (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom), located a few miles from the Moa River. SLA forces used underage children to carry arms and ammunition to the warfront. Furthermore, not only did the SLA forces take money and food items from the population in what they called the "war effort", they also took other property, including drums of palm oil, furniture and other household items. These items were believed to be transported to Freetown by SLA trucks and other trucks they had seized from civilians.

The killing of alleged collaborators was ongoing; the standard SLA practice was to tie up alleged RUF collaborators and to throw them off the Yonni Bridge (Kpaka Chiefdom) or to execute suspects at the Makibi Bridge in Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom). For example, SLA forces beheaded a man in the Sambo section, allegedly because he had given meat to the RUF forces.

In 1992, SLA forces were well established in Panga Krim Chiefdom, which forced the RUF forces into hiding. However the presence of the SLA forces was heavily felt by the civilians, as the SLA forces ill-treated the civilian population. For example, civilians who had previously been appointed

¹³⁷¹ AFP, 19 August 1991.

¹³⁷² The term 'youths' in Sierra Leone could refer to anybody aged up to their mid to late 30s, although it probably does not include anyone under 14.

to any position by the RUF, which they could not refuse or they would be killed, or who had been forced to join the RUF were punished by the SLA forces. Common punishments included amputations of the hands and ears, the plucking out of eyes, putting people in a bag and then setting the bag on fire, taking them to the river and drowning them and shooting and killing them.

In May 1992, RUF/NPFL forces crossed the Moa River and launched a series of attacks on different towns in Gallinas Peri Chiefdom. By the end of the month, civilians reported that the chiefdom was under their control. However, it appeared that in 1992, most of the RUF/NPFL forces had been chased out of the District and only pockets of forces were still active, mainly laying Indeed, following the successful attacks on RUF/NPFL positions by the SLA and ULIMO forces in 1991 and the SLA control over Makpele Chiefdom in January 1992, the major RUF attacks in the District took place in December 1992 and 1993. Accordingly, those attacks on Gallinas Peri could be considered not as highlighting a massive operation for the control of the chiefdom but rather as sporadic actions carried out by isolated pockets of RUF forces. Thus in May, apparently taking advantage of the disorganisation of the SLA forces, 1373 RUF forces attacked Kakayama, where they battled for two days with SLA forces. An SLA truck with human and logistical reinforcements fell into an ambush, but there were no fatalities. The SLA forces then retreated to their other base at Saama, which - overpopulated with civilians fleeing the previous fighting - was later attacked on 3 May 1992. Some civilians were killed in the crossfire and others were captured by the RUF forces. The Town Chief of a nearby village was captured and later killed by the RUF forces, who left his body at one end of the town. Within the same month, another RUF group attacked another SLA position at Njala.

Kpaka Chiefdom was fairly quiet during this period, with only two incidents reported. Probably before the overthrow of the Government of J.S. Momoh on 29 April, RUF forces who had crossed the Moa River attacked many villages, including Gedeyama, Saama Peri, Kpetema and Mamboma, looting, killing and abducting civilians. ¹³⁷⁴ Similarly to what happened in Gallinas Peri Chiefdom, these actions were probably raids from some isolated groups of RUF forces. In June, unidentified armed men attacked Massam (Kpaka Chiefdom) in the early hours of the day but were repelled by some SLA forces who claimed that they fought armed men they could not identify. ¹³⁷⁵

In October 1992, SLA forces counter attacked and retook some positions in Gallinas Peri Chiefdom, although Saama remained an RUF base. SLA forces based at Bumpeh encouraged civilians to come back and resettle. Some civilians were killed, mainly for the purposes of taking their property. For example, one Fullah businessman was killed by an SLA member who took away his belongings, namely a gold wristwatch, a gold chain, some money and a bicycle. The SLA member who carried out this killing was arrested by the SLA commander to whom the killing was reported and sent to Freetown. In November, the youths gathered at Bumpeh to help the SLA forces repel the RUF forces from their chiefdom. Those youths, who brought single barrel guns and various bladed weapons, were dispatched by the SLA commander in two groups, one heading to Saama

¹³⁷³ Although SLA forces were based at Bumpeh, Kakayama and Saama, the command position on the SLA forces was just changing hands at this time.

¹³⁷⁴ No details could be obtained on these incidents.

¹³⁷⁵ Fatalities – if any – were not reported.

where the RUF forces were based. On their way to Saama, they fell into an RUF ambush, during which some of them were killed while others were captured by the RUF forces. 1376

RUF forces regrouped and returned in December 1992 to capture Soro Gbema Chiefdom, which became their stronghold. This attack led to a massive exodus of civilians crossing the Moa River. Towards the end of December 1992, inhabitants of Barri Chiefdom saw a large number of civilians from Soro Gbema Chiefdom crossing the Moa Rover and passing by their chiefdom. Those civilians, disclosing that an attack had taken place in Soro Gbema Chiefdom where many civilians were killed and houses were burnt, did not settle in Barri Chiefdom but continued their journey to find a safer haven. Civilians from Potoru heard three days later that the RUF forces were also in Makpele Chiefdom. 1377

Events in 1993

In January 1993, RUF forces crossed the Moa River and launched attacks on all the chiefdoms located on the west bank of the river. Thus, they attacked Saaquehun village (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom), 12 miles north of Bumpeh, where they killed 12 people, burnt many houses and abducted many civilians.

On 13 January 1993, well-armed RUF forces attacked Potoru in Barri chiefdom, ¹³⁷⁸ shelling the town. Over 30 people were killed, some having their throats cut with bayonets. The forces used Potoru to attack other villages in the chiefdom, such as Waima and Kundowahun, and to make raids on Peje and Sowa Chiefdoms. In Peje Chiefdom, villages like Bumpeh and Quiva came under attack and civilians described this wave of attack as a "full-scale offensive", "a fearful battle, worse than ever". Over 100 civilians were killed and 30 houses burnt in Bumpeh, most of which were populated with civilians. During these attacks, young girls were raped and a lot of civilians were abducted. Indeed, throughout their stay in these areas, ¹³⁷⁹ the RUF forces raped women, including rapes by many men of girls under 15, killed people for not supporting them and abducted people on a daily basis, including young boys who were abducted for the purposes of recruitment. As a result, civilians left the chiefdoms and went to Gondama camp.

Also in January 1993, an unspecified number of RUF forces¹³⁸⁰ attacked Massam (Kpaka Chiefdom) and on the same day, moved on to Yonni (Kpaka Chiefdom) and to Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom). Since this attack took place on the day of the weekly trade fare at Gbandapi (south of Panga Kabone Chiefdom), most of the women were not in Pujehun Town and the surrounding villages, which led to the abduction of many children. The SLA forces based at Pujehun Town left the town and the RUF forces occupied the town.

Civilians from the chiefdoms where these attacks took place were advised by the SLA forces to go to Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom, Bo District), a major SLA base in Bo District. At

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¹³⁷⁶ It could not be ascertained where the second group went.

¹³⁷⁷ No more information could be gathered on these attacks.

¹³⁷⁸ Some of those forces were speaking in Liberian language.

¹³⁷⁹ As for Sowa Chiefdom, conflicting information concerning Bandajuma where the SLA was stationed did not allow us to ascertain what happened in this town.

¹³⁸⁰ It is reported that some of them had their faces masked for fear of recognition.

Koribondo, an international NGO provided assistance to the displaced people who were advised by the SLA commander to go to Gondama, at the border between Kakua and Tikonko Chiefdoms (Bo District), where the Pujehun District Development Association had secured a land to build a camp. By March, registration started in the camp for proper food supply and each household was to build a booth before they could be registered. By the end of April, civilians from all the chiefdoms of Pujehun District were to be found in the camp. Again, in February 1993, the SLA forces exhorted the civilians from Gallinas Peri Chiefdom to go to Koribondo (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom, Bo District) for their own safety. When they arrived at Koribondo, the civilians were advised by the SLA base at Koribondo to go to Gondama.

However on 28 January, coming from the direction of Dandabu (north of Panga Kabone Chiefdom), SLA forces recaptured Pujehun Town, which by that time had been under the control of the RUF for two weeks. In March 1993, the SLA recaptured Blama Massaquoi (Gallinas Peri Chiefdom) and rescued over 260 civilians who were being held captives by the RUF forces after a fierce battle in Tongie. In late March, RUF forces retook Pujehun Town overnight, armed with heavy machine guns but SLA forces successfully counter attacked four days later on 30 March. In early June 1993, other unsuccessful attacks were launched on Pujehun Town, allegedly by hungry RUF members, which did not challenge SLA control over the area. In 1883

Civilians began having doubts about the SLA forces; starting in 1993, there appeared to be "much understanding" between the RUF forces and the SLA forces. Indeed, civilians found that any time there was a RUF attack on a village or settlement, the SLA forces based in Pujehun Town would not go there until they heard the RUF had left the area. On their arrival, they would take away the any property left by the RUF forces and bring it to Pujehun Town, sometimes by truck and sometimes by forcing civilians to carry the load. Civilians also understood that during attacks on SLA bases, the forces stationed there would only shoot in the air and then run away, leaving their arms and ammunition behind them. Civilians further noticed that those kind of incidents happened especially after SLA forces had received deliveries of arms and ammunition and food rations. Civilians who dared to question the behaviour of the SLA forces and their efficiency in repelling RUF attacks were killed.

In May 1993, SLA forces, SSD members and ULIMO forces launched a successful attack on Potoru (Barri Chiefdom). After a three-day battle, the RUF forces were repelled from the town and had spread throughout the chiefdom. During this attack, some civilians were killed. After they recaptured Potoru, ULIMO and, to a lesser extent, SLA forces killed up to 70 civilians whom they suspected of being "rebels" or "rebel collaborators" and burnt the houses of many people they suspected of hiding suspected "rebels" or "rebel collaborators". Furthermore, civilians were used to carry supplies for the SLA and, accordingly, some of them were killed during ambushes laid by RUF forces. From May 1993 to 1994, SLA positions in these chiefdoms came under persistent attacks.

¹³⁸¹ This camp was made up of makeshift mud and thatch huts without sewage or proper ventilation. Living conditions would start becoming catastrophic and the death toll would soon be very high, between 50 and 80 deaths per month: BBC, 16 September 1993.

¹³⁸² AFP 26 March 1993 and BBC 1 April 1993.

¹³⁸³ BBC, 3 June 1993 and 5 June 1993.

Those in the RUF High Command in Soro Gbema Chiefdom were members of the late Ndorgbowusui Group. However, others who were not members of this group volunteered to be recruited for the RUF, which led to dissention among the RUF ranks. When orders were given, they refused to follow them or, if they were forced to carry them out, it was not in the best interest of the commanders. The rivalries between these two RUF groups, each of them giving allegiance either to Solomon Demby or to Hon. Mannah Kpaka, led to much destruction of property and killing of civilians in Soro Gbema chiefdom. For example, one group carried out the massive destruction and burning of Malema and Fairo, the two major towns in the chiefdom, while the other group burnt down Wai and surrounding villages. In any village where either group felt there were supporters of the other group, they would wage war on those communities. Furthermore, as the Demby supporters were known for being wealthy, constant ambushes were staged along the main roads of the chiefdom.¹³⁸⁴

The population of Makpele Chiefdom suffered continuous looting and property destruction by the SLA forces, who had begun to engage in mining activities that would continue until after the 1996 elections. For example, at Palima in 1993, the roofs were taken from the Court Barrie, the mosque and other houses. By early 1993, most of the civilians had fled to camps (including the Gondama camp in Bo District, which was opened in January 1993), to larger towns such as Kenema and to Liberia. The SLA forced those who remained to mine for diamonds, bring the SLA forces food and give them money for food.

Thus, by August 1993, RUF forces were entrapped in Pujehun District by SLA and ULIMO forces whose main bases where in Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom) and Gofor (Makpele Chiefdom). The remaining RUF forces controlled only a region of marshland and tropical forest on the Atlantic coast, where they staged ambushes. On 28 August, some RUF forces laid an ambush at Golahun, nine miles south of Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone or Kpaka Chiefdom), and opened fire on ICRC personnel. Two ICRC nurses were killed and a third one, together with the two Gambian drivers, was wounded. 1386

Events in 1994

At the end of January and following the renewed RUF attacks, notably in Kenema District, the Government of Sierra Leone declared "total war" against the RUF.

Despite the SLA presence in Zimmi, RUF forces attacked Palima (Makpele Chiefdom, 1.5 miles from Zimmi) in April 1994, by passing the SLA forces. Thirty-two people were abducted and brought to their stronghold in Soro Gbema Chiefdom, where they stayed over two years, being trained as RUF member or used to work for the RUF forces, mainly as fishermen.

¹³⁸⁶ AFP 28 August 1993 and 29 August 1993.

¹³⁸⁴ None of those events could be specifically dated and happened sometime between 1993 and 1995 when the Government of Sierra Leone sent a delegation to the Mano River Union Bridge.

¹³⁸⁵ AFP, 16 September 1993

In 1994, RUF forces were occupying most of the villages in Barri Chiefdom, looting, raping, killing and abducting. These forces began spreading to Kenema District. However at that time, most of the population of these chiefdoms had fled to the bush or to Gondama camp.

Events in 1995

At the beginning of the year, the Sierra Leonean Government sent a delegation to the Mano River Union Bridge (Soro Gbema Chiefdom) to negotiate a cease-fire with the RUF. This was the second round of talks between RUF forces and the NPRC regime, the first one taking place in December 1994. For one of these meetings, the delegation composed of Government representatives and prominent people was airlifted to the crossing point at Bo Waterside from Monrovia and crossed the bridge towards the Sierra Leonean side, at Jendema (Soro Gbema Chiefdom) without seeing any RUF forces. RUF forces appeared shortly after and abducted them, threatening to kill them. It is believed that those people remained in the hands of the RUF forces until 1998 when the District was cleared of any RUF presence.

In 1995, SLA forces were still in control of Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom) and harassment of civilians continued. In one incident, 25 people from Palima were undressed and taken to Zimmi, where they were forced to push a truck loaded with SLA forces. Palima (Makpele Chiefdom) was again attacked by RUF forces in October 1995 but this time, the forces came from Tunkia Chiefdom in Kenema District. Two people were killed and some houses looted. Thus, civilians from Makpele Chiefdom were caught between RUF attacks and SLA harassment. All the houses and other facilities (including kitchens and toilets that had been built by UNHCR) at Palima were destroyed by both the RUF forces and the SLA forces, although more destruction was done by the SLA forces.

Notwithstanding the relatively scarce information related to this period, it appears that Pujehun District together with the Mokanji Hills (Moyamba District) and the north of Bonthe District had become a stronghold of the RUF. 1391

c) Events in 1996 – 1998 and beyond

These years are marked by the progressive initiation of Kamajors in the District. As with other Districts in the south, from the time of their initiation until the May 1997 Coup, the Kamajors together with SLA forces were successful in containing and repelling RUF forces from their positions. Shortly after the Coup on 25 May, the Kamajors went underground and reassembled; from the end of 1997, they were successfully engaged in driving the RUF/AFRC forces out of the District.

¹³⁸⁷ More detail is needed on these incidents.

¹³⁸⁸ This second round of talks failed as the RUF turned down NPRC's offer of peace: Communiqué Inter Press Service, 3 January 1995 and 11 January 1995. In April, the NPRC Chairman proposed an immediate cease-fire and negotiations to the RUF, which was rejected by the RUF. Amnesty International Report 1996.

¹³⁸⁹ No more details could be obtained on this incident.

¹³⁹⁰ Although no more details could be obtained on this incident, it has to be borne in mind that Palima is 1½ miles from Zimmi and accordingly, the reported attacks on Palima, could reveal an attempt of the RUF forces to overrun the SLA forces based at Zimmi.

¹³⁹¹ BBC, 20 February 1995.

CDF initiations began in late 1995 or early 1996 in Gondama camp in Bo District. It is reported that the catalyst for the commencement of initiations was the attacks on Gondama Camp and the heavy casualties suffered there. In early 1996, the first CDF members moved to Pujehun District to reinforce the SLA forces stationed there. All chiefdoms represented in the camp were to appoint a certain number of men from their chiefdom as Kamajors, in proportion to their size and population. The initiation rite was performed in Bo Town. All the adults in the camp had to contribute Le 500¹³⁹² or the equivalent in bulgur for the initiation to take place. In the early stages, the new initiates, equipped mainly with bladed weapons and single barrel guns, were under the command of the chiefdom authorities but they soon came under the command of a National Coordinator, with District Coordinators.¹³⁹³

Following the general elections in February 1996, people started leaving the camps and the bush to resettle in their villages. Displaced people who had found refuge in Bo District and refugees from Liberia began to be repatriated in the District. However, in May, Kamajors found over 100 civilians dead in Bendu (north of Malen Chiefdom), mainly aged over 50 years old. The RUF forces who killed those civilians also captured teenagers from the town and took them to Camp Libya in Soro Gbema Chiefdom. In late August 1996, AFP reported that tens of thousands of people left Gondama Camp as the "rebel war dies down" and it was believed that people had returned to 10 out of the 12 chiefdoms of the District. Makpele and Soro Gbema Chiefdoms, at the Liberian border, were the two chiefdoms where resettlement remained impossible for security reasons. Those people who resettled in the District nevertheless still received food distribution in Bo District until this distribution began also in Pujehun District later in the year.

During the period leading up to May 1997, the Kamajors, together with SLA forces, repelled RUF forces in many areas, allowing for relative tranquillity and continuing resettlement. People tried to engage in farming activities, being supplied with seeds and basic agricultural equipments by NGOs and UN Agencies. However, this collaboration between SLA forces and the Kamajors soon started to deteriorate. In Barri Chiefdom for example, quarrels over the dismounting of checkpoints arose and checkpoints mounted by SLA forces were destroyed by Kamajors. This led the SLA forces to leave the chiefdom, which was then under Kamajor control only until the May 1997 Coup.

In Gallinas Peri Chiefdom, the first attack the Kamajors launched against the RUF was in Blama Massaquoi and they continued fighting until the chiefdom was declared a "rebel free area" around November 1996. Thus, from November 1996 until May 1997, the chiefdom was under Kamajor control. Kamajors from Soro Gbema Chiefdom passing through Gallinas Peri Chiefdom reached their chiefdom sometime between August and October 1996. In Barri Chiefdom, the Kamajors first joined the SLA forces based at Potoru, the chiefdom headquarters, while RUF forces were scattered mainly in the north of the chiefdom, between Vaama and Baiama. Following attacks on RUF camps,

¹³⁹² This should be placed in the context of Sierra Leone's position at the bottom of the Human Development Index: between 1991 and 2000, 57% of the population lived on less than 1 USD (2.000 SLL) per day and 74.5% lived on less than 2 USD (4.000 SLL) per day: see UNDP Human Development Report 2003, http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/indicator/cty_f_SLE.html, last visited on 30 December 2003.

