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SCSL-03-01-1

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(11430-12343)



THE SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE

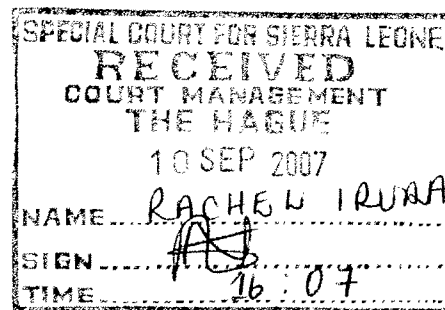
In Trial Chamber II

Before: Justice Julia Sebutinde, Presiding
Justice Richard Lussick
Justice Teresa Doherty
Justice El Hadji Malick Sow, Alternate

Registrar: Mr. Herman von Hebel

Date: 10 September 2007

Case No.: SCSL-2003-01-T



THE PROSECUTOR

—v—

CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

PUBLIC

**DEFENCE RESPONSE TO "PROSECUTION'S MOTION FOR ADMISSION OF
MATERIAL PURSUANT TO RULES 89(C) AND 92 *BIS***

Office of the Prosecutor

Ms. Brenda J. Hollis
Ms. Ann Sutherland
Ms. Anne Althaus

Counsel for Charles G. Taylor

Mr. Courtenay Griffiths Q.C.
Mr. Terry Munyard
Mr. Andrew Cayley

I. Introduction and Procedural Background

1. On 17 May 2007, the Prosecution filed a *Public Prosecution's Motion for Admission of Material pursuant to 89(C) and 92 Bis* ("Prosecution Motion").¹ In the Prosecution Motion, the Prosecution requests the Trial Chamber to admit into evidence 182 documents and the 8 videos and 2 audio CD's listed in Annex A and contained in Annex B, both forming part of the Prosecution Motion.

II. Applicable Rules and Legal Principles

2. As the Prosecution rightly states, Rule 89(C) of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence ("Rules") authorises the Chamber to admit any *relevant* evidence (emphasis added).²
3. Rule 92*bis* of the Rules provides:
 - (A) In addition to the provisions of Rule 92*ter*, a Chamber may, in lieu of oral testimony, admit as evidence in whole or in part, information including written statements and transcripts, *that do not go to proof of the acts and conduct of the accused* (emphasis added);
 - (B) The information submitted may be received in evidence if, in the view of the Trial Chamber, it is *relevant* to the purpose for which it is submitted and if its reliability is susceptible of confirmation (emphasis added);
 - (C) A party wishing to submit information as evidence shall give 10 days notice to the opposing party. Objections, if any must be submitted within 5 days.
4. The judges of the Special Court have settled the legal interpretation of these provisions and have provided authoritative guidance to the parties on the practical implementation of these two rules.
5. Information offered by a party as evidence to the Trial Chamber pursuant to Rules 89(C) and 92 *bis* must:³

¹ *Prosecutor v. Taylor*, SCSL-03-01-PT-241, Public Prosecution's Motion or Admission of Material pursuant to rules 89(C) and 92 *bis*, 14 May 2007.

² *Ibid.* Para 4.

- a) Be relevant and susceptible to confirmation;
 - b) Be assertions of fact and *not opinion*;
 - c) *Not* go to proof of the acts and conduct of the accused; and
 - d) Not be *legal* findings, including those purporting to speak to the ultimate issue of the guilt or innocence of the accused (emphasis added throughout).
6. In *Prosecutor v. Brima et al.*, SCSL-04-16-T-423 where the Prosecutor sought admission of information as evidence under Rules 89(B) and (C) and 92 *bis*, Trial Chamber II stated:
- “We do not think we are required by Rule 92 *bis* to wade through this mountain of material trying to separate relevant facts from what are irrelevancies, opinions, and legal findings, in order to admit into evidence only information that satisfies the Rule. *Instead, the Prosecution should have clearly indicated on each document the passages that we are being asked to consider on the question of relevance* (emphasis added).”⁴
- The Trial Chamber in adopting this approach was following authoritative guidance on this point by Robertson J., in the Appeals Chamber’s decision in *Fofana*.⁵
7. Thus any party seeking to admit information as evidence under Rule 92 *bis* is required, as a matter of practice, to indicate to the opposing party and the Trial Chamber the part or parts of documents or indeed video or audio footage that they claim to be relevant and for which they seek admission.⁶

III. Submissions

8. Annex B to the Prosecution Motion contains approximately 1,245 pages of documentary material and 8 videos and 2 audio CD’s with approximately 6 hours of footage. The

³ *Prosecutor v. Fofana*, SCSL-2004-14-AR 73, *Decision on Appeal Against “Decision on Prosecution’s Motion for Judicial Notice and Admission of Evidence”*, 16 May 2005, paras. 25 to 27; see also the Separate Opinion of Justice Robertson at paras. 12 - 14.

⁴ *Prosecutor v. Alex Tamba Brima et. al.*, SCSL-04-10-T-423, *Decision on the Prosecution Motion for Judicial Notice and Admission of Evidence*, 25 October 2005, para. 71.

⁵ *Fofana – Decision on Appeal Against “Decision on Prosecution’s Motion for Judicial Notice and Admission of Evidence”*, 16 May 2005.

⁶ *Brima et al.*, 25 October 2005, paras. 66, 67, 71-75.

Prosecution has not indicated on any document in Annex B, the passages that the Defence or the Trial Chamber should consider on the question of relevance. Similarly, they have also not indicated those parts of the video or audio material for which they seek admission.

9. The Defence accepts that the following documents contain information which is susceptible to confirmation and does not require any indication of relevance by the Prosecution: Ex # 1.278, 1.279, 1.280, 1.281, 1.283, 1.334, 1.336, 1.384, and 1.385. The Defence accepts that the Trial Chamber could exercise its discretion under Rules 89(C) and 92 *bis* and admit these documents into evidence.
10. All other documents and video/audio material submitted by the Prosecution listed in Annex A and contained in Annex B do not contain any indication of the parts to be considered on the question of relevance and therefore should be rejected from consideration by the Trial Chamber and excluded from admission into evidence under Rule 92 *bis*.
11. In the alternative, if the Trial Chamber finds that the Prosecution should be ordered to consider the questions of relevance, and information that is inadmissible as evidence under Rule 92 *bis* – opinion, proof of the acts and conduct of the accused and legal findings - then the Defence attaches as Annex A to this Response, all documents contained in Annex B to the Prosecution Motion and redacted by the Defence to remove all passages referencing proof of acts or conduct of the accused. Further the Defence attaches, as Annex B to this Response, a summary of the content of the video and audio material. At this stage the Prosecution reserves its right to suggest redactions of information in all documents and video/audio material. The Defence respectfully submits that it has the right to raise objections in relation to information which is inadmissible even after the Prosecution has indicated the relevance of the information to the case.
12. Since the Prosecution has alleged a joint criminal enterprise between Charles Taylor, the RUF, the AFRC, AFRC/ RUF Junta or alliance, and/ or Liberian fighters proof of the acts or conduct of the accused includes, at a minimum, the acts or conduct of Foday Sankoh, Johnny Paul Koroma and Sam Bockarie. The Prosecution has essentially alleged that the

acts of these three individuals are tantamount to the acts of the Accused. As such, the Defence submits that the admission of facts relating to the acts of these three individuals is expressly prohibited under Rule 92 *bis* (A). Consequently, and in an effort to assist the Trial Chamber and the Prosecution, the Defence has redacted passages in the documents relating to the acts or conduct of these three named individuals, in addition to information relating directly to the acts or conduct of the Accused.

IV. Conclusion

13. The Defence recognise that one of the purposes of Rule 92 *bis* is to expedite the trial.⁷ The Defence has previously expressed its desire to expedite and shorten this trial. However, there are limitations to the information which can be admitted under Rule 92 *bis* in order to ensure that the Accused's rights to a fair trial are respected. Rule 92 *bis* requires the Prosecution to carefully consider the material they offer and then indicate on each document or in each video/audio segment the passage or part for which they seek admission.
14. The Defence respectfully requests the Trial Chamber to issue a decision as follows:
 - a) The Defence having determined that Exhibits 1.278, 1.279, 1.280, 1.281, 1.283, 1.334, 1.336, 1.384, and 1.385 are susceptible of confirmation and may be admitted into evidence pursuant to Rule 92 *bis* if found to be relevant in the discretion of the Trial Chamber, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that these specifically enumerated exhibits shall be admitted into evidence pursuant to Rule 92 *bis*;
 - b) The Prosecution, having failed to indicate on any document or video/audio extract contained in Annex B the passages or parts that the Defence and the Trial Chamber are being asked to consider on the question of relevance, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that all documents, videos and audio extracts in Annex B (except those expressly accepted in sub-paragraph a) above *are rejected from*

⁷ *Fofana* Appeal Decision, paras. 22-23.

consideration and excluded from admission into evidence under Rule 92 bis; or, in the alternative,

- c) In respect of all other documents not enumerated in sub-paragraph a) above, the Prosecution is hereby ordered to indicate on any document or video/audio extract contained in Annex B, those passages or parts which they wish the Defence and the Trial Chamber *to consider on the question of relevance* vis-à-vis admission pursuant to Rule 92 bis. The Defence's right to object to the admission under Rule 92 bis of any document or video or audio recording (including portions thereof) which are subsequently identified as relevant by the Prosecution consistent with this Order is hereby preserved; or
- d) In respect of all other documents not enumerated in sub-paragraph a), the Prosecution is hereby ordered to indicate on the redacted documents contained in Annex A and the video/audio extracts summary in Annex B to this Response, those passages or parts which they wish the Defence and the Trial Chamber to consider on the question of relevance. The Defence's right to object to the admission under Rule 92 bis of any document or video or audio recording (including portions thereof) which are subsequently identified as relevant by the Prosecution consistent with this Order is hereby preserved.

Respectfully Submitted,



Andrew Cayley for Courtenay Griffiths Q.C.

Lead Counsel for ~~Charles G. Taylor~~

Dated this 10th Day of September 2007

The Hague, The Netherlands

Table of Authorities

Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, as amended 14 May 2007.

Prosecutor v. Moinina Fofana, SCSL-2004-14-AR 73, Decision on Appeal Against “Decision on Prosecution’s Motion for Judicial Notice and Admission of Evidence”.

Prosecutor v. Taylor, SCSL-03-01-PT-241, Public Prosecution’s Motion or Admission of Material pursuant to Rules 89(C) and 92 bis, 14 May 2007.

Prosecutor v. Alex Tamba Brima et. al, SCSL-04-10-T-423, Decision on the Prosecution Motion for Judicial Notice and Admission of Evidence, 25 October 2005.



THE SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE

THE PROSECUTOR

—v—

CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

Annex A

TO THE

PUBLIC

**DEFENCE'S REPLY TO THE PROSECUTION'S MOTION FOR ADMISSION OF
MATERIAL PURSUANT TO RULES 89(C) AND 92*bis***

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DECREES

Supplement to the Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary Vol. CXXVIII, No. 43
dated 14th July, 1997

Ex C1-3

A.F.R.C. Decree
No. 2



Sierra Leone

1997

Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
(Establishment of Council of Secretaries) Decree,
1997

Short title.

[10th July, 1997] Date of commencement

PURSUANT to paragraph 3 of the Proclamation entitled,
"Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary
Council) Proclamation, 1997", published in the *Gazette* on the 28th
day of May, 1997, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council hereby
makes and issues the following Decree: —

00007651

2 No. 2 *Armed Forces Revolutionary Council* 1997
(Establishment of Council of Secretaries) Decree

Commence- 1. This Decree shall be deemed to have come into force on
ment. the 10th day of July, 1997.

Establishment 2. There is hereby established a Council to be known as the
of Council of COUNCIL OF SECRETARIES which shall be directly and collectively
Secretaries. responsible to the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

Composition of 3. The Council of Secretaries shall consist of —
Council of Sec-
retaries. (a) the Chief Secretary of State who shall be the head of
the Council of Secretaries, and
(b) other Secretaries of State that the Armed Forces
Revolutionary Council may from time to time appoint.

Functions of 4. The Council of Secretaries shall —
the Council of
Secretaries. (a) be responsible for the preparation and consideration
of policy papers or matters and shall advise the
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council and make
recommendations on all matters of good governance;
(b) execute the policies and directives of the Armed
Forces Revolutionary Council.

Meetings of the 5. The Chief Secretary of State shall convene regular
Council of Sec- meetings of the Council of Secretaries over which he shall preside and
retaries. in his absence the Chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary
Council shall appoint another person to preside from amongst members
of the Council of Secretaries.

Establishment 6. (1) There is hereby established the office of Chief Secretary
of office and of State.
functions of
Chief Secretary
of State. (2) The Chief Secretary of State shall be responsible for
communicating the policy decisions and directives of the Armed
Forces Revolutionary Council to the Council of Secretaries and
conveying the decisions of the Council of Secretaries to the Armed
Forces Revolutionary Council.

00007652

No. 2 *Armed Forces Revolutionary Council* 1997 3
(Establishment of Council of Secretaries) Decree

(3) The Chief Secretary of State shall submit to the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council regular reports from the Secretaries of State regarding the operations in their respective Departments of State.

(4) The Chief Secretary of State shall be the co-ordinating Secretary who shall receive and collate regular reports from the Secretaries of State for submission to the Council regarding the work of their Departments and the implementation of the policies of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council and may submit to the Council proposals for legislative changes.

(5) The Chief Secretary of State shall effect the publicity of, and cause notice of the policies of the Council to be circularised or communicated generally through the machinery of Government.

(6) Whenever the Office of the Chief Secretary of State becomes vacant, or the person holding that Office dies, resigns, retires, is absent from Sierra Leone or is removed from Office or is for any other reason unable to perform the functions of his Office, the Chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council shall appoint another person in his place from amongst members of the Council of Secretaries.

7. (1) A Secretary of State shall exercise Ministerial responsibility for a Department of State or such other business of Government as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council may from time to time assign to him. Functions of Secretary of State.

(2) A Secretary of State shall be entitled to such remuneration, allowances, gratuities and other incidents of office as may be prescribed by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

8. The Chief Secretary of State and every other Secretary of State shall take and subscribe the oath of office as set out in the Schedule hereto. Oath of Office.

00007653

4 No. 2

*Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
(Establishment of Council of Secretaries) Decree*

1997

Secretary to
the Council of
Secretaries.

9. (1) There shall be a Secretary to the Council of Secretaries whose office shall be a public office.

(2) The Secretary to the Council of Secretaries shall be appointed by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in consultation with the Public Service Commission.

(3) The functions of the Secretary to the Council of Secretaries shall include—

- (a) having charge of the Secretariat of the Council of Secretaries;
- (b) responsibility for arranging the business for, and keeping the minutes of, the Council of Secretaries; and
- (c) any other functions that the Council of Secretaries may from time to time assign to him.

(4) The Secretary to the Council of Secretaries shall take and subscribe the oath of office as set out in the Schedule hereto.

Change of title
in Acts.

10. In every enactment continued in existence by virtue of the Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997, relating to the Ministries and Departments of Government, any reference to President, Vice-President, Minister or Cabinet shall be construed as a reference to the office or person with responsibility for the subject-matter to which the enactment relates, and any reference to "Ministry" shall be read as "Department".

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00007654

No. 2 *Armed Forces Revolutionary Council* 1997 5
(Establishment of Council of Secretaries) Decree

SCHEDULE

Oath of the Chief Secretary of State, Secretaries of State and the Secretary to the Council of Secretaries.

"I,
DO HEREBY (in the name of God/Allah swear) (solemnly affirm) that I will faithfully
and truly discharge the duties of the Office of
of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and that I will support, uphold and maintain the
provisions of the Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary
Council) Proclamation, 1997 (Public Notice No. 3 of 1997) and the provisions of the
Constitution of the Republic of Sierra Leone, 1991 which are not inconsistent with
the Proclamation. (So help me God/Allah)."

MADE and ISSUED this 12th day of July, 1997.

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
Chairman,
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

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11444 8486

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7

A.F.R.C. Decree
No. 3



Sierra Leone

1997

Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
(Establishment of Office of Principal Liaison Officer)
Decree, 1997

Short title.

**Being a Decree to make provision for the establishment of
the office of Principal Liaison Officer.**

(10th July, 1997) Date of com-
mencement.

00007657

8 No. 3 *Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Establishment of 1997
Office of Principal Liaison Officer) Decree*

PURSUANT to paragraph 3 of the Proclamation entitled "Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997", published in the *Gazette* on the 28th day of May, 1997, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council hereby makes and issues the following Decree:—

Commence-
ment.

1. This Decree shall be deemed to have come into force on the 10th day of July, 1997.

Establishment
of Office Prin-
cipal Liaison
Officer.

2. (1) There is hereby established the Office of
PRINCIPAL LIAISON OFFICER.

(2) The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council may appoint from amongst its members such number of Principal Liaison Officers as the Council may think fit.

Functions of
Principal Liai-
son Officer.

