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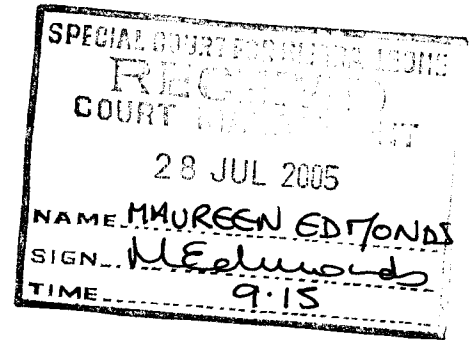
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SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE
OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR
Freetown – Sierra Leone

Before: Justice Pierre Boutet, Presiding
Justice Bankole Thompson
Justice Benjamin Itoe

Registrar: Mr. Robin Vincent

Date filed: 27 July 2005



THE PROSECUTOR

Against

**Samuel Hinga Norman
Moinina Fofana
Allieu Kondewa**

Case No. SCSL-04-14-T

**PROSECUTION FILING IN RELATION TO DOCUMENT 58 "SIERRA LEONE
CONFLICT MAPPING PROGRAM" (NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE)
PURSUANT TO ORDER OF 14 JULY 2005**

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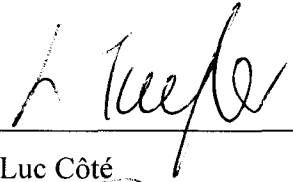
Charles Margai
Yada Williams
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1. On 24 June 2005, the Prosecution filed a Consequential Request to Admit into Evidence Certain Documents Pursuant to Rules 92*bis* and 89(C).
2. The Defence filed a joint Response on 29 June 2005.
3. On 14 July 2005, in its Decision on Prosecution's Request to Admit into Evidence Certain Documents pursuant to Rules 92*bis* and 89(c), the Trial Chamber issued an Order to the Prosecution to file with Court Management the final version of Document 58 "Sierra Leone Conflict Mapping Program" produced by No Peace Without Justice, namely, identified admitted portions as enumerated in the Annex to the Decision as they directly correspond to the final version of the report.¹
4. The Prosecution hereby files as Annexure A, a statement by Lacey Alison Arnot Smith, formerly Country Director for No Peace Without Justice in Sierra Leone, affirming that the version of *Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002* published on the No Peace Without Justice Sierra Leone Mission website is the current and authentic version of this publication to date.
5. The Prosecution will therefore file with Court Management the identified admitted portions of the version of *Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002* referred to in the statement by Ms. Smith.
6. Annexed to this filing is a tabular representation of compliance with the Trial Chamber's Order - Annexure B.

¹ *Prosecutor v. Norman, Fofana and Kondewa*, SCSL-04-14-T, Decision on Prosecution's Request to Admit into Evidence Certain Documents pursuant to Rules 92*bis* and 89(c), 14 July 2005, pp. 5-6.

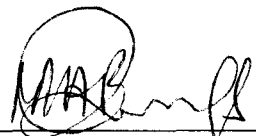
Dated this 27th day of July, 2005

In Freetown, Sierra Leone


for _____
Luc Côté

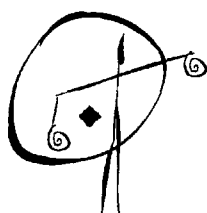


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ANNEXURE

A



NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE

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I, Lacey Alison Arnot Smith, formerly Country Director for No Peace Without Justice in Sierra Leone, hereby affirm that:

1. *Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002* was written by L. Alison Smith (as lead and supervising author), Catherine Gambette and Thomas Longley for the international NGO, "No Peace Without Justice". It was issued in a limited release in Freetown on 10 March 2004.
2. *Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002* is an authorised publication of No Peace Without Justice.
3. The version of *Conflict Mapping in Sierra Leone: Violations of International Humanitarian Law from 1991 to 2002* published on the NPWJ Sierra Leone Mission website¹ is the current and authentic version of this publication to date.

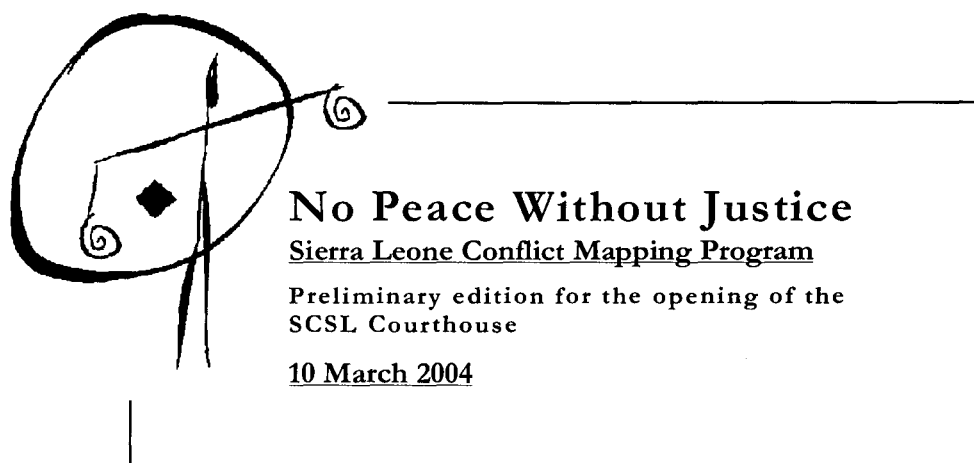
Signed:

L. Alison A. Smith
Legal Counsel/Coordinator International Criminal Justice Program
No Peace Without Justice

Done on 21 July 2005 in Venice, Italy

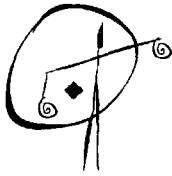
¹ Available through the NPWJ Sierra Leone Mission website on <http://www.specialcourt.org/SLMission/CMFullReport.html>. In addition to the pdf file of the report, that page has for download a winzip file containing the same pdf document encrypted for the purposes of certifying its authenticity: <http://www.specialcourt.org/Outreach/ConflictMapping/NPWJCMReport10MAR04pp.zip>. The password to open the encrypted file is nopeacewithoutjustice. This certificate of authenticity refers to that encrypted file, as opened with this password.

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

No Peace Without Justice wishes to acknowledge the financial assistance of the **European Community** and the **Open Society Initiative - West Africa** to its programmes. The views expressed herein are those of No Peace Without Justice and therefore in no way reflect the official positions of the European Commission or OSI-WA.

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NPWJ Conflict Mapping Report
10 March 2004



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.



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*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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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

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10 March 2004

Preliminary edition for the opening of the SCSL Courthouse

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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:

<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>
Dama	Giema
Dodo	Dodo
Gaura	Joru
Gorama Mende	Tongi
Kandu Leppeama	Gbando
Koya	Baoma
Langrama	Ya Baima
Lower Bamabara	Panguma
Malegowun	Sembehun
Niawa	Sendumei
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.



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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.



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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.



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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 forces⁸¹⁹ 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

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.



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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, Tokbambu, 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 Jembahun 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.



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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.”⁸²⁵ 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,⁸²⁶ 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.

⁸²² It is specified that some of the assailants were talking with Liberian dialect.

⁸²³ BBC: 22 December 1992.

⁸²⁴ Youths in the context of Sierra Leone could refer to anybody aged over 15 up to their mid to late 30s.

⁸²⁵ The report does not specify in which of Sierra Leone’s languages “Zogoda” has a meaning. Most likely Mende or Temne.

⁸²⁶ Borgboabu, Giema, Maporma, Segbwema, Gorahun, Njaluahun, Bongor and Nyadehun.



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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,⁸²⁸ 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.



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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.



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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).⁸³¹ 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 knives. 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.



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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.⁸³³ 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

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



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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 (Jama 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,⁸³⁵ 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.



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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 held 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.



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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.



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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.



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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.



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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.



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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.⁸⁴⁷ 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.



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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



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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 Peyela, 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.⁸⁴⁸ 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



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 groups⁸⁴⁹ 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 Nimiya 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.⁸⁵⁰ However, some of the local hunters managed to encounter the RUF forces at the border with Nimiya 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.⁸⁵³ 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,⁸⁵⁴ gathered 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 Bush⁸⁵⁵ 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.⁸⁵⁶ Young men and children were captured and trained in the camp on guerrilla warfare throughout 1995 and 1996.⁸⁵⁷

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.

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.



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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 were 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.



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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



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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.⁸⁶⁰ It 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.



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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 Jiam 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.



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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, Berembah, 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.



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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.



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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.⁸⁶⁸ 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.



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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, Lachun, 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.



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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.



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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

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.

⁸⁷⁷ Tilorma, Taninahun, Sokola, Sefula and Damawulo were also burnt down.



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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 Jiamia 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 (Goramba 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.



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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,⁸⁸¹ 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”⁸⁸² 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”.⁸⁸³ 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.

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.



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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.⁸⁸⁴ 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.



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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,⁸⁸⁵ with civilians resettling in their villages.⁸⁸⁶

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.⁸⁸⁷ A DDR camp was opened in Kenema Town to disarm CDF members, while RUF members were to disarm at Daru (Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District).⁸⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁸⁹

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.



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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 (Goroma 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.⁸⁹⁴ By late July, between 3,000 and 3,500 civilians were reported fleeing the area, probably following the recent clashes between RUF and SLA forces⁸⁹⁵ 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).⁸⁹⁶ 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,⁸⁹⁷ 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.



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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.⁹⁰⁰ 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 area⁹⁰¹ 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.⁹⁰² 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.⁹⁰⁵ 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.



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forces had disarmed.⁹⁰⁶ However, the deadline set in the agreement was not met as RUF forces showed unwillingness to disarm outside Tongo Field,⁹⁰⁷ were unhappy with some issues of a political nature⁹⁰⁸ 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.⁹⁰⁹

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.⁹¹⁰ 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.⁹¹¹

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.