¹³⁹³ See section [X] for a more detailed explanation of the formation of the Civil Defence Forces.

¹³⁹⁴ Xinhua News Agency and AFP: 9 May 1996.

¹³⁹⁵ AFP, 22 August 1996.



Kamajors obtained arms and ammunition that were more sophisticated than the ones they had so far.

However, the Kamajors in Makpele Chiefdom, in particular the 23 Kamajors based at Manjama, engaged in massive mining activities, the junior members undertaking mining for the most senior ones. Mining equipment was taken away from civilians, who were forced to feed the Kamajors, go hunting and fetch wood and water. No respect was paid to the chiefdom authorities and the Regent Paramount Chief had no control over the Kamajors. The movement of civilians was restricted and harassment of civilians was frequent; their houses were searched, property was confiscated and farms were harvested by the Kamajors for their own purposes. Civilians from this village went into hiding, as they could no longer withstand this situation. At Vaama in 1996, Kamajors argued with SLA forces, allegedly because both groups wanted to have access to the resources of the villages, namely food, money and women. The two groups fought, the Kamajors being equipped with single barrels guns and the SLA with automatic rifles and RPGs, as a result of which the Kamajors left town. SLA forces from Zimmi visited Ngombu, close to Zimmi, as they heard Kamajors had gathered there to fight them. As they arrived in the town, they started shooting, thus preventing people from giving explanations, as a result of which seven civilians were killed. Before leaving, those SLA forces took some furniture for Zimmi.

Kamajors based at Madina (Makpele Chiefdom) also engaged in the same behaviour towards civilians, who were forced to contribute to the Kamajor's activities by providing money, bulgur, rice and palm oil. Toobu (three miles from Zimmi) was also visited by Kamajors and in April 1997, they took away bicycles, bailing machines, a power saw, Le 1,000,000 and other property. 1396 Civilians made a report to the head Kamajor at Zimmi but no action was taken. Until the May Coup, more initiations took place for youth of the chiefdom and almost all the villages suffered similar kinds of harassment.

In late December 1996 following the signing of the Abidjan Peace Agreement, more than 8,000 people who had been captured two years earlier by RUF forces were released in Soro Gbema Chiefdom, allegedly on the directive of RUF High Command. During this period, it appeared that RUF forces were ordered by their High Command to regroup and encamp at Camp Libva, located in a dense rainforest on the Moa River, which was practically their only remaining stronghold in the District after the Mano River Union Bridge and Sulima (both in Soro Gbema Chiefdom) had been recaptured.

In Soro Gbema Chiefdom, before the May Coup in late 1996 or early 1997, Kamajors drove many RUF forces out of the chiefdom. At Felo Mano and other places in the chiefdom, the Kamajors discovered arms stores and an airstrip was also found at Felo Mano. This information was transmitted to the Sierra Leone Government through the SLA and SLP based at Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom) and the arms and ammunition were airlifted to Freetown in 1997. The Kamaiors

1398 According to the records, ECOMOG from Freetown and Kenema would have come to the site of these discoveries and air lifted the ammunition to Freetown. However, no ECOMOG forces as such were to be found

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in these towns. The key person probably referred to foreign troops such as Guinean or Nigerian who have been

¹³⁹⁶ Those Kamajors "dressed carefully" and "behaved like RUF or SLA forces".

¹³⁹⁷ BBC, 28 December 1996.

fought to retake the whole chiefdom up to Jendema, at the Liberian border. Many RUF forces fleeing to Liberia were caught and killed on the Mano River Union Bridge, which has been described as the "Kamajor slaughter site", where many RUF members were tied up and thrown alive in the Mano River.

After the Coup in May 1997 and the merging of the RUF with AFRC forces, the CDF were defeated in many areas and went into hiding. They operated from underground, refusing to obey the AFRC leader's general order to lay down their arms and to report to the nearest police station. Instead, initiations continued took place; in Sowa Chiefdom, for example, 150 young men were initiated. 1399

From May 1997 until they were repelled from the District in 1998, the combined RUF/AFRC forces imposed great harms on civilian population in general and on suspected Kamajors or Kamajors collaborators/sympathisers in particular. For example, three days after the overthrow of the Government, AFRC forces burnt down compounds belonging to Kamajor commanders in Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom). Other houses were looted, including those of two Limba people. In Sowa Chiefdom, AFRC forces accused civilians of being Kamajors, killing many of them. The RUF/AFRC forces went on patrols in Sowa Chiefdom and established themselves in the chiefdom headquarters of Bandajuma. RUF/AFRC forces then commenced patrols in Bandajuma, as they knew the chiefdom was initiating Kamajors, attempting to prevent the Kamajors from establishing themselves in the chiefdom headquarter. The Bo-Pujehun Highway, which passes through Sowa Chiefdom, was constantly patrolled at night and houses along the highway were set on fire. Youths who were found during these patrols were killed by the combined forces, who accused them of being Kamajors. These constant patrols led civilians once more to flee their villages to go in their settlements in the bush, called "sorquehun".

Women were sexually abused and in Pujehun Town, one woman died as a result. The practice of padlocking the private parts of women is also reported. In Gallinas Peri Chiefdom, in December 1997, RUF/AFRC forces coming from their main base in Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom) entered Blama Massaquoi, fully armed with automatic rifles and an anti-aircraft weapon mounted on vehicle. They burnt down the house of the CDF commander using an RPG, as a result of which other houses nearby were also burnt. The RUF/AFRC forces took supplies from returnees to the chiefdom, mainly seed rice and other seeds, and continued to steal property throughout the chiefdom, in particular at Saahn Massaquoi, before returning to Pujehun Town.

Whenever they lost men at the battlefront, RUF/AFRC forces killed a number of civilians similar to the number of men they had lost. For example, in late 1997, in Gofor (Makpele Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces placed 20 people in a house and set fire to it. The reason advanced for this was that these people were coming from a place where the Kamajors had previously ambushed and killed RUF/AFRC forces.

fighting with SLA for a long time. Furthermore, the reference to Kenema should probably understood as Kenema District and not Kenema Town, as no presence of such foreign forces was reported for Kenema Town.

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¹³⁹⁹According to the OCHA report for 16-21 July 1997, in many parts of Pujehun District, "local military commanders have good relations with Kamajors and do not support AFRC" but from the information collected from key people, this could not be confirmed.

¹⁴⁰⁰ This information was related in such general terms and no more details could be obtained.

The Kamajors regrouped their forces and more initiations took place, initiating often children below the age of 15. Half Starting late 1997, Kamajors attacked RUF/AFRC forces' positions. In October 1997, RUF/AFRC forces in a four-truck convoy fell into an ambush near Fairo in Soro Gbema Chiefdom. Kamajors killed those caught in the ambush, together with the civilians who were travelling with them, because the Kamajors considered them to be collaborators. According to those Kamajors, those civilians used to lead the RUF/AFRC forces and show them the Kamajor hiding places. Between late 1997 and March 1998, many villages were burnt down in Soro Gbema Chiefdom by both Kamajors and RUF/AFRC forces to prevent the other fighting faction from settling there.

ECOMOG forces based in Liberia were carrying weapons sent by the CDF National Coordinator through the Mano River Union Bridge to the CDF District Coordinator, who in turn distributed the items to the Kamajors in the District. ECOMOG was also supplying the Kamajors with medicine and the wounded forces were transported to Tieni in Liberia by helicopter, where there was a base at that time. Whenever arms and ammunition were seized at battlefronts, they were taken to the District Coordinator, who reallocated them as required. Holds

In November 1997, the Kamajors repelled most of the combined forces from Sowa Chiefdom. While fleeing, the RUF/AFRC forces burnt 30 houses in Bandajuma and set many villages along the Bandajuma-Koribondo (Bo District) highway on fire. Nevertheless, the Kamajors took control of the area and people came out of the bush where they had been hiding.

On 20 to 22 December 1997, Kamajors from Gbandapi (south of Panga Kabone Chiefdom) moved to Pujehun Town in a bid to recapture the town from the RUF/AFRC forces. During this first attempt, the Kamajors were repelled and sustained heavy casualties. A few days later, on 27 December, RUF/AFRC forces from Pujehun Town went down to Gbandapi, burning houses and looting food items on their way; 23 houses were burnt down at Najay. This counter-attack would mark the first step of a series of reprisals against civilians by the Kamajors. On 8 January 1998, three Kamajors came to Najay, where they fired many shots, burnt down one house and arrested two men gathered for the morning prayer at the Mosque whom they accused of collaborating with the

¹⁴⁰¹ According to the Sierra Leone Humanitarian Report for 29 October-18 November 1997, "[...] insecurity in Bo, Pujehun and Bonthe districts has also increased due to clashes between the military and the Kamajors. It seems that there is a clear difference between newly-recruited Kamajors, who have access to automatic weapons and apparently operate outside the authority of chiefdom representatives, and the traditional Kamajors who are carefully screened and respect traditional chiefdom structures. Aid Agencies operating in the Southern province are being increasingly harassed by some groups of Kamajors and are currently being prevented from accessing areas to the South of Bandejuma on the Bo-Pujehun highway. This is a source of concern as there are known pockets of malnutrition in parts of Bonthe and Pujehun districts." Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 29 Oct - 18 Nov 1997. REG. NO. 97/0390.

¹⁴⁰² Indeed, it seems that Kamajors had a base on the Liberian territory.

¹⁴⁰³ It is alleged that some of these weapons were sold for money by the CDF District coordinator and were thus kept out of circulation to the Kamajors. Furthermore, some weapons would have been given to civilians who were not Kamajors for them to benefit from the disarmament program. This information was also revealed during the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) hearings in Pujehun Town in June 2003.

RUF/AFRC forces, taking them to Bonthe District. Other Kamajors later returned to the town, stripped naked six civilians and beat them, on the same grounds. On 15 February, Kamajors killed the Chief Imam of the District and the Section Chief at Bayama (Panga Krim Chiefdom) by tying a rope around his neck and stabbing him many times before shooting him. These events prompted inhabitants from Najay to leave the village for fear of further reprisals but Kamajors found them in their hiding places and took away all their belongings, including food, domestic animals and money. As they were unable to stay any longer in the bush and as many surrounding villages refused to host them, these civilians went to Bassaleh, east of Najay.

Over 20 fierce and repeated battles took place between 28 May 1997 and late February 1998 to establish and maintain control of Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom), which was a stronghold of the RUF/AFRC forces in the District. During the two first attacks¹⁴⁰⁵ launched by Kamajors coming from the direction of Gofor, civilians were killed. As the fighting intensified between Kamajors and the RUF/AFRC in June, the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) sheltered over 1,000 civilians. In early July, Kamajors regrouped and launched a third attack, coming from the main road of the chiefdom, like the previous attack. This attack was unsuccessful although no casualties were reported. However, the RUF/AFRC forces burnt down houses of Kamajor supporters, which made them flee the town, leaving their belongings in the hands of the RUF/AFRC forces. During the fourth attack in early August, many civilians, RUF/AFRC members and Kamajors were wounded. Some of the wounded died in the bushes and the decomposing bodies were later discovered by civilians. While they took control, the Kamajors would control the town only for a very short period of time.

Inhabitants from Palima, half a mile from Zimmi on the road to Kenema District, deserted the town following the fourth attack and went to the bush for three weeks. They were discovered by the RUF/AFRC forces, who took the produce from the harvests to Zimmi. During the subsequent battles from September to December, houses were burnt down and civilians from Zimmi and the surrounding villages suffered heavy casualties; four Chiefs and 14 counsellors were killed, accused of being supporters of the Sierra Leone President. During this period, civilians also died from starvation while others drowned in Mahoi River, trying to seek refuge in other areas. On 6 January 1998, another Kamajor attack left a lot of civilians dead.

Also in January, Kamajors went to Vaama (east of Zimmi) where they stole all the household property they could find and took some money from civilians. Before leaving, they set some buildings on fire and took away one civilian. Starting on 23 January, there was another attack described as a 'no retreat battle' that lasted for four days. At the end of the battle, during which both

¹⁴⁰⁴ What happened to those civilians was not specified.

¹⁴⁰⁵ During the second battle on 17 June, the key person recounts that he had the impression that when it came time for the battle, the Kamajors did not have central command.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Sierra Leone Humanitarian Report 24-30 June 1997.

¹⁴⁰⁷ According to Africa News, 25 August 1997, ICRC had to withdraw from its office at Zimmi.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Also in September, the fight for the control of Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District) intensified.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Hundreds of fatalities are mentioned, but this figure could not be confirmed. Also in January, serious fighting took place at Tongo Field.

¹⁴¹⁰ Those Kamajors were described as acting like the "junta" i.e. the RUF/AFRC forces.

fighting factions used RPGs, there was a great deal of property destruction and a large number of bodies, both civilians and members of the fighting forces, were left on the streets. Following this, the Kamajors went back to Gofor. During the battle that took place on 1 February, the Kamajors were again unsuccessful in dislodging the RUF/AFRC forces from the town. Thirteen RUF/AFRC forces were caught by Kamajors and killed opposite the R.C. School on the Zimmi Fairo Road. Three of their "wives" taken by the Kamajors to Gofor, where they were used as sex slaves before being killed.

The final battle in Zimmi, which took place on 17 February, saw the Kamajors being assisted by ECOMOG forces and some SLA forces. Those combined forces blocked all the roads leading to the town and battled for three days with the RUF/AFRC forces who had not fled the town, which some had on hearing that Freetown was no longer under their control. Over 1,500 civilians used by the RUF/AFRC forces as sex slaves or as workers to do petty jobs like brushing the town, bringing food or water were freed by the Kamajors, who then made Zimmi their base. From Zimmi, Kamajors raided surrounding villages, taking property including household items and bicycles. They also harassed civilians in these villages because for the Kamajors, any civilians near Zimmi were RUF/AFRC collaborators.

After the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in February 1998, the District rapidly became free of RUF and AFRC forces as the Kamajors took control of it. In Kpaka Chiefdom, for example, as they were cut off from Koribondo which used to be a stronghold in Bo District (Jiama Bongor Chiefdom), the remaining RUF/AFRC forces left the chiefdom in March. In early 1998, Kamajors from Sowa Chiefdom battled with RUF/AFRC forces at Jeoma and successfully repelled them. From this time on, civilians were forced to feed the Kamajors, the burden of which increased when Kamajors opened a new initiation base at Foindu. In Panga Kabone Chiefdom, Kamajors attacked the remaining RUF/AFRC stronghold in the District three times before eventually driving them out in March 1998, when the RUF/AFRC forces were cut off from their headquarters in Koribondo.

During this period, Kamajors looted Pujehun Town (Panga Kabone Chiefdom), Yonni and Gobaru (Kpaka Chiefdom). However, after 1998, it is reported that Kpaka Chiefdom was relatively quiet as was Mano Sakrim Chiefdom, which did not suffer much from the Kamajors after May 1997, because they were fighting RUF/AFRC forces in other parts of the District.¹⁴¹³

Kamajors controlled the District by conducting patrols and mounted checkpoints, imposing the pass system in search of arms and ammunition and alleged "enemies". In Barri Chiefdom for example, up to 1999, Kamajors issued passes to travellers for a fee of Le 500, as a way to control the movement of people and to search for their enemies. This pass was only valid for a limited period of time and

¹⁴¹¹ Following the coup in May 1997, the SLA base at Koribondo had become a stronghold of the RUF/AFRC forces as part of the general "transfer" of SLA bases and property to the AFRC.

¹⁴¹² No information was obtained for Kpaka Chiefdom after the departure of the RUF/AFRC forces. Kamajor harassment of civilians is reported in the same general terms as for the other chiefdoms, without relating any precise event.

¹⁴¹³ It appeared that in 1997, Mano Sakrim Chiefdom did not sustain much the presence of the RUF/AFRC forces, who were concentrated in other areas in the District.

had to be renewed at the expiration of that period. Kamajors from Potoru explained to civilians that only Kamajors could travel without such a pass. Civilians were requested to show their pass that proved they were civilians and not RUF/AFRC members at any Kamajors checkpoints they passed through. Those checkpoints were also used to request money from drivers and passengers and to search passengers' bags. For example, from Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom) to Jendema (Soro Gbema Chiefdom, Liberian border), eight checkpoints were mounted and four were established between Zimmi and the border with Tunkia Chiefdom (Kenema District).

The Kamajors systematically ill-treated civilians across the District, mainly as a reprisal for their suspected collaboration with the RUF and RUF/AFRC forces. The District Coordinator used to go from chiefdom to chiefdom to visit the Kamajors on the ground; such visits were witnessed, for example, in Barri Chiefdom. In particular, relatives of RUF/AFRC forces were humiliated, punished and killed. The Mano River was used to drown alleged collaborators; Jijama and Jembe (Soro Gbema Chiefdom) were two towns where this practice was carried out. Traditional leaders were deposed and their power seized, some of them being molested. Prominent people were killed, such as the Assistant District Officer, who was mistaken for an AFRC lieutenant, and the Chief Imam of Soro Gbema Chiefdom. Looting was also frequently carried out and on one occasion, when this was being done and civilians were being chased into the bush, the Kamajors stated that when the RUF/AFRC forces took away their property, they never grumbled or did anything, but now they were complaining when the Kamajors were taking their property. Houses, compounds and communities termed "unfriendly" were burnt down, as happened, for example, in Nanjay (Panga Kabone Chiefdom). The killing of civilians for whatever reason was mostly carried out along the Liberian border.

The houses of relatives of RUF and AFRC members were broken into, damaged and burnt down. It was common practice to send alleged collaborators to "wash" in the river, which was a euphemism for drowning, or to put them in cages where they were tied with FM ropes, which are nylon ropes wrapped around two short sticks and which often lead to loss of circulation to the hands. For example, in Sowa Chiefdom, during the Operation called "Black December" carried out in December 1997, two civilians who pleaded with the Kamajors authorities to let some vehicles come in were arrested and tied with FM ropes. Another example is a woman from Bandajuma (Sowa Chiefdom) who was killed and her head displayed on a sharp stick, as she was suspected of being a collaborator with the AFRC. Thirty people were killed in Bomborhun (Soro Gbema Chiefdom) for failing to report to the Kamajors that RUF/AFRC forces had crossed the Mano River.