3. A Principal Liaison Officer shall be responsible for supervising, monitoring and co-ordinating the operations of any Department of State or such other business of Government, as may from time to time be assigned to him by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

Allowances,
etc.

4. A Principal Liaison Officer shall be entitled to such allowances and other incidents of office as may be prescribed by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

Oath of Office.

5. A Principal Liaison Officer shall take and subscribe the Oath of Office as set out in the Schedule hereto.

00007658

No. 3 *Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Establishment of* 1997 9
Office of Principal Liaison Officer) Decree

SCHEDULE

"I,
DO HEREBY (*in the name of God/Allah swear*) (*solemnly affirm*) that I will faithfully and truly discharge the duties of the Office of Principal Liaison Officer of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and that I will support, uphold and maintain the provisions of the Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997 (Public Notice No. 3 of 1997) and the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Sierra Leone, 1991 which are not inconsistent with the Proclamation

(So help me God/Allah)."

MADE and ISSUED this 12th day of July, 1997.

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
Chairman,
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

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A.F.R.C. Decree
No. 4



Sierra Leone

1997

Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation (Amendment) Decree, 1997 Short title.

Being a Decree to increase the membership of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

[14th July, 1997.] Date of
commence-
ment.

PURSUANT to paragraph 3 of the Proclamation entitled "Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997", published in the *Gazette* on the 28th day of May, 1997, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council hereby makes and issues the following Decree:—

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12 No. 4 *Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces 1997
Revolutionary Council) Proclamation (Amendment) Decree*

Increase in
membership
of A.F.R.C.

P.N. No. 3
of 1997.

1. Sub-paragraph 2(c) of paragraph 1 of the
Proclamation entitled "Administration of Sierra Leone
(Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997"
is amended by deleting the figure "27" and inserting the
figure "40" in its stead.

MADE and ISSUED this 12th day of July, 1997.

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
*Chairman,
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.*

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING DEPARTMENT, SIERRA LEONE.
BY AUTHORITY OF THE ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.
GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY No. 43 of 14th JULY, 1997.

00007662

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DECREE

Supplement to the Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary Vol. CXXVIII, No. 49
dated 20th August, 1997

**A.F.R.C. Decree
No. 5**



Sierra Leone

1997

The Imposition of Curfew Decree, 1997

Short title.

Being a Decree to make provision for the Imposition of a Curfew.

[19th August, 1997] Date of com-
mencement

PURSUANT to paragraph 3 of the Proclamation entitled "Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997", published in the *Gazette* on the 28th day of May, 1997, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council hereby makes and issues the following Decree: —

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No. 5

Imposition of Curfew Decree

1997

Commence-
ment.

1. This Decree, except subsection (2) of Section 3, shall be deemed to have come into operation on the 19th day of August, 1997.

Power to
impose
curfew.

2. (1) The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council may, in the interest of public order or public safety, by Order impose a curfew throughout Sierra Leone or in any part thereof as shall be specified in such Order.

(2) While such Order is in force, no person shall be out of doors between the hours specified in the Order except under the authority of a written permit granted by the Inspector-General of Police or any officer deputed by him in that behalf.

Offence and
penalty.

3. (1) Any person who contravenes any provision of an Order made pursuant to Section 2 commits an offence and may be detained by any member of the Armed Forces or the Police Force, who shall take that person immediately to the nearest police station.

(2) Any person convicted of an offence under subsection (1) shall be liable to a fine not exceeding thirty thousand leones or imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month, or to both such fine and imprisonment.

Operation of
Order.

4. Every Order made pursuant to Section 2 shall come into operation upon publication in the *Gazette* or upon publication in such other manner as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council may deem necessary for bringing such Order to the notice of all persons.

Persons
deemed law-
fully detained.

5. Any person detained pursuant to this Decree before its date of publication in the *Gazette* shall be deemed to have been held in lawful custody during the period of such detention.

MADE and ISSUED this 20th day of August, 1997.

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
Chairman,
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING DEPARTMENT, SIERRA LEONE.
BY AUTHORITY OF THE ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.
GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY No. 49 OF 20TH AUGUST, 1997.

Exh 1 ~~2~~ Exh 5

PUBLIC NOTICES

Supplement to the Sierra Leone Gazette Vol. CXXVIII, No. 66
dated 11th December, 1997

PUBLIC NOTICE No. 11 OF 1997

Published 11th December, 1997

THE CHANGE OF TITLES ACT, 1984
(No. 6 of 1984)

THE CHANGE OF TITLES ORDER, 1997

Short title.

In exercise of the powers conferred upon it by section 2 and 3 of the Change of Titles Act, as adapted by sub-paragraph (5) of paragraph 3 of the Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces P.N. No. 3 Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997, the Armed Forces of 1997. Revolutionary Council hereby makes the following Order:—

1. This Order shall be deemed to have come into operation on Commence-
the 28th day of May, 1997. ment.
2. The titles of Ministers, Public Officers and Ministries set out Change of
in the second column of the Schedule hereto shall be substituted for the titles.
corresponding titles set out in the first column thereof wherever such
titles may appear in any enactment now in force in Sierra Leone.

SCHEDULE

<i>Old Title</i>	<i>New Title</i>
President	Chairman, Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
Vice-President	Deputy Chairman, Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
Minister	Secretary of State
Deputy Minister	Under Secretary of State
Attorney-General and Minister of Justice	Attorney-General and Secretary of State for Legal Affairs
Minister of Lands, Housing, Town and Country Planning	Secretary of State, Lands, Housing and the Environment

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<i>Old Title</i>	<i>New Title</i>
Minister of Presidential Affairs and the Public Service	... Secretary of State, Office of the Chairman
Minister of Information and Broadcasting	Commissioner of Information and Broadcasting
Minister of Tourism and Culture	... Commissioner of Tourism and Culture
Secretary to the President	... Secretary to the Chairman and Head of the Civil Service
Secretary to the Cabinet	... Secretary to the Council of Secretaries
Ministry of Gender and Children Affairs	Department of Social Welfare, Children and Gender Affairs
Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and the Environment	... Department of Agriculture and Forestry
Ministry of Marine Resources	... Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources
Ministry of Lands, Housing, Town and Country Planning	Department of Lands, Housing and the Environment
Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Sports	Department of Employment and Industrial Relations Department of Youths, Sports and Social Mobilization
Ministry of Works, Energy and Power	... Department of Works Department of Energy and Power
Ministry of Local Government and Community Development	... Department of Internal Affairs

MADE AND ISSUED this 3rd day of December, 1997.

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
Chairman.
 Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

00007677

3

PUBLIC NOTICE No. 12 of 1997

Published 11th December, 1997

THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT, 1963

(No. 32 of 1963)

THE HIGH COURT (CRIMINAL SESSIONS) RULES, 1965
(P.N. 74 of 1965)

THE HIGH COURT (APPOINTMENT OF CRIMINAL SESSIONS) ORDER, 1997 Short Title.

In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by paragraph 2 of Rule 2 of the High Court (Criminal Sessions) Rules 1965, the Honourable Chief Justice hereby makes the following Order:—

1. The following times and places are hereby appointed for the holding of Criminal Sessions of the High Court in places other than Freetown, Bo and Kenema for the year 1998.

<i>Times</i>		<i>Places</i>	Appointment of places for Criminal Sessions in places other than Freetown, Bo and Kenema.
6th January	...	Moyamba	
6th January	...	Sefadu	
13th January	...	Port Loko	
3rd March	...	Makeni	
7th April	...	Moyamba	
7th April	...	Sefadu	
14th April	...	Port Loko	
12th May	...	Makeni	
23rd June	...	Moyamba	
23rd June	...	Sefadu	
23rd June	...	Port Loko	
15th September	...	Makeni	
20th October	...	Moyamba	
20th October	...	Sefadu	
3rd November	...	Port Loko	
1st December	...	Makeni	

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DATED this 3rd day of December, 1997.

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Issued under my hand

S. BECCLES DAVIES, *mem.*
Chief Justice.

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5

PUBLIC NOTICE No. 13 OF 1997

Published 11th December, 1997

**THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES (MISCELLANEOUS
PROVISIONS) ACT, 1965**(No. 50 of 1965)THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES (COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR THE
FREETOWN CITY COUNCIL) ORDER, 1997 Short title.

In exercise of the powers conferred upon it by section 2 of the Local Authorities (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1965, as adapted by sub-paragraph (5) of paragraph 3 of the Proclamation entitled "Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997" published in the *Gazette* on the 28th day of May, 1997, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council makes the following Order:—

1. This Order shall be deemed to have come into force on the 2nd day of November, 1995. Commence-
ment.

2. The following Committee of Management is appointed for the purpose of exercising and performing all the powers and duties of the Freetown City Council under the Freetown Municipality Act, 1973 and this order shall remain in force until the 1st day of November, 1996 unless sooner revoked by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council. Appointment
of Committee
of Manage-
ment.
Act No. 20
of 1973.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

Miss Florence Dillsworth	...	...	...	<i>Chairman</i>
Mr. N. H. T. Boston	...	...	...	<i>Member</i>
Mr. M. A. James	...	...	...	<i>Member</i>
Alhaji Badamassie Mahdi	<i>Member</i>
Mr. E. Bundu Kamara	<i>Member</i>
Mr. M. P. Bayoh	<i>Member</i>
Mr. B. Kukuy	<i>Member</i>

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7

PUBLIC NOTICE No. 14 of 1997

Published 11th December, 1997

**THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES (MISCELLANEOUS
PROVISIONS) ACT, 1965****(No. 50 of 1965)****THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES (COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR THE
FREETOWN CITY COUNCIL) (No. 2) ORDER, 1997**

Short title.

In exercise of the powers conferred upon it by section 2 of the Local Authorities (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1965, as adapted by sub-paragraph (5) of paragraph 3 of the Proclamation entitled "Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation, 1997" published in the Gazette on the 28th day of May, 1997, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council makes the following Order:—

1. This Order shall be deemed to have come into force on the 2nd day of November, 1996. Commence-
ment.

2. The following Committee of Management is appointed for the purpose of exercising and performing all the powers and duties of the Freetown City Council under the Freetown Municipality Act, 1973 and this order shall remain in force until the 1st day of November, 1997 unless sooner revoked by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council. Appointment
of Committee
of Manage-
ment.
Act No. 20
of 1973.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

Miss Florence Dillsworth	...	...	...	<i>Chairman</i>
Mr. N. H. T. Boston	...	...	...	<i>Member</i>
Mr. M. A. James	...	...	...	<i>Member</i>
Mr. E. Bundu Kamara	<i>Member</i>
Mr. M. P. Bayoh	<i>Member</i>
Mr. B. Kaky	<i>Member</i>
Col. E. G. O. Caulker (Ret.)	<i>Member</i>

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Mr. Saïdu Conton-Sesay	Member
Mr. V. C. Johnson	Member
Mr. E. J. A. Norman	Member
Mr. Plummer J. C. Hamilton...	Member
Mr. Nelson Okrafor...	...	...	...	Member
Mrs. Esterline Palmer	...	...	...	Member

Revocation of P.N. No. 7 of 1997. 3. The Local Authorities (Committee of Management for the Freetown City Council) Order, 1997 is revoked.

MADE this 4th day of December, 1997.

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
Chairman,
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

(This Public Notice supersedes Public Notice No. 8 of 1997.)

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The Sierra Leone Gazette

(Extraordinary)
Published by Authority

VOL. CXXVIII

MONDAY, 14TH JULY, 1997

No. 43

FREETOWN, 14th July, 1997

Govt. Notice No. 191

The following are published for general information as supplement to this number of the *Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary*:—

A.F.R.C. DECREE NO. 2 OF 1997.

"Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Establishment of Council of Secretaries) Decree, 1997."

A.F.R.C. DECREE NO. 3 OF 1997.

"Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Establishment of Office of Principal Liaison Officer) Decree, 1997." - Being a Decree to make provision for the Establishment of the Office of Principal Liaison Officer.

A.F.R.C. Decree No. 4 of 1997.

"Administration of Sierra Leone (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) Proclamation (Amendment) Decree, 1997." - Being a Decree to increase the membership of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council.

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The Sierra Leone Gazette

(Extraordinary)
Published by Authority

VOL. CXXVIII

WEDNESDAY, 20TH AUGUST, 1997

No. 49

FREETOWN. 20th August, 1997

Govt. Notice No. 202

The following is published for general information as supplement to this number of the *Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary*:—

A.F.R.C. DECREE No. 5 OF 1997.

“The Imposition of Curfew Decree, 1997” — Being a Decree to make provision for the imposition of a Curfew.

Govt. Notice No. 203

The following is published as supplement to this number of the *Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary*:—

PUBLIC NOTICE No. 4 OF 1997.

The Imposition of Curfew Order, 1997 under the Imposition of Curfew Decree, 1997
(A.F.R.C. Decree No. 5 of 1997).

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STATEMENT BY CPL. FODAY SAYBANA SANKOH,
LEADER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT

"My brothers and sisters, this is Cpl. Foday Sankoh speaking to you. I feel delighted that I have been given this opportunity to talk to you at this time when we all gather to search for peace in our country.

I want to reaffirm our continuous commitment to work towards genuine and lasting peace in Sierra Leone with the possibility of making any necessary adjustment to reflect prevailing circumstances.

You will recall, my sisters and brothers since my detention in Nigeria in 1997-1998 and also being convicted of treason with a pending appeal, much has taken place in my absence, not least of which is the 6th of January invasion (attack) of Freetown by the Rebels. Like all decent Sierra Leoneans I deplore their actions in the strongest possible terms.

In the last few months I have seen noticeable emphasis on the diplomatic option which I very much welcome in reaching a negotiated settlement to the war in Sierra Leone. I hope the conference will listen to the civil society organizations to what they have to say to you because they are my concern as the

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SLBS TRANSCRIPTIONS

SLBS Radio, 29 May, 15:26 GMT

[Proclamation issued by the Administration of Sierra Leone Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, Proclamation 1997, in Freetown on 28 May 1997] Proclamation to make provisions for the interim administration of the Republic of Sierra Leone by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council [AFRC] -- its establishment, [words indistinct] and for other matters connected therewith.

Whereas it is a fundamental duty of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone to secure and maintain the safety of the state and public order, and whereas the action and utterances of the (?ousted government), political parties and their leaders have created conditions which can lead to tribal faction, bloodshed, and tribal warfare, and whereas it is necessary and expedient to avert immediately that trend of affairs and for provisions to be made for the maintenance of law and order in Sierra Leone, [words indistinct] administration by law of the state of Sierra Leone, [words indistinct]; We, the members of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone, in cooperation with the people of Sierra Leone, in order to ensure the maintenance of law and order, domestic tranquility, the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, unity, and democracy for the people of Sierra Leone and all persons living therein, we hereby proclaim as follows:

Constitution of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council -- There is hereby established a council to be known as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council carrying out [words indistinct]. The council shall be (?chaired) by a chairman and a deputy chairman and other members of the [words indistinct] and secretary general shall be appointed by the council and shall uphold the functions [words indistinct] the council will determine. The council [words indistinct] provisions of the Constitution [words indistinct] 1991. All the provisions of the Constitution of Sierra Leone 1991 which came into operation on 30 October (?1996) which are inconsistent or in conflict with this proclamation or any law made thereafter shall be deemed to have been suspended as from 25 May 1997. Without [words indistinct] the generality of [words indistinct] the permanent [words indistinct] under the said constitution [words indistinct] 25 May 1997 is dissolved. All political parties are dissolved and membership in political parties is prohibited with effect from 25 May 1997.

(?Decree To Empower Council To Make Law) [subhead]

1. The Council shall have power as [words indistinct] and in the national interest to make laws which shall be known as decrees.
2. Any decree made by the Council may be amended, repealed or [words indistinct] made by the Council.
3. Every decree made by the Council shall be deemed to be an act as defined in Section III of the Interpretation Act, 1971.
4. Any decree made by the Council shall be signed by the chairman or, in the absence of the chairman, by the deputy chairman of the Council.

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5. Subject to any decree made by the Council, all or enactments in force in Sierra Leone immediately [words indistinct] 25 May 1997 shall continue in force, provided that any enactment in force in Sierra Leone immediately before the 25 May 1997, which is inconsistent or in conflict with any provisions of this proclamation or any [words indistinct] made thereunder shall be deemed to have been suspended as from the 25 May 1997.

Publication and (?Implementation) of Decree: Every decree made by the Council will be published in the gazette and shall come into operation on the date of such publication or on such other date as may be provided in or under the decree or in any public enactment.

6. Subject to any decree made by the Council, the public service of Sierra Leone as it existed immediately before the 25 May 1997 shall continue in existence, and any person holding or acting in any office in the public service immediately before that date shall continue in office subject to any decree or other enactments in force after that date.