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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



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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:

<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>
Fiama	Jagbwema
Gbane	Gandorhun
Gbane Kandor	Koardu
Gbense	Koidu
Gorama Kono	Kangama
Kamara	Tombodu
Lei	Saiama
Mafindor	Kamiendor
Nimikoro	Jaiama
Nimiyama	Jaiama Sewafe
Sandor	Kayima
Soa	Kainkordu
Tankoro	Baiama
Toli	Kondewakor



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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 areas⁹¹² 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.



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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 knives. 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.⁹¹⁵ 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,



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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”⁹¹⁸ 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.⁹¹⁹ 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.⁹²⁰ 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.⁹²¹ 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.⁹²² 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.⁹²³ RUF/NPFL were bypassing the government forces in Woama to attack villages in Tankoro

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.



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Chieftdom, 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 Chieftdom 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 Chieftdom).⁹²⁶ The RUF/NPFL forces also repelled the SLA forces deployed at Bumpe (Nimikoro Chieftdom), located on the Kono-Makeni highway, up to Sewafe (Nimiyama Chieftdom), 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 battlefield to go to Koidu (Gbense Chieftdom) 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.



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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;⁹²⁹ 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.⁹³⁰ 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 girls⁹³¹ 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.



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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.⁹³³ 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.



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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.⁹³⁵ 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 Mimiya 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 (Goroma 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 refuge.

⁹³⁸ Local hunters from Koinadugu.



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Chiefdom; and Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom), where they encouraged civilians to mine for diamonds.⁹³⁹ 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 Fiamma, 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 (Fiamma 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 Gbemandufao (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.



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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 were 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.



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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 Chieftdom 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 Chieftdom.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 Chieftdom, 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.⁹⁴⁹ 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 Chieftdom), 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 Chieftdom), 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 Chieftdom).⁹⁵⁰ 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 Chieftdom stayed in the bush until Executive Outcomes came to Kono District in 1995.

SLA forces remained in Mafindor and Gbane Kandor Chieftdoms, 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 Chieftdom was confused and did not allow us to expand our analysis on this chieftdom. 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.



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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.⁹⁵¹ 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.

f) 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".⁹⁵² 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

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.



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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).⁹⁵³

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".⁹⁵⁴ RUF forces used Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom) as their base to lead ambushes in the area, during which some civilians were tortured and raped.⁹⁵⁵

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.



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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.⁹⁵⁷ 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.⁹⁵⁸ 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,⁹⁵⁹ 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 Committee⁹⁶⁰ 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,⁹⁶¹ 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.



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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 were 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.⁹⁶⁴

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.



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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.

f) 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 Senahun, 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 come 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 intimidated 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,

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.

⁹⁶⁹ The month of the occurrence of the incident could not be ascertained.



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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.⁹⁷⁰ 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 (Goroma 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.⁹⁷¹ It was agreed that young men should be initiated to protect the chiefdom and a message was conveyed to the Paramount Chief of Goroma 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 come 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 Goroma Kono Chiefdom in late 1993 and early 1994.



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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 Fiamsa Section. SLA forces retreated to Yigbede 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.



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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.



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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.

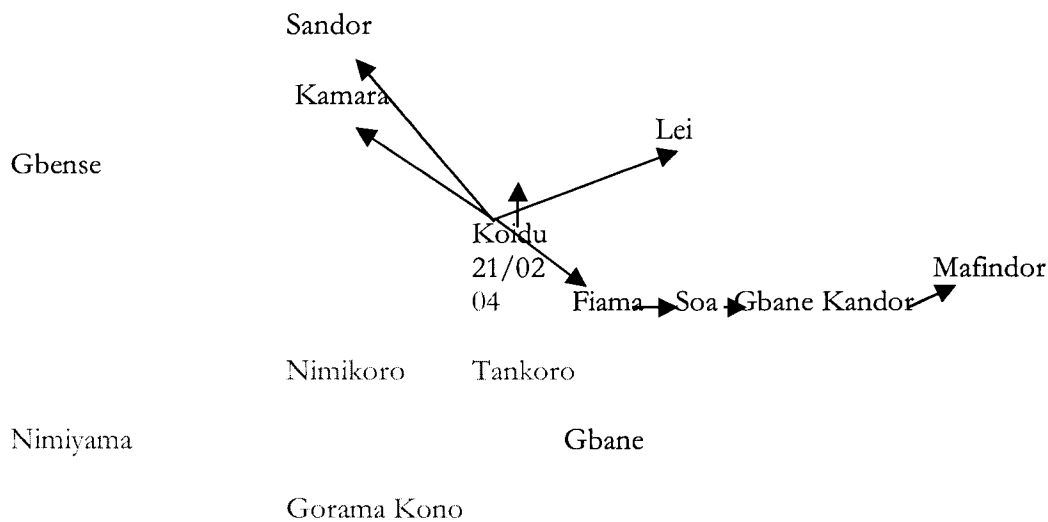
In Lei Chiefdom, two civilians accused of sabotage in Kombayende were shot to death on the orders of a member of the RUF/AFRC. In the same town, a woman was beaten with a bayonet and killed by a member of the AFRC for refusing to give him palm oil. There were also two separate incidences of rape in Lei 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.