Women were sexually abused and some of them had their heads shaved. In addition, women were also forcibly married to Kamajors, unable to refuse or they would be killed. This information was

¹⁴¹⁴ On one occasion, Kamajors told civilians that the pass would be valid only for four days. This is however not a fixed limit as information from other Districts notes that the passes issued could be valid for other periods of time. ¹⁴¹⁵ It is interesting to note that this system of pass together with the harassment suffered at checkpoints led some civilians to be initiated within the Kamajors society. This type of initiation was however different from the one the fighters to be had to go through, it was among other things much quicker. Furthermore, this type of initiation was mostly carried out once Kamajors were in control of the District and not previously while they were fighting RUF/AFRC forces.

given in general terms for Soro Gbema Chiefdom but could most likely be extended to the other chiefdoms under CDF control. It is interesting to note that this was rather controversial among the Kamajors as they believed that once covered with their traditional attire and protection, they could not be approached by any woman or they would no longer be protected. Accordingly, this was used as an argument to deny the assertion that some of them had committed sexual offences against women.

The Kamajors established laws, both for Kamajors and civilians, and anyone caught breaking these laws was punished, including by public flogging, being locked in a guardroom and, for the Kamajors, being required to give up their weapons. Such incidents happened, for example, at Potoru, the CDF headquarter in Barri Chiefdom. Offices were established in the villages and Kamajors intervened in domestic affairs. They would settle cases of debts and other disputes, including marital affairs. Civilians reported cases to them and not to the Government authorities, who had no power or control over the chiefdoms at this time. Fines were levied on those civilians found guilty and other type of punishments were carried out, such as putting people in pens of two feet high and five feet long, built with palm stalks and sharp pointed materials.

One former Kamajor relates how children between the ages of 10 and 15 were initiated when the fight for Zimmi intensified towards the beginning of 1998. Those children were sent to enemy zones and battlefronts to act as spies and some became fighters. Others were also used to mine diamonds for the leaders. Kamajors also embarked on forceful conscription of men. When things started to become difficult for the Kamajors, they asked civilians to contribute with food and money to the movement. The food was for the forces and the money was used to pay initiators and to buy weapons. Civilians were also used to carry arms and ammunition, food and property stolen by the Kamajors. Those who refused to carry out these orders were arrested, beaten, put in cages, tied up or fined. Children were used to transport gravel from the mining areas to washing sites. RUF/AFRC forces captured alive during battle by the Kamajors were either initiated into the Kamajors or killed, depending on the situation. Other punishments were applied to these captured enemies such as imprisoning them, stripping them, tying them up and putting them in cages. 1416

Kamajors also engaged in mining in different chiefdoms such as Soro Gbema, Makpele, Gallinas Peri and Malen and it is reported that the District Coordinator was allocating forces for mining. It was said that these diamonds were given to ECOMOG to get ammunition, but doubt was raised over the destination of the gems as the District Coordinator was suspected of keeping diamonds for his own use. In 1998, at Famina (Soro Gbema Chiefdom), a group of five civilians caught by the Kamajors mining diamonds without their permission were killed.¹⁴¹⁷

In September 1998, at Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom), Kamajors seized seven big trucks loaded with rice, sugar and other items coming from Liberia and en route to Kenema District. The trucks were parked opposite the police station, the SLP being unable to do anything. The passengers abandoned their loads and continued their journey to Kenema.

¹⁴¹⁷ No further information is available on this incident.

¹⁴¹⁶ This was apparently done on the advice of civilians, which may refer to the fact that some civilians were appointed in the administration of the CDF in the Districts.

On one occasion, in October 1998, the killing at Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom) of a man from Koya Chiefdom (Kenema District) accused of being a "rebel" led to a fight between Kamajors from Koya Chiefdom (Kenema District) and those from Makpele Chiefdom. The dispute was resolved through the intervention of the two CDF chiefdoms coordinators. Other incidents of friction between Kamajors were reported and in November 1998, some young men from Gallinas Peri Chiefdom decided to form their own society, allegedly with the assistance of the son of the Kamajor's High Priest. This decision to form a separate group of Kamajors concluded rapidly as, following the initiation, three of the young men who were to queue to test their bullet proof ability were killed and many others wounded when the initiator fired at them. The matter was reported to the police but no action was taken.

In mid October 1998, serious clashes occurred between CDF assisted by ECOMOG forces and some RUF/AFRC members accompanied by Liberian armed men at the Mano River in the south of Soro Gbema Chiefdom. According to the CDF Coordinator for Pujehun District and ECOMOG forces, those armed men were members of the Liberian Army, which was denied by the Liberian President. To avoid further incursions, the Kamajors created a buffer zone at the Liberian border by strengthening their forces in the border villages. 1418

Discussions on the disarmament process began in December 1999, when the CDF National Coordinator together with the District Coordinator convened a meeting for Kamajors at Potoru (Barri Chiefdom). By April 2000, UNAMSIL forces were deployed in Zimmi and Joru and shortly after, at Pujehun Town, following ECOMOG withdrawal from the country. Possibly as a result of this, Pujehun District also became a transit area for refugees coming back from Liberia and originating from other Districts in Sierra Leone. A DDR camp was opened at Pujehun Town¹⁴¹⁹ in May 2001 and in October, following a meeting of the Joint Committee on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR), comprised of the Government of Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL and representatives of the RUF, it was agreed that the remainder of the DDR process should be accelerated between 1 and 14 November.¹⁴²⁰

At the end of 2001, SLA forces deployed alongside the Liberian border in Pujehun and Kenema Districts following intensified fighting of the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)¹⁴²¹ forces in the west of Liberia. 1422

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¹⁴¹⁸ This incident was related by AFP, 04 November 1998, and comes from Kamajors source; it was neither confirmed nor denied by independent sources.

¹⁴¹⁹ Following a meeting between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF at UNAMSIL headquarters, Freetown, it was agreed between the parties that DDR camps should be opened as a matter of urgency in Lunsar, Makeni, Kamakwie, Masingbi, Koidu, Kailahun, Alikalia, Pujehun and Bonthe, in addition to the existing ones in Port Loko, Bo, Moyamba, Kenema and Daru: UNAMSIL press release, 15 May 2001.

¹⁴²⁰ IRIN West Africa, 12 October 2001. Furthermore, disarmament for the whole country was scheduled to be complete by 30 November 2001. During this disarmament period in November 2001, over 2,000 CDF members demobilised: UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 20 November 2001

¹⁴²¹ The LURD was a fighting faction engaged in the Liberian conflict and challenging the authority of the Liberian Government. This group had been fighting the Liberian Government since 1998.

¹⁴²² Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 01 - 31 December 2001.

Aside from this, there is almost no information available from the end of 1998, 1999, 2000 and 2001, as the District was under the control of Kamajors and ECOMOG forces and, later on, UNAMSIL troops. It appears that civilians were able to resettle in their villages and were mostly engaged in farming activities.¹⁴²³

3. Conclusion

Pujehun District was an entry point to Sierra Leone for RUF/NPFL forces as early as 1991 and all the RUF incursions in the District were carried out following an east-west pattern, RUF forces first settling into the two chiefdoms bordering Liberia, namely Soro Gbema and Makpele before proceeding further west by crossing the Moa River. Accordingly, those two chiefdoms were the most affected, particularly because Makpele Chiefdom is the main mining area of the District.

The first major incursion in the District, carried out by RUF/NPFL forces was done in concert with a northern flank in Kailahun District; the RUF/NPFL forces rapidly scattered throughout the chiefdoms of both Districts. From the very start of the conflict, the headquarters of the RUF forces was, however, established in Kailahun District. Three motorable entry points into Sierra Leone were thus clearly identified, two in Kailahun District and one in Pujehun District.

The RUF/NPFL forces were repelled from Pujehun District in the middle of 1991, while some chiefdoms in Kailahun District remained under RUF/NPFL control. At that time, Pujehun District came under SLA control, with the RUF/NPFL forces being limited to launching sporadic actions in the District.

In late 1993 and in 1994, RUF forces launched a second massive incursion from the Liberian border and spread across Pujehun, Kenema and Kailahun Districts, before continuing further westwards, establishing positions in the whole country by 1995. As such, Pujehun District was for the second time under RUF control, although for a longer period this time. This RUF presence in the District led thousands of civilians to flee the District and go to IDPs camps in Bo District, encouraged by an SLA that was being gradually defeated in the District. Accordingly, Pujehun District was one of the most affected Districts in terms of displacement of population and of destruction of property.

From late 1995 and especially after February 1998 and the intervention in Freetown, the pattern of the conflict in Pujehun District differed from Kailahun District and was more similar to the other Districts of the Southern Province. This was due to the initiation and deployment of Kamajors, who were able to retake most of the RUF positions in the District, unlike Kailahun District, which was never completely under Kamajor control.

Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in February 1998 and its deployment in the District, the RUF/AFRC who had stayed in the District during the AFRC regime pulled out and the retreating RUF/AFRC forces from Freetown did not settle at all in the District. Free from further RUF/AFRC incursions, the District was thus left under Kamajor control, as with the other Districts of the Southern Province, which deprived the RUF/AFRC forces of one of their main supply roads from Liberia. From 1998 until the completion of the DDR process, RUF/AFRC attacks were

¹⁴²³ The situation was radically different for the Districts of the Northern Province and for Kono District where RUF/AFRC activities were still ongoing, with high fatalities among the civilian population.

concentrated in the main mining areas of the District and in the areas where CDF members did not have constant and complete control, namely the Northern Province, Kono District, Kailahun District and the north of Kenema District.

Throughout the conflict, widespread violations were committed in the District, primarily by RUF/NPFL, RUF and RUF/AFRC forces, but also by SLA forces and Kamajors, especially once they firmly established their control and authority over the District. Those violations were directed against civilians and their property and included stealing and destruction of property, physical violence, sexual assault, killing and abduction for use as fighters, workers or "wives". Both the RUF forces and the Kamajors forces deposed and replaced local authorities and put in place basic systems of administration. Only a few cases of mutilation were however reported for the District, as most of the cases reported took place during a specific RUF/AFRC operation called "Operation No Living Thing" in the first months of 1998 and following the retreat of Freetown.

F. Western Area

1. Introduction

The Western Area is located in the far central west of Sierra Leone and adjoins Port Loko and Moyamba Districts on its eastern side; its western side is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean. Roughly two-thirds of the Western Area is a mountainous peninsula, along the north of which is located Freetown, the capital city of Sierra Leone. Freetown has been a major international port for merchant and military shipping for the best part of 150 years.

Unlike the rest of the country, the Western Area is not composed of chiefdoms, but is divided into four Rural Districts (RD) and a metropolitan area known as Greater Freetown:¹⁴²⁴

Western Area Main Settlements
Koya Rural District Newton, Songo

Waterloo Rural District Fogbo, Hastings, Kossoh Town, Newton, Tombo,

Waterloo

Greater Freetown Freetown and suburban areas

York Rural District Goderich, Lakka, York

Mountain Rural District Regent

Koya RD is in the far east of the Western Area and is bordered to the north by Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District). Across the River Ribbi, which delimits the southern boundary of Koya RD, lies Ribbi Chiefdom (Moyamba District). The main motorable crossing point over the River Ribbi is located at Mabang, connecting the towns of Moyamba, Rotifunk and Bradford (all Moyamba District) to Songo, in the far east of Koya RD. This Moyamba route rejoins the main highway at Tiama Junction, giving travellers access to all major locations in the Southern Province. The RUF would use this route to enter the Western Area in 1995.

From Songo, moving inland, the main hard-surface arterial route from provincial Sierra Leone passes through the north of Koya RD and its main town, Newton. From Newton, the villages of Bath Comp and Fogbo are accessible by a road running south. Fogbo is a main transit point for goods and people westward across the swamp areas of the Calmont Creek and eastward to Shenge (Kagboro Chiefdom, Moyamba District) and to other locations up the Ribbi River. A large number of small settlements can be reached from the Newton-Fogbo road. Moving east from Newton, the main arterial route leads to Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and on to all other major towns in Sierra Leone. Control of the stretch of road between Newton and Masiaka was a major strategic aim of all factions in the conflict.

Moving westward from Newton, the main highway leads to the town of Waterloo, and the Waterloo RD. The area between Newton and Waterloo is flat, highly fertile agricultural land. There is a large palm oil plantation at Banga Farm, also on the main highway. Waterloo is on the foothills of the

¹⁴²⁴ Along with the SUDC area of Sherbro Island (Bonthe District), the Western Area is administered directly by the Government of Sierra Leone without the traditional structures found throughout Sierra Leone. This is a result of the early British administration, which did not extend its control over the provincial areas of Sierra Leone until the late 1800s, at which time it exercised authority mainly through the traditional structures already in place: see General Overview.

mountainous Western Area Peninsula. It has a number of suburban areas, including Lumpa, Kossoh and Bassu Town to the south and Cole Town to the north. The Prince Alfred Road Bridge, over which the main highway runs, is a key point in the town. The harbour settlement of Pa-Loko is located directly north of Waterloo.

The main highway into Freetown runs through Devil Hole, Rokel and Hastings. On the flat area north of Hastings town and running down to the Sierra Leone Estuary is a hard-surface airfield. The Sierra Leone Police Training School is also located at Hastings. On the Kossoh Town—Hasting axis, a number of different routes into Freetown converge. The main highway continues into the east of Greater Freetown through Wellington and Kissy. From Kossoh Town, two routes lead into Freetown. The first leads through Mountain Rural District from Grafton to Regent. This winding, cliff edge road is made of broken asphalt. At Regent, the road splits again allowing access to Freetown's civic centre through Mount Aureol and to Freetown's west end through Hill Station. The alternative route from Kossoh Town leads through Allen Town to Calaba Town, where it runs parallel to the main highway. This road is also of extremely poor quality and passes through the busy and densely populated areas of Wellington, Low Cost and Portee.

Another road leaves Waterloo and runs south around the Western Area Peninsula into west Freetown. The road passes through the SLA's Benguema Training Centre, through to the harbour town of Tombo, which marks the southern-most point of Waterloo Rural District. The peninsular road loops around along the coast through to York, Sussex and Goderich in the York RD. From Goderich, the road passes straight into the Lumley and Juba Hill areas of west Freetown. The peninsular road is of extremely poor quality and takes around three hours to get from Freetown to Waterloo in a regular vehicle. The main highway route, through Hastings, takes only 20 minutes.

In 1991, the conflict that was taking hold in other areas of Sierra Leone had little impact on the Western Area except for troop movements to other areas of the country and the establishment of checkpoints – at which there were incidents of harassment of civilians and stealing of their property by the SLA – and defensive deployments in strategic areas, particularly in Waterloo. Following the coup in 1992, which saw the NPRC take power, harassment of civilians and stealing of their property by the SLA increased as more checkpoints were established. This also marked the beginning of Cleaning Day, according to which on the last Saturday of every month, people had to stay home during the morning hours and clean their houses: those caught on the streets would be punished by the SLA. However, these incidents were relatively few and there would continue to be little impact on the Western Area throughout 1992 to 1994.

Starting in 1995, the RUF began to extend their presence westward, at one point cutting off the main highway linking Freetown with the rest of the country and occupying much of Koya RD. There were a number of battles between the RUF on the one hand and the SLA and foreign forces on the other hand, with the SLA establishing more checkpoints in sensitive areas. Throughout 1995 there was an increase in violations committed against civilians, including killing, raping, abduction and looting primarily committed by the RUF, with some violations by the SLA and the Nigerian forces. Elections were held in early 1996, the run up to which was marred by incidents of violence including the first amputations (of thumbs) in the Western Area by SLA, who believed there should

¹⁴²⁵ The Benguma Training Centre was subsequently renamed the "Armed Forces Training Centre".

be peace before elections. There was little fighting in the Western Area in 1996, with SLA, Guinean and Nigerian forces deployed in strategic areas and the SLA continuing to operate checkpoints along major routes. Civilians were routinely harassed at these checkpoints and were punished for failing to produce identity cards, including being beaten, primarily by the SLA and the Nigerian forces. Towards the end of 1996, peace talks between the RUF and the Government resulted in the Abidjan Peace Agreement on 30 November 1996.

Nevertheless, the conflict only began to have a major impact on the Western Area on the magnitude experienced in the rest of the country in 1997. In May of that year, the AFRC launched a coup, as a result of which the elected government fled to Guinea. Soon after taking power, the AFRC invited the RUF to join them and a large number of RUF forces joined the AFRC forces already in Freetown and the rest of the Western Area. This period saw a massive increase in violations against civilians, with RUF/AFRC forces in particular targeting students, representatives of civil society and journalists, especially after the commencement of broadcasting by the clandestine pro-government radio station, FM98.1 Radio Democracy. Civilians were beaten, raped, killed and arrested and detained without being charged, sometimes for up to a number of weeks. Despite the formation of an anti-looting squad by the AFRC, which saw the return of some stolen property to civilians, looting was widespread; civilians were searched and their property, most commonly food, was taken at checkpoints and in their houses. Civilians were also detained and forced to work for the RUF/AFRC forces, primarily undertaking domestic work such as cooking and cleaning. There was a large build up of foreign forces at this time and fighting between the RUF/AFRC and these forces would lead to massive internal population displacement as civilians fled the fighting. In the latter half of the year, first ECOWAS and then the UN Security Council imposed sanctions on Sierra Leone, including a travel ban on members of the RUF/AFRC.

Despite a ceasefire signed at the end of 1997, fighting continued with numerous violations of both the spirit and letter of the ceasefire. The instability in the city and the country at large prompted a military intervention by the Nigerian-led ECOMOG forces, reinforced by CDF and "loyal" SLA members, in February 1998, as a result of which the RUF/AFRC forces were driven from Freetown and the majority of the Western Area. The ECOMOG intervention continued to roll back the RUF/AFRC from every major town in Sierra Leone during March and April 1998. The Government returned from Guinea and sanctions were lifted, except those banning the import of weapons. For the most part, order was restored in the Western Area, although there were incidents of harassment of civilians, including the torture and killing of suspected RUF/AFRC members and collaborators by ECOMOG forces and the CDF. The middle of the year saw the commencement of a wave of treason trials against civilians and military personnel for their involvement in the coup in May 1997. The majority of those being tried were convicted, with death sentences and terms of imprisonment being imposed. Some of the military personnel, who had been court martialled, were executed in October while those who had been tried in civilian courts appealed their sentences and were still in detention awaiting the outcome of their appeals when the invasion of Freetown occurred on 6 January 1999.

Towards the end of 1998, RUF forces had begun attacking towns in the west of the Western Area, including the strategic town of Waterloo, which led to renewed fighting in these areas. This would be the prelude to the major attack on Freetown by the RUF/AFRC on 6 January 1999. Thousands

of RUF/AFRC forces converged on Freetown, occupying various locations, killing and amputating hundreds of civilians, taking their property and burning their houses. ECOMOG forces with assistance from the CDF managed to repel the RUF/AFRC forces and by the end of January had regained control of the city, although the destruction wreaked on the city and the loss of human life during the brief RUF/AFRC stay would be tremendous. In the coming weeks, ECOMOG extended its control to the areas surrounding Freetown and in April, peace talks began in Togo that would lead to the Lomé Peace Agreement, signed on 7 July 1999. That Agreement included a power-sharing arrangement for the elected Government and the RUF as well as a blanket pardon and amnesty for all combatants for all acts committed in pursuit of their objectives. From the time the AFRC and RUF leaders returned to Freetown in October 1999 until May 2000, the Western Area was mostly quiet.