7. Subject to any decree made by the Council, any reference to president, vice president, minister or prime minister in the constitution of Sierra Leone which came into operation on 1 October 1991 or in any enactment, continues in existence by virtue of this proclamation, shall, on and after 25 May 1997, be considered as a reference to the Council or such authority as the Council may by order appoint. [words indistinct] the Council may, while it considers it necessary to appoint [words indistinct] make an order against any person [words indistinct] made thereunder shall be deemed to have been suspended as from the 25 May 1997. Any order made under [words indistinct] directing that any person be detained shall not be [words indistinct] without prejudice to the generality of [words indistinct] accordingly.

Power to Amend or Repeal the Proclamation: The Council shall have power to amend, repeal, or suspend this proclamation or [words indistinct]. This proclamation shall [words indistinct] operation on the 25 May 1997.

Made in Freetown on 28 May 1997.

Major Johnny Paul Koroma [word indistinct] on behalf of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

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RUF SPEECH TO THE NATION 00009769 8007

Fellow Countrymen,
For the past six years or so, we have been living in an environment of
hatred and divisiveness. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They were the result of the rottenness of a system
which could not be uprooted except by brutal means. We did not take
to the bush because we wanted to be barbarians, not because we
wanted to be inhuman, but because we wanted to state our human-
hood to a society that looked at us as sub-humans. The APC had
spread its tentacles in our society so deep that had the RUF not
emerged, we wonder if we would not have still been under the yoke of
[REDACTED]

Today, we have rejoined you. We have come back as prodigal sons,
brothers and sisters, to meet our families in our different homes, so
that we all can sit in our houses in peace and tell tales to our young
ones of how Sierra Leone was once cleansed of the mess that
unpatriotic politicians brought to her in yonder years. Let the farmers
take their tools and go to their farms in peace, let the young women go
to the stream and swim in peace, let them sing to their loved ones
under the moonshine in peace, let Sierra Leoneans walk in peace, let
us talk in peace, let us travel in peace, and just let us live in peace. We
have finally discovered the right atmosphere for a peaceful co-
existence. We must accommodate each other if we want to live in
peace, and that is the miracle that has occurred in Sierra Leone.
through the coming of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).
We have accepted to join forces with this government because it is the
first to demonstrate a genuine feeling of brotherhood for us - It is the
government that has seen us as Sierra Leoneans who came together to
stand for a cause for the general good. We want to assure everybody
that we are sincerely and genuinely committed to the maintenance
and sustenance of this miraculously achieved long-awaited peace. We
have not come to terrorize you, our brothers and sisters, we have
come to embrace you in love and harmony. Our members are not

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Involved in the recent spate of armed attacks on residents of Freetown. No RUF member has so far been caught looting or behaving in any disciplinary manner. Perhaps what has delayed the wholesome practicality of this long-cherished peace is this threat of a Nigerian invasion. But the moment that chapter is closed, we are prepared to disarm and melt into the civilian populace and the regular army, because we are fully convinced that the foundation for lasting peace and true democracy has been laid.

We have all along been most willing to end this crisis peacefully, but the past governments proved insincere and unfaithful to their words. The NPRC did not come with the desired reformation, and the SLPP made mockery of the Abidjan Peace Accord. Instead of integrating us into the society as promised, the SLPP only tried to bring divisiveness in our camp by selling our leader Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh to the Nigerians and staging a coup against him. This was a blatant disregard of the articles of the peace accord. Even when some of our members surrendered, they were still ostracized and treated as the dregs of society. And further still, even though we were abiding by the dictates of the cease-fire agreement, Hinga Norman directed the kamajors to attack our bases. This clearly showed that the SLPP was not ready for peace, and so we prepared for the worst.

But we must give bountiful thanks to the Almighty for the refreshing fact that instead of the worst, it is the best that has come through the concrete unbelievable peace that has been attained through the AFRC. We have not therefore denounced attempts at bringing back Tejan Kabbah because we hate him, but it is because he is not willing to accept us as his fellow Sierra Leoneans. Ex-president Kabbah disappointed us gravely, and we can never trust him again. We were prepared for peace, but the SLPP was not.

We are therefore appealing to the international community, and all those that love Sierra Leone, to critically examine the Sierra Leonean problem before any unwarranted action is taken. For six years we have lived in blood-bath, let us now have fresh baths in our streams, swimming pools and beaches. We assure the international community and all Sierra Leoneans of the RUF's total and unflinching commitment to lasting peace. All that we need now is for the United Nations to take the lead in assisting the AFRC in demobilizing and re-integrating our combatants into the society for the ultimate achievement of true democracy through free and fair elections that will be conducted in the whole country in peace. At least we can today sleep in peace with the thought that Sierra Leone has finally achieved its nationhood by being bold enough to tell the whole world that we are capable of solving our own problems.

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People's Army
The Revolutionary United Front has come for peace.
I thank you.

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**STATEMENTS MADE BY THE PARTIES
FOLLOWING FOUR DAYS OF MEDIATION TALKS TO
HARMONISE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RUF/SL AND
THE AFRC UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, WITH
THE SUPPORT OF ECOWAS MEMBER STATES**

**Statement of the ALLIANCE of the Revolutionary United front
of Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) and The Armed Forces
Revolutionary Council (AFRC) on the occasion of the return of
the Leadership of the ALLIANCE FOR PEACE to Freetown,
Sierra Leone, facilitated by his Excellency President Charles
Ghankay Taylor on behalf of the Ecowas Authority.**

We, the leadership and the joint high command of the RUF/AFRC
alliance, express on behalf of the peace-loving people of Sierra
Leone, our profound gratitude and appreciation to his excellency
Charles Ghankay Taylor, the government and the courageous
people of Liberia, for the sacrifices that they continue to make to
the consolidation of peace in Sierra Leone.

We take this opportunity to thank the Heads of State, government
and people of the member states of ECOWAS and the Chairman,
His excellency President Gnassingbe Eyadema of the Republic of
Togo, for standing by the people of Sierra Leone throughout the
crisis.

We remind ourselves also of the monumental contribution of His
Excellency President Henri Konan Bedie, the government and the
people of Côte d'Ivoire to the cause of peace in Sierra Leone and
the sub-region.

We also hereby express our appreciation for the distinctive role of
the UN, the OAU, the European Union and the Commonwealth.

We say thank you to the non-governmental organisations and civil
society groups who have kept the people alive and the flame of
democracy, good governance, accountability and transparency
burning in all our hearts.

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When we pause and reflect, we can only see that we are not alone in this our struggle to create a new Sierra Leone of equal opportunity, freedom and justice for all. There is a great deal of goodwill towards Sierra Leone so far as our focus is on peace, national reconciliation and development. The courageous people of Liberia, through their President, have demonstrated this goodwill towards us and we shall never fail them in our commitment to peace. We do agree with His Excellency President Charles Taylor that there can be no peace in Liberia when there is no peace in Sierra Leone.

There has been a great deal of concern expressed in Sierra Leone and within the international community about the alleged split in the RUF/AFRC alliance. Truly, we experienced some internal problems but these have been put behind us with the timely intervention of His Excellency Charles Ghankay Taylor, supported by his brother Heads of State of the ECOWAS Authority. It is important for us to express the fact that we took notice of the concern that our internal problems could threaten the cause of peace consolidation in Sierra Leone. We would like to thank the people of Sierra Leone and members of the international community for their concerns and their wish for our alliance to hold in the supreme interest of peace.

The people of Sierra Leone know that the RUF and the AFRC came together to end the war. The people of Sierra Leone know that our alliance is for peace. We are happy to proclaim on this Second Day of October 1999 that our Alliance For Peace is strong for, we know that, when you are strong nothing will be wrong.

We are going to Freetown to help consolidate the peace and contribute to the transformation of our society.

Once again, we thank the courageous people of Liberia and the member States of ECOWAS and their leaders for facilitating this historic encounter between the leaders of the RUF/AFRC alliance and their eventual return to Freetown, Sierra Leone, in the cause of peace and stability in the Mano River Union and in the West African sub-region.

Long live the courageous people of Liberia!
Long live the noble ideals of the Mano River Union!
Long live the United Nations!
Long live the OAU!

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Long live the European Union!
Long live the Commonwealth
Long live the NGO community!
Long live civil society groups!
Long live the Alliance for Peace!
Long live the peace-loving people of Sierra Leone!
Our gratitude and praise to the Almighty Allah/God and our
glorious ancestors.

Done in Monrovia, the Republic of Liberia on October 2, 1999.



Statement by Lt. Col Johnny Paul Koroma, Chairman of The
Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, made at the Executive
Mansion, Monrovia, on 2 October 1999.

It is with great relief and joy that we are able to announce to our
people in Sierra Leone especially, the West African sub-Region and
the World at-large that under the auspices of His Excellency
President Charles Taylor of Liberia, the Hon Foday Sankoh and
myself have had a very successful two days' meeting, at which we
were able to clear any misunderstanding or disagreement that would
impede the ongoing peace process that started with the signing of
the Lomé Peace agreement on 7th of July 1999.

The success of this meeting has greatly strengthened the alliance
between the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council - AFRC - and
the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone - RUF/SL. We
firmly believe that this alliance is not only very good but also very
necessary for our people and peace in Sierra Leone. We are now
agreed that enough time has been wasted and it is high time that we
returned home and put this process on the road.

Before I conclude this statement, I wish to make two appeals. The
first one is to the "Press", especially the International Press, who are
quick to read danger in any small delay or hiccup in the process as a
major danger to the Peace Process or a very serious disagreement
between the AFRC/RUF/SL Alliance. This kind of speculative
journalism unnerves our people, who have greatly suffered from

almost a decade of war.

To our people, we say that we understand their impatience to see us disarm and demobilise so that normalcy could return to our country, Sierra Leone. We however appeal to them to be patient and give us time to handle this process with the greatest care it needs. It would take time, probably more time than had been anticipated at the time of signing the agreement. But believe me, by the grace of God/Allah, we will eventually get to the Promised Land. One welcome assurance I wish to give to our people, and the world at-large is that Hon Foday Saybana Sankoh and myself have agreed that there will be no more war in Sierra Leone. The "War, War" is now over and it is now the time to "Jaw, Jaw". In this, we hope and believe that we are in understanding with the views of President Kabbah and his people and that we have the total support of the International Community.

We will end this statement by giving profound gratitude and thanks to President Charles Taylor and the good people of Liberia who have been patient, helpful and encouraging, in helping us to take one faltering step after the other along the long road to peace. We say to them "Thank you and God bless."

Thank you all.

Statement by His Excellency Dahkpannah Dr Charles Ghankay Taylor, President of the Republic of Liberia, at the conclusion of reconciliatory talks with Cpl Foday Sankoh, Chairman, RUF and Lt Col Johnny Paul Koroma, leader, AFRC on the implementation of the Sierra Leone Peace Agreement

October 2, 1998,
Executive Mansion
Monrovia
Liberia

Distinguished Ladies & Gentlemen

Today the prospects for peace in the Republic of Sierra Leone are self evident by the presence of Corporal Foday Sankoh of the

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Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and Lieutenant Colonel Johnny Paul Koroma of the AFRC in Monrovia, as they prepare for their historic return to Sierra Leone.

The Government of Liberia, which along with the Leadership of ECOWAS brokered the peace process, is also serving as the intermediary to facilitate the early return of Corporal Sankoh and Lieutenant-Colonel Koroma to Freetown to help implement the Sierra Leone peace plan.

We commend ECOWAS leaders for their sacrificial support and the endurance they have shown in restoring peace to Sierra Leone. We particularly laud the efforts of President Olusegun Obasanjo of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for his dynamism in helping to give the sub-region a new sense of direction for peace and stability.

Special note is made of the 39th Independence Anniversary of Nigeria and our best wishes for the peace, progress and prosperity of the people of that great nation.

We applaud the president of Togo and Chairman of ECOWAS, Gnassingbe Eyadema, as well as the ECOWAS Secretariat, for the steady leadership in hosting and directing the negotiations that brought about the Lomé Peace Agreement for Sierra Leone.

We make particular mention of other leaders in the sub-region with whom we have interacted over the past several days to realise success in these reconciliation talks. The President of Burkina Faso, Blaise Compaore, the President of Sierra Leone, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, the United States Ambassador to Liberia, Bismark Myrick, our special negotiator, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, D Musulem Cooper, the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all deserve favourable mentioning for their tireless efforts in the process.

Our special thanks goes to the wonderful people of Liberia, the Legislature and all those involved with these talks for their hospitality, brotherliness and understanding. Our people have always been a warm and caring people. They can be proud that once again, Liberia has served as a stage for peace and progress among the comity of nations.

From the onset of the Sierra Leone civil war, Liberia has believed

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in constructive engagement for resolution of the conflict. What we have tried to do in the last few days by hosting these meetings is to provide an atmosphere of stabilising and maintaining the momentum of the peace process in Sierra Leone by sharing our experience on conflict resolution.

We have endeavoured for Sierra Leone to benefit from the hindsight of our own process that brought peace to Liberia and ushered in a new democratic order. This what we are pursuing to ensure the perpetuity of good neighbourliness. We believe that the last chapter in Sierra Leone's bitter crisis is at its terminal point, which will bring durable and lasting peace for our brothers and sisters. We realise however that final peace rests with Sierra Leoneans themselves. They must develop the courage to forgive and forget!

Our contribution has thus been based on the strength of our conviction that we are one people with a common destiny; that there cannot be peace and progress in Liberia without a corresponding peace and progress in Sierra Leone.

The Lomé Peace Agreement signed on July 7th this year must be fully implemented to ensure the smooth transition envisaged by the peace loving leaders of ECOWAS.

The strengthening of relations between Sierra Leone and Liberia benefits the Mano River Union and also the sub-region. The potential for the Mano River Union to be the engine of progress and development in the sub-region is untapped. Our rich flora and fauna, marine life, mineral wealth, and human potential is unparalleled, and these God-given untapped wealth can best be developed not by a single country but our Mano River Union. This is what peace in Sierra Leone means to Liberia. The Mano River Union unites us.

We see peace in Sierra Leone and the strengthening of the Mano River Union as an important contribution to the speeding up of the integration of the economies of the rest of the sub-region. Every action we have taken has been done in the supreme interest of ECOWAS. We have an opportunity to integrate and synchronise our national planning and development objectives, particularly in the areas of telecommunications, energy, road and transport,

banking, insurance, health, education and mining.

We have the opportunity now to integrate our socio-economic systems in keeping with the noble objectives of the ECOWAS Treaty. The socio-economic unification will naturally lead to political integration. And I dare say that nothing prevents us now from thinking about and planning towards a Mano River Union parliament. The legislative contacts being advanced now should be speeded up in the light of the continental parliament mandated by the Sirte Declaration in Libya last month.

Presently, the Liberian Government is contemplating re-opening the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border and working collectively for the revitalisation of the Mano River Union. In this light, we look forward with great anticipation to attending the Mano River Union summit scheduled to be held in Freetown early November. Meanwhile, we will continue to constructively engage the Guinean Government in solidifying our relations, because our three countries are inextricably yoked by the Mano River Union heritage.

We believe when our relations are in full bloom, our problems of security, reconstruction and development will gain added impetus. It will buttress our confidence building and normalisation of relations between our two nations.

We close this statement with optimism. This sub-region is now on the road to peace and progress and no one will be permitted to derail our noble journey.

As our brothers return to their native land, we wish them God Speed and success in their endeavours. To ensure solidarity on this historic occasion, I have selected a high level delegation headed by the President Pro-Tempore of the Liberian Senate, Hon Kekura B Kpoto, to accompany Messrs Sankoh and Koroma to Freetown. They are being joined by the Minister of Overseas Co-operation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Professor Jerry Gana, the Minister of Defence of Togo, the United States Ambassador to Liberia, and representatives of the United Nations and ECOWAS. A 10-member Press team has also been approved to accompany the delegation.

In union strong, success is sure. May God continue to bless the work of our hands and save the State.

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I thank you.



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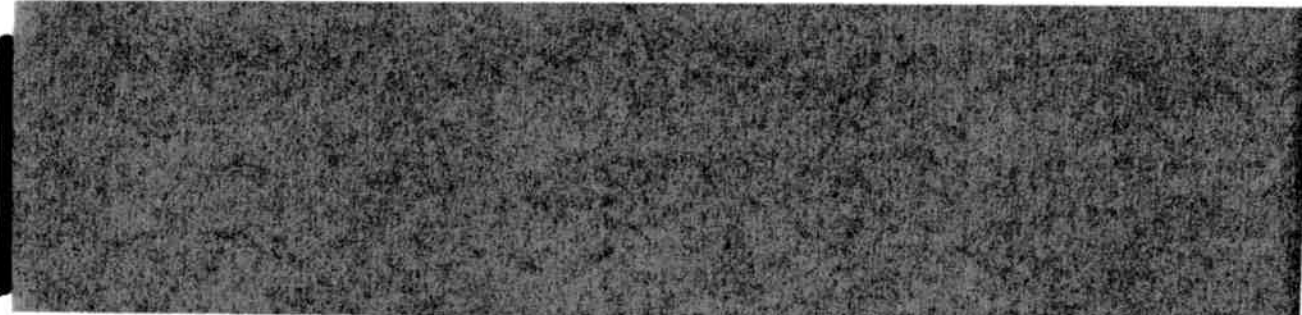
PERSONAL STATEMENT BY Lt. Col. J.P. Koroma on October 1st 1999.