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h) Events in February - June 1998



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 couple of days. 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



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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 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.



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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.



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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 boys⁹⁸⁵ 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.



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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 1998.⁹⁸⁷ 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

⁹⁸⁶ AFP, 16 and 17 June 1998.

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.



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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.⁹⁸⁹ 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

⁹⁸⁸ Small Lebanon is a town south of Koidu.

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.

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.



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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.

⁹⁹⁶ AFP, 17 April 1998.



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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.⁹⁹⁹ On another occasion in May, one civilian leaving the bush around Masundu and heading for Guinea with his family fell 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.¹⁰⁰⁰

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,

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.



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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.



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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 Fama 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.



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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 Siamia, 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 Senahun, 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 Senahun, they went to Kenema, where they shot dead seven people before entering the town and



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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.¹⁰⁰⁸ 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 Chieftdom 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.



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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.¹⁰¹² 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.



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i) 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.



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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).¹⁰¹⁸ 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

j) 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 Fullah¹⁰²² 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.



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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.¹⁰²⁵ A big circle, 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.



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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 commaflog 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 were brought to the commaflog 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.¹⁰²⁷ 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 Fiamia Chiefdom, setting ambushes for Donsos and civilians. Towns in Fiamia 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.



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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.¹⁰³¹ 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.



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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.



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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 conflict¹⁰³⁶ 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.¹⁰³⁸ 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.



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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.



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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: Gbangbokoro¹⁰⁴⁶ 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 Fima 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.



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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.¹⁰⁵³ 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.¹⁰⁵⁶ 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 leaders¹⁰⁵⁷ 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.¹⁰⁵⁸ Nevertheless, skirmishes between RUF and CDF were still reported for June and July.¹⁰⁵⁹ 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.¹⁰⁶⁰

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.



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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 place¹⁰⁶⁴ 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.



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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



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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.



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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:

<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>
Badjia	Ngelehun
Bagbe	Ngarlu
Bagbo	Jimi
Baoma	Baoma
Bumpeh	Bumpeh
Gbo	Gbo
Jiama Bongor	Telu
Kakua	Bo
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.



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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 Jima 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, Jima 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 (Jima 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.



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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 revolution¹⁰⁶⁶ 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's 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.



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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.¹⁰⁶⁸ 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 Jiamia 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.



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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.¹⁰⁷¹ 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.



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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 Junction¹⁰⁷⁵ following a RUF/NPFL incursion in Kasseh, south of Momajoe, from Malen Chieftdom (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 Chieftdom (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.

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 Mamojoe); Temgbelch, Largo, Maniwa, Mani, Bo, Tissana, Yegelleh, Fala (all south Momajoe); and Mojemai Kpongbalia and Golapo, east of Momajoe.

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.



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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 (Jama 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.¹⁰⁷⁶ 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 Jama 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 began 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.



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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 1994,¹⁰⁸⁰ 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 Jiam 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.



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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.¹⁰⁸³ In April 1994, inhabitants of Lugbu Chiefdom who no longer felt safe moved to Koribondo (Jama Bongor Chiefdom) and Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom). Thus, the population of Bo Town swelled in 1994 and food became scarce.¹⁰⁸⁴

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 Jama Bongor Chiefdom sent to the border between Wunde and Jama 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 Jama Bongor Chiefdom. These towns were considered strategic points in the defence of Boama Chiefdom from the RUF forces fighting in Jama 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

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.



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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 (Jama 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 (Jama 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.¹⁰⁸⁸ 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 (Jama 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.



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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),¹⁰⁹³ 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.



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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 Hills¹⁰⁹⁵ 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.



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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.¹⁰⁹⁷ 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".



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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.¹¹⁰⁰ 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,¹¹⁰¹ 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 safe¹¹⁰² 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.



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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 Matru on the Rail (Tikonko Chiefdom),¹¹⁰³ intensifying the panic in the town.

On 26 December 1994, RUF forces attacked Matru 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 Matru 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 Matru 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 Matru 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 Matru Jong tried to hide from the RUF forces in the Tabal River, but accidentally drowned. As had happened in Matru 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, Matru 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

¹¹⁰³ As opposed to Matru on the Jong, which is in Bonthe District.

¹¹⁰⁴ Also during the Christmas week, Kenema Town and Magburaka (Tonkolili District headquarter) were attacked.



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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.¹¹⁰⁶ 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.



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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.



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chiefdom left over 100 civilians dead within a few days.¹¹¹⁰ During the third attack on Bumpah 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.¹¹¹² During their operation in Bumpah 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 clear¹¹¹³ 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.¹¹¹⁴

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, Bumpah 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.¹¹¹⁵ 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 Bumpah 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

¹¹¹⁰ AFP, 26 April 1995.

¹¹¹¹ The precise figures of the casualties could not be obtained.

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”.

¹¹¹⁴ 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.

¹¹¹⁵ It seems that the SLA forces recaptured those towns.