In 2000, UNAMSIL began deploying across Sierra Leone and implementing the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration program agreed to during the Lomé peace talks. On 8 May, there was a large demonstration outside the house of the RUF leader, which resulted in the deaths of some of the protestors and the capture and detention of the RUF leader, accused of violating the spirit and letter of the Lomé Agreement. From then, UNAMSIL deployment continued in the Western Area, which remained quiet until the war was officially declared over in January 2002.

2. Factual Analysis

a) Events in 1991

At the beginning of 1991, around 2,000 members of the SLA were sent the southern border of Sierra Leone with Liberia to prevent the incursion of forces from the Liberian war into Sierra Leone. These would be reinforced by three truckloads of SLA forces dispatched from Freetown on 25 March 1991 and 1 April 1991. 1426

In early 1991, the conflict broke out in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone. The Government of Sierra Leone requested the assistance of Guinean and Nigerian troops to prevent RUF forces from entering Freetown and other large towns. Responding to this request, checkpoints were established between Waterloo and Tombo (both Waterloo RD) along the road running from the north to the south in the middle of the Western Area towards the border with Port Loko and Moyamba Districts. Waterloo is of strategic military importance, due to its location on the highway leading from Freetown to the rest of the country and its proximity to Freetown.

The Nigerian forces operated the checkpoint at Madina, whilst the others at Tombo and Russell (Waterloo RD) were operated by the Sierra Leone Army (SLA). SLA forces stationed at these checkpoints required people who were unable to produce their identity cards to pay them money. If civilians did not have money, SLA forces would punish them. For example, some were forced to clean up a particular area and others were forced to lie down on the ground and stare at the sun.

Following news of the first incursions, the Government of Sierra Leone – in 1991, the All Party Congress (APC) – was quick to mobilise political support for the war effort. The then President

1426 Xinhua General Overseas News Service, 25 March 1991 and UPI, 2 April 1991.

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received gifts of food from representatives of the Fullah and Indian communities and entertained a gesture of solidarity from the Sierra Leone Judiciary. 1427

In addition, the Government of Sierra Leone made requests for assistance to various foreign governments, including those of the US¹⁴²⁸ and the UK. Officials from both governments publicly stated they were considering how to assist. The US provided a variety of direct assistance to the Government of Sierra Leone. First, the US Government flew in an undisclosed amount of light weapons and ammunition. A further shipment of materials was reported as scheduled to arrive by US Air Force cargo plane by 9 August 1991. Also in August 1991, a 15-member US Army mobile training team commenced a program of training in communications, medical care, equipment maintenance and setting-up effective command structures for non-commissioned SLA officers at the SLA's Benguema Training Centre. In September 1991, the US Government also agreed to provide \$500,000 to the Government of Sierra Leone to support the continuing involvement of the SLA in ECOMOG, then operating in Liberia. Freetown was one of the key logistic points for the 7,000-strong ECOMOG peacekeeping force stationed in Liberia.

On 13 April, the Governments of Guinea and Nigeria sent 700^{1431} military personnel and accompanying hardware to Sierra Leone. The Nigerian forces arrived on 16 April 1991, at which time the Government of Sierra Leone cut air, sea and land transport links with Liberia, restricting incoming flights to Freetown to humanitarian and military traffic. Following the visit of delegation of Nigerian military officials to Freetown, a further 500 Nigerian forces arrived on or around 29 April 1991 and were posted to strategic locations in the Freetown area including Lungi International Airport (Kaffu Bullon Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and the power station.

In May 1991 a camp for Liberian refugees was established near Waterloo town (Waterloo RD). On 6 May 1991, around 3,000 Liberian refugees were repatriated to Liberia from Freetown aboard the Nigerian vessel, the *River Adada*. Over the weekend of 4-5 May, the same ship had ferried an undisclosed number of Nigerian soldiers from Lagos. 1437

b) Events in 1992 - 1994

In mid-April 1992, a group of low-ranking members of the SLA Tiger Unit, armed with an anti-aircraft gun mounted on a military truck, moved from Kailahun District to Freetown. They by-passed the SLA base at Mile 38 (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and used the Moyamba-Rotifunk-Mabang (Moyamba) route to Freetown through Songo town (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko

¹⁴²⁷ BBC, 15 April 1991.

¹⁴²⁸ UPI, 9 April 1991.

¹⁴²⁹ Independent, 7 May 1991.

¹⁴³⁰ AFP, 8 August 1991.

¹⁴³¹ Number initially undisclosed, reported as 700 by Xinhua on 29 April 1991.

¹⁴³² Xinhua, 13 April 1991.

¹⁴³³ AP 16 April 1991.

¹⁴³⁴ AP, 16 April 1991.

¹⁴³⁵ These forces were under the command of the field commander of ECOMOG in Liberia: Xinhua, 28 May 1991.

¹⁴³⁶A short distance away (7 minutes by helicopter) from Freetown, north over the Sierra Leone River.

¹⁴³⁷ AFP, 6 May 1991.

District), south-west of the Western Area. These forces continued along the main highway and when they arrived in Freetown., other SLA forces stationed at the Benguema Training Centre were made aware of this unusual military movement.

On 29 April, the Kailahun group of SLA members overthrew the APC Government and established a military junta known as the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). Led by 25 year-old Captain Valentine Strasser, the NPRC suspended the Constitution of Sierra Leone and imposed a State of Emergency. An SLA Major from the Benguema Training Centre was arrested and detained in Pademba Road prison when he tried to persuade those leading the coup to reverse their actions. The ousted President fled to the Republic of Guinea, where he was later granted asylum, as 50 SLA troops acting for the NRPC stormed the presidential offices at State House, in the centre of Freetown. Lungi International Airport was temporarily closed to air traffic and international telex and telephone lines were reportedly disabled.¹⁴³⁸

The US Government airlifted 300 expatriates out of Sierra Leone and issued a warning advising against travel to Sierra Leone. The French Government sent a frigate into Sierra Leonean waters to assist with further evacuation of expatriates should the situation in Sierra Leone deteriorate.

On 30 April 1992, the NPRC leader made a broadcast over national radio on the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service citing corruption and incompetent governance as the reasons for the coup. Later in the day, around 700 students marched through Freetown in support of the NPRC coup. In Freetown on 5 May 1992, students and trade unionists staged a much larger march in support of the NPRC.

A number of foreign Governments, including Nigeria, Japan and Ghana, were quick to recognise the NPRC as the Government of Sierra Leone. Cooperation between Nigerian troops and the SLA against the RUF continued.

Following the NPRC coup, SLA forces in Waterloo (Waterloo RD) and surrounding areas broke into shops and residences on the Calmont Road, stealing civilian property and loading it onto military trucks. SLA forces attacked villages in the Koya RD near the boundary with Port Loko and Moyamba Districts. In these villages, which included Mafonikay, Nyamgba Town and Newton, SLA forces killed an unknown number of civilians, stole property and inflicted violence on many people. SLA forces attacked the Waterloo Oil Palm Plantation and other farms in the Waterloo and Koya RDs, taking agricultural machinery, household furniture and other high value items.

During 1992, the SLA arrested an unknown number of people in Lumpa, near Waterloo Town. On a beach near Sussex village, along the peninsular road, the then Inspector General of Police and up to 12 other people were summarily executed on the suspicion of plotting a coup. It is alleged that their bodies were buried in a mass grave in that location.

¹⁴³⁸ AFP 30 April 1992.

¹⁴³⁹ BBC, 2 May 1992, transcribing SLBS, 30 April 1992.

¹⁴⁴⁰ BBC, 30 April 1992.

¹⁴⁴¹ AFP, 5 May 1992.

During 1992, the NPRC declared that the last Saturday of every month would be National Cleaning Day. Between 06.00 and 10.00 only those on official business were excused the task of cleaning their compounds, residences and commercial properties. A variety of punishments were meted out to civilians who did not adhere to these rules. Civilians were beaten with belts, made to roll around on the floor, thrown into the gutter effluent and forced to quick-march 500 metres carrying a heavy rock on their heads. A common SLA punishment was termed Frog Jump, or "pumping". Civilians were made to perform squat jumps, crossing their arms one over the other and holding their earlobes between thumb and forefinger. This exhausting punishment could last for hours. Another gruelling SLA punishment was "making civilians fly"; civilians were forced to lie down on their backs with their legs held straight into the air, their arms outstretched across the ground.

Shortly after the coup, the SLA mounted five military checkpoints along a 15km stretch of the peninsula road running from Tombo to Waterloo Town (both Waterloo RD). SLA forces operating checkpoints continued to extort money from travellers.

In late December 1992, a special military tribunal created by the NPRC condemned to death an unknown number of people for their alleged involvement in a coup attempt in November 1992. The British Government condemned the executions and briefly suspended all economic aid to Sierra Leone. Between 9 and 16 January 1993, the NPRC declared a week of national repentance and prayers for those who had been executed. He NPRC declared a week of national repentance and prayers for those who had been executed.

On 18 March, NPRC security agencies arrested 7 civilians and 4 UK expatriates accused of plotting a coup. On 8 April, concerned with rumours of RUF movement towards the Western Area and a growing smuggling network, the NPRC banned movement of heavy vehicles on public roads between 19.30 and 07.00 every night. In Freetown, the ban stretched from 22.00 until dawn.

The Western Area was mostly quiet for the remainder of 1993 and throughout 1994.

c) Events in 1995

In January 1995, the NPRC contracted Ghurka Security Guards, ¹⁴⁴⁶ a private military company, to run a training program for the SLA and provide security at Camp Charlie, a key SLA base near Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District).

In March 1995, the RUF extended their reach further west, with RUF movement through Moyamba District towards the towns of Songo and Mile 38 (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) putting pressure on the Western Area. In late April, RUF forces targeted locations on the high quality, asphalt highway leading through Waterloo (Waterloo RD) to Freetown. RUF forces gained a foothold in the bush areas of the southern half of Koya RD and managed to create a frontline

¹⁴⁴² Cleaning Saturday is still observed in Freetown to date.

¹⁴⁴³ AFP, 4 January 1993

¹⁴⁴⁴ AFP, 5 January 1993

¹⁴⁴⁵ Interpress, 7 January 1993

¹⁴⁴⁶ For background information see Cillers, J & Mason, P (eds), *Peace, Profit and Plunder: The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies*, pp 129-33: http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Books/PeaceProfitPlunder/Chap7.pdf [Link alive: 7 January 2004].

spanning Joe Town (Koya RD) to Pa-Loko (Waterloo RD). This had the effect of temporarily cutting off the main highway, or at least making it too dangerous for civilian traffic. Nevertheless, RUF forces were unable to penetrate or bypass Waterloo. RUF attacks on locations on the unsealed, southern route around the Peninsula to Freetown were also unsuccessful.

In February 1995, representatives of the NPRC Government held a meeting at the Waterloo Community Centre, requesting that the local community provide auxiliary support to the SLA in preventing the infiltration of RUF forces into the Western Area. Guinean forces moved from Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Bassa Town (Waterloo RD), less than a kilometre from Waterloo Town (Waterloo RD), establishing checkpoints and numerous mortar positions facing towards Newton (Koya RD). The Bassa Town Primary School was used as an ammunitions dump for the Guinean contingent. SLA forces armed with light weapons were based at nearby Lumpa (Waterloo RD), in addition to a heavily armed SLA Tiger Unit in the grounds of the Peninsular Secondary School in Waterloo. To prevent the RUF moving from Pa-Loko through Cole Town into Waterloo, SLA forces were also deployed at the Prince Alfred Road Bridge.

Between 21 and 30 March 1995, the SLA established checkpoints along the north-south Newton-Fogbo road at Newton-Fogbo Junction, Magbathti and Bath-Comp (all in Koya RD, on the border with Port Loko and Moyamba Districts). Fogbo (Koya RD) is near the mouth of the River Ribbi and is a trading centre for fish and salt. It is also a transit point for inland traffic along the river and to points further along Sierra Leone's coast, with a large wharf to handle the inland river traffic. Before 10 April, an unknown number of heavily armed SLA forces deployed on foot to Fogbo Wharf, escorted by a military helicopter. The SLA forces were equipped with a mobile anti-aircraft gun and numerous RPGs. They established a command point in the house of the then Town Chief and confiscated village livestock to use as food.

Newton is an agricultural centre on flat, fertile land between Songo (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD). The SLA forces stationed at Newton-Fogbo Junction patrolled the area between Newton (Koya RD) and Songo, mainly on a circular route running anticlockwise from Newton, through Makoibundo, Mabange, Garahun, Kwama¹⁴⁴⁷ and Mile 6 (all Koya RD).

Between 8 and 11 April, RUF forces attacked villages in a triangular area sketched out by Songo to the east, Waterloo to the west and Fogbo to the south, establishing a base at Mashewureh (Koya RD), about 2 km north-west of Fogbo. There, they captured fleeing civilians, raped women and destroyed houses. RUF forces attacked and captured a number of villages adjacent to Songo, including Mokobech, Maferkalay and Mathonteh (all Koya RD). RUF forces attacked the village of Kwama to the north of the main Masiaka-Waterloo highway, killing 7 civilians and burning down an unknown number of houses. Shortly after this attack, SLA forces engaged a 58-strong RUF group on the main highway at Brima Junction (Koya RD).

RUF forces attacked Newton (Koya RD) on 9 April, moving from the villages of Ragberfi and Magbafti to the south and Makoibundu and Garahun to the east, but were repelled by SLA forces stationed in Newton. On 11 April, RUF forces attacked Fogbo, where they raped a young mother,

¹⁴⁴⁷ Also spelled Quama.

abducted an unknown number of civilians and stole civilians' livestock. The SLA forces deployed at Fogbo offered limited resistance; the RUF established a base and operated out from Fogbo and nearby Mashewureh.

Between 15 April and 20 April 1995, RUF forces advanced on Waterloo (Waterloo RD), moving through Nyamba Town 1448 and Joe Town (both Koya RD). They advanced to Pa-Loko, 10 km north of Waterloo, and to the Banga Farm palm oil plantation halfway between Newton and Waterloo. Between 21 and 22 April, RUF forces at Banga Farm came under heavy air attack from an Alfa Jet, 1449 which killed an unknown number of RUF members and civilians. On 21 April, RUF forces attacked Lumpa with RPG and AK-47s, but retreated to Pa-Loko following heavy mortar and other artillery fire by Guinean forces. During the RUF attack on Lumpa, civilians fleeing from Lumpa, Waterloo and surrounding areas were stopped by Nigerian forces operating a checkpoint at Rokel, about 4 km north-west of Waterloo on the main highway. At the checkpoint, Nigerian troops beat an unknown number of people with sticks and gun butts; saying "Let your brothers kill you", they turned the people back towards the Waterloo area, which was then under attack.

Over the weekend of 29-30 April, combined SLA and Guinean forces engaged the RUF in Pa-Loko and Joe Town, forcing their retreat by 3 May;¹⁴⁵⁰ shortly after, the corpses of RUF members could be seen floating in the Waterloo Creek. Between 3 and 7 May 1995, the NPRC Government contracted a South African based private military company called Executive Outcomes to replace the Ghurka Security Service.

In addition, around 600 demobilised Liberian militia, formerly from ULIMO-K, were concentrated in the area around Allen Town (Greater Freetown, Western Area), on the outskirts for Freetown's East end. RUF forces retreating from Pa-Loko moved towards Newton, ambushing civilian traffic on the Waterloo-Newton stretch of highway. A joint Executive Outcomes and ULIMO-K "Special Task Force" cleared this road of RUF activity. 1452

Nigerian forces were stationed at Madina, along the peninsula road between Waterloo and Tombo (both Waterloo RD). On or around 2 May, an unknown number of RUF forces attacked Kerry Town (Waterloo RD), a village on the peninsula road. Civilians fled 2 km northwards from Kerry Town to Macdonald (Waterloo RD). Although no direct contact was made between SLA-aligned forces and the RUF, Guinean and SLA forces bombarded the area. 1453

The beach village of Tombo, which had a large wharf, had increased in significance as a trading and passenger transit point following the RUF attacks on Waterloo and the main inland highway as well as the strengthened RUF control of Fogbo jetty and the northern chiefdoms of Moyamba District. At this time, the SLA and SSD were seeking out suspected RUF members and collaborators with increasing vigour, often beating and killing those they found. After 2 May, residents of Kerry Town

¹⁴⁴⁸ Also called Yamba Town.

¹⁴⁴⁹ It is unclear whether the Alfa Jet was SLA or Nigerian.

¹⁴⁵⁰ AFP, 1 May 1995, 3 May 1995.

¹⁴⁵¹ AP Worldstream, 11 May 1995.

¹⁴⁵² It is not clear whether Executive Outcomes participated directly in hostilities.

¹⁴⁵³ Event reported by AFP, 2 May 1995

captured a suspected RUF member and took him to the SLA base at nearby Tombo. Following interrogation by the SLA commanding officer, SLA forces took the man onto the beach, shot him and cut off his head and genitals. Residents of Tombo and SLA members danced the severed head around the village. After failing to set fire to the corpse using petrol, two members of the SLA tied weights to it and dumped it out at sea. Also after 2 May, unknown perpetrators captured and killed two suspected members of the RUF by placing burning car tyres around their necks.

On 15 December in Tombo, an SSD Sergeant shot dead two teenage boys and severely injured one other. The boys were on a boat, the pilot of which had refused to pay the Le500 levied on all boats entering or exiting the wharf.

d) Events in 1996

In early January, Strasser accepted offers from both the Organisation of African Unity and the Government of Burkina Faso to mediate between the NRPC and the RUF. Soon after, Julius Maada-Bio, the then Deputy Head of State, overthrew Strasser, claiming that he was planning to cancel the elections planned for 26 February 1996. Maada-Bio continued a policy of dialogue with the RUF. A nighttime curfew was imposed in Freetown from 16 to 23 January. On 24 January, the NPRC and the RUF announced a ceasefire, which was quickly followed by a 2,000-strong civilian peace march through Freetown.¹⁴⁵⁴

Doubts about the durability of the NPRC-RUF ceasefire, concerns about voter registration and whether the National Electoral Commission would be sufficiently well-resourced prompted calls for the postponement of the Presidential and Parliamentary elections scheduled for 26-28 February. Nevertheless, on 9 February, 5,000 protestors marched through Freetown in support of non-postponement. A day later, grenades were thrown into the house of the Electoral Commission Chief, who was an advocate for non-postponement.