Previous to May 1997, I did not collude with the RUF/SL nor did I ever collaborate with any coup plot. I want to hereby inform my brothers and sisters in the Diaspora that yesterday was the very first time that I ever met with the RUF leader.

On the 23rd March 1991, I was the very first officer who was sent from Daru Barracks to counter the RUF at Bomaru in Eastern Sierra Leone and until May 1997, God being my witness, I never had any contact with the RUF leadership. However, I had seen the devastation that the war had wrought on the country. In 1997, when I saw an opportunity to get peace for Sierra Leone through dialogue and power sharing, I worked hard to achieve this in spite of the enormous misunderstandings that were created.

Yesterday, after meeting with Chairman Foday Sankoh, I am very pleased that we are one step closer to the meeting between President Kabbah, Foday Sankoh and myself that I repeatedly called for in 1997 and 1998.

I am fully aware of the concerns by the International Community and my countrymen about the state of the Lomé Peace Accord. I want to assure all that the meeting between Chairman Sankoh and myself went well. I want to assure all that my men and I are fully committed to the Lomé Peace Accord albeit the necessary addendum(s) that would have to be attached in the near future. I am very sincere in seeing my country at peace and seeing that the socio-economic problems that caused the RUF to take up arms be addressed.



Again, I want to assure my brothers, sisters and the International Community that Chairman Sankoh and myself will work together to see the full implementation of the Lomé Peace Accord. There are however a few points that we wish the world to be made aware of:

1. The document released this week by the Sierra Leone Government, which promises to see to the grievances of the Sierra Leone Army, was signed not by our Commander-In-Chief, President Kabbah but by his deputy, Vice President Demby. We welcome the written promise by the government to see to the re-instatement and payment of salaries of my men but we question the rationale behind Demby's signature on the document as against President Kabbah's.
2. The exact role of the Civil Defence Force in the Peace process has to be seriously considered by all concerned. These fighters should not be made to feel that they have been used and are now being marginalised. The assurance from their leaders that all is well is in sharp contrast to the reality on the field. A package must be designed to rehabilitate and re-integrate the civil defence force fighters. In the current situation, any fighting force, however small can disrupt the Lomé Accord if they feel aggrieved.

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3. All addendum(s) to the Lome Peace Accord including the current proposal signed by Vice President Demby must be signed by President Kabbah, Chairman Sankoh, myself and all the moral guarantors of the Lome Peace Accord before they can be considered as Addendum(s) to the Lomé Accord. They must also be speedily passed through parliament for legislative approval.

Finally but most importantly, I want to appeal to my countrymen to forgive my men for atrocities that they might have committed. I sympathise with the suffering of my brothers and sisters throughout Sierra Leone and I am again assuring them that I, Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Koroma, am fully committed to making Sierra Leone a land of peace and subsequent development. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] However, as from now, I will see to it that the suffering inflicted on the populace be brought to an end. Too many innocent people on all sides of the war spectrum have died. I want to encourage us all against the shedding of blood. Let us now look towards making our rich country a place we can all be proud of.

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COURT SPECIAL

WEEKEND

The Nation's Largest and Most Popular Newspaper



WE ARE TIRED OF WAR, TIRED OF DESTRUCTIONS, TIRED OF LIVING WITH FEAR...NO MORE VIOLENCE, PLEASE! LET'S GIVE PEACE A CHANCE TO RE-BUILD OUR LIVES ANEW... —TO ABACHA WITH ECOWAS LOVE—

BEWILDERING COUP

—AS AFRC CONSOLIDATES GRIES

A F R C CHAIRMAN MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMAH
CLEAR THE WAY TO HELP THE PEOPLE TAKE A DECISION

The bewildering military take-over of the reins of government in Sierra Leone last May 25 is still reverberating throughout the length and breadth of the country, particularly in the

capital of Freetown. The violence was unprecedented, apparently bolstered by the release of hard-core criminals who seemingly revenged on their "victims". Many Sierra Leoneans

did not believe their eyes and ears as the soldiers and their cohorts stormed the city and consolidated their grips on power which they took over that Sunday May 25.

A number of Sierra Leoneans interviewed during the take-over were bewildered, they still can not just understand how the coupists did it with the

CONTD. ON PAGE 2

"WEN WAATAR DORTY...E DORTY...WAYTIN DON BE — E DON BE. (WE CAN NOT UNDO HAPPENSTANCE, WE CAN ONLY CHANGE WHAT IS IMMINENT)— "MAY 25 MUST BE THE LAST COUP IN Ss. LEONE — P3" HERCULEAN TASK FACES Ss. LEONE — P2" BRA RABBIT ON HEROES AND COUP — A GODLY PUNISHMENT? — P3

WE CONDEMN THE USE OF FORCE

The continued talk of using military force to resolve the present political crisis in the country should be strongly condemned by all right thinking and responsible Sierra Leoneans. Only foolish people who do not care a damn about the overpopulation of Sierra Leone will still advocate such an action, designed either to play it to

the gallery or to cater for special interests, that is not nationalist. Have such people thought about their vulnerability in the event of a military attack on the city at this time? Do they expect the government to be a child's game? Well-placed Sierra Leoneans living in the city who cannot positively

contribute to the achievement of national Peace should not worsen the plight of Sierra Leoneans by inflaming the machinery of war through verbal provocations and incitement to more violence. To do this is to demonstrate insensitivity to the continued suffering of the people. How long should we stay at home without money and food? Is the Labour Congress in

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BEWILDERING COUP... PRESS BREEDS "VIBRANT" COUP



REPATRIATED HOSTAGES FROM FORMER NIGERIA AREN'T HAPPY TO SEE PEACE AT LAST. "NO INDIVIDUAL INTEREST SHOULD BE ABOVE THE NATIONAL INTEREST," LET THE PEACE STAY.

presence of all the Nigerian troops helping in the general security of the State and that of the former Head of State Alhaji Ahmad Tejan-

Kabbah "These guys are wonderful... you just can't beat the Sierra Leoneans in his country" said a surprised Nigerian.

The massive looting and destructions of property dated the coup operation. Perhaps they

...the harbored the... the... (under active... by an SLPP deputy minister) was gutted by fire with the ugly carcass now bearing the stamp of colonial history.

The last three floors at the Bank of Sierra Leone building at the heart of Freetown were on fire for more than 12 hours. No one knows the extent of the fire damage and the amount of documents destroyed.

The Sierra Leone Commercial Bank and the earlier vandalized Salpoint building had their glass panes shattered. Many of the foreign exchange bureaus were also vandalized, and property worth millions of Leones was either destroyed or looted.

The old and famous colonial architecture... The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) as the new junta called itself, was... The old and famous colonial architecture...

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IS MILITARY INTERVENTION THE SOLUTION?

Since the early hours of May 25 this year the Sierra Leonean capital, Freetown, has been increasingly besieged by invading Nigeria-led Ecomog forces poised to militarily restore the ousted civilian government which had controlled the reins of power

for a little over one year. While listening to one of BBC's programmes, "Talk about Africa", last Wednesday which focused attention on the coup crisis in Sierra Leone, this writer was impressed by the views expressed by some of the panelists who opted for inter-

national intervention even when peaceful negotiations could have been achieved. Much in the discourse of Sierra Leoneans voted to experiment with democracy. It was most striking to see the naked and blatant assumption of power by a military dictatorship. Most well-meaning and patriotic citizens readily disapproved of another horrible experience under the country's military intervention in politics.

- MEMBERS OF THE RULING ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL:**
- 1-Major Johnny Paul Koroma - Chairman
 - 2-Deputy Chairman Rtd. Cpl. Foday Saybana Sanneh
 - 3-Brigadier (Rtd.) L.M. Lyman
 - 4-Brigadier Hassan K. Conteh
 - 5-Brigadier S.F.Y. Koroma - Chief of Defence Staff
 - 6-Colonel Man-Kanya
 - 7-Naval Captain A.B. Sesay
 - 8-Colonel K.I.S. Kamara
 - 9-Colonel A.K. Sesay
 - 10-Colonel S.O. Williams - Chief of the Army
 - 11-Squadron Leader Colonel V.L. King
 - 12-Colonel Sam Bockarie (Alias Mosquito) - RUF
 - 13-Colonel Denis Mingo (RUF)
 - 14-Lieutenant Eldred Collins (RUF)
 - 15-Inspector General of Police Teddy Williams
 - 16-Mr. Kamoh Lumumba Fofana (SSD)
 - 17-P.L.O. (I) - Staff Sgt. Abu Sanneh
 - 18-P.L.O. (II) Staff Sgt. Alex Brumah
 - 19-P.L.O. (III) Staff Sgt. Barry Kamara
 - 20-Sec-Gen - Mr. S.A.T. Bayoh
 - 21-Mr. Charles Margai - Attorney-General
 - 22-Mr. M.A. Showers - Deputy Director of Prisons
 - 23-Secretary of State (South) - Major A.F. Kamara
 - 24-Secretary of State (North) - Major A.M. Koroma
 - 25-Secretary of State (East) - Capt. E.P. Kenneth.

STEPS TO REGAIN CONFIDENCE

Meanwhile the new military rulers have ordered all armed soldiers leaving the streets undisciplined to report at the Military barracks or face arrest and severe discipline. Many armed men are currently being disarmed following reports of harassment, armed robberies and the selling of old arms.

According to the spokesman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), this is not a coup of violence. "We are restoring peace."

The removal of armed men from the streets will surely go a long way to reassure the people that the country is now returning to democracy.

The stark reality of the Sierra Leone crisis today leaves almost no room for the absence of concrete plans for the next six years during which period democratic elections were organized and a popular government put in place. It was this government which continued round-table talks begun by the previous NPRC junta with the RUF. Under Foday Sanneh and the blood-letting armed conflict in this country.

Documents of a peace treaty were signed between the Sierra Leone government and RUF/SL in Abidjan on November 30 1996, thus ending the six-year civil war. But lack of political integrity and integrity of the peace process, and finally, the military intervention in politics.

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SPARK EDITORIAL

WEEKEND SPARK

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For di PEOPLE

MON. JUNE 9, 1997 INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

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briefs

15 sojas die from pole shock

ABOUT 15 AFRC soldiers died from electrocution last Thursday June 5 after their vehicle somersaulted uprooting several electric poles along Savage Square.

Residents say they were being chased by an anti-looting squad and there was a size-

able contingent of vegetable oil in their vehicle.

peacemaker shot dead

A PRISON officer who tried to pacify men in military uniform was shot dead around the Campbell street vicinity last Thursday June 5.

students troop out

FOURAH BAY College students are trooping down from their Mount Aureol campus due to the heavy presence of rebels within their vicinity.

banks suspend business

ALL BANKING activities have been paralysed in the entire country and bankers are not certain of a resumption of commercial activities within the next month.

Labour Congress Tells Workers To Stop Work!

KNOW YOUR ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL SET-UP

by
FDP REPORTERS

1. Major Johnny Paul Koroma - Chairman
2. Cpl Foday Saybana Sankoh - Vice Chairman
3. Rtd Brigadier ML Lyman
4. Brigadier Hassan Conteh
5. Brigadier SYF Koroma - Chief of Defence Staff
6. Colonel Max Karggar
7. Naval Captain AB Sesay
8. Colonel KJS Kamara
9. Colonel Abdul K Sesay
10. Colonel SO Williams - Chief of Army Staff
11. Squadron Leader Col VI. King
12. Colonel Sam Bockarie - RUF
13. Colonel Dennis Mingo - RUF
14. Lt Eldred Collins - RUF
15. Teddy Williams - Inspector General of Police
16. Kemoh Lamumba Yofanah - SSD
17. Sheku AT Bayoh - Secretary General
18. PLO I - Staff Sgt Abu Sankoh
19. PLO II - Staff Sgt Alex Brizum
20. PLO III - Staff Sgt Basie Kamara
21. MA Showers - Deputy Director of Prisons
22. SCS South - Major AF Kamara
23. SOS North - Major AM Koroma
24. SOS East - Capt EB Kanneh
25. Charles Margat - Attorney General

THE SIERRA Leone Labour Congress Secretariat has ordered all workers to stay home due to the prevailing job insecurity in the country.

In a statement, Secretary General Kande B Yillah and President Hassan Al Barrie said this is because of the absolute insecurity in the country especially with the release of all hardened criminals from the maximum security prisons at Pademba Road.

Furthermore, there is an apparent problem of job security and in meeting the payment of salaries/wages of workers in both public and private institutions.

"In the light of the prevailing circumstances, we as a Congress have the firm conviction that the atmosphere is not conducive for

our members to give their services and must therefore stay home," the statement reads. Labour Congress also said the atrocities committed by the last NPRC junta to this nation are still fresh in our minds and therefore strongly convinced that either military junta can never be a solution to the problems of this country. Meanwhile, the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists said even though Armed Forces Revolutionary Council mentioned the "inhuman press bills" as one of the justifications for the coup, SLAJ in any case was com-

mitted to fighting its case within the framework of the democratic system. "A peaceful, negotiated settlement is necessary and possible. All Sierra Leoneans must work towards that end. The verdict of Blamant Two still stands. We call on the military authorities to recognise and respect the people's will and to conduct any peace negotiations with the RUF within the framework of the Abidjan Peace Accords of November 30, 1996," SLAJ statement reads.

AFRC troops to Libya

THE AFRC has sent RUF strongman Colonel Sam Bockarie alias *Masqad* as head of a delegation to Libya intended to win support from Colonel Muammar Al Qaddafi in whose country the Mathaba campaign to destabilise the entire African continent began.

According to sources close to Military Headquarters, a delegation to La Cote D'Ivoire had already left to solicit President Konan Bedie's intervention on the tense situation here and to persuade non-military intervention by ECOWAS troops headed by Nigeria.

Meanwhile, the Chairman and Head of State Major Johnny P Koroma is still holding consultative meetings with politicians and heads of religious organisations. Most Sierra Leoneans condemn the coup but support a negotiated settlement to the current political impasse.

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Sierra Leone:**The Forgotten Crisis**

**Report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs,
the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, P.C., M.P.
from David Pratt, M.P., Nepean-Carleton,
Special Envoy to Sierra Leone**

April 23, 1999

Note: This is not a Government of Canada report. It is the report of a private Member of Parliament who has, with the help of Foreign Affairs staff and working within some tight time frames, directed a fresh pair of eyes and ears to the current crisis in Sierra Leone.


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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The stark reality is that war and suffering are not new phenomena in Sierra Leone. Since gaining its independence in 1961, this tiny African nation has experienced almost every known political system from totalitarianism to democracy and everything in between, with the past eight years being particularly savage by any standard. This report examines three broad themes that are central to the current crisis in Sierra Leone - the security situation, the humanitarian situation and the political situation. It attempts to better understand this brutal conflict and identify areas of greatest need so that Canada and others might focus what resources they might muster to assist a desperate nation.

The Security Situation

The overall situation in Sierra Leone is extremely tense. The government and ECOMOG, nearly defeated in January 1999, are now firmly in control of Freetown. ECOMOG, a multinational force consisting of troops from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Mali, can guarantee freedom of movement on the Freetown Peninsula, but there continues to be significant rebel activity throughout the rest of the country. ECOMOG is in desperate need of a significant amount of logistical support, both lethal and non-lethal, and it appears that the rebels are re-arming themselves in preparation for the next round of hostilities.



Security in Sierra Leone and the region also covers the role of civilian police. The Sierra Leone police require instruction in most modern police skills, ranging from crime detection to investigation to prevention for both policemen and police trainers. The police problem is equally serious in Guinea and they also need significant levels of support.

This section of the report concludes that any activities taken with respect to security would have to take into consideration not only the situation in Sierra Leone but of neighbouring states as well, in particular francophone Guinea. As well, both humanitarian efforts and the peace process itself have little hope of success without an extension of ECOMOG's security envelope.

The Humanitarian Situation

The scope for humanitarian assistance is immense. The humanitarian situation in Sierra Leone is critical and has the potential to get much worse. There are 700,000 displaced people internally and another half a million refugees outside Sierra Leone's borders. More specifically, there are

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400,000 Sierra Leone refugees in Guinea, approximately 100,000 in Liberia and the estimates of displaced people in Freetown alone are 250,000. Neither the Government of Sierra Leone nor international non-governmental organizations have any idea what the humanitarian situation is beyond the Freetown peninsula or the towns, and unofficial estimates put the number of people living in rebel-controlled areas with no access to humanitarian aid at close to 1.5 million.

Of particular note is the plight of women and children, who have borne the worst of the atrocities inflicted by the rebels. Refugee camps and hospitals are full of victims who have had one or more limbs amputated, the youngest witnessed (a girl) being less than four years old. Approximately 3,000 kidnapped children are still unaccounted for, and for those that have survived, there are no schools to attend. Most of the schools in the Freetown area were destroyed and many teachers have left the country.