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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 beyond¹¹¹⁶

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.¹¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹¹⁹ 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.



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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 1996.¹¹²⁰ 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.



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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.¹¹²² 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 Jiam 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

¹¹²² No further information is available.

¹¹²³ No further information is available.



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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 Bumpah 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 Bumpah for Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom) were often caught by SLA forces and killed.

Following the attack on "Bulkoh" camp, Kamajors from Bumpah Chiefdom moved from Bumpah to Tikonko, where they established their base. Following an attack by the SLA forces, they went back to Bumpah. On their way back to Bumpah, 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 Jiamia 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.

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 [...]”

¹¹²⁷ This date is not clear.



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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.¹¹³⁰ 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.



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During the AFRC regime, RUF/AFRC forces were mainly concentrated in Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom) and Koribondo (Jama 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 Jama Bongor Chiefdom along the road from Telu, but were driven out by Kamajors coming from Gbaama.

RUF/AFRC forces based at Koribondo¹¹³² (Jama Bongor Chiefdom) patrolled the area and attacked Kamajor positions, killing both civilians and Kamajors. In June 1997, they attacked Bendu (Jama 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.



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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-Matru 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 Jiam 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.



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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 (Jama 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.

¹¹⁴⁰ AFP, 24 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 dockside area 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 were 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

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.



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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,¹¹⁴⁷ 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.¹¹⁴⁸ In the meanwhile, the first UN peacekeepers arrived in the country and, in January, troops from the Ghanaian contingent arrived in Bo District.¹¹⁴⁹

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).¹¹⁵⁰ 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.¹¹⁵¹

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.

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.



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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.



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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".



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Kpanda Kemo	Matuo
Kwamwбай 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 Matru (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



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Chieftdom 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 chieftdoms 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 chieftdoms.

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 chieftdoms 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 chieftdoms 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 chieftdoms 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 Chieftdom and subsequently developed in the other chieftdoms. 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 chieftdoms, 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.



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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.¹¹⁵⁸ Soon after, on 9 May 1991, RUF/NPFL forces coming from Gbandapi (Panga Kabone, Pujehun District)¹¹⁵⁹ 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.¹¹⁶⁰

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.



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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.¹¹⁶² 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.¹¹⁶³ 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.¹¹⁶⁴ 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.



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From their base at Gbandapi, the RUF/NPFL forces came at intervals to attack neighbouring towns and villages in Kwamebai Krim Chieftdom 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.¹¹⁶⁵ 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 Chieftdom). One hundred and fifty of them came to the chieftdom 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.



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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.



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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 town¹¹⁷⁰ 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 Chieftdom); 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 Chieftdom), at the border with Kwamebai Krim Chieftdom, 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.¹¹⁷¹ 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 Chieftdom), at the border with Bo District (Bagbo Chieftdom). 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 Chieftdom (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/NPFL forces were based in Topain, it seems that RUF/NPFL forces were no longer settled in Kwamebai Krim Chieftdom and launched their attacks from Pujehun District.



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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.¹¹⁷⁴ 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 jump¹¹⁷⁷ 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 ate 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), where 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".



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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".¹¹⁷⁸ 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.¹¹⁸⁰ 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.



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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.¹¹⁸² 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.



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mercenaries also entered Mecca (Bendu Cha Chiefdom, west of Nongoba Bullom Chiefdom),¹¹⁸³ 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.¹¹⁸⁴

d) 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.¹¹⁸⁶ 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.



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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,¹¹⁸⁹ 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 way¹¹⁹⁰ 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.¹¹⁹¹ 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.



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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 Chieftdom) 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 Chieftdom, 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 Chieftdom in 1994, the RUF did not face any counter-attack by government troops. This firm control over Bum Chieftdom 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 Chieftdoms 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 Chieftdom) 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.



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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 Matru (Jong Chiefdom) ran into armed RUF men. He was flogged by them and given a letter for the people of Matru together with the sum of Le 6,000. On his arrival in Matru, 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 Matru (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.¹¹⁹⁴ In the morning, three groups of RUF forces¹¹⁹⁵ 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 Mokañji (Banta Chiefdom, Moyamba District), which they had attacked the day before.¹¹⁹⁶ 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.



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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 Matru (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 Matru and a southern one going to the chiefdom headquarter of Tihun (Sogbini Chiefdom), at which time they decided to attack Matru. 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.¹²⁰⁰ 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 Matru, in April. People were also brought from other towns and villages and killed for similar reasons at the RUF headquarter in Matru. 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 Matru and the other at Gambia Oil Mill. The RUF forces stole the supply of medicine and other items at the government hospital in Matru 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 Matru (Jong Chiefdom). Since 1994, Lugbu Chiefdom had been under RUF control.

¹²⁰⁰ Matru 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.



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turned the hospital into a training base. The base at Gambia Oil Mill, nine mile from Mattru, was called "Camp Lion"¹²⁰² 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.¹²⁰⁴ 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.