The Electoral Commission organised a national consultative conference at Freetown's Bintumani Conference Centre on the theme "Peace Before Elections or Elections Before Peace?". On 12 February, the majority of delegates participating in the conference voted in favour of non-postponement, while all 14 delegates from the RUF voted for postponement. On the same day, 43 Paramount Chiefs from the Northern Province adopted an 8-point declaration also supporting postponement pending substantive peace talks between the NPRC and the RUF. The SLA were generally in support of "Peace Before Elections" while the majority of the civilian population supported "Elections Before Peace."

Between 23 and 25 February, NPRC and RUF delegations commenced peace talks in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, chaired by the Ivory Coast's Foreign Minister. The talks were adjourned in the late hours of 25 February, the eve of elections, with RUF delegates still calling for their postponement.

Polling in the elections began at 07.00 on 26 February. A curfew was imposed overnight into the second day of polling. Shortly before the polling centres closed, at around 19.00, machine gun fire was reported on Pademba Road and at the Wilberforce Barracks in Freetown. News sources report that a 40-strong military unit dressed in blue uniforms assaulted the home of Maada Bio using RPGs

1454 Xinhua, 24 and 26 January 1996.

and heavy machine guns. A polling station supervisor was shot dead while returning to his home. Also on 26 February, the National Reconciliation Commission was inaugurated. Polling continued on 27 February. The results of the Presidential election were inconclusive and a run-off election was planned for 15 March, despite RUF declarations on 1 March in Abidjan that they would not accept the results.

During and after the elections at Wilberforce Barracks and other military barracks, people's thumbs were held out by SLA forces and beaten because they voted. Heavy gunfire broke out near Kabasa Lodge to discourage the voting and have it cancelled, which was unsuccessful. The run-off election on 17 March, in which Alhaji Dr Ahmed Tejan Kabbah was elected President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, 1456 saw the cutting off of thumbs, marking the first amputations in the Western Area.

Meanwhile, Nigerian forces established a checkpoint at Jui Junction (Waterloo RD) in March 1996, since their commander was residing at the SSD quarters in the Jui SSD Barracks. At the same time, SLA forces established checkpoints between Waterloo and Freetown. Guinean forces established a base between Lumpa and Waterloo as a back up for SLA checkpoints mounted around that area. As in other places, both Nigerian ECOMOG and SLA forces harassed people passing through these checkpoints, inflicting punishment where people were unable to produce identity cards. Punishments included forcing civilians to clean up the checkpoint area and beating them with wooden sticks.

Peace talks continued in Abidjan. On 23 April, President Kabbah met with the RUF leader, continuing the peace negotiations commenced by the NPRC in late February 1996. Three joint working groups were established to draft the text of a peace agreement, hammer out details for encampment and disarmament and to work out the demobilisation process. On 15 May, talks yielded agreement on a ceasefire although by 19 May, the RUF leader was already calling for fresh elections during a visit to the Republic of Guinea. News reports indicate that removal from Sierra Leone of the South African private military company, Executive Outcomes, was an RUF precondition for a peace agreement. 1458

On 3 July, around 20 senior SLA officers from the disbanded NPRC regime were removed from their positions in the SLA. On 10 July, the Sierra Leone Parliament re-activated portions of the Constitution that had been suspended by the NPRC in 1992. On 9 September, Government security agencies uncovered a coup plot against the SLPP government and arrested at least six SLA soldiers.

The Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF leadership signed the Abidjan Peace Accord on 30 November 1996. This provided for the immediate and total cessation of hostilities and the creation of a Committee for the Consolidation of Peace (CCP). Demobilisation of RUF and other militia

¹⁴⁵⁶ President Kabbah was sworn in on 29 March 1996.

¹⁴⁵⁵ AFP, 28 January 1996.

¹⁴⁵⁷ The NPRC had contracted Executive Outcomes on or around7 May 1995 following the extension of RUF military operations into the Western Area.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Before 11 September, Executive Outcomes was reportedly contracted by Sierra Leone Ore and Mining Co (Sieromco) to secure bauxite mined in Moyamba: Africa Energy & Mining, 11 September 1996. The removal of Executive Outcomes from the country became a specific term of the Abidjan Peace Accord, signed between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF on 30 November 1996.

would commence upon the identification of suitable sites and SLA units not required for the maintenance of general security would be returned to barracks. The CCP would examine options for restructuring the SLA and the SLP would be strengthened to ensure realistic police primacy. An international, neutral monitoring group would be deployed in the country and Executive Outcomes would withdraw within five weeks of the arrival of that group. By 30 May 1997, all other foreign troops would be removed from the country, consistent with the treaty obligations of Sierra Leone. The RUF would become a legitimate political movement and a blanket amnesty was granted to all RUF members in respect of actions taken in pursuance of the objectives of the RUF up until 30 November 1996. Provision was made to guarantee the civil rights of the RUF and for the creation of an independent National Commission on Human Rights to monitor and investigate alleged abuses.

e) Events in 1997

On 1 January, the Government commissioned into service a gunboat donated by the Chinese Government to combat poaching in Sierra Leone's territorial waters. The boat was able to carry around 200 security personnel and had been donated as part of a \$20 million aid package agreed to by China in 1995. On 6 January, six SLA soldiers were sentenced to 10 years in jail for piracy, having raided a Spanish fishing vessel in 1996, attempting to abscond with \$200,000 of fishing equipment.

On 30 January, Executive Outcomes completed a withdrawal that began with the signing of the Abidjan Peace Accord, removing around 300 personnel and heavy weaponry from Sierra Leone. Around a month later, Sierra Leone and Nigeria signed a new Status of Forces Agreement, redefining the legal status of Nigeria's forces in Sierra Leone and expanding Nigeria's training role from solely the SLA to other parts of the Sierra Leone armed forces.

In mid-March, there was a leadership struggle within the RUF, sparked by the arrest of the RUF leader in Nigeria on firearms charges. On 11 March, the Government of Nigeria confirmed the presence of the RUF leader in Nigeria, although they denied that he was under house arrest. They reversed this position a few days later, admitting that they had arrested him for the illegal possession of a firearm and detained him in a federal government guesthouse in Lagos. Spokespersons for the RUF leader insisted variously that he was in Nigeria on private business and also that he was discussing the Sierra Leone peace process with the Nigerian Government. Some days later, a senior RUF member declared himself to be the new interim leader, which was soon followed by the RUF taking into custody a number of its senior membership and the Sierra Leone Ambassador to

For the full text of the Abidjan Peace Accords, see http://www.usip.org/library/pa/sl/sierra_leone_10301996.html.

¹⁴⁶⁰ AFP, 2 January 1997 and Xinhua 1 January 1997.

¹⁴⁶¹ AFP, 6 January 1997.

¹⁴⁶² AFP, 4 February 1997.

¹⁴⁶³ Xinhua, 11 March 1997.

¹⁴⁶⁴ He was later transferred to the Sheraton in Abuja.

¹⁴⁶⁵ AFP, 18 March 1997.

the Republic of Guinea on 31 March¹⁴⁶⁶ and the issuance of a public statement that the RUF leadership had not been changed in any way. 1467

On 7 April, 130 troops from Burkina Faso joined ECOMOG in Liberia. On 17 April, the UK agreed to train two battalions of SLA soldiers. On 28 April, it was announced that all civil militia groups in Sierra Leone were to be put under the command of the Nigerian-led ECOMOG force, reportedly to make them more effective and to facilitate their rapid demobilisation. 1469

On 25 May 1997, elements of the SLA staged a coup d'etat and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC released over 700 inmates from Pademba Road Prison, including their leader, who was formally sworn in as Head of State on 17 June 1997. The AFRC immediately suspended the Constitution of Sierra Leone. President Kabbah escaped to the Republic of Guinea by helicopter.

The AFRC moved quickly to draw close to it popular personalities, political and civil society groups and organised labour groups. However, this failed to stave off a month-long strike staged by the Sierra Leone Labour Congress. Additionally, 50 members of the 80-seat Parliament met despite the suspension of Parliament, condemning the AFRC's action and demanded the immediate restoration of democratic order.

Immediately after the coup, the AFRC invited the RUF to share power. On 28 May, the RUF leader appeared on SLBS Radio, encouraging RUF solidarity with the AFRC. Part of his statement is worth quoting: "You will always get instructions from me through [the AFRC leader]. They are our brothers. Let no one fool you. You have to work with them to put the situation under control, especially in the western area. As you [sic] the field commander, instruct your other Commander ... to stand by for any reinforcement needed by [the AFRC leader] for any eventualities. We have to defend our sovereignty. You are to act on these orders immediately." On 30 May, the RUF declared their support for the AFRC on SLBS television and radio and on 1 June, the AFRC declared the RUF leader to be the Vice President of Sierra Leone.

In anticipation of a Nigerian led military intervention, the AFRC was quick to secure strategic locations around Freetown. This included Hastings, which was adjacent to the pre-coup Nigerian base at Kossoh Town¹⁴⁷² and near an airfield. Accordingly, around 200 AFRC members entered Hastings and took over the Hastings Police Station on 26 May 1997. In the wake of the coup, there was a large build up of predominantly RUF forces in the Hastings area. Hastings, Waterloo and the SLA's Benguema Training Centre were concentration points for RUF combatants entering the Western Area. RUF forces entering the Western Area camped in public building in Waterloo (Waterloo RD), because the town residents refused to lodge them. In Waterloo, RUF forces

¹⁴⁶⁶ Including RUF delegates to the CCP, see AFP, 31 March 1997.

¹⁴⁶⁷ AFP, 31 March 1997.

¹⁴⁶⁸ APF, 17 April 1997.

¹⁴⁶⁹ AFP, 28 April 1997.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Xinhua, 17 June 1997,

¹⁴⁷¹ BBC Media Monitoring, 30 May 1997 transcribing SLBS, 28 May 1997.

¹⁴⁷² Nigerian forces, and then ECOMOG, were based at Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD) from 1994 until 1999.

occupied the Commercial Secondary School, the REC Secondary School and the SDA Primary School.

On 29 May, a further 500 RUF members arrived in Hastings, bringing the total to around 2,000, taking over the expansive Police Training School complex and the Kelly's Rural Vocational and Agricultural Secondary School. That same day, the leadership of this RUF group met with the Hastings village authorities and complained that they had not offered the RUF/AFRC their support. On 30 May, RUF forces set up five large checkpoints throughout Hastings, each operated by around 20 people. Civilians trying to leave the settlement had to pass through each checkpoint, where they were searched for food. The RUF forces also conducted house-to-house searches confiscating prepared foods from civilians and held an unknown number of civilians at the Police Training School, forcing them to collect wood and fresh water for the RUF commanders.

There were a number of random shootings and extensive looting in the Freetown metropolitan area around this time. For example, a large number of armed robberies were committed in Freetown on 25 May. The National Treasury building was completely gutted, most foreign exchange bureaus were looted and the Central Bank was damaged by fire as AFRC forces unsuccessfully sought access to the vaults. As the armed men roamed the city, attacking and looting residences, many people were raped and otherwise assaulted, including girls under the age of 14 and the wives and daughters of foreigners. The son of a prominent businessman was killed when he refused or was unable to meet the demands from armed men for money. At an AFRC press conference on 28 May 1997, this was explained as an accidental shooting.

The AFRC took a number of largely inadequate steps to contain the widespread looting of civilian and government premises. These including creating an anti-looting squad with orders to shoot looters dead on sight and ordering the return to base of all SLA members who did not have proper deployment orders. On 9 June, the AFRC gathered property they had recovered at the Cockerill Defence HQ and invited civilians to search through it for their belongings. 1473

On 25 May, AFRC forces looted tourist locations in the coastal York Rural District along the coastal, peninsula road. AFRC members from the SLA Juba Barracks in west Freetown and the SLA Engineering Mechanical and Electrical Battalion near the Guma Reservoir arrived in Sussex village and looted the Florence Diving Centre and Hotel. AFRC forces also confiscated boats from civilians at the Goderich fishing village and used them to transport looted fridges, TVs, fans and furniture from the Africana Hotel Complex at Tokeh Beach back to Freetown. The RUF would later lodge at Tokeh and Mama beaches, stealing fishing hauls and other food items from civilians. On 27 May 1997, RUF forces also entered villages in the Mountain RD, establishing checkpoints in Regent and Bathurst. On 29 May, RUF forces mounted a checkpoint at St Michael's lodge near Lakka Beach, extorting money and food items from passers-by.

The period immediately after the coup is also marked by a large military build-up of foreign forces within Sierra Leone, including Nigerian, Guinean and Ghanaian forces. A small Ghanaian contingent stationed in Monrovia entered Sierra Leone to evacuate Ghanaian nationals, referred to as "Operation Ogyefo". On 27 May, two boatloads of Nigerian forces arrived in Freetown also from

Monrovia, reinforcing the Nigerian base at Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD). Additional troops were airlifted to Freetown from James Spriggs Payne Airbase, just outside Monrovia, Liberia. This build-up placed huge pressure on the AFRC, resulting in intense diplomatic activity to prevent further escalation.

The armoured vehicles attached to the Nigerian Army 2nd Mechanised Battalion had been loaded onto the NSS Ambe and previously shipped to Liberia. On 1 June, orders were given to the 2nd Mechanised Battalion and 231 Tank Battalion to perform two simultaneous actions in Freetown. The first was to move from Kossoh (in Waterloo Town, Waterloo RD) and take control of Hastings Airfield and the nearby Police College (Waterloo RD). The second was to capture the Kissy Port Terminal in east Freetown, which would allow the NSS Ambe to dock and offload the amour and supplies required by the Nigerians. The codename for operation would be "Sandstorm." However, the AFRC intercepted the transmission of the operational orders, giving them ample prior warning of the Nigerian plans.

On 2 June, at 05.30, two ships¹⁴⁷⁶ anchored out at the Cape commenced mortaring the SLA Defence HQ at Cockerill in west Freetown. AFRC spokespersons were quick to dismiss this as a training exercise, but later announced that the Nigerian naval bombardment had caused between 40 and 100 deaths. However, the family of one person claimed by the AFRC to be a victim of the bombardment later revealed that he had in fact been ambushed and killed by unidentified armed men in another part of the city. His Peugeot car was stolen, his body dumped at the central mortuary and he was recorded as one of the victims of the day's fighting. Nigerian forces set up a command post at the Mammy Yoko hotel in Aberdeen, while US marines evacuated some 200 expatriates to the USS Kearsage, stationed in waters off Freetown.

Nigerian forces stationed at Mammy Yoko were isolated, overpowered and captured by the AFRC after running out of ammunition. On 4 June the AFRC released 300 Nigerian prisoners of war, after reportedly threatening to use them as human shields¹⁴⁷⁹ at the SLA Cockerill Defence HQ and Wilberforce in Freetown.¹⁴⁸⁰ RUF/AFRC forces were lodged in the Mammy Yoko complex until the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in February 1998.

Meanwhile on 2 June, the Nigerian group moving towards Hastings (Waterloo RD) met with strong resistance from RUF/AFRC forces, who set up a defensive position at the Orogun Bridge and shelled Nigerian forces along their line of advance from Kossoh Town. With no mechanical support

1475 This account of the Nigerian assaults on Freetown on 2 June 1997 owes much to Brig. Gen. R.A. Adeshina.

¹⁴⁷⁴ AFP, 28 May 1997

¹⁴⁷⁶ The NNS Ambe and NNS Ekun, joined on or around June 11 by NNS Aradu and NNS Ekpe: Xinhua, 11 June 1997.

¹⁴⁷⁷ The seaside location of Freetown's main hotels. Mammy Yoko would later become the Freetown Headquarters of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Marines on the USS Kearsage evacuated over 1,200 expatriates between 25 May and 2 June 1997 both from Aberdeen and a collection point on a beach to the south of Freetown. See US Defence Department Briefing, 3 June 1997.

¹⁴⁷⁹ AFP, 3 June 1997 reports: "Sierra Leonean state radio repeatedly broadcast reports of 300 Nigerian soldiers being held as 'lucrative targets which would be targets for any possible Nigerian bombardment' of the city." ¹⁴⁸⁰ AFP, 3-4 June 1997.

to clear debris dumped on the bridge by the AFRC, the Nigerian advance was delayed. Eventually, Nigerian forces moved further towards to Hastings, arriving at Allen Town. RUF/AFRC forces had taken positions in the surrounding hills and continued shelling. Without significant heavy weapons support and with ammunition supplies depleted, the Nigerians were unable to advance further. Nevertheless, it is probable that Nigerian advance units were briefly in possession of Hastings Airfield and with limited artillery support were able to damage RUF positions at the Police Training School and in the village itself. RUF casualties were evacuated to Benguema Training Centre.

In the evening of 2 June, the Nigerian advance was called off following successful negotiations between the AFRC, the ICRC and foreign governments. Nigerian forces retreated from Hastings Airfield and Allen Town, returning to their base at Kossoh Town. Nigerian forces continued to use Hastings Airfield to obtain supplies of medical provisions and food until 9 June, when the RUF took over the airfield completely. Between 3 and 9 June, Nigerian forces took full control of Lungi International Airport, although skirmishes with the RUF/AFRC continued throughout 1997. On 21 June, Ghanaian-led mediation between Nigeria and the RUF/AFRC led to the withdrawal of the four Nigerian warships from Sierra Leonean waters. 1482

Throughout June 1997, RUF/AFRC forces began targeting students and prominent people in Freetown, including journalists, lawyers, human rights activists and others for their perceived lack of support for the RUF/AFRC coup. For example, RUF/AFRC forces beat up a prominent journalist when he told another journalist that he did not support the coup, as a result of which he went into hiding. Two students were arrested and tortured for failing to support the coup. One was held for over two months without charge, while the other was cut with a razor blade for possessing a National Union of Sierra Leone Students (NUSS) card. NUSS issued a statement condemning the coup and called for the reinstatement of the elected government. Another journalist was severely beaten by armed soldiers who accused him of hiding a government minister in his house. This journalist later fled the country after receiving death threats.

Also in June, AFRC officials arrested 15 people – seven civilians and eight senior SLA officers – on allegations that they were involved in a coup plot to reverse the coup. The detainees were ill-treated in custody and held for over six weeks without charge. The same month, the AFRC anti-looting squad caught two civilians who were alleged to have broken the curfew, cut off their genitals and limbs and left their torsos on the road as a warning to others.