The needs range from the immediate provision of shelter, food assistance and the provision of prostheses to long term rehabilitation for victims of the war and education assistance. Following a careful review of the requirements, Canada could provide significant bilateral humanitarian support in those areas where resources permit, and work with various partners (federal, provincial, municipal, non-governmental institutions and other governments) to meet those aims where resources could best be pooled with others.

The Political Situation

The Government of Sierra Leone is committed to its two track strategy for peace, which calls for enhancing security while promoting dialogue. However, both the government and the rebels face internal and external obstacles in their pursuit of a negotiated peace. The rebels do not appear to have a formal political agenda and are divided between those who believe in a military victory and those who would opt for a negotiated settlement. The same divisions also exist within President Kabbah's government, which is as well under pressure from ECOMOG sources to seek a negotiated peace.

Regional neighbours have played an important role in the pursuit of peace in Sierra Leone. In 1996, the President of Côte d'Ivoire, Henri Konan Bédié, brokered the Abidjan Accord which, despite its lack of implementation or monitoring mechanisms, could still provide a sound framework for any future peace agreements. Other organizations also have a significant role to play in the Sierra Leone peace process. The United Nations Security Council has authorized the deployment of a UN Observers Mission to Sierra Leone and has established a sanctions regime against the rebels and their supporters.

However, it will require international support to do so. Finally, there is the Contact Group on Sierra Leone, an *ad hoc* grouping of nations, including Canada, whose aim is to sustain and promote international support for Sierra Leone and ECOMOG.

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The Momoh Years: 1985-92

Joseph Momoh came to power on a wave of popular enthusiasm. It was hoped that he might be able to revive the collapsing state and revitalize the economy with his 'Constructive Nationalism'. Corruption and indiscipline continued, however, with high inflation, repeated devaluations, blackouts and shortages of food and fuel. Official diamond exports fell from two million carats in 1970 to 48,000 in 1988 - a result of mismanagement and corruption rather than declining mineral resources.

During the Momoh years there were two trends, largely unnoticed at the time, that would have important ramifications later. One was the continued and dramatic growth in the number of unemployed and disaffected youth. They drifted from the countryside in one of two directions: either to Freetown and other urban centres, or to the diamond fields of Kono. In either case, they became socialized in a climate of violence, drugs and criminality. The other trend was a growth in student militants. During the second half of the 1980s, many university students had become radicalized, in part by the violence of the government's suppression of their demonstrations, and in part by exposure to new ideas, including the thoughts of Col. Qaddafi, as expressed in *The Green Book*. Initially, Libyan sponsorship of Sierra Leonean student groups and student trips to Libya was open, but following the violent expulsion of 41 university students with alleged Libyan links in 1985, *The Green Book* and its author took on more symbolic importance, and the tangible connection went underground. Between 1987 and 1988, between twenty-five and fifty Sierra Leoneans were taken to Libya for training in the "art of revolution" (Gberie).

Among the students was a functional illiterate who had become part of a 'revolutionary cell' in Kono. Foday Sankoh was a gray-haired former army corporal and photographer who had been jailed for seven years for alleged implication in the 1971 coup plot against Siaka Stevens. Ironically, only three of those trained in Libya showed up later in the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), and the only survivor after a year or so was Foday Sankoh (Gberie).

In the late 1980s, events were taking place in Liberia that would soon have a profound effect on Sierra Leone. At the end of 1989, Charles Taylor launched an attack on Samuel Doe's government with a small band of men, several of them, including Taylor himself, with Libyan training or connections. Taylor also received support from the Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, in part through political, family and personal relationships that some have described as 'like the dynastic marriages and alliance of European princes of old' (Ellis). Burkinabè support for Taylor was later extended to Foday Sankoh and the RUF.

Operating initially out of the Ivory Coast, Taylor's rebellion quickly took on ethnic overtones and within a year had become a major humanitarian disaster. In 1990, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) put together an intervention force made up of troops from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana and the Gambia. Known as the Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), it thwarted Taylor's drive to an early military victory. Because Taylor had earlier been refused support by Momoh (and was briefly arrested in Freetown using a

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Burkinabè passport), and because ECOMOG used Freetown as a staging ground, Taylor spoke frequently during 1990 and 1991 of plans to attack Sierra Leone.

By 1991 the Momoh regime was in serious difficulty. Beset by a crumbling economy, growing popular agitation and factional turmoil within the government, Momoh announced a return to multi-party politics, and general elections were planned for 1992. [REDACTED]

A humanitarian crisis quickly resulted from the RUF's tactics, which involved brutal attacks on unarmed civilians and children. Attempting to copy the ethnic incitement that had served Charles Taylor well in Liberia, the RUF at first targeted Fula and Madingo traders, murdering more than 100 in its first two months of operations. It also targeted Lebanese traders, beheading five in Bo District. The atrocities never sparked an ethnic divide, but they created alarm among the civilian population and caused rapid and widespread displacement. Panicked, President Momoh quickly doubled the size of the army from 3,000 men to almost 6,000, drawing most of his new recruits from vagrants in Freetown - the 'rural...unemployed, a fair number of hooligans, drug addicts and thieves' - as his foreign minister at the time later put it. Further confusion was added to the mix by the formation in Sierra Leone of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO), a coalition of anti-Taylor Liberians who, with Government of Sierra Leone (GOSL) support, initially fought both the RUF and Taylor's NPFL.

Because of corruption and mismanagement, Sierra Leone's front line troops were badly underpaid and demoralized. In April 1992, a group from the Eastern front travelled to Freetown to protest their situation. Within a day, the mutiny became a coup and Joseph Momoh fled to Guinea. [REDACTED]

The NPRC Regime: 1992-6

Initially, the NPRC was enormously popular, especially among Sierra Leone's youth. The leadership itself was young and many had grown up in the slums of Freetown. Young people in Freetown embarked on a voluntary cleanup and beautification campaign, and a new 'youth volunteer' force was recruited to prosecute the war. Many of the newcomers were not volunteers, however, and one estimate places the number of child soldiers under the age of 15 at more than a thousand by 1993. Soon the NPRC came to resemble the regime it had ousted.

During 1992 and 1993 the fortunes of the RUF fluctuated. On occasion, they overran the diamond areas were pushed back and retook the area again. Civilians accused by the government

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With Foday Sankoh and other AFRC/RUF defendants appealing their convictions, the RUF again appeared at the gates to Freetown in January 1999, catching both the government and ECOMOG off guard. Using women and children as a human shield, some RUF troops were able to bypass ECOMOG troops and join comrades who had already infiltrated the city. Among their number were Liberians and a small number of European mercenaries. In the fighting that ensued, an estimated five thousand people died, including cabinet ministers, journalists and lawyers who were specifically targeted. Before the rebels were beaten back, large parts of the city were burned and 3,000 children were abducted as they retreated. While many of the convicted AFRC/RUF collaborators were freed, Foday Sankoh remained in government custody. RUF commander Sam Bockarie, a former *san san boy*, said at the end of January that *"No government can succeed in this country if it doesn't include Foday Sankoh."* Unless the RUF was given a share of power, he said, *"No government can rule. We'll make the country ungovernable."* (Sierra Leone News). He later announced that Johnny Paul Koroma had been named deputy leader of the RUF.

The RUF and its newfound army colleagues defy all definitions and typologies of guerilla movements. Abdullah and Muana argue that the RUF "is neither a separatist uprising rooted in a specific demand, as in the case of Eritrea, nor a reformist movement with a radical agenda superior to the regime it sought to overthrow. Nor does it possess the kind of leadership that would be necessary to designate it as a warlord insurgency. The RUF is a peculiar guerilla movement without any significant national following or ethnic support. Perhaps because of its social base and its lack of an emancipatory programme to garner support from other social groups, [redacted] predominantly uneducated and alienated battle front and battle group commanders. Neither the [redacted] the natural ally of most revolutionary movements, nor the students, amongst whose ranks the RUF-to-be originated, lent any support to the organization during the eight years of fighting."

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Foreign Troops and Mercenaries

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The presence of troops from neighbouring countries of the sub-region in support of the rebels as well as foreign mercenaries has had a significant impact on the nature of the conflict in Sierra Leone. In the case of the former, this has provided the rebels with experienced fighters, and in the latter case it may be manifesting itself in training as well as the provision of logistical support.

[REDACTED] There are no accurate numbers, but they appear to comprise a significant part of RUF field commander Sam Bockarie's forces that are operating in the south of Sierra Leone. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] All information indicates that they are involved both in combat operations as well as in the provision of logistical support and the trafficking of small arms.

There were also widespread allegations of the involvement of troops from Burkina Faso in rebel operations, but these allegations have proven somewhat difficult to substantiate. Sources from ECOMOG vary drastically in their views on Burkinabè involvement, with some saying that two of every ten captured rebels are Burkinabè, whereas others claim that no Burkinabè troops have been captured. There seems to be strong evidence of Burkinabè complicity in the shipment of small arms to the rebels, and it is therefore possible to speculate that in support of this operation there may have been Burkinabè military personnel deployed in Sierra Leone. To date, however, there has been little hard evidence of the involvement of Burkinabè combat troops in the Sierra Leone conflict.

There is also compelling evidence that there are foreign mercenaries operating with the rebels. Since the return to power of the Kabbah government, most foreign mercenary involvement appears to have been limited to the provision and delivery of small arms both into and within Sierra Leone, using small planes and helicopters. Nationals from the Ukraine have apparently been the most active in this area, and all parties visited by the Canadian delegation unanimously cited their involvement. There were also uncorroborated reports of nationals from France and Angola being seen in the country connected with shipments of small arms. Recent information, however, points to the distinct possibility that foreign mercenaries may now be involved in limited training of rebel forces, and again the Ukrainians were named by various sources as being part of this effort. It is not known at this time whether the Government of the Ukraine is aware of the level of involvement of its nationals in the conflict in Sierra Leone.

Finally, there is the possibility that private security firms, which are likely still operating in the diamond mining regions of the country, may be providing some form of training to the rebels as part of a cooperative deal with them. This is all but impossible to verify given the lack of access to this region.

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firmly entrenched in the diamond mining regions, with well-established communications and transportation networks. The nature of their relationship with rebel forces is not known. It is believed that private security firms protect many diamond mining companies. They will likely prove to be difficult to move out of the way to make room for the reforms in the industry envisaged by GOSL. That said, it is interesting to note that no one with whom our delegation met viewed any form of immediate military operations to recapture or control the diamond mining region as in any way feasible.

Of particular interest is the fact that diamonds from this region are apparently quite unique and can readily be identified as coming from Sierra Leone. Moreover, they are very easy to transport - hence moving them to markets, legally or otherwise, is not a major problem. As well, the diamonds in Sierra Leone are alluvial and thus relatively easy to acquire.

The diamonds and the revenues they generate fund appear to move through a network of middlemen of Lebanese descent who are now indigenous to the region and have been involved in the diamond industry for over 60 years. Sierra Leone diamonds have allegedly turned up on the diamond markets of Beirut as recently as March 1999. Little, if any, action has been taken to control or regulate the trade of Sierra Leone diamonds, which has permitted rebel forces to re-arm and re-equip themselves with new and modern weaponry not often seen in a bush army.

Trafficking in Small Arms

There is ample evidence to show that several nations in the sub-region are heavily involved in the procurement and transfer of small arms and ammunition to the conflict in Sierra Leone, and that this trade is closely linked to the diamond mining industry in Sierra Leone.

It appears that arms are procured in eastern Europe (either Bulgaria or Ukraine) and moved to Tripoli, Libya where they are transferred to ships or charter aircraft for shipment into the region.

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The plans of the OCHA for shelter at the National Workshops and the eight other camp sites show only enough shelter for 16,800 people. However, at the present time, approximately 50,000 families are targeted for shelter and non-food assistance in Freetown and areas in the hinterland such as Bo, Kenema and Kambia. Since February, the U.S. Office of Foreign Development Assistance has provided approximately 1,600 rolls of plastic sheeting and 50,000 blankets which has the potential to provide shelter and non-food items to about 10,000 families. However, it is going to take a herculean effort by all concerned to ensure that the population of Freetown has adequate shelter with the onset of the rainy season.

In addition to the basic shelter needs, our group also heard a plea for additional non-food assistance. In particular, officials with the National Commission for Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation (NCRRR) told us that there is an urgent need for household items - goods such as cooking utensils, pots, pans, bowls, dishes, plates, cutlery and soap well as jerry cans for water. It was also apparent to us that, if possible, cots would be far preferable to sleeping mats in these shelters especially in the rainy season.

In the longer term, the housing stock of much of the eastern portion of Freetown must be rebuilt. During our tour of the devastated eastern sections, we did see evidence of reconstruction. Residents are struggling against the deadline that the rainy season imposes. Mud bricks are being used to build small new shelters although it appears that many types of building material such as tin for roofing, windows, etc. may be in short supply. Access to credit in order to acquire loans for rebuilding has also been very restricted as only a very small number of banks have re-opened since the fighting in January. Interestingly, during our meeting with President Kabbah, he mentioned Canada's expertise in the area of pre-fab low-cost housing and spoke of Maurice Strong's involvement in the UN Habitat project. He added that "We don't want it for free, but need repayments organized over several years."

Amputees

While it is hoped that the serious shelter problem in Sierra Leone can be addressed with building materials and financial resources, some of the physical and emotional scars that are borne by the men, women and children of Sierra Leone will be present for generations. The practice of amputating and mutilating civilians has become the trademark of the RUF, their calling card. As a terror tactic, the practice began in the early 90's but seemed to have attracted international attention during the first free democratic elections in 1996. To discourage people from voting during those elections, RUF leader Foday Sankoh issued orders to his men to cut off the hands of people who had cast a ballot. (Those who had voted received an ink mark on their hands.) The tactic was not successful. Often voting at great personal risk to themselves, the people eventually elected President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. For those in the rural areas, the amputations were particularly cruel since they destroyed the livelihoods of many rural subsistence farmers who were rendered incapable of working the soil.

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MSF currently reports treating hundreds of civilians who have had one or more hands, arms, legs or ears amputated by rebel forces. Many of the victims are young children, even some infants. It was also noted that instances of amputations and mutilations by the rebels increased dramatically when they were forced to retreat from Freetown in January. MSF has also publicly stated that their experience in 1998 indicates that for every amputee victim who makes it to hospital, there are several others who never receive medical care and die from their wounds.

A visit to the Connaught Hospital in Freetown and the ADRA (Adventist Development and Relief Agency) amputee camp at Murray Town brought our delegation face to face with the horrible atrocities this conflict has produced. The ADRA camp contained about 250 amputees as well as other family members who had fled areas in the interior of the country that had come under rebel attack. At the camp, our delegation was met by the assistant administrator and escorted on a tour of the camp by a spokesperson chosen from among the amputees - a young man in his early twenties.

The camp's accommodation consists of mud dwellings, old sheds and some new plastic shelters which had been constructed, similar to the ones we had seen at the National Workshops. The camp spokesman explained to us how he had become a victim. He said that he was from the north of Sierra Leone, but that he was studying in the eastern area of the country when the rebels arrived. In addition to robbing and looting the area, the rebels inflicted death and mutilation upon the inhabitants. They then demanded that the young man's uncle hold his arm while they chopped it off. When the uncle refused, they shot him. These rebels severed the young man's right arm with a machete about half way between his elbow and his wrist. His right ear was also sliced off.

The camp administrator led us outside where the young man explained the purpose of our visit to the amputees and their families. It was here that our delegation saw a little girl four years old - probably the youngest amputee victim in the camp. The RUF rebels had cut this little girl's arm off at the shoulder. She was accompanied by both parents - each of whom had a hand chopped off. The horrific brutality that was inflicted on that poor child and her parents is in many ways symbolic of the nihilistic violence that has brought Sierra Leone to the brink of complete destruction.

A few hours later, our delegation was at the Connaught Hospital in the centre of Freetown. There were another fifty amputees, male and female, being treated in two wards. Dr. Kamara, the chief surgeon of the hospital and a nurse matron accompanied us with a TV crew from a local station. The doctor explained to the patients in Krio that our delegation was from Canada and that our mission was to assess the condition of the people in Sierra Leone, so that Canada could provide assistance.

The doctor also explained that during the crisis in January Connaught Hospital was flooded with victims. The hospital has 250 beds, but treated upwards of 350 people when the fighting broke out. Amputees and people with gunshot wounds were treated in some cases on the grass in the

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little courtyard. Our delegation observed bed after bed of young and old with bandaged limbs and blank stares. It is in the faces of the people who have been the victims of this tragedy that one sees utter despair - like the man whose both hands had been cut off by the rebels.

Judging from the age and gender of those occupying the hospital beds, there appeared to be no rhyme or reason to who was chosen as a victim. The violence certainly appeared to be completely indiscriminate. Once again, our delegation saw more evidence of the victimization of children - another little girl with her left leg amputated a few inches above her knee. She was about eight years old. The doctor advised that the youngest amputee he had treated was two and a half years of age.