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Mattru, were marshalled towards the town of Senjehun (Kpanda Kemo Chiefdom), near the Sewa River.¹²⁰⁵ 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.¹²⁰⁶ 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 soon 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",¹²⁰⁷ 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).



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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.



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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.¹²¹⁰ Civilians ran into the bush leaving behind children and elderly people who were unable to run. Those forces, dressed in military attire,¹²¹¹ identified 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.



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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.¹²¹² 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.



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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.¹²¹³ 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 commander¹²¹⁵ 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.¹²¹⁶ 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.



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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.¹²¹⁷ 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.



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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 were 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

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 Mokañji (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.



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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.



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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 one 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 still 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.

f) 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.¹²²⁴ 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 of reasons and were often ill treated.¹²²⁵

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

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.

¹²²⁵ No further details are available on this information.



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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 started 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

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.

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.



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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 Baoma, 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,¹²²⁸ east of the chiefdom, equipped with cutlasses, knives, shotguns, sticks and FM ropes.¹²²⁹ 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 Matru 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 Mekanji 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 Matru-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 Matru. 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

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.



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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



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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.¹²³⁶ 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.



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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 Matru 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 Kamajor 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 Matru. Those civilian peacemakers were severely molested at a checkpoint at Momaya (Bendu Cha Chiefdom), where Kamajors opened fired into the air.¹²⁴¹ 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”.



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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.¹²⁴² 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.



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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.¹²⁴³ 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.¹²⁴⁴ Four days later, the civilians asked the RUF/AFRC members for authorisation to bury what was left of his body.¹²⁴⁵

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.



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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.



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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 unsuccessful¹²⁴⁹ 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 Matru 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.



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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 yet 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 Matru (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

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.



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agreed to establish another DDR camp in Mattru.¹²⁵⁸ 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.¹²⁶⁰ 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.



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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
Fakunya	Gandohun
Kagboro	Shenge
Kaiyamba	Moyamba
Kori	Taiama
Kamajei	Senahun
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 Senahun (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 Mekanji (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.



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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.



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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

a) 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), south-east 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.



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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 91.¹²⁷¹ 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 rifles. 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 Bumpah Chiefdom (Bo District) to the south.¹²⁷² 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.

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 Bumpah 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.



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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 Chieftdom, 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 chieftdom, as RUF forces were on their way to the chieftdom. 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 Chieftdom, 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 Chieftdom 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 Chieftdom), 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 Chieftdom) on their way to Njama. This battle took place at Pelewahun (Kamajei Chieftdom) some six miles to the north-east 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 Chieftdom, west of Kamajei Chieftdom. 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,¹²⁷⁵ with one group advancing north to Kamajei Chieftdom and one going south-westward to Dasse Chieftdom.

In Kamajei Chieftdom, RUF forces attacked villages in the south of the chieftdom, including Buma and Ngiyehun. At Buma, two civilians were killed and others abducted and taken to Njala (Kori Chieftdom). 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.



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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 Mokañji 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 Mokañji (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 Mokañji 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 Mokañji.¹²⁷⁸

On 18 January 1995, the RUF forces from Banduma passed by Kabiamā (Banta Chiefdom), where they abducted a diamond dealer, his wife and other civilians and continued to Mokañji, three miles from Kabiamā.¹²⁷⁹ In Mokañji, 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 Mokañji and thus to protect the security of the other mining company. However, the RUF did not stay long in Mokañji 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 Mokañji 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 Mokañji, 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.



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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 Mekanji 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 Mekanji Hills area.¹²⁸¹ The workers of the mining company and their families were evacuated to Freetown. SLA forces based in Mekanji, 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 District¹²⁸² 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 Mekanji (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.¹²⁸³ 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 peace-loving 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.



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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 were RUF forces or ex-SLA forces deserting their positions and acting like the RUF. Civilians however recounted that they were RUF forces in disguise.



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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.¹²⁸⁶ 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".



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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.¹²⁸⁸ 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.¹²⁸⁹ 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.¹²⁹⁰ 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.¹²⁹¹ 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.¹²⁹²

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.



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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, Mokañji (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 Mokañji 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 (south-east of Kori Chieftdom). The commander told the civilians that this university would not function until the RUF took over government.¹²⁹⁴ RUF forces entered the town of Mokorewa (Fakunya Chieftdom) 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.¹²⁹⁶ From December to March 1997, it appeared that the civilians in Fakunya Chieftdom 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 Chieftdom, to the south of Bumpeh Chieftdom. 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

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.



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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 Bumpah 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 Bumpah Chiefdom had their first encounter with RUF forces between Moyah and Mogbainchain (Bumpah Chiefdom). They staged an ambush, killing two RUF members, capturing one and taking two AK47s.¹²⁹⁸ 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.



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were sporadically raiding small villages, taking away property, abducting young boys and girls and killing some people.¹²⁹⁹ 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, knives 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 Kamajors¹³⁰⁰ 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.