July 1997 was marked by similar events. In addition, this was the month when the pro-democracy pirate radio station FM 98.1 came to the air, beginning broadcasting on 7 July 1997 from locations in the Republic of Guinea and possibly from within the Nigerian base at Lungi International Airport. Seven media workers and visitors were arrested at offices of a Freetown newspaper on the suspicion of being connected to the clandestine station. A woman, who was seven months pregnant at the time, was physically and possibly also sexually abused by her captors; she died three weeks later from a miscarriage and massive bleeding. The other detainees were released after over a

¹⁴⁸¹ AFP, 9 June 1997.

¹⁴⁸² AFP, 21 June 1997.

¹⁴⁸³ On 18 May 1998, UK Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, announced that the Foreign Office had provided £60,000 to support the clandestine radio station. BBC, 20 May 1998.

week in prison. In addition, RUF/AFRC forces shot a 22-year-old woman when she defended her right to listen to the radio station, which often broadcast anti-AFRC statements and speeches from the exiled President.

The advent of Radio Democracy (FM 98.1) also saw increased attacks on journalists in general. Journalists accused of writing subversive stories were arrested, as were vendors who sold the offending editions. Many journalists were arrested, including one who was arrested and detained for several days, accused of sending messages to the Sierra Leonean President in Guinea, while others fled the country. At the time, the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists (SLAJ) issued a statement protesting against the arbitrary arrest and detention of journalists as four media workers were held for activities deemed subversive by the AFRC.

People were also killed during this period for other reasons, including for the purposes of taking their property. For example, a civilian was killed in Freetown when a member of the AFRC demanded he hand over an army belt that he was wearing. The RUF/AFRC forces killed another man when he told them that he had the right to move freely at night since there was no curfew in place. In addition, a trader was shot and killed near Kline Town on 6 July 1997 when a member of the RUF/AFRC opened fire at a person he was arguing with and missed. Youth in the area left the body in the road so that the AFRC Chairman could see for himself the work of "his boys".

In the Wellington area of Freetown, a businessman was robbed of thousands of dollars when armed men in uniform ransacked his home. He was then forced to watch as the RUF/AFRC forces raped his wife. In addition, a Ports Authority worker was arrested on 10 July 1997 on suspicion of being a supporter of the ousted government and was held for over four months at Pademba Road prison.

In the early evening of 12 July 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Nigerian positions at Kossoh Town, but were overpowered and repelled by heavy gun and mortar blasts coupled with air support from an Alfa Jet. As a result of this attack, more civilians fled to the hilltop over looking Hastings and Kossoh Town. Around 450 houses were looted and partially destroyed by the contingent of the RUF based at Hastings village. Over 10,000 residents fled Hastings and sought refuge at nearby ECOMOG bases at Jui and Kossoh Town. Around Kossoh Town, ECOMOG expanded the territory under their control both to extend protection to these civilians and to block the main highway out of Freetown. Although most intense on 12 and 13 July 1997, skirmishes continued between ECOMOG and RUF/AFRC forces until 17 July 1997. ECOMOG's Kossoh Town and Jui positions were attacked again in August 1997. RUF forces moved from the Benguema Training Centre and attacked Jui, while others moved from Regent and attacked the ECOMOG base at Kossoh Town; both attacks were successfully repelled.

Between 17 and 18 July, a delegation representing the AFRC launched negotiations with the ECOWAS Committee of Five in Abidjan, resulting in a ceasefire. A second round of talks was held across 29-30 July 1997, after which the AFRC leader announced over SLBS that there would be a return to civilian rule in not less than four years.

The National Union of Sierra Leonean Students (NUSS) organised a pro-democracy demonstration on 18 August 1997. This met with an immediate and brutal response from the AFRC. Over 110

people, including 65 students, were arrested and detained for 12 days after the demonstration. Many of the detainees were seriously wounded with bayonets and cutlasses by the RUF/AFRC forces. In one case, the injuries were so serious that the prisons officials refused to accept the detainee for fear he might die. At least six female students were abducted and sexually abused by AFRC forces. One student was held captive for over a week and forced to go naked for the first two days of her captivity. In addition, the Secretary General of the Sierra Leone Teachers Union (SLTU) was arrested and beaten up, because striking teachers declared solidarity with the pro-democracy cause.

A Freetown lawyer and human rights activist was detained by the RUF/AFRC forces, beaten, tortured and forced to make a statement on the government radio, calling on students to go home. He was held incommunicado for over two weeks. A prominent female leader was also arrested a few days after the demonstration. She fled the country following her release from detention. RUF/AFRC forces captured a teacher who had participated in the 18 August demonstration at the ECOMOG camp at Jui when she strayed on the main road. She was sexually assaulted by at least eight soldiers on the first day of her captivity then held at the Benguema Training Centre for over a week, during which she was repeatedly raped.

AFRC forces killed at least six peaceful demonstrators. Two of them were students, one of whom was shot. After he died, AFRC forces mutilated and ate his body in what was described as "ritual cannibalism", according to which RUF/AFRC forces allegedly believed that eating human flesh would give them "more courage".

Following the suppression of the demonstration, hostile activity against the press in particular was stepped up. Journalists who attempted to demonstrate were injured and detained at Cockerill Military headquarters. Two journalists required stitches after they were cut deeply on the back and head respectively with a razor blade. The men were held in a freight container at Cockerill for over 24 hours without food, water or medical attention. One SLAJ Executive member was arrested and also held at Cockerill in a freight container for several days for alleged participation in the prodemocracy protest. Armed forces attacked another SLAJ Executive member in his house, who subsequently escaped and fled to Guinea. Arrests and detentions of so-called Kabbah supporters continued. Three people - a teacher, a trader and a student - were all held without charge at the Pademba Road prison for several days on this basis.

The AFRC banned all movement of commercial and relief food to the estimated 30,000 displaced people sheltering at the Jui ECOMOG camp. The death rate from disease and malnutrition rose from 22 in June to 35 by the end of August 1997. AFRC forces laid anti-personnel landmines around the ECOMOG base at the Hastings-Grafton (Waterloo RD) road. In August 1997, disgruntled RUF members started taking private property from civilians passing through their checkpoint at the Boys' Society Compound in Regent (Mountain RD). They claimed that this was in lieu of the monthly salary that soldiers of the AFRC were receiving.

Calls for a trade embargo against the AFRC had been repeatedly made since June 1997. Nigerian forces had imposed a navel blockade on the Port of Freetown between 25 May and 21 June 1997, but were forced to back down by the AFRC's diplomatic overtures concerning return to civilian rule. On or around 2 August a Ukrainian vessel, the *Kapitan Modest Ivanov*, docked at Freetown Kissy

Terminal (Greater Freetown) carrying 6,800 tonnes of rice;¹⁴⁸⁴ a number of other ships carrying fuel also docked successfully in Freetown, including a Chinese vessel carrying 28,000 tones of fuel on 3 August¹⁴⁸⁵ and a Panamanian vessel on 1 and 10 August.¹⁴⁸⁶ This was unacceptable to the Nigerian Government, primarily since it took considerable pressure off the AFRC to continue immediate negotiations.

However, on 29 August, at its 20th Annual Summit, ECOWAS imposed sanctions on Sierra Leone, effective throughout all ECOWAS member States. He ECOWAS embargo included military hardware, supplies and spare parts, petroleum and petrol-derived products. An export ban was also imposed. A travel ban was imposed on AFRC members and their families, in addition to a freeze on their assets. Moreover, ECOWAS formally expanded the mandate of ECOMOG to include the use of force to impose sanctions against Sierra Leone. Effectively, this gave legal backing to a complete navel blockade of the Port of Freetown and the prohibition of air-freight traffic. From this date, the Nigerian forces present in Sierra Leone operated under an ECOMOG banner. On the same day that these sanctions were approved, ECOMOG artillery at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom, Port Loko District) fired on two cargo ships moored outside the territorial waters of Sierra Leone as a warning not to enter. Aside from shelling incoming ships, ECOMOG forces at Lungi enforced the sanctions by shelling the Kissy Terminal and the Government Wharf in east Freetown. East Freetown is very densely populated, particularly around the port area, where there are a large number of marketplaces and slum settlements.

On 3 September, ECOMOG gunners fired across the bows of the Greek-registered *Proteus* as it entered the Port of Freetown, forcing it to anchor out at sea. This artillery barrage reportedly killed 15 people at Dove Cote market. The AFRC claimed that 50 people were killed across the eastern Freetown ward of Mabella, although there was intense scepticism about this number. Following these deaths, AFRC forces added further security to the Kissy Terminal. In the wake of the shelling, at least two Nigerian nationals resident in Freetown were killed; their corpses were mutilated and put on display along the streets of Freetown on 9 September 1997. ECOMOG Alfa Jets air raided Kissy Terminal on 7 September, reportedly destroying 10 moored vessels. The *Proteus* eventually entered the port, prompting an ECOMOG air sortie, which partially destroyed the boat. On 13 September, SLBS reported that ECOMOG Alfa Jets had bombed the oil tanker *Norvisco*, killing two members of the crew. ECOMOG air activity was met with anti-aircraft gunfire from AFRC positions across Freetown.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Lloyds List, 2 August 1997.

¹⁴⁸⁵ AFP, 3 August 1997.

¹⁴⁸⁶ AFP, 24 August 1997.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Decision on sanctions against the junta in Sierra Leone, Twentieth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, 28-29 August 1997. Source: ECOWAS

¹⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. "Article 7. The sub-regional forces shall employ all necessary means to impose the implementation of this decision. They shall monitor closely the coastal areas, land borders and airspace of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and shall inspect, guard and seize any ship, vehicle or aircraft violating the embargo imposed by this decision."

¹⁴⁸⁹ AFP, 4 September 1997.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Xinhua, 7 September 1997.

¹⁴⁹¹ BBC, 15 September 1997.

Over 200,000 people fled the area following this escalation of hostilities between ECOMOG and the AFRC, amid warnings from ECOMOG that the bombing would continue. The bombings also led some AFRC forces deployed in the port and other strategic locations to withdraw from their positions to safer locations the hilltops, leaving behind many arms and ammunition of various types. Later in the month, ECOMOG also announced that they would be patrolling the harbour area with gunboats.

On 8 October, the UN Security Council unanimously gave its support to the ECOWAS sanctions regime, extending its provisions to all UN member States. Between 8 and 14 October, ECOMOG Alfa Jets destroyed a number of structures in the SLA Cockerill Defence HQ and silenced SLBS TV and radio by destroying a transmitter located on Leicester Peak, in the peninsular area of Freetown.

Around 8 October, RUF forces attacked and occupied the villages of Bathurst, Mongema and Charlotte (all Mountain RD) along the mountain road between Freetown and Kossoh Town, where ECOMOG were stationed. Civilians were forced to prepare food for the RUF forces, who established checkpoints in all three villages. A few days later, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the Kossoh Town ECOMOG base from four flanks. The clandestine pro-democracy radio station, FM 98.1, announced the impending attack, giving civilians a chance to retreat to safer locations. Two ECOMOG soldiers were captured, killed and their corpses strung up on trees by the RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG forces went on the offensive in a bid to repel these forces and capture all the surrounding towns and villages, including Kossoh Town, Grafton, Jui and other nearby coastal villages. This expanded ECOMOG control over movement to and from Freetown. RUF/AFRC forces retreated east to Yams Farm (Waterloo RD). ECOMOG strengthened their position around Hastings, allowing civilians to return to the village.

AFRC actions against civil society continued throughout October. Armed AFRC members beat a university lecturer who was wrongly assumed to be a relative of the exiled President and looted his house. Another 18 men and two women were taken from a house and held in the container cell at Cockerill on suspicion of being informants for the exiled Government. AFRC forces shot a journalist when he went to investigate the AFRC-inspired burning of the Presidential residence, torturing him as he lay wounded on the ground. Another journalist was arrested and thrown in Pademba Road Prison for alleged anti-AFRC activities. His sister-in-law and her 13-year-old daughter were both raped by the AFRC forces during a raid of their residence. In addition, three journalists were arrested within 24 hours of each other, accused of subversive activities; all were beaten at time of their arrest and detained in Pademba Road Prison. No formal charges brought against them. On 15 October 1997, a newspaper editor was arrested and severely beaten by AFRC forces. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, the journalist sustained rifle butt wounds on his head, was blindfolded and taken to the notorious Sahr Sandi Army Camp¹⁴⁹³ near Regent (Mountain RD) and detained incommunicado with hard labour.

The AFRC shut down one of Sierra Leone's most popular newspapers during October, raiding their offices, arresting the editor and detaining him in Pademba Road Prison. All the newspaper's

¹⁴⁹² UNSC Resolution 1132 (1997).

¹⁴⁹³ Also known as "SS Camp".

equipment and vehicles were seized. The AFRC spokesman told journalists that the paper had been banned. The intimidation and harassment of journalists continued into November 1997, during which the Committee to Protect Journalists posted a special action alert on the Internet warning that the AFRC was circulating a "wanted" list of 13 journalists and called on all to condemn the flagrant attacks on press freedom by the AFRC. Nevertheless, the editor of another well-known Freetown newspaper was arrested on 21 November, tortured and left at the SLP Criminal Investigation Division cells for subversive activities. Many other editors and publishers were also arrested and detained for a number of days for subversive activities. This clampdown on journalists continued until December, at which time some journalists went into hiding after receiving death threats from the AFRC.

Civilians fleeing ECOMOG shelling in Kissy and the east end were forced to use the poor quality peninsular road leading through Tombo to Waterloo. This movement resulted in a major road traffic accident at a place called Comfort Bridge near York, during which 67 people were killed. RUF/AFRC movement to the inland provinces was also limited to this route. Checkpoints and security points at major locations like Tombo and St Michaels Lodge on the route were maintained by the RUF/AFRC.

The continuous shelling of strategic locations in Freetown, the effects of the embargo and the AFRC's inability to dislodge ECOMOG from Kossoh and Jui prompted them to continue the negotiations started early in the year. ECOWAS mediators, led by the then Nigerian Foreign Minister, hammered out a peace plan. This led to a ceasefire on 21 October 1997, followed on 23 October by the signing of the Economic Community of West African States six-month peace plan for Sierra Leone (23 October 1997-22 April 1998). 1494 The central provisions of this agreement were the maintenance of a ceasefire and the return of the elected Government by 22 April 1998. Other provisions included the hammering out of nationwide demobilisation and disarmament plans across December 1997 and the return of internally displaced persons to their places of habitual residence. ECOMOG and UN observers would supervise the implementation process, effectively requiring the deployment of ECOMOG forces throughout Sierra Leone.

Throughout December, numerous of violations of the sprit and letter of the ceasefire occurred across Sierra Leone. The CDF High Command implemented "Operation Black December", during which Kamajor units in Boama Chiefdom (Bo District) cut off all the highways and roads leading to the villages, restricting the movement of RUF/AFRC forces. Kamajors from Gorama Mende (Kenema District) also took part, cutting off stretches of the Kono-Makeni highway. In Pujehun Distric, Kamajors engaged RUF/AFRC forces around Pujehun Town (Kpanga Kagonde Chiefdom, Pujehun District) and in areas of Gbondapi (Panga Kabone Chiefdom, Pujehun District). In Bombali District, ECOMOG jets bombed positions outside of Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District), claiming that the ARFC was constructing an asphalt runway to allow arms supplies to enter the country more freely in violation of ECOWAS and UN sanctions. RUF/AFRC forces conducted violent food-finding missions in Koinadugu District, attacking civilians and stealing from residences in the towns of Mansofenia and Kurobonla (Neva Chiefdom, Koinadugu District).

On 21 December, the exiled President flew from Conakry to the ECOMOG base at Freetown International Airport to spur on the implementation of the peace process.

f) Events in 1998

Despite the Conakry Accord, RUF/AFRC attacks on ECOMOG and their harassment of civilians, particularly businessmen and other high profile people, became frequent in the city and its environs. This instability in the city and the country at large provoked the February 1998 military intervention by the Nigerian-led ECOMOG forces.

ECOMOG began preparations for an invasion of Freetown in mid-January, reinforcing the ECOMOG field artillery and concentrating its forces at Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD), in addition to flying training sorties over selected positions in Freetown. On 5 February, operational orders were given to ECOMOG to break out of Kossoh Town and take control of Freetown. Three major movements were planned. The Nigerian 2nd Mechanised Battalion was to move along the main Freetown highway to capture Freetown. Protecting its flank, the Nigerian 5th Mechanised Battalion was to advance towards Freetown through Upper Allen Town, Calaba Town and Portee (Greater Freetown) along the old Freetown highway, which eventually joins the main Freetown highway through a series of junctions at Kissy. The Nigerian 5th Mechanised Battalion would disperse within Freetown and capture strategic governmental and security institutions. The Nigerian 231st Tank Battalion was ordered to seize Waterloo and the Benguema Training Centre (both in Waterloo RD), heading away from Freetown.

Shortly before dawn on 6 February, the ECOMOG intervention began on three fronts. One front moved from Jui (Waterloo RD) towards Freetown; a second front moved from Hastings Airfield towards Waterloo. ECOMOG also opened a third front and moved from Kossoh Town through the hills to Regent (Mountain RD) and down into the Mount Aureol (Mountain RD) and Hill Station (Greater Freetown) entrances to metropolitan Freetown.

RUF/AFRC forces had blocked the road across Orogun Bridge with a large container, delaying the ECOMOG advance. ECOMOG fought several battles along the route into Freetown. At Portee Junction, a fierce battle was fought, forcing the RUF/AFRC to retreat towards the west end of Freetown and giving ECOMOG forces the upper hand to flush them out of Freetown on to the villages via the peninsular, the only safe exit from the city. There is very little detailed information about the conduct of the battle within the Freetown metropolitan area. It is clear that the RUF/AFRC put up stern resistance at the Kissy Terminal and used gunboats to fire on some ECOMOG advance units that reached the Connaught and Wharf areas of central Freetown. Eventually retreating from Kissy Terminal, RUF/AFRC forces booby-trapped and vandalised a considerable amount of the harbour machinery and equipment.¹⁴⁹⁶

The ECOMOG group moving from Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD) into Freetown along the mountain road encountered landmines between Mortema and Charlotte village (both Mountain RD). RUF/AFRC forces also placed a large cargo container filled with sand across the single

¹⁴⁹⁵ This account of the advance plans is taken mainly from Adeshina, pp.22 ff.

¹⁴⁹⁶ The vandalism was comprehensive enough to delay the offloading of nearly 800 tons of humanitarian aid from a UN ship on 22 February 1998: AFP, 22 February 1998.

carriageway road between Mangaba and Mortema village (both Mountain RD). ECOMOG forces assisted by local youths managed to dislodge this obstacle and entered Regent (Mountain RD) by midday on 6 February, securing the village. RUF forces stationed at Regent and Bathurst (both Mountain RD) withdrew with their possessions along the route from Regent through Gloucester into Freetown. AFRC forces positioned mortars at Regent and shelled ECOMOG along the mountain road.