It is difficult to determine with any precision the number of amputees in Freetown or indeed Sierra Leone as a whole. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the number in the Freetown area is between 1,000 and 1,500. There are also hundreds of amputees among the refugee population who have fled Sierra Leone. Because of the state of medical care in the country, reliable statistics are virtually non-existent.

Although we were advised that the situation concerning the amputees would improve with the provision of prosthetics by groups like Handicap International (HI), our delegation does not recall seeing one prosthetic device while touring either the camp or the hospital. At a meeting of the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) in Brussels at the end of March, it was noted by HI that whatever service was being delivered in Freetown was being done on an *ad hoc* basis by non-experts because of security limitations. The problem is particularly difficult for children, who, because they are growing, need to be refitted periodically with new devices. In addition, it is also extremely important that psychological assistance be provided to the victims of atrocities at the earliest opportunity.

Food Aid

A March 15 assessment of the food supply in Sierra Leone contained in a report by the OCHA stated that *"unless food security agencies are given access to get the population started on food production, the country is likely to slide further into a major food emergency in the coming months."* The report goes on to say that: *"The outlook for agricultural input is grim given the present circumstances. End of year projections in 1998 by food agencies in Sierra Leone forecasted a yearly requirement of 483,000 metric tons for the entire population. Approximately half of this was to come from commercial imports, 17 percent from food aid, ten percent from milled rice from the 1997-98 harvest with a projected 23 percent food deficit."*

These projections have been overtaken by events to the extent that the existing situation is now much more pessimistic. The rainy season is already known as "the hungry season" in Sierra Leone. This year, it could be even more so. For instance, the harvesting of inland valley swamp rice which should have occurred between November and January was severely disrupted due to rebel activities. In addition, land preparation, which is normally done during February to get the

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recent report out of the northern town of Kamakwie stated that at least 20 people per day were dying from starvation, lack of medical attention and rebel atrocities.

Our delegation heard from one NGO official involved in food aid that, once security is restored in Sierra Leone, the country will be in need of assistance with a long-term strategy for food production. Sierra Leone has the capacity to feed itself and produce enough for export. In fact, the country was self-sufficient in food in the 1960's and it is said by some that if its arable land was properly utilized it could feed all of West Africa. Another food NGO representative that our group spoke with indicated that it was not unreasonable to believe that with the proper conditions Sierra Leone could return to self-sufficiency in food production in two to three years.

Unfortunately, distortions in the marketplace as a result of monopolistic practices that have developed (arrangements between businesses and politicians) have also caused serious problems. In order for food security to be re-established once again, the small producer must be encouraged. Until the security situation changes substantially, it is likely that Sierra Leone will be in a position where it must rely on a substantial amount of outside food aid.

The Children

The children of Sierra Leone have borne the brunt of the conflict. Whether it is in the refugee camps of Guinea, the displaced persons camps in Freetown, the malnutrition and disease that is everywhere or the child soldiers, it is the children of Sierra Leone who are the victims. It is estimated that the eight years of conflict have resulted in the separation of 12,000 children from their families. UNICEF is struggling to put in place programs which will re-unite children with their families. While they have had some success with the National Family Tracing and Reunification Network, it continues to be an uphill battle. One of the most disturbing facts of the rebel invasion of Freetown in January was that it resulted in the 3,000 children reported missing. It is believed that they were abducted by the rebels and that they are not receiving sufficient food or care. Of this figure, the most recent information available for this report indicated that 256 children had been re-united with their families including 51 recently released by the rebels. The location of the other children is simply not known.

Certainly one of the most high profile issues that has come out of the war in Sierra Leone has been the issue of child soldiers. The Secretary General's March report to the Security Council noted that *"A significant number of the rebel combatants were children. Reports were received of death and injuries being inflicted by boys as young as eight to 11 years old."* One of the means by which these young children are drawn into the conflict is through a process called "de-institutionalization." In many cases, these children are forced by the rebels at gunpoint to kill family members or neighbours. By committing an act of violence against people close to them, not only are they traumatized, they also cannot go back to their families or their communities because of fear of retribution.

The rebels have found this to be a very useful method of socializing these children into a life of extreme violence. In fact, the children also begin to "attach" or bond with their commanders. Their blind obedience, combined with the effects of alcohol, drugs and a popular belief in juju spirits, convince them of their own invincibility and make them some of the most courageous and disciplined fighters within the rebel factions. The rebels' widespread use of child soldiers - and the countries that sustain their activities - deserve the strongest condemnation by the international community. Unfortunately, our delegation also saw evidence on the streets of Freetown of under-aged combatants who were evidently part of the Kamajor forces. While the Kamajors are supportive of the Government of Sierra Leone, it would seem the Government is able to exercise very little control over Kamajor activities.

Yet another one of the tragedies of this conflict has been the massive numbers of victims of sexual abuse. Many reports both by the media and international agencies have corroborated instances of individual and gang rape of girls and young women who have been rounded up by the rebels. Many rape victims were said to have been subsequently mutilated or murdered. Others have been abducted and have been forced into service as porters, cooks, sex slaves and spies. When our delegation met with NGO's in Freetown, it was evident they believed that this was a problem of significant proportions which was not being adequately addressed. The strong stigma attached to a victim of sexual abuse in West African society meant that many young women and girls were simply not coming forward for psychological treatment.

Also of great concern is the issue of education. The Ministry of Education has reported that 300 schools were damaged or destroyed throughout Sierra Leone in the period following the May, 1997 military coup. After the January fighting in Freetown, 64 government schools, both primary and secondary, were closed because of damage. Another 30 schools are currently being used for shelter. There are no schools functioning in the interior of the country even in towns that have Kamajor protection like Bo, Kenema and Makeni.

The full school population of Sierra Leone is between 600-700,000. The primary population is estimated at 350,000. The number of primary school age children now receiving some form of education is estimated at about 30-35,000. In many of the schools in Freetown, instruction occurs for only a few hours per day since a large number of teachers have left the country. Textbooks, benches and desks have been looted or burned as fuel. Many children have lost up to three years of education, and as a result, are losing their future. One encouraging project worthy of note is an initiative that was launched recently by Mr. Peter Penfold, the British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone. Through this project, schools in Britain will donate educational materials and equipment to Sierra Leone.

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IRIN-WA Update 438 of events in West Africa (Thursday 8 April)

SIERRA LEONE: ECOMOG warns "warmonger presidents"

ECOMOG's new force commander in Sierra Leone, Major General Felix Mwakperuo, has issued a strong warning to the presidents of Liberia and Burkina Faso, according to a press statement IRIN received on Thursday.

In the statement, titled 'Warning to Warmonger Presidents', Mwakperuo described events leading up to an alleged delivery of arms to the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels fighting the Sierra Leonean government.

He warned that ECOMOG will "strike at all the channels involved in this movement of heavy arms and ammunition to the rebels by land, sea and air."

According to the statement, faxed to IRIN by ECOMOG, a Ukrainian registered cargo aircraft, Antonov 124, carrying 68 tons of arms arrived in Ouagadougou on 14 March 1999, and was parked at the presidential wing of the airport. The pilot was told to continue on to Monrovia to deliver the cargo but he refused to do this on the grounds that it was not the initial arrangement, Mwakperuo said.

On 15 March, a smaller aircraft with Ukrainian crew members landed at Robertsville International airport in Liberia, accompanied by a Liberia Special Security Services Director, the statement said. Its cargo, it added, was taken to Gbanga and then to the Sierra Leone border for delivery to the RUF and to the Guinea border for rebels in Guinea.

The statement said that this process continued with additional aircraft and added that RUF commander Sam Bockarie "has indicated receipt of the arms from Liberia in recent conversations with some of his commanders."

Traduzione:

ECOMOG Comunicato Stampa, diffuso a Freetown, 8 aprile, 1999

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IRIN-Africa Occidentale aggiornamento 438 sugli eventi dell'Africa Occidentale (Giovedì 8 aprile)

SIERRA LEONE: L'ECOMOG ammonisce i "presidenti guerrafondai".

Secondo un comunicato stampa ricevuto dall'IRIN giovedì, il nuovo comandante delle forze ECOMOG in Sierra Leone, Maggiore Generale Felix Mujakperuo, ha rivolto un deciso ammonimento ai presidenti della Liberia e del Burkina Faso. In un comunicato, intitolato "Ammonimento ai presidenti guerrafondai", Mujakperuo descrive gli eventi conseguenti a una sospetta fornitura di armi ai ribelli del Fronte Unito Rivoluzionario che combattono il governo della Sierra Leone. Egli ha detto che l'ECOMOG "ha ora avuto conferma sulle attività delle due nazioni e dei loro leader coinvolti in una spedizione e consegna di armi ai ribelli attraverso il governo di una delle nazioni vicine".

Egli ha ammonito che l'ECOMOG "colpirà tutti i canali coinvolti in questo traffico, via terra, mare e cielo, di armi pesanti e munizioni ai ribelli".

Secondo il comunicato, faxato all'IRIN dall'ECOMOG, un aereo cargo Antonov 124, registrato in Ucraina, con a bordo 68 tonnellate di armi è arrivato a Ouagadougou in 14 Marzo 1999 ed è stato parcheggiato nell'area presidenziale dell'aeroporto. Al pilota era stato chiesto di continuare fino a Monrovia per consegnare il carico ma egli ha rifiutato perché [il viaggio] non era compreso nell'accordo iniziale, ha sostenuto Mujakperuo.

Secondo il comunicato, il 15 Marzo, un piccolo aereo con membri dell'equipaggio ucraini è atterrato all'aeroporto internazionale Robertsville in Liberia accompagnato dal direttore dei servizi speciali di sicurezza liberiani [YEATEN Benjamin]. Il suo carico, aggiunge il documento, venne portato a Gbanga e quindi al confine con la Sierra Leone per essere consegnato al RUF e al confine con la Guinea per i ribelli in Guinea.

Il comunicato dice che queste operazioni sono continuate con altri aerei e aggiunge che il comandante del RUF, Sam Bockarie [detto Mosquito], "ha rivelato in recenti conversazioni con alcuni dei suoi comandanti di aver ricevuto armi dalla Liberia".

L'ECOMOG dice che "non sopporterà ancora a lungo queste offese da parte dei supposti leader - che continuano a svilupparsi nonostante le iniziative di pace - perché [le offese] costituiscono un pericolo per noi e per tutta la subregione". L'ECOMOG ha anche rivolto un appello a tutta la comunità internazionale "perché costringa il presidente Charles Taylor e i suoi colleghi a smetterla con queste azioni diaboliche, se bisogna restaurare la pace".

Sia la Liberia sia il Burkina Faso hanno con forza negato di sostenere il RUF.

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DIAMOND HUNTERS FUEL AFRICA'S BRUTAL WARS; IN SIERRA LEONE, MINING FIRMS TRADE WEAPONS AND MONEY FOR ACCESS TO GEMS

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JAMES RUPERT
WASHINGTON POST FOREIGN SERVICE
Saturday, October 16, 1999 ; Page A01

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone -- When Sierra Leone's lone combat helicopter blew an engine one day last year, it meant disaster for the government. The aging Soviet-built gunship had been the government's most effective weapon against a rebel army that was marching on the capital, burning villages and killing and mutilating civilians.

Officials scrambled to repair or replace the helicopter. But rather than relying on conventional arms dealers, they took bids from mining companies, gem brokers and mercenaries, most of whom held or wanted access to Sierra Leone's diamond fields. The government finally agreed to buy \$3.8 million worth of engines, parts and ammunition through a firm set up by Zeev Morgenstern, an executive with Belgium-based Rex Diamond Mining Corp.

In the end, the parts proved unsuitable, and the helicopter stayed grounded. The rebels of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) seized Freetown, killing thousands of residents and -- in their signature atrocity -- amputating the arms or hands of hundreds of civilians.

Although the government later retook the capital, the rebels' success forced the government this summer to accept a deal to share power. Though controversial, the peace agreement has drawn enough U.S. and other international support that Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright will visit here Monday on the first day of an African tour.

The key role of mining interests in the fighting was nothing new in Sierra Leone. The eight-year conflict that has shattered this country and brutalized its 5 million people has been fueled by foreigners' hunger for diamonds. Rival mining companies, security firms and mercenaries -- from Africa, Europe, Israel and the former Soviet Union -- have poured weapons, trainers and fighters into Sierra Leone, backing the government or the rebels in a bid to win cheap access to diamond fields.

Across Africa, foreign firms are fueling wars for natural resources that in some ways recall the 19th-century "scramble for Africa" by European imperial powers. Since the end of the Cold War -- when major countries pulled back from African conflicts -- oil and mining companies, security firms and mercenaries have filled the void. They have provided arms and expertise for civil wars in Angola, Congo, Liberia and here.

These conflicts are singularly brutal, scholars say, because many of their sponsors are outsiders with little motive to limit destruction. The superpower patrons of Cold War conflicts "did not allow the wholesale ripping up of the economy, the use of children

as soldiers, the attacks on relief groups" that have become the norm in Sierra Leone and elsewhere, said Herbert Howe, a Georgetown University political scientist.

In Sierra Leone, both the government and the RUF have attracted military backers by offering payment in diamonds or diamond-mining rights. The fortunes to be made from such ventures have prolonged and escalated the war, analysts say. According to documents and African, U.S. and European sources, the spoils have also encouraged the involvement in the conflict of a number of prominent foreigners:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] An American with military experience described watching at Liberia's main airport as members of one of the president's security forces supervised the unloading of two truckloads of automatic rifles and ammunition that he said were then sent to the Sierra Leonean border.

A Liberian government spokesman denied that Taylor or his son had provided weapons to the RUF, or had interests in Sierra Leone's diamond trade. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

A retired South African army intelligence officer, Fred Rindle, has provided training to Taylor's forces and to the RUF, African and Western military sources say. Rindle, who also helped arm UNITA rebels in Angola, is also exporting diamonds from Liberia, according to other African and Western sources.

A Ukrainian businessman, Leonid Minin, has supplied arms to Taylor and the RUF, according to a senior officer of the West African peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone. Minin, who is well connected to government officials in Ukraine, operates a timber company in Liberia that also is dealing in arms and diamonds, according to the officer and Liberian sources.

Morgenstern, the Rex Mining executive, and the company's Antwerp-based president, Serge Muller, set up a company to sell weapons to the Sierra Leonean government, which has granted Rex several diamond mining leases. In separate interviews, Morgenstern and Muller said the arms deals were unrelated to Rex's mining activities.

A retired Israeli army officer, Yair Klein, has provided military material and training in Liberia and Sierra Leone since 1996, according to West African sources and the Israeli newspaper Yedioth Aharonoth. Israel convicted Klein in 1991 of illegally selling arms and training to Colombian groups that the Colombian government says were fronts for the Medellin cocaine cartel.

Klein competed with Morgenstern last year for a helicopter contract in Sierra Leone while seeking mining rights, according to Yedioth Aharonoth. Sierra Leone arrested Klein last January and is trying him for alleged fraud in the proposed purchase of a helicopter from Belarus.

Mired in Corruption

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The Liberian Government Finally Admits Support to RUF

By Cllr. Tiawan S. Gongloe

The Perspective
Atlanta, Georgia

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November 27, 2002

When the world, led by the United States, accused the Taylor Government of supporting the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone a few years ago, Taylor did not only clearly deny but started a big public relation campaign to prove that the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and Sierra Leone were great liars. Taylor called meetings and press conferences at the Executive Mansion to tell the Liberian people that his government was being falsely accused and called upon the Liberian people not to believe the accusation against his government. Taylor conducted interviews with the BBC, West Africa Weekly, The New African and other international media institutions, denying his government's support for the RUF. Additionally, he sent his foreign minister and other officials of his government abroad on public relation campaigns to tell the world that a big lie was being told against his government. Taylor's big argument was that his accusers had no evidence to link him to the RUF. Well, a few days ago, Taylor finally admitted his support for the RUF in the Washington POST.

This is what Taylor said in the November 12, 2002 edition of the Washington Post at page A16, column six:

What Taylor said in the Washington Post is what the whole world knew was the truth all along. However, he kept denying and asking for evidence. The question that lingers in the mind of every reasonable person who has followed this issue is why did Taylor wait for the United States and the United Nations to impose sanctions on Liberia before he could admit his involvement with the RUF. Why did Taylor wait for the United Nations to spend so much money (money that could have been spend on Liberia's

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reconstruction) on panels of investigation to prove his support for the RUF before he could admit his involvement with the RUF? Why did Taylor unnecessarily use government revenue to send his cronies abroad to lie that he was not involved in Sierra Leone, when he knew the truth was that he was actively supporting the RUF? Why is Taylor admitting his involvement with the RUF less than one month before the formal opening of the special war crime tribunal in Sierra Leone? Is the admission by Taylor a strategy to make him a star prosecution witness to testify against those other countries he says were involved with the RUF, or is it intended to mitigate whatever punishment he could get following his trial by the Special Court? Now that Taylor has voluntarily admitted, he has provided more than sufficient reason for his indictment by the Special Court.