ANNEXURE

B

Title	Date of pub.	Source	Admitted Evidence	Footn. ref.	Page ref.																																		
58. Sierra Leone Conflict Mapping Program, Draft Copy for Review	9 March 2004	No Peace without Justice	<p><u>b. Kenema District</u></p> <p>1. Introduction</p> <p>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</p>		Page 288																																		
			<p>of fundamental importance as it is the only way to bring necessary daily items for civilians in the District.</p> <p>There are 16 chiefdoms in the District:</p> <table><tr><td><u>Chiefdom</u></td><td><u>Headquarter</u></td></tr><tr><td>Dama</td><td>Giema</td></tr><tr><td>Dodo</td><td>Dodo</td></tr><tr><td>Gaura</td><td>Joru</td></tr><tr><td>Gorاما Mende</td><td>Tongi</td></tr><tr><td>Kandu Leppeama</td><td>Gbandu</td></tr><tr><td>Koya</td><td>Baoma</td></tr><tr><td>Langrama</td><td>Ya Baima</td></tr><tr><td>Lower Bamabara</td><td>Panguma</td></tr><tr><td>Malegowun</td><td>Sembahun</td></tr><tr><td>Niawa</td><td>Sendumei</td></tr><tr><td>Nomo</td><td>Faama</td></tr><tr><td>Nongowa</td><td>Kenema</td></tr><tr><td>Simbaru</td><td>Boajibu</td></tr><tr><td>Small Bo</td><td>Blama</td></tr><tr><td>Tunkia</td><td>Gorahun</td></tr><tr><td>Wandor</td><td>Faala</td></tr></table> <p>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 Gorاما Mende Chiefdoms. On its eastern edge, at the border with Liberia, Kenema District is bordered by the Golan Forest.</p> <p>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 Gorاما Mende Chiefdoms.</p> <p>Kenema District was affected by the conflict</p>	<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>	Dama	Giema	Dodo	Dodo	Gaura	Joru	Gorاما Mende	Tongi	Kandu Leppeama	Gbandu	Koya	Baoma	Langrama	Ya Baima	Lower Bamabara	Panguma	Malegowun	Sembahun	Niawa	Sendumei	Nomo	Faama	Nongowa	Kenema	Simbaru	Boajibu	Small Bo	Blama	Tunkia	Gorahun	Wandor	Faala		Page 289
<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>																																						
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			<p>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.</p>		
			<p>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 ULIMO^[811] forces began retaking control of the District and driving the RUF / NPFL forces out.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>The third and final phase of the conflict in Kenema District ran from May 1997, the date of the Coup</p>	<p>^[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.</p>	Page 290

			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.		
			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 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		Page 299
			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 groups ^[834] controlling checkpoints in Small Bo Chiefdom were monitoring the movement of people entering and leaving the chiefdom and reporting persons suspected of being	^[834] These vigilante groups were equipped with clubs, spears, single barrel guns and slings.	Page 300

			<p>“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.</p>		
			<p>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.</p> <p>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 required to appoint a chief Kamajor to act as chiefdom coordinator for the CDF in the chiefdom. Battalion</p>	<p>^[858] For more details on the structure of the CDF, see the chapter on the CDF in the Fighting Forces section of this report.</p>	Page 313
			<p>commanders and commanding officers were also appointed.^[858] The conditions for initiation, as applied at least during the early stage of Kamajors, were as follows:^[859]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 of Section Chief. • Those men willingly contribute condiments to the Kamajors. 	<p>^[859] These conditions were specifically reported in relation to Simbaru Chiefdom, generally applied across the whole district and, indeed, the whole Kamajor movement.</p>	Page 314
			<p>E. Southern Province a. Bo District</p> <p>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 at a nodal crossroad, from which roads extend into the District in four directions.</p> <p>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.</p>		Page 381

		<p>Moyamba District on the north and Bonthe District on the south constitute its western edge.</p> <p>There are 15 chiefdoms in the District:</p> <table> <tr> <td><u>Chiefdom</u></td> <td><u>Headquarter</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Badjia</td> <td>Ngelehun</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bagbe</td> <td>Ngarlu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bagbo</td> <td>Jimi</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Baoma</td> <td>Baoma</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bumpeh</td> <td>Bumpeh</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gbo</td> <td>Gbo</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Jama Bongor</td> <td>Telu</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Kakua</td> <td>Bo</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Komboya</td> <td>Njala</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lugbu</td> <td>Sumbuya</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Niawa Lenga</td> <td>Nengbema</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Selenga</td> <td>Dambala</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Tikonko</td> <td>Tikonko</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Valunia</td> <td>Mongere</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Wunde</td> <td>Gboyama</td> </tr> </table> <p>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</p> <p>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.</p>	<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>	Badjia	Ngelehun	Bagbe	Ngarlu	Bagbo	Jimi	Baoma	Baoma	Bumpeh	Bumpeh	Gbo	Gbo	Jama Bongor	Telu	Kakua	Bo	Komboya	Njala	Lugbu	Sumbuya	Niawa Lenga	Nengbema	Selenga	Dambala	Tikonko	Tikonko	Valunia	Mongere	Wunde	Gboyama		
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		<p><u>b. Bonthe District</u></p> <p>1. Introduction</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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, it is part of another administrative structure, the Sherbro Rural District.</p>	<p>^[1157] This island is commonly known as "Bonthe Island".</p>	<p>Page 412</p>																																