Between 10 and 12 February, ECOMOG forces advanced into Freetown along two routes into the town: through the Mount Aureol (Mountain RD) campus of Fourah Bay College and through Hill Station (Greater Freetown). Mount Aureol is the highest point in Freetown and overlooks the entire Kissy area and all approach roads into Freetown from Kossoh Town. In addition, the road from Mount Aureol into Freetown leads directly to the civic quarter of Freetown. The Hill Station route leads directly to the SLA Wilberforce Barracks and into the west Freetown areas of Lumley and Aberdeen (Greater Freetown). Control of this road isolates the TV and radio transmitter at Leicester Peak (Mountain RD) and Freetown's second hospital.

Other auxiliary forces also fought alongside with the ECOMOG troops, namely the Organised Body of Hunters Society (OBHS) in addition to Kamajors and Gbethis from the CDF. These auxiliary troops were responsible for carrying ammunition for the ECOMOG forces and some few loyal SLA forces fighting alongside ECOMOG; they were also responsible for burying RUF/AFRC fatalities and civilians who were killed during the offensive. CDF forces advancing with ECOMOG through the Mountain RD villages of Charlotte, Bathurst and Regent were used to screen the many civilians who used bush tracks to flee the fighting on the main highway. The tactic was useful in preventing the RUF infiltration of territory only lightly occupied by ECOMOG throughout the main assault.

The ECOMOG advance westward into Freetown along the main highway left those RUF/AFRC forces stationed in Freetown only one option for retreat: east along the poor quality peninsula road. By 8 February, RUF/AFRC forces retreating along this route using hundreds of commandeered utility vans and jeeps started arriving at Tombo (Waterloo RD). RUF/AFRC forces threatened to kill every resident of Tombo (Waterloo RD) unless the owners of fishing boats gave them passage to Fogbo Jetty (Koya RD). The RUF/AFRC forces abandoned many of their vehicles at Tombo (Waterloo RD). Most were stripped down or burned, but vehicles in working order were taken to Waterloo between February and March of 1998 by the ECOMOG forces and parked in front of the Rural Education Committee School near the Post Office. A large cache of weapons abandoned by retreating RUF/AFRC forces was handed over to ECOMOG by the Tombo village (Waterloo RD) authorities. An RUF member who had failed to escape to Fogbo (Koya RD) shot dead a popular young man who had arranged the weapons collection.

The ECOMOG advance westward into Waterloo from Hastings (both Waterloo RD) along the main highway quickly dislodged the RUF/AFRC forces based at Yams Farm (Waterloo RD) and

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¹⁴⁹⁷ Namely, those SLA forces that did not change their allegiance to the leaders of the AFRC and instead retained allegiance to President Kabbah.

¹⁴⁹⁸ ECOMOG reported that 84 "loyal" SLA soldiers had surrendered to them in early February, but it is not clear whether ECOMOG had under its command any full units of the SLA that were unaffiliated with the AFRC.

pursued them to Waterloo. These ECOMOG forces captured Waterloo without any resistance on 6 February 1998. All the villages on ECOMOG's route to Waterloo, including Lower Allen Town, Rokel and Devil Hole (all Waterloo RD), were cleared of RUF/AFRC forces and lightly occupied. Residents of these villages fled towards Waterloo and onwards towards Newton (Koya RD) as ECOMOG advanced. Civil militia in Waterloo assisted ECOMOG in identifying the key locations in the town. During the shelling of Waterloo, ECOMOG levelled a two-story house.

At Waterloo, ECOMOG mounted a checkpoint at the Post Office, ordering local youths to dig trenches for them. ECOMOG forces shot a man with learning difficulties who had failed to identify himself promptly and executed a man alleged by villagers of Matanky (Waterloo RD) to be an RUF/AFRC collaborator. Throughout Waterloo and Lumpa, ECOMOG conducted house-to-house searches for RUF/AFRC members. Civilians were instructed to clear the streets and remain in their residences while ECOMOG searched for armaments.

In the afternoon of the ECOMOG capture of Waterloo, an Alpha Jet flew over the village and the camp. The ECOMOG forces then moved to Lumpa, where they established a base and a checkpoint near the Banga Farm palm oil plantation (straddling Waterloo and Koya RDs). ECOMOG forces executed a young man and maltreated an unknown number of others before advancing to Campbell Town (Waterloo RD), where they attacked the remnants of the RUF/AFRC forces, killing six. Three days after the capture of Waterloo, several unarmed SSD officers surrendered to ECOMOG at their Post Office checkpoint. Some were sent to Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD) while others remained at Waterloo.

Thousands of civilians, together with some of the RUF/AFRC forces based at the Benguema Training Centre, Waterloo, Lumpa and satellite villages moved towards the Waterloo Displaced Camp, east of Waterloo (all Waterloo RD). The RUF/AFRC forces stationed at the Benguema Training Centre offered resistance to ECOMOG until they were overrun on 9 February. 1499

Over the next few days, the RUF/AFRC forces moved from the Waterloo Displaced Camp and counter-attacked the ECOMOG troops based at Lumpa. This led to the renewed shelling of the camp by ECOMOG and a mass movement of civilians and RUF/AFRC forces towards the main highway at Newton (Koya RD), where the other RUF/AFRC forces from Fogbo Jetty (Koya RD) joined them. This group of RUF/AFRC forces subsequently moved inland to Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) along the main highway. They took with them a large number of abducted civilians, allegedly to prevent the ECOMOG Alpha Jet from bombing them on their way to Masiaka.

By 12 February, ECOMOG had control over the majority of the Freetown metropolitan area and had commenced intense "mopping-up" operations. Between 12 and 24 February a curfew was imposed throughout areas occupied by ECOMOG. They established checkpoints all over the city and in villages through the York and Mountain RDs. At locations in York RD, a civil militia was trained by ECOMOG to maintain these checkpoints and assist them in identifying suspected RUF/AFRC members and collaborators. Other militia groups were trained by ECOMOG at

¹⁴⁹⁹ ECOMOG claimed they had captured Benguema Training Centre (Waterloo RD) on 9 February: AFP, 9 February 1998.

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Hamilton and Lakka (both York RD). The OBHS, who were armed, also assisted ECOMOG forces with screening and operating checkpoints. During this period, ECOMOG forces killed a lot of civilians without any form of trial¹⁵⁰⁰ and "cordon and search" operations were conducted as a mechanism for trapping suspected RUF/AFRC members and sympathisers.

Between 16 February and 3 March, ECOMOG mounted checkpoints at Goderich, Lakka, Hamilton, Sussex, Bawbaw, Tokeh, York, Kissy Town (all York RD), Tombo, Russell and Madina (all Waterloo RD). The Nigerian 232nd Tank Battalion operated the checkpoint at Long Beach in Hamilton. ECOMOG forces based at Lakka imposed a fish tax on the villagers: every fishing day, a large basket was passed around among the fishers, into which everyone was supposed to contribute a minimum of four fish to feed the Nigerian contingent. These fish were demanded as a contribution to ECOMOG's daily food ration, although sometimes they were sold and the ECOMOG forces kept the money.

Between Freetown and Newton (Koya RD), ECOMOG erected several checkpoints. At each of these checkpoints, ECOMOG forces intimidated civilians, took their money and beat and killed people, among other things. For example, people were killed for failing to produce an identity card or for being suspected of being a relative of any member of the AFRC, RUF or SLA forces.

While Nigerian ECOMOG forces were generally welcomed, there were many instances of apparently arbitrary punishment and cruel treatment of civilians. In March 1998, ECOMOG soldiers from the Nigerian 192nd Battalion were stationed at York village (York RD). On finding a vehicle burned-out by retreating RUF/AFRC forces, the ECOMOG platoon commander demanded that all the men of the village gather at the Hospital compound so they could identify who was responsible for the burning. The village elders were made to sit on the floor, which symbolically is extremely demeaning. The gathered men were divided into groups according to their age and interrogated by ECOMOG forces. When they failed to obtain information about the vehicle, ECOMOG forces beat the gathered men with doubled-up length of electrical cable. Starting with the Head Man and moving from eldest to youngest, ECOMOG forces hit each man at least 12 times before deciding that three young men had the information they sought. These three youths were left out in the sun for a day and then beaten with sticks.

After 2 March, ECOMOG forces began running night and day patrols between the villages of Sussex and Baw-Baw (both York RD). Local youths were trained to run patrols between Baw-Baw and Number Two River (York RD).

In early March 1998, there was also an influx of Kamajors into York RD from Kagboro Chiefdom (Moyamba District), establishing bases in and around Tokeh (York RD). Between 8 and 10 March, a Kamajor commander order a local youth group to mount a checkpoint at the Number Two River Road Junction (York RD); ECOMOG later ordered them to dismantle the checkpoint. In Tombo (Waterloo RD), Kamajors took up residence in the village, claiming to be providing security. The Kamajors took property from the houses of two suspected RUF/AFRC collaborators and ill-treated a number of residents who complained. Following requests from the village authorities, ECOMOG

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ordered the departure of all Kamajors from the Tombo area. Kamajors also deployed to provide security in Regent and Bathurst villages (Mountain RD).

On 17 February, a supervisory task force was set-up to provide joint leadership between ECOMOG and the exiled Government during the immediate post-intervention period. The task force met with representatives of key civil society groups and governmental institutions. British and Nigerian military vessels docked in water off Freetown on 1 March 1998 to provide technical assistance on a range of unspecified matters. On 10 March, the President returned to Freetown, which was followed a few days later by the UN Security Council lifting the ban on fuel imports to Sierra Leone and deciding to review other sanctions provisions. Nevertheless, the prohibition on the importation of arms remained in force.

Successful ECOMOG interventions in Bo (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District) and Kenema (Nongowa Chiefdom, Kenema District) took place between 12 and 17 February, coinciding with operations in the Western Area. Following their successful offensives against RUF/AFRC forces in the Western Area and Southern Province, ECOMOG focussed on operations in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sierra Leone. In brief, between 1 March 1998 and 5 March, ECOMOG forces took control of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District), Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and locations in Koinadugu District thereafter. ECOMOG moved into Kono District, taking full control of Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District) in early April 1998. ECOMOG forces had also moved as far east as Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District) by April 1998.

On 17 April, the UN Security Council authorised the deployment of a 10-strong team of military and security observers to Sierra Leone, who arrived in May 1998. The UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), comprising around 70 military observers and accompanying logistic support, was established on 13 July 1998. 1504

Immediately after the reinstatement of the President, criminal investigations into hundreds of alleged RUF/AFRC collaborators and surrendered SLA soldiers detained at the Pademba Road Prison commenced, ending in a wave of treason trials. Between 21 March and 14 April 1998, 35 civilians who were alleged members of the AFRC regime were charged in three separate trials with treason, a crime punishable by death in Sierra Leone. On 24 August, all 35 were found guilty by jury trial and the court handed down sentences of death to 16 of these 35. All appealed the death sentence and were still in prison awaiting their appeals when the RUF invaded Freetown in early January 1999; they were later pardoned as part of the Lomé Peace Agreement. On 24 July 1998, 34 members of the SLA accused of carrying out the AFRC coup faced a court martial. On 12 October, all were found guilty of treason by a military court and 24 were executed by firing squad on 19 October at the SLA Juba Barracks in west Freetown. The remaining 10 had their sentences commuted to

¹⁵⁰¹ AP, 1 March 1998.

¹⁵⁰² UN Security Council Resolution 1156 (1998), 15 March 1998.

¹⁵⁰³ UN Security Council Resolution 1162 (1998), 17 April 1998.

¹⁵⁰⁴ UN Security Council Resolution 1181 (1998), 13 July 1998.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Those sentenced to death in the court martial had submitted a complaint to the Committee on Human Rights under the procedure in the First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report

long prison terms. Some 300 SLA members under investigation for their suspected involvement with the AFRC were released from government custody on or around 3 September. A final set of treason charges were brought against 22 civilians on 14 December.

The RUF leader was repatriated to Sierra Leone from Nigeria on 25 July and charged with treason on 4 September. Despite efforts to locate counsel for him, he represented himself throughout the trial, which began on 4 October. A jury found him guilty and the court sentenced him to death on 23 October; the RUF leader appealed the sentence and remained in custody until he was pardoned as part of the Lomé Peace Agreement. In September, ECOMOG formally moved its headquarters from Monrovia, Liberia to Freetown.

On 21 December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Songo and Six-Mile (Koya RD) and, by the early afternoon, had arrived at Newton Village (Koya RD), resulting in a mass movement of civilians to Waterloo (Waterloo RD). The swell of people into Waterloo caused widespread panic-buying of food and palm wine. Later that same day, residents of Waterloo heard small arms fire coming from Banga Farm, on the main highway between Waterloo and Newton. Late that night, ECOMOG forces based at the Waterloo Post Office and Peninsular Secondary School launched several mortars towards Banga Farm, followed by an aerial bombardment by the Alpha Jet at the same location.

Heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces attacked Waterloo (Waterloo RD) before dawn on 22 December 1998. During this attack, they killed between 15 and 19 civilians, looted extensively and burnt down at least 53 houses. AFRC forces identified as being comprised predominantly of ex-SLA members marched down Calmont Road with powerful flashlights, targeting the houses of prominent people in Waterloo. A large RUF Small Boy Unit accompanied them, sprinkling petrol on doorframes and around houses. The AFRC forces ignited the petrol with gunfire, setting fire the to the houses. A Guinean ECOMOG unit entered Waterloo and commenced shelling the RUF/AFRC forces from an armoured car, resulting in their onwards advance to the Benguema Training Centre (Waterloo RD). The RUF/AFRC forces captured a large cache of arms and ammunition before destroying the base's main ammunition dump. A prominent AFRC commander was killed in the explosion and buried nearby Koba, a few kilometres south of Benguema.

RUF/AFRC forces continued advancing southward along the peninsular road, moving from the Benguema Training Centre through Koba, During Town, Boyah Village and Russell (all Waterloo RD). At Russell, RUF/AFRC forces dislodged the small ECOMOG contingent stationed there. Not long after midnight on 24 December, RUF/AFRC forces entered Tombo through Worlai Village (both Waterloo RD), to the immediate east of Tombo. The day before, the village authorities of Tombo had received warning of the coming RUF/AFRC attack from an SLA soldier who escaped the attack on Benguema Training Centre.

alleging that their right to appeal, guaranteed in article 14(5), had been violated: Communication Nos. 839/1998 & 840/1998 & 841/1998. Despite the Committee requesting a stay of execution, they were executed a week after they had lodged their complaint. The Committee subsequently found that their rights had in fact been violated, as there was no right of appeal from a court martial: Anthony B Mansaraj et al; Mr Gborie Tamba et al; Mr Abdul Karim Sesay et al v Sierra Leone, decision of 16 July 2001.

At that time, the RUF were accompanied by a large number of civilians, some carrying ammunition and other supplies and some banging drums and chanting about celebrating Ramadan in Tombo (Waterloo RD). To help identify each other in night attacks, RUF/AFRC forces stuck the transparent cellophane wrapping from popular boiled sweets called "Diamonds" over their torch lenses, giving the beams a red tint. The Nigerian ECOMOG contingent was outnumbered and immediately retreated towards Freetown along the peninsula road through Kassi to Kissy Town (Waterloo RD), together with thousands of civilians. Many civilians escaped by boats to Shenge (Kagboro Chiefdom, Moyamba District), Banana Island¹⁵⁰⁶ and villages inland along the Ribbi River, while others moved to Lakka Village (York RD). RUF/AFRC forces left Tombo, having taken the contents of many abandoned homes, and burned down at least 20 others without attempting to occupy the township.

Between 22 and 25 December 1998, Nigerian ECOMOG reinforced Waterloo. On 24 December, Hastings was reinforced by around 500 Kamajors, who immediately imposed a curfew between the hours of 18.00 and 07.00. Two days later, Kamajor members arrested two suspected RUF/AFRC collaborators, who were tied up, their heads forced into a large white plastic bowl and their throats cut; civilians were forced to bury the corpses. Kamajors also killed four other civilians at Jui Junction, near Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD), leaving a severed head on a pole at their checkpoint.

Waterloo Town was bombarded by ECOMOG on 26 December 1998, causing further civilian flight from the town. A Guinean ECOMOG contingent from Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) reinforced ECOMOG stationed at Waterloo (Waterloo RD) and set up a base at the SDA School compound, moving later to the PSS School compound. Guinean ECOMOG provided limited security around the market area of Waterloo, where traders remained at work until the RUF/AFRC raided Lumpa (Waterloo RD). Members of the Guinean ECOMOG contingent mistakenly killed eight traders who were running towards the PSS Compound to escape an RUF/AFRC ambush at Lumpa. The RUF/AFRC occupied Lumpa and other parts of Waterloo, effectively dividing the town in two. RUF/AFRC forces stole medical supplies from the Waterloo Health Centre. The RUF/AFRC stayed in Lumpa throughout January, forcing civilians to perform domestic services for them; they would not allow civilians to close their doors and performed frequent house-to-house searches for food. The RUF commanding officer in Lumpa personally executed at least three civilians, dumping the body of one victim in a pit latrine and cutting out and eating the heart of another. At this time, the RUF and AFRC forces were not lodging together.

Between 25 and 28 December, RUF/AFRC advance units continued from Tombo around the peninsula towards Freetown. The villages of Black Johnson and Big Water (both York RD), on the approach road to York, were infiltrated by small numbers of RUF/AFRC. RUF/AFRC forces exchanged heavy machine gun fire with Nigerian ECOMOG forces at the York Grass Field area of York town. ECOMOG gunners killed three members of the RUF/AFRC. Following these attacks around the peninsula road, Nigerian ECOMOG redeployed at Tombo (Waterloo RD) in greater force. A Kamajor detachment was sent to guard the bridge at MacDonald (Waterloo RD). Nigerian ECOMOG imposed a strict security regime around the York Town area, organising local youth into groups to accompany them on a continuous day-and-night patrol routine. ECOMOG also began collecting and, in collaboration with locals, screening for RUF/AFRC infiltrators displaced by the

¹⁵⁰⁶ Also called Plantain Island.

fighting on the peninsular at locations. These screening centres included the Cotton Club and St. Michaels Lodge in Lakka and the Hamilton Community Centre (all York RD). After 6 January, villagers in Tombo burnt alive an RUF/AFRC member at the Tombo Grass Field area. An unknown number of other suspected RUF/AFRC members were killed with bladed weapons by the Tombo youth.

g) Events in 1999

Between 30 December and 5 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces staged attacks on Hastings and Kossoh Town (both Waterloo RD). Using bush tracks through the hills from Waterloo (Waterloo RD), RUF/AFRC forces staged major attacks on Hastings, Allen Town and Jui on 5 January. They encountered sporadic resistance from ECOMOG forces who, considerably reduced in number, progressively retreated towards Freetown. On 4 and 5 January, RUF/AFRC forces, hardware and vehicles were moving continuously through Newtown and Four Mile (Koya RD) towards Waterloo, gathering in the Ibo Town area (Waterloo RD).