Ad. Taylor
The admission made by Taylor in the Washington Post is not the first admission made by him; nonetheless, it is the clearest, so far. The first admission was circumstantial and was by the way he conducted himself in the UN hostage crisis in Sierra Leone a few years ago when the RUF took hostage 500 UN peacekeepers. Taylor was asked by the international community to persuade the RUF to release the 500 UN peacekeepers to the UN, in the same way President Jimmy Carter was asked by ECOWAS in 1992 to persuade the NPFL to release 500 ECOMOG soldiers held hostage by the NPFL.

Ad. Taylor
Instead of Taylor persuading the RUF to release the hostages at the buffer zone manned by the UN between the Sierra Leonean army and the RUF, Taylor released all 500 of the UN hostages from Lofa county in Liberia and air-lifted them from Lofa county by helicopters provided by Libya for the purpose. He began this exercise one day after he was contacted as though he had custody of the hostages. The speed with which he acted and the fact that the hostages were released from Liberian territory created suspicion as to who had actual custody of the hostages. In addition, the speed with which Taylor acted created the impression that instead of persuading the RUF to release the hostages, he just informed them that he was releasing the hostages and he did. The second admission made by Taylor was through a statement issued by the Foreign Minister of Liberia, which said, "The government of Liberia has disengaged from the RUF". The foreign ministry later clarified that it meant Sierra Leone, not the RUF. Howbeit, the interesting thing is that most Liberians knew that the Government was referring to the RUF. The third admission was made by President Taylor himself, when he appeared before the Liberian Legislature, a year ago, during his annual message. On that occasion, he said that he had closed

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down the RUF liaison office in Monrovia, as well as, its bank account at the Liberia Bank for Development and Investment (LBDI). He did not tell the Liberian people when the office and the bank account were opened.

In spite of all these admissions, the admission made by Taylor recently in the Washington Post is the clearest admission he has made of his involvement in the Sierra Leonean conflict. In that admission, he did not only admit, but gave justification for his involvement. According to Taylor, he got involved "purely for national security concerns." If this is true, why did he not tell the Liberian people, who all along knew, that he was involved in Sierra Leone. What was his motive for denying the truth, even to Liberians who were in Gbarnga during the Liberian civil war with Foday Sankor and other Sierra Leonean rebels?

The puzzling thing about Taylor's admission is the avenue he chose to make it. Of all newspapers, he chose the Washington Post for this important revelation and did so in a public relation piece intended to persuade the American Government to assist his Government. The timing and the manner in which this revelation was made say a lot about the wisdom of Taylor and his lieutenants. Now that this admission has been clearly made, Liberians should stop arguing among themselves about whether or not there is evidence against Taylor. What should be done now is for Liberians to unite in an effort to make Taylor account for the pain, suffering and embarrassment he has put Liberia through by his support for the RUF. What Taylor has done is an impeachable offense but the current Legislature of Liberia does not have the courage to impeach Mr. Taylor. I will be pleasantly surprised if they even discuss it for a minute. Therefore, the Liberian people, acting through their various civil society organizations should take their destiny in their hands. This is an important historical moment that the people of Liberia must not let pass without doing anything. The world is watching.

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EV0158- Kono After the ARC-RUF Retreat
Total Time: 39:50

0:00-0:54

Fighting

- Title: "Kono After the AFRC-RUF Retreat".

0:54-17:27

Destruction Footage

Voiceover:

There was a war that started in Sierra Leone in 1991 that had devastating effects on the lives of Sierra Leoneans. The destruction of private and public property. The maiming and amputation and killing of innocent and defenseless civilians have _____ the rebel movement within the country. This situation has happened in a country that was once regarded as a most peaceful.

1:34-2:31

Images of fighters, both junta and ECOMOG. No footage of fighting or atrocities being committed.

Voiceover: _____ for the poor Sierra Leoneans before the merger of the RUF and the Sierra Leonean army on May 25th, 1997 compounded the suffering of the people both in the cities and the rural areas. Looting, commandeering of vehicles, maiming, raping, and of course killing of civilians became the order of the day by the junta. The atrocities continued under the West African Monitoring Group, ECOMOG, on the 12th of February, 1998 flushed the marauders out of the city, Freetown. The ejection of the junta from the city resulted in an all out rampage in the rural areas and the major cities in the region. As ECOMOG continued to dislodge them, the junta declared an Operation named Operation No Living Thing, destroying whatever their path lies.

2:31-3:07

Destruction images.

Voiceover: Kono District in eastern Sierra Leone, a diamond-ferous area in the country, was never sad in the state of destruction, killing and maiming. Apart from killing innocent civilians, every infrastructure was destroyed.

3:07-4:37

Sewa bridge images.

Voiceover: The Sewa bridge is the main bridge that links Kono District to the rest of the country. The bridge was cutoff by the fleeing AFRC-RUF bandits in an effort to prevent the entry of the Nigerian led ECOMOG into the district. The civil defense forces in the area were prompted to come to the aid of the people in the districts, by resurfacing and refilling the gaps so that the West African peacekeepers will be let in and liberate the people. St. Francis Brundo is the CDF coordinator of Kono.

4:37-5:14

Interview with Kamajor.

Brundo: [in Krio]

5:14-5:25

Market in Kono, lots of people talking.

5:25-6:34

More burned down buildings.

Voiceover: _____ is about 45km from Koidu town with over 15,000 displaced persons from Kono and its environs. Gborie Yamba is the senior town chief. _____ by the efforts being made by the Kono district's emergency task force and _____ them to continue their contracts with the governments and international organizations for the people in that district.

6:34-8:10

Interview with Town Chief.

Yamba: [in Krio]

8:10-9:12

Bumpeh destruction, which isn't as bad as other footage

~8:55 Voiceover: Bumpeh is another town that has suffered at the hands of the fleeing AFRC-RUF bandits. And it is just _ km from Koidu Town. Aiah Lebbie is the acting paramount chief.

9:12-10:00

Interview with Acting Paramount Chief.

Lebbie: [in Krio]

10:04-13:53

Interview with a Kamajor.

Voiceover: A member of the civil defence forces based in the Districts of _____ is _____ the situation in the area of 90% guarantee.

~10:16 CDF: The situation for now, you see, from Sewa all the way to Koidu Town we can give 90% assurance that it's safe. The only thing I wish to emphasize on this Sierra Leone surrendered junta were deployed. After the fight from Sewa onto Koidu Town [Krio]

13:53-14:48

Destruction (houses and vehicles burned)

14:48-15:34

~15:07 Voiceover: Koidu town of which is the District Headquarter of the District had an abnormal share of the destruction. The infrastructure in major sections along the streets were all razed to the ground. Coquina and Small Lebanon areas are presently the abode for all those who are only been in Koidu Town. Major Joe Adeyeye is the ground commander in the area.

15:34-16:00

Marketplace or IDP camp.

16:00-16:12

More dancing fighters.

16:12-17:27

Destruction

17:27-19:32

Interview with ECOMOG Peacekeeper

Adeyeye: The security, from us here is a little ____.

Interviewer: What do you mean exactly, what type of ____.

Adeyeye: Let's say, ahh, about 500 [indecipherable]

Interviewer: So, um, how do you see the people themselves, inhabitants, how do you see them in terms of cooperation.

Adeyeye: Actually, we've been receiving them, we've fed them, they feel that, yes, ECOMOG has come to rescue them. And save them from the juntas. For example, in terms of medical, feeding, (incomprehensible) it's part of coming out of the bush.

Interviewer: So, what advancement are you make today?

Adeyeye: As you aware that the mop up operation is in progress. It is ____ in this area also. So it is everywhere.

Interviewer: So, umm, you also have the local militia, are they cooperating with you?

Adeyeye: They are very, very cooperative.

Interviewer: In front of the general output out of the main, are there any ____?

Adeyeye: Very, very, they are very high.

Interviewer: So, what message have you for the general population now that, ah, calm is returning to the place? What do you have to tell them?

Adeyeye: If they have any means of telling their brother who are still with the junta if there is any way they can tell them and pass a message to them that they ____ and it will be better.

Interviewer: That's all?

Adeyeye: Um, and again, they should not hesitate to tell us, anywhere they know the rebels are and if there is any one of them in their midst. For example to find them out.

Interviewer: So finally, so what have you to say to the government of the people of Sierra Leone?

Adeyeye: Actually I have to congratulate them, because they. I really sympathize with them, since we came in to rescue them from the hands of the junta. And I implore them to cooperate with the present government. And forget everything about the junta.

19:32-33:54

~21:32 Voiceover: Koidu Town has nothing to show as the destruction is massive. Hospitals and other infrastructure providing essential services were all reduced to rubble.

Narrator: [talking, but it is hard for me to cull out. Appears that he is just pointing out the buildings that were burned.]

~31:04 Narrator: Bio Street, Bio Street, everything gone down.

33:54-37:23

Displaced Persons Camp

~33:48 Voiceover: As a result of the massive destruction in their district, Kono residents were able to put into place an emergency task force to do a needs assessment survey in the district. The team, in their own little way, resulted (?) food and non-food items to the survival of displaced persons at ____, ____ and Koidu. In the ____ displaced camp where over 10,000 displaced persons from Kono and its environs are temporarily encamped life is difficult as there is little or nothing that the people can feed on, not to mention the inadequate shelter.

~34:48-36:35 Sahr Komba, Camp Chairman: [needs translation from Krio]

~36:47 Voiceover: ____ announces their desire to go back home. With this determination, the ECOMOG Task Force Commander in Sierra Leone, Brigadier General Maxwell Khobe, has assured the people of maximum security in the district.

37:23-39:50

Interview with Khobe

Khobe: The rebels are scattered in groups, very little, mobile. [Tape is messed up here] They have little ammunition. And so the majority of them are carrying cutlasses. Even then, out of that number, very few are actually willing to fight. We have put in place troops to kill them wherever they appear. We are pursuing them. There will be no rebel left in this country at the end of the day. As ____ boundary, we'll get, we'll clear them out as time goes on.

Interviewer: So what have you to tell the Kono people?

Khobe: I sympathize with Kono people. Very seriously. Like others to the lost everything, their houses, their children, their hands and legs, eyes and so on. Some their ears even. I take it that that is the biggest sacrifice they can give so that they can continue to live without any fear of ____, because already they have sacrificed everything that they have. I want to tell them for the college, they have ____, because the rebels were out to ensure they eliminate them. And, I want them to understand that they have God with them above everything and that the destruction of property, by the grace of God, they will have a better future that their children will be proud of. And they will have better housing units, and so on, in that same flat Kono. So I give them a message of hope that tomorrow is definitely going to be better than today.

U.S. Blames RUF Backers Exposed Doubts Talks With Rebels

DR. NICKS was recalled and the charges on Friedman last year, dated 1990, which were dismissed by his peers, and that the warlord admitted an inflated death toll in the country. Nicks is a former Egyptian spy who has been accused of leading a CIA-backed conflict in Iraq, his father, Col. Josephine, killed his father.

The Chicago Herald, Dr. Friedman, a former Marine, showed that Nicks

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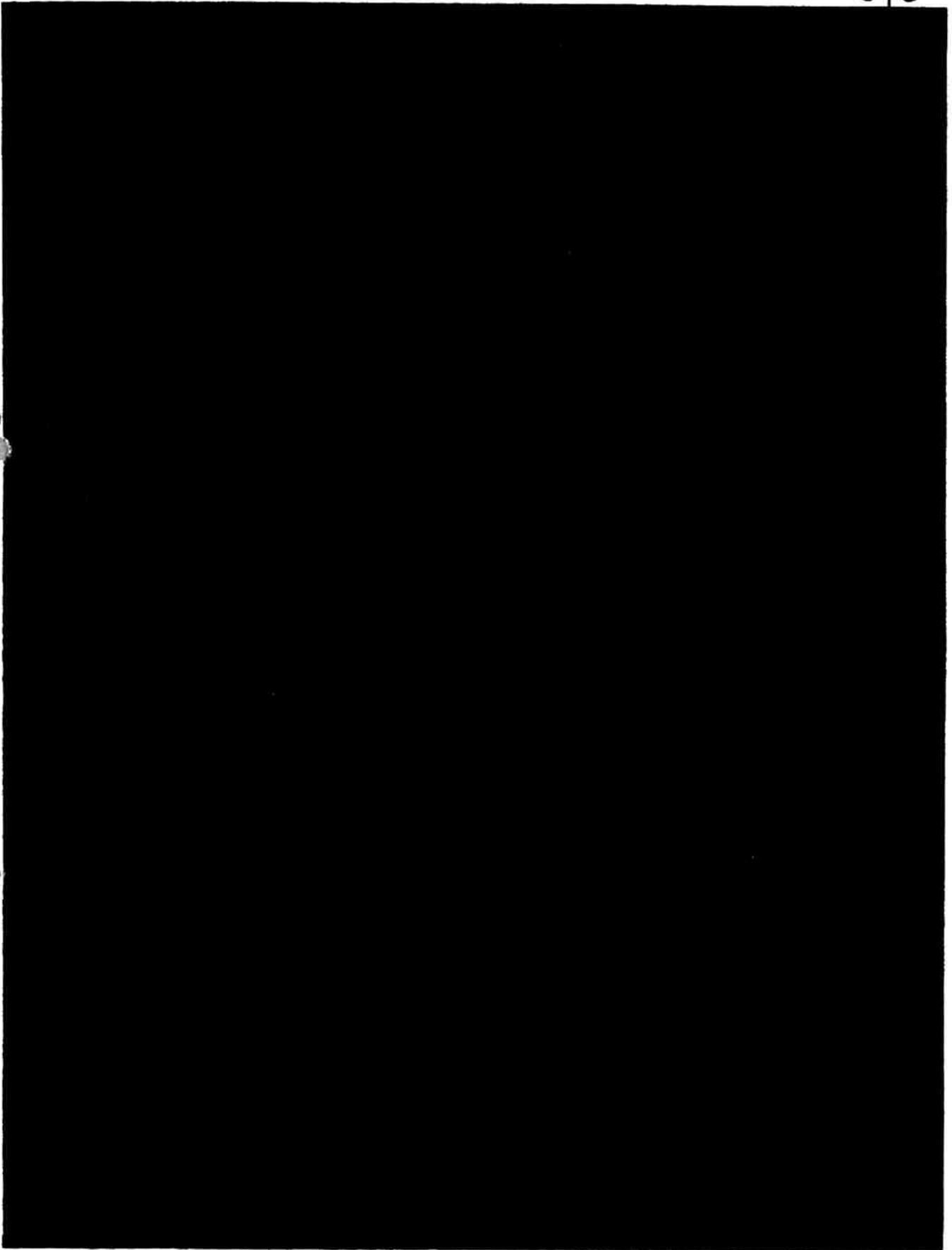
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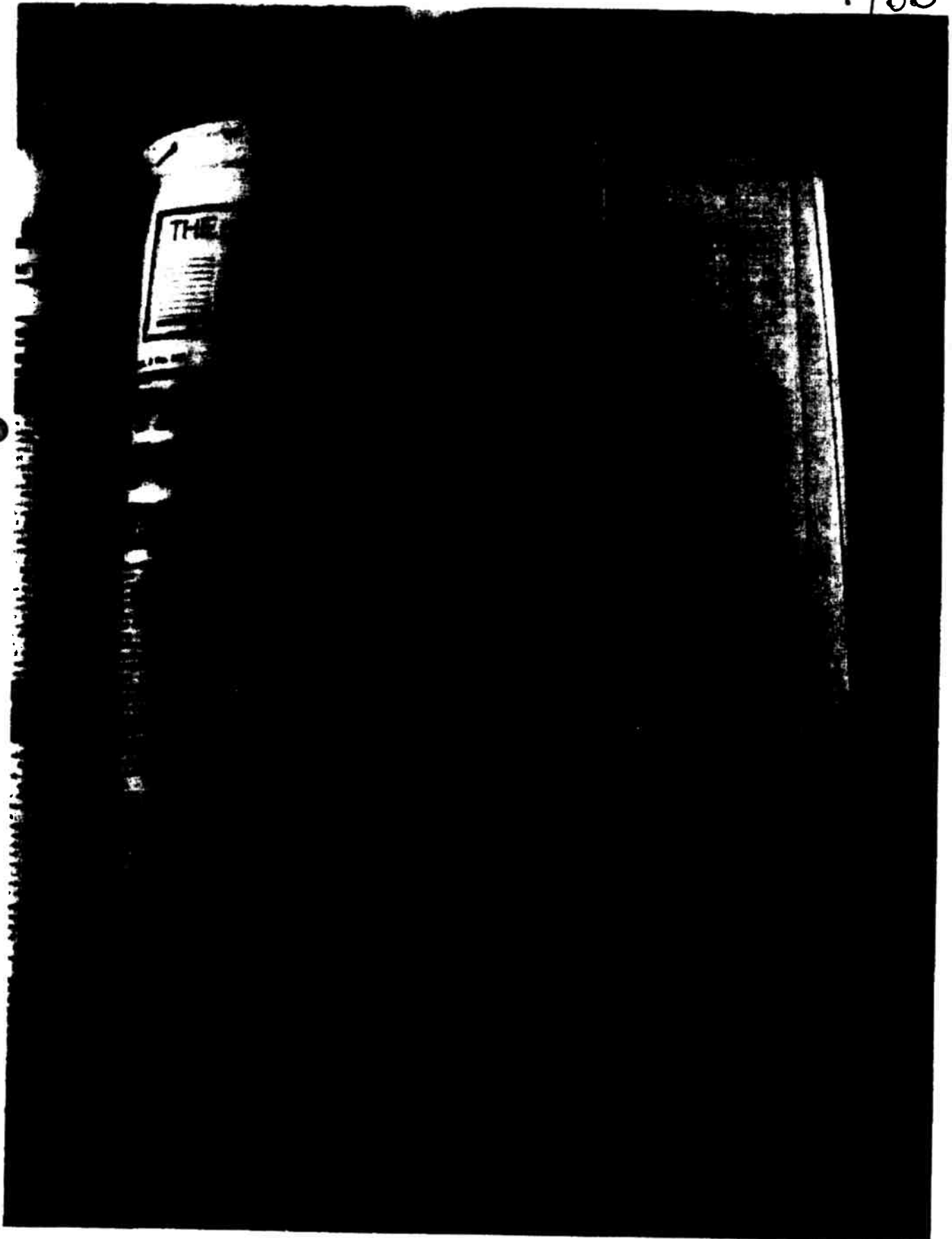
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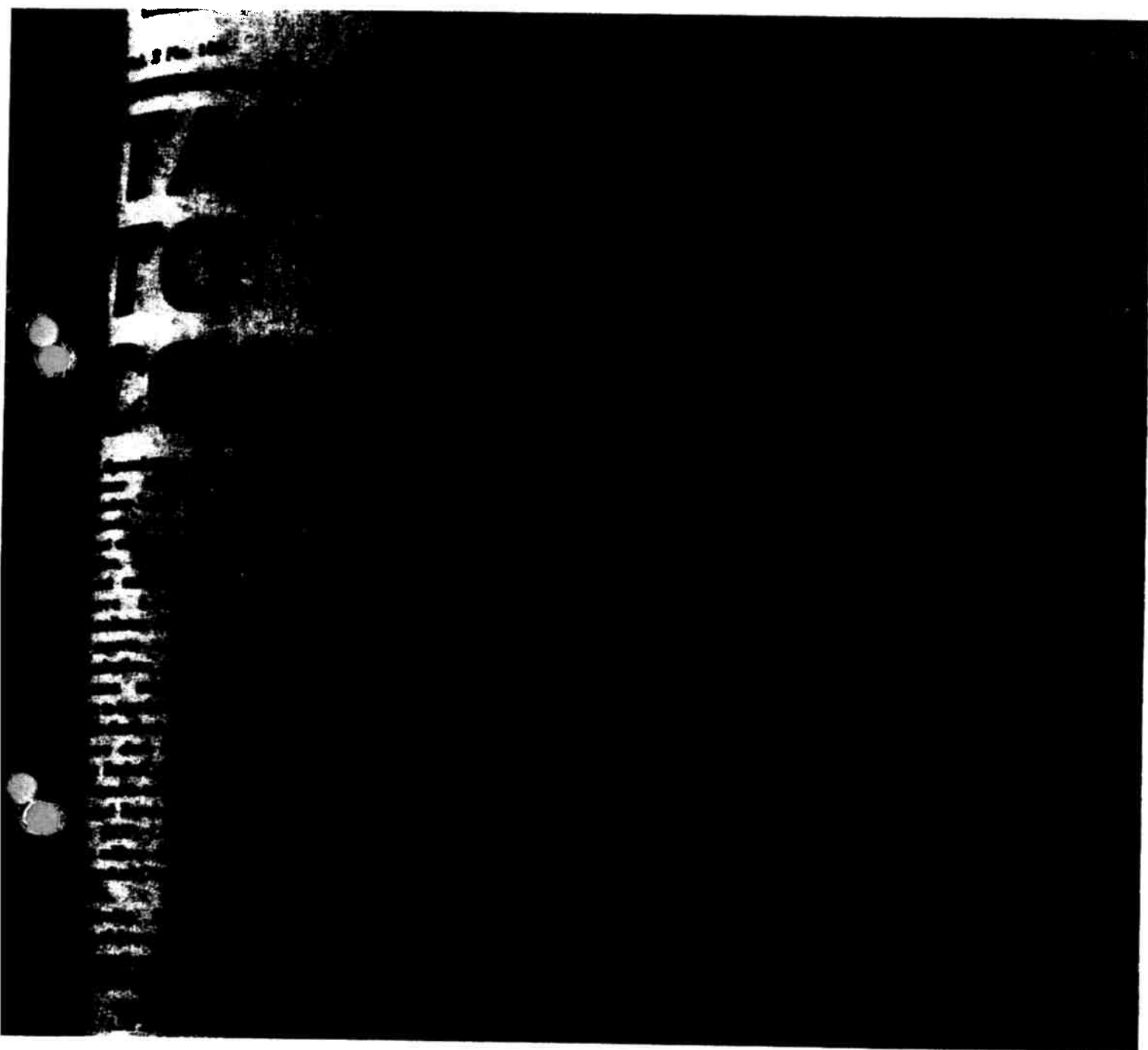
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New Democrat Weekly Tuesday January 26-Thursday January 28, 1999 Page 6



REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE
Monrovia, Liberia

Government Announcement

The Ministry of Justice has observed with much concern that Used Car Dealers in Monrovia and other parts of Liberia are engaged in the habit of clearing vehicles from the Port of Monrovia and other ports of entry without clearance from the Ministry of Justice.

The Ministry of Justice therefore warns, that hereafter, any Used Car Dealer or person otherwise engaged in such legal act will be arrested and vehicle(s) impounded... The offender will thereafter be prosecuted in a Court of Law.

This notice serves as a due and timely warning.

Sgt

Clk. Edington A. Yamah

ATTORNEY GENERAL/MINISTER OF JUSTICE, R.L.

Ministry of Justice MONROVIA
January 23, 1999

ambassadors and honorary consuls, who are political appointees.

Liberia's aspirations, beliefs and interests, President Taylor said, remain the determining factors in the conduct of foreign relations. "These national interests are and will remain the perpetuation and preservation of principles which guided Liberia's international relations."

Namely, the sovereignty of all states, strict compliance with the Charters of the United Nations, the OAU ECOWAS, Mano River Union (MRU), the Principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as all international conventions to which Liberia is a signatory, he told the lawmakers.

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THE TIMES

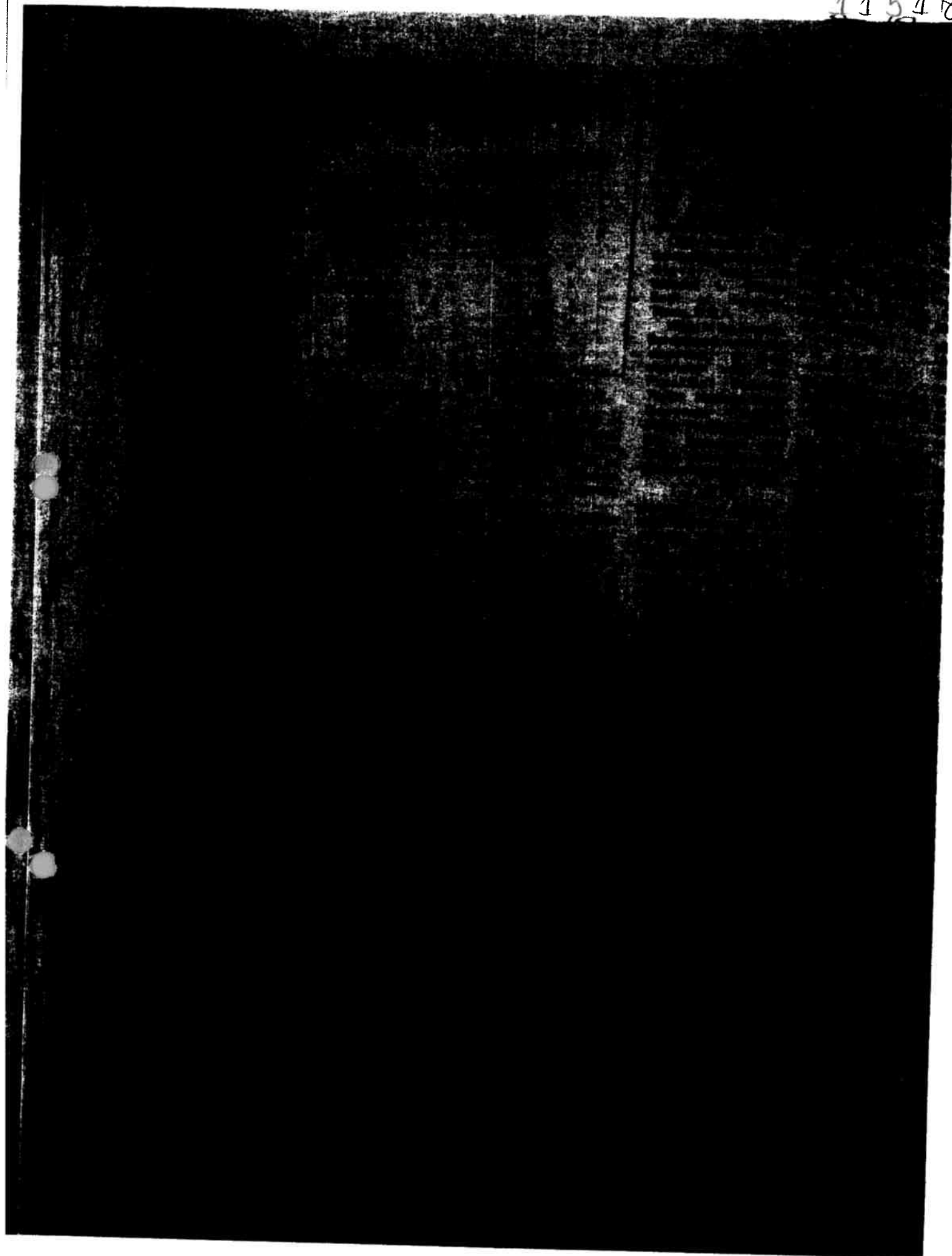
Bright Future Awaits LEC

A four-man
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Copyright 1998 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

December 27, 1998, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. A18PHOTO

LENGTH: 586 words

HEADLINE: Rebels nearing African capital;
Two burned alive in Sierra Leone

BYLINE: Associated Press

BODY:

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone - Fearing an impending rebel assault on Sierra Leone's capital, angry residents surged through the streets yesterday and burned alive at least two men accused of being rebel spies.

The rebel Revolutionary United Front, meanwhile, reported it had killed 60 Nigerian soldiers belonging to a West African intervention force while capturing the town of Makeni, 60 miles east of the capital, Freetown.

Fighting has intensified in recent weeks in the West African nation that is slightly smaller than Indiana. The country, with a population of 4.7 million people, was settled two centuries ago by freed slaves from the United States, Britain and Jamaica.

The rebels, who controlled Freetown after a bloody May 1997 coup, are seeking revenge for their ouster from the capital in February.

[REDACTED]

But the government denied that Makeni had been captured and said the Nigerian-led forces, known as ECOMOG, continued to battle rebels for the town. Troops remained firmly in control of the country, the Information Ministry said in a statement.

The government bolstered Freetown's defenses yesterday by trucking in Kamajors, traditional militiamen from rural villages. It also flew in soldiers from Nigeria and Ghana to reinforce ECOMOG troops.

At a downtown square in the capital, a mob singled out two young men accused of being rebels in civilian disguise.

The men were severely beaten before some in the crowd thrust gasoline-filled tires around their necks and set them on fire. Their charred remains were carried away by police, who did not attempt to stop the killings.

Several other mob attacks were reported around Freetown but could not be confirmed.

The Kamajor militiamen, members of a secret society of hunters and traditional fighters, wore leather tunics and carried rusty guns and machetes, setting up checkpoints in the city and carrying out random searches of pedestrians and

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Rebels nearing African capital; Two burned alive in Sierra Leone The Boston Globe December 27, 1998, Sunday

drivers.

Together with ECOMOG, the militia has been given defense duties by Sierra Leone's government, which dissolved the country's rebellious military earlier this year.

Remnants of that military and their rebel allies who took power for a 10-month period following the May 1997 coup have over the past week launched lightning attacks against loyalist forces throughout the country.

The rebels are widely believed to have killed, maimed and raped thousands of villagers.

Refugees fleeing the fighting have flooded into Freetown and rebels have threatened to attack the capital unless the government releases their imprisoned leader, Foday Sankoh, who is awaiting an appeal on a death sentence handed down for treason.

Bockarie, one of the rebels' top commanders, demanded yesterday that President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah resign or face a rebel assault on Freetown before New Year.

"Failure of Kabbah to resign, and we will start bombarding Freetown and will not stop until victory is won," Bockarie said.

That was a change from a day earlier when Bockarie demanded only talks and Sankoh's release.

By late Friday, a British-led evacuation had airlifted about 100 foreigners, mostly Britons.

The US Embassy was expected to close soon, although only a handful of staff were in the country and most Americans have been advised to stay out of Sierra Leone for security reasons since 1997.

GRAPHIC: Evacuees from Freetown, Sierra Leone, boarded a connecting flight Friday afternoon in Dakar, Senegal, en route to London. / AP PHOTO

LOAD-DATE: December 30, 1998

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HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

Murders, Tortures and Crimes Against Citizens Go Unfettered in Sierra Leone

By Richard Dicker, director of the International Justice Program at Human Rights Watch, published in *Earth Times Daily Web Edition*

Kaima, an eleven year old girl, described to Human Rights Watch how she and two of her friends were taken away by the Revolutionary United Front guerillas in Sierra Leone. She and her friends each had both hands hacked off -- as part of a strategy by the rebels to terrorize the local population. Rebel forces in Sierra Leone systematically murdered, mutilated and raped civilians during their efforts to capture Freetown early this year. The rebels carried out large numbers of pre-meditated mutilations of civilians, in particular the amputation of arms, hands, legs and other parts of the body.

The victims of crimes against humanity in Sierra Leone have no international tribunal to look to for justice for the murder, torture and mutilation there. The plight of the juvenile amputees underscores the humanitarian imperative in the early establishment of the permanent International Criminal Court agreed to in Rome last summer. One year after the completion of the treaty creating the ICC, eighty-three states, including all of the United States's closest allies, have committed themselves to supporting the Court.

The groundwork for ratification of the treaty is being laid at regional conferences of states and nongovernmental partners from southern Africa to the Caribbean. Resolutions from the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the Commonwealth Law Ministers and other parliamentarians are infusing the momentum with a sense of inevitability. With sufficient political will, the establishment of the ICC is now a matter of time.

Last week, negotiators resumed work at UN headquarters on the Court's rules of procedure and evidence, along with the elements for proving war crimes. The meeting room, packed as never before with delegates from around the world, generated an almost palpable sense of expectation that the Court was coming to life and its birth was likely to be quite a bit sooner than anyone had expected. It is quite a distance from this time last year when the US insisted on a weakened Court and then threatened to kill the Court when its views were not accepted.

While the ill-conceived threats of active US opposition to the ICC have not chilled enthusiasm among the states supporting the Court, unfortunately, Washington is still seeking to eviscerate the Court

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Sierra Leone rebels declare offensive

Want to see their leader freed

January 8, 1999

Web posted at: 10:43 a.m. EST (1543 GMT)

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone (CNN) -- A leader of the rebel movement that seized control of key parts of the capital Freetown said Friday he had ordered a general offensive, despite a cease-fire announcement a day earlier by President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

Sam Bockarie, described as deputy leader of the Revolutionary United Front, said he ordered the offensive against the Nigerian-led West African intervention force in the capital, and the Nigerian military base at Freetown's nearby Lungi airport.

"I have given orders to our men to launch a general offensive on Freetown, an offensive on Lungi," Bockarie said. "There is no question of a cease-fire."

Kabbah said on Thursday that the main rebel leader, Foday Sankoh, had agreed to a week-long cease-fire. But Bockarie rejected that statement on Friday, saying he first wanted to talk to Sankoh.

"Let us have access to him, let us talk to him, let's see face to face and see that he is mentally and physically fit. And we'll see what's next to be done," Bockarie said in an interview with British radio.

He also made a new demand, saying the rebels wanted a caretaker government that would be "broad-based and will organize fresh elections."

The rebels have previously said they will only stop fighting once Sankoh has been freed from prison. He was sentenced to death last year on charges of high treason for his involvement in the coup against Kabbah by a military junta in 1997.

Kabbah said Thursday he was willing to free Sankoh, should the rebels adhere to a seven-day cease-fire and mediation talks on the future of

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Keyword



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Kabbah and Sankoh reached a short-lived peace accord in 1996 under the mediation of Ivory Coast.

After his ouster by