		<p>There are 11 chiefdoms in the District, two of which are located Sherbro Island:</p> <table><tr><td><u>Chiefdom</u></td><td><u>Headquarter</u></td></tr><tr><td>Bendu Cha</td><td>Bendu</td></tr><tr><td>Bum</td><td>Madina</td></tr><tr><td>Dema</td><td>Tissana</td></tr><tr><td>Imperi</td><td>Gbangbama</td></tr><tr><td>Jon</td><td>Mattru</td></tr></table>	<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>	Bendu Cha	Bendu	Bum	Madina	Dema	Tissana	Imperi	Gbangbama	Jon	Mattru														
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		<p>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.</p> <p>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 people^[1262] and violence against civilians.</p> <p>c. <u>Moyamba District</u></p> <p>1. Introduction</p> <p>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.</p> <p>There are 14 chiefdoms in the District:</p> <table><tr><td><u>Chiefdom</u></td><td><u>Headquarter</u></td></tr><tr><td>Bagruwa</td><td>Sembehun</td></tr></table>	<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>	Bagruwa	Sembehun	<p>^[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".</p>	Page 450																				
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		<table><tr><td>Banta</td><td>Gbangbantoke</td></tr><tr><td>Banta Mokele</td><td>Mokele</td></tr><tr><td>Bumpeh</td><td>Rotifunk</td></tr><tr><td>Dasse</td><td>Mano</td></tr><tr><td>Fakunya</td><td>Gandohun</td></tr><tr><td>Kagboro</td><td>Shenge</td></tr><tr><td>Kaiyamba</td><td>Moyamba</td></tr><tr><td>Kori</td><td>Taiama</td></tr><tr><td>Kamajei</td><td>Senehun</td></tr><tr><td>Kongbora</td><td>Bauya</td></tr><tr><td>Kowa</td><td>Njama</td></tr><tr><td>Ribbi</td><td>Bradford</td></tr></table>	Banta	Gbangbantoke	Banta Mokele	Mokele	Bumpeh	Rotifunk	Dasse	Mano	Fakunya	Gandohun	Kagboro	Shenge	Kaiyamba	Moyamba	Kori	Taiama	Kamajei	Senehun	Kongbora	Bauya	Kowa	Njama	Ribbi	Bradford		Page 451
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			<p>Timdel Bomotoke</p> <p>Having borders with both the Southern and Northern Province, Mozamba 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.</p> <p>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 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.</p> <p>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 Mokañji (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.</p> <p>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.</p>		
			<p>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</p>		<p>Page 452</p>

		<p>1994 as rumours of imminent RUF attacks grew stronger.</p> <p>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.</p>		
		<p>2. Factual analysis</p> <p>a) <u>Events in 1991 – 1994</u></p> <p>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 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]</p> <p>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 the SLA forces would leave their 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 civilians.^[1265]</p> <p>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</p>	<p>^[1263] The date is not clear from the record, but this was probably sometime in 1992.</p> <p>^[1264] Whoever controlled these junctions would have open access to Moyamba Town (Kaizamba Chiefdom), south-east of Fakunya Chiefdom.</p> <p>^[1265] No more detail was available on this information, nor the precise year of its occurrence.</p> <p>^[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.</p> <p>^[1267] There is also a Bumpeh Chiefdom in Bo District.</p> <p>^[1268] A CDU was the most developed form of organization the civilians put in place for the defence of their chiefdoms. This</p>	Page 453

			<p>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</p>	<p>was the step prior to the initiation and development of the Kamajors.</p>	
			<p>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. Others units were formed in other chiefdoms in the District. Additional security was provided for the workers at the mining company.^[1269] in Mokanji (Banta Chiefdom) by SSD (State Security Division) forces, who arrived on 4 July 1994.^[1270]</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>^[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.</p> <p>^[1270] The year is uncertain, as the SSD may have deployed in July 1993.</p>	<p>Page 454</p>
			<p>c) <u>Events in 1996</u></p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.^[1298] 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</p>	<p>^[1298] It could not be ascertained what happened to the captured RUF member.</p>	<p>Page 463</p>

			<p>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.</p> <p>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 man had left the Chiefdom to be initiated as Kamajors and had come back to the chiefdom, chasing the RUF who</p>		
			<p>were sporadically raiding small villages, taking away property, abducting young boys and girls and killing some people. ^[1299] 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, knives 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 organizing their deployment in strategic areas of the chiefdom.</p> <p>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 the 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 ^[1300] 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.</p> <p>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</p>	<p>^[1299] It could not be ascertained where they went for the initiation ceremony.</p> <p>^[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.</p>	Page 464

		<p>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.</p> <p>After the February elections, RUF forces came back to Rotifunk (Bumpeh Chiefdom) and burnt down more houses, but 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 came across.</p>		
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