Just after midnight on 6 January, RUF/AFRC forces began their assault on Freetown. An advance RUF/AFRC unit, numbering around 300, moved quickly to engage ECOMOG at their Kissy Roundabout security point. Meanwhile, RUF/AFRC forces in Waterloo started round the clock attacks on the Guinean ECOMOG contingent at PSS in Waterloo. On 9 January, the RUF/AFRC granted the Guineans safe passage from the town only in return for their remaining stock of ammunition. From Ibo Town, the RUF also began sending out units to Yams Farm (Waterloo RD), from where throughout the night they laid down heavy machine gun fire on ECOMOG positions at Hastings. Civilians were often used in these attacks.

The advancing RUF/AFRC forces were reinforced by thousands of others, who entered the Wellington and Calaba Town areas of eastern Freetown. On 7 January, RUF/AFRC forces occupied a petrol station near Kissy Road roundabout and started burning every solid structure in its immediate vicinity. The exact chronology of the movement of RUF/AFRC forces through east Freetown is not completely clear. One of their first successes, on either 6 or 7 January, was a raid on Pademba Road Prison, releasing many RUF/AFRC members captured by ECOMOG and progovernment forces over the previous year. Pademba Road Prison is to the west of central Freetown in Brookfields at the end of Pademba Road, which is also an access route through to the New England and Wilberforce areas of western Freetown. That RUF/AFRC forces made it to Pademba Road so quickly suggests that they had free movement through both the centre of Freetown, through the "PZ" junction and also through the Mountain Cut route from Kissy through to New England.

However, the brunt of the RUF/AFRC assault was in east Freetown. RUF/AFRC forces quickly occupied the Clay Factory IDP camp in Kissy, killing at least 20 people. ECOMOG commenced shelling into the hills behind the Clay Factory. By the early afternoon of 6 January, RUF/AFRC forces had occupied the main Kissy Terminal, killing eight ECOMOG soldiers in the Terminal's security office. The Kissy Police Station and the Kissy Mental Hospital were set on fire and a number of churches including the Holy Trinity and the Trascott Church were burned down.

The Guineans actually handed the RUF/AFRC a haul of blank ammunition.
 NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report
 10 March 2004
 Preliminary edition for the opening of the SCSL Cour

Behind their line of advance, RUF forces made every civilian in the Eastern part of Freetown hoist white pieces of cloth in front of their houses and tie white ribbons on their heads and wrists to signify their support for peace. Each night, civilians were forced to burn old tyres in order to light up the city and to sing peace songs. Some beat drums while others clapped their hands or banged empty tins together. Some were even forced to dance, especially old people. Those who failed to obey these orders were shot and killed or had their houses set on fire; many civilians were burnt alive in their houses.

At irregular intervals, ECOMOG Alpha Jets bombed various locations in Freetown including "PZ", a busy business district centre, killing an unknown number of civilians who had been forced onto the streets by the RUF/AFRC.

Between 8 and 9 January 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces advanced into the west end of Freetown and were prevented from crossing the Congo Cross Road Bridge by the combined forces of ECOMOG, "loyal" SLA and CDF. The Congo Cross Road Bridge carries a dual carriageway (dubbed "main motor road") from Brookfields through to Congo Cross, Wilkinson Road, Murray Town, Lumley and Juba. It is the only way of quickly moving a large force from central to western Freetown; alternative routes into west Freetown are longer and far easier to secure. One route moves from New England to Hill Station up a steep winding mountain road in full sight of ECOMOG's main base at Wilberforce. Other routes to Congo Cross move from King Harmon Road up the winding Old Railway Line through Tembah Town and also through Congo Town along a poor quality road and a decrepit old bailey bridge. Combined with artillery from Wilberforce and the defence of the Hill Station route into west Freetown, RUF/AFRC movement westwards was halted at Congo Cross Road Bridge, from where the RUF/AFRC forces launched missiles into Congo Cross.

ECOMOG forces fought with RUF/AFRC forces for control of a key roundabout called Eastern Police between 8 and 9 January. By 10 January, ECOMOG were putting pressure RUF/AFRC forces stationed at Waterloo Town. By 11 January, the RUF/AFRC had begun their retreat east from the civic centre of Freetown, burning down the Law Courts, the telephone exchange and many government buildings.

Behind ECOMOG lines, a curfew was imposed from 15.00 to 06.00. Ahead of ECOMOG lines, a 24-hour curfew was then announced by the Government on Radio Democracy 98.1 FM. Anyone caught violating the curfew would be perceived as hostile and would be executed on the spot by the ECOMOG forces. By 13 January, ECOMOG had pushed the RUF/AFRC forces back from the Congo Cross Road Bridge and had taken control over the densely populated, central-west Brookfields area. The RUF/AFRC forces started burning houses as they retreated eastwards. ECOMOG advised civilians to move into the National Stadium, where ECOMOG in collaboration with the Kamajors and OHBS screened civilians. An unknown number of suspected RUF/AFRC members were lined up against the walls of the National Stadium and shot dead by ECOMOG. Other collection points for displaced persons included the National Workshop by Pademba Road Prison and the Parade Group on Fourah Bay Road. ECOMOG also began

¹⁵⁰⁸ At the highpoint of the invasion, UN World Food Program estimated that around 40,000 civilians sought security in the National Stadium by 21 January 1999.

confiscating satellite telephones and radio communications equipment from international NGOs, reportedly to prevent them falling into the possession of the RUF/AFRC.

On 18 January, the HMS Norfolk arrived in Freetown carrying medical supplies and a 200-strong liaison and reconnaissance group. The UK denied that it was taking any military part in the conflict, but had earlier in January released over \$1.6 million for humanitarian supplies and logistic support for ECOMOG.

RUF/AFRC forces started mutilating civilians on 19 January 1999 at Black Hall Road in Freetown, as ECOMOG forces steadily forced them out of the city. At that time, ECOMOG forces had control over the Ferry Junction at Kissy eastward to Waterloo (Waterloo RD). Civilian volunteers used carts to transport the corpses of those killed in the conflict to the Kissy Road cemetery. On 16 January, RUF/AFRC forces they had befriended warned civilians remaining in Waterloo that an order had been given to amputate the arms of any non-RUF/AFRC found in the town. The ECOMOG Alpha Jet bombing of numerous RUF/AFRC positions in the east end of Freetown and Waterloo pushed RUF/AFRC forces eastwards to the outskirts of the city. As they retreated via the hills, avoiding the ECOMOG checkpoint at Kossoh Town, RUF/AFRC forces abducted hundreds of civilians, many of whom were given narcotics to make them compliant.

Although most of Greater Freetown area had come under ECOMOG control by 20 January, RUF/AFRC forces continued to stage attacks and attempt to infiltrate locations in the east of the town. ECOMOG reported having trouble with large numbers of snipers remaining in hillside locations overlooking their positions following the main RUF/AFRC retreat. Across February and March, RUF/AFRC occupied Waterloo (Waterloo RD), evading ECOMOG Alpha Jet bombardments by using bush paths and moving mainly during the nighttime from Waterloo to attack surrounding villages. For example, one night they attacked Susu Town near Devil Hole (Waterloo RD) at a location called Compound, where they raped and killed a policewoman. Many civilians escaped across the Madonke creek to villages in Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District). In addition, RUF/AFRC patrols rounded up civilians hiding in the Waterloo area and returned them to the town.

At the end of January, Nigeria announced that it wished to remove its troops from Sierra Leone by May 1999. On 2 February, ECOMOG continued to reinforce with the arrival of over 400 Malian troops 1510 and around 1,000 Ghanaian troops by 8 February. A general mobilisation of ECOMOG throughout Freetown was announced on 5 February 1999. The Chief of Staff of the SLA reportedly announced that ECOMOG would not hesitate in firing on civilians should the RUF/AFRC use them as human shields. The ECOMOG general mobilisation was followed by an intensification of cordon and search operations throughout the city. ECOMOG restructured its operations to include a specific garrison and force for the Freetown area. The UK Government

¹⁵⁰⁹ BBC, 28 January 1999.

¹⁵¹⁰ IRIN West Africa, 2 February 1999.

¹⁵¹¹ IRIN West Africa, 8 February 1999.

¹⁵¹² AFP, 4 February 1999.

¹⁵¹³ IRIN West Africa, 5 February 1999.

¹⁵¹⁴ BBC, 6 February 1999.

stated that it would be providing a package of comprehensive logistic and other support to ECOMOG, ¹⁵¹⁵ followed soon after by the announcement that it would be providing around \$16 million in military and training support for Sierra Leone and ECOMOG. ¹⁵¹⁶

Between 20 and 25 February, ECOMOG launched an attack on Waterloo by continuously shelling the town. Some of the shells landed at the creek at the Christian cemetery. The remnants of RUF/AFRC forces, who were mainly ex-SLA, pulled out of Waterloo and Campbell Town along the Prince Alfred Road towards Cole Town (all Waterloo RD) and proceeding along bush tracks to the Waterloo Displaced Camp. By nightfall, all of them had left and headed towards Newton (Koya RD). In Waterloo, around 700 houses had been burnt down during the RUF/AFRC occupation. ECOMOG and Kamajor forces secured the town, with approximately 50 Kamajors deploying to Waterloo. They were shown around town by a local man who identified suspected RUF/AFRC collaborators, of whom at least two were tortured and executed by the Kamajors. The Kamajors also deployed at Bath-Comp (Koya RD), where they looted and burnt down an unknown number of civilian residences. At Kissy Town, near the IDP camp, combined "loyal" SLA and CDF on the one hand and ECOMOG on the other, erected checkpoints.

Responding to demands made by the RUF/AFRC, on 15 April the Court of Appeal of Sierra Leone temporarily released the RUF leader from prison, 1517 where he had been awaiting appeal from his treason conviction, allowing him to meet with the High Command of the RUF/AFRC and engage in peace talks in Togo, Lomé. Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (the Lomé Peace Agreement). The Lomé Peace Agreement provided for a number of joint RUF-GOSL processes for the provision of humanitarian assistance, return of displaced persons, demobilisation, management of natural resources and other matters related to the consolidation of the peace process. Additionally, it contains provisions for a governmental power-sharing arrangement between the RUF and the Government. The Lomé Peace Agreement also pardoned the RUF leader and others and granted a blanket amnesty to all combatants and collaborators for acts done in fulfilment of their objectives.

The RUF and AFRC leaders arrived back in Freetown on 3 October 1999 from Liberia, where they had gone following the conclusion of the peace talks. On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone to replace the previous observer mission.

¹⁵¹⁵ IRIN West Africa, 22 February 1999.

¹⁵¹⁶ IRIN West Africa, 3 March 1999. The UK starting exporting ammunition and military equipment to Sierra Leone after 7 October 1999.

¹⁵¹⁷ The RUF leader was reportedly taken from Pademba Road prison into protective custody in the Republic of Guinea prior to the RUF/AFRC 6 January 1999 assault on Freetown.

¹⁵¹⁸ BBC, 15 April 1999.

¹⁵¹⁹ The full text is available at http://www.usip.org/library/pa/sl/sierra_leone_07071999_toc.html.

¹⁵²⁰ Both reportedly held talks with the Liberian President in Monrovia during this time: http://www.sierra-leone.org/slnews0999.html.

¹⁵²¹ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999).



h) Events in 2000

Between January and May 2000 no violent incidents are recorded for the Western Area. By 12 April 2000, the DDR program had taken on over 22,000 ex-combatants, comprising 4,227 RUF; 7,474 CDF; 5,590 AFRC: 3,804 SLA: and 1,463 unaffiliated combatants.¹⁵²²

On 1 May, the United Nations reported that RUF forces had attacked its positions near Newton (Koya RD), a few miles east of Waterloo (Waterloo RD), ¹⁵²³ that there had been a number of RUF attacks near Waterloo and that RUF forces had been seen moving towards Hastings (Waterloo RD). However, the BBC reported on 6 May that UNAMSIL had retracted the latter statement and that in an "unfortunate reporting error on our part" they had confused this with RUF activity near Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District). ¹⁵²⁴ Nevertheless, while information gathered for this report confirms that there were no RUF attacks on locations in the Western Area at this time, rumours of RUF attacks sparked at least 20,000 civilians to leave Songo, Newton (both Koya RD), Waterloo and Hastings (Waterloo RD) and move into the Greater Freetown Area. ¹⁵²⁵

However, UNAMSIL faced a serious crisis between 5 and 28 May: nearly 500 troops from different UNAMSIL contingents were disarmed and held hostage by RUF forces. On 8 May, the UK military commenced "Operation Palliser", deploying to Sierra Leone the *HMS Ocean* and other vessels with around 800 soldiers from the Parachute Regiment. Initially, UK forces secured the airport at Lungi and commenced the evacuation of UK nationals and other expatriates. Also on 8 May, civilians in Freetown held a large demonstration outside the Spur Road residence of RUF leader. The details are not clear, but a number of gunshots were fired, reportedly by RUF members guarding the residence. Nineteen civilians were killed during the rally and were buried on 13 May. The RUF leader apparently disappeared, but was apprehended by civilians on 17 May whilst travelling in a civilian vehicle through the Lumley area of Freetown. The UK Secretary of Defence subsequently stated to the BBC that the RUF leader was being held in "protective custody" by UK forces.

Between 8 and 14 May, RUF forces unsuccessfully attempted to gain control of Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) from pro-Government forces. During the same period, UK forces bolstered security at strategic locations on the main highway at Hastings and Waterloo. On 19 May, UK Royal Marines rehearsed amphibious landings in the Freetown area¹⁵³⁰ in preparation for replacing the Paratroops deployed on 8 May.¹⁵³¹ In addition, the UK announced its decision to

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¹⁵²² From National Commission from Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR), quoted in IRIN West Africa, 18 April 2000.

¹⁵²³ IRIN West Africa, 1 May 2000.

¹⁵²⁴ BBC Online News, 7 May 2000 (06:40 GMT 07:40 UK).

¹⁵²⁵ OCHA Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 12 May 2000.

¹⁵²⁶ On 24 May, soldiers from the 42 Commando Royal Marines replaced the paratroopers.

¹⁵²⁷ BBC Online News, 8 May, 2000, (17:13 GMT 18:13 UK).

¹⁵²⁸ BBC Online News, 13 May 2000 (01:53 GMT 02:53 UK).

¹⁵²⁹ BBC Online News, 17 May 2000 (18:03 GMT 19:03 UK).

¹⁵³⁰ BBC Online News, 19 May 2000 (15:48 GMT 16:48 UK).

¹⁵³¹ IRIN West Africa, 24 May 2000.

provide an ongoing series of six-week training courses for around 8 battalions of the SLA. ¹⁵³² The 180-strong team began arriving in Freetown on 10 June 2000, ¹⁵³³ dovetailing with the withdrawal of the Royal Marines after 15 June 2000. ¹⁵³⁴ On 24 July, nearly 1,000 SLA members graduated from the UK-run training course, ¹⁵³⁵ the first group of a total of around 8,000 who would eventually be trained this way. Various rotations of the UK military teams occurred between August and December 2000. The overall number of UK service personnel in Sierra Leone was around 550, operating from the headquarters of the 1st Mechanised Brigade in Freetown.

On 14 August, the AFRC leader announced that he had formally disbanded the AFRC, ¹⁵³⁶ which had seized power in the coup on 25 May 1997. On 22 August, a senior RUF member replaced the RUF leader, who remained in custody.

The West Side Boys apprehended 11 UK soldiers from the Short Term Training Team near Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) on 27 August 2000. Although UK negotiators secured the release of five of the captives, UK Special Forces and Paratroopers arrived in Freetown and executed "Operation Barrass", freeing the remainder on 10 September. ¹⁵³⁷ In the Western Area, no further significant incidents are reported for 2000.

i) Events in 2001 and beyond

In January 2001, the Ukrainian contingent of UNAMSIL deployed from Freetown, contributing 534 men, 220 Armoured Personnel Carriers and 220 trucks to the peacekeeping mission. Ukrainian troops were based at Hastings (Waterloo RD). The RUF, the CDF and the Government of Sierra Leone commenced tri-partite peace talks on or around 16 May 2001. Disarmament proceeded at the Hockey Pitch at Wilberforce Barracks. At Waterloo the OBHS who used to patrol the village disarmed at the IDP Camp. By 30 September 2001, the UK had reduced its military presence in Sierra Leone to around 360¹⁵⁴⁰ and UNAMSIL reached the ceiling of its authorised deployment strength of 17,500 personnel on 20 November 2001.

Following disarmament and demobilisation of members of all the different fighting factions, on 18 January 2002 President Kabbah declared that the war was over and held a symbolic "Arms Burning Ceremony" at Lungi (Kaffu Bullom Chiefdom, Port Loko District).

3. Conclusion

** TO BE COMPLETED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE**

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¹⁵³² The UK Military handed over to a UK-led International Military and Advisory Training Team (IMATT) in September 2001.

¹⁵³³ BBC Online News, 10 June 2000 (19:28 GMT 20:28 UK).

¹⁵³⁴ IRIN West Africa, 14 June 2000.

¹⁵³⁵ IRIN West Africa, 24 July 2000.

¹⁵³⁶ BBC Online News, 14 August 2000 (03:40 GMT 04:40 UK).

¹⁵³⁷ See Port Loko District: West Side Boys for more details.

¹⁵³⁸ IRIN West Africa, 10 January 2001.

¹⁵³⁹ BBC Online News, 16 May 2001 (00:26 GMT 01:26 UK).

¹⁵⁴⁰ OCHA Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 01 - 30 September 2001.

Annex I: List of Acronyms

AFRC Armed Force Revolutionary Council

APC All Peoples Congress CDF Civil Defence Force

ECOMOG Economic Community of West African States Cease Fire Monitoring Group

EO Executive Outcomes

NPFL National Patriotic Front for Liberia NPRC National Provisional Ruling Council

RUF Revolutionary United Front

SLA Sierra Leone Army

SLPP Sierra Leone Peoples Party

UNAMSIL United Nation Mission in Sierra Leone

ULIMO United Liberation movement for Democracy in Liberia.

Annex II: Acknowledgments

This report is the result of a program carried out in Sierra Leone over many months and in which many people took part. Although it is not possible to name each and every person who participated at one point or another, the following list of people reflects the dimension and importance of the No Peace Without Justice Conflict Mapping Program in Sierra Leone.

Conflict Mapping Program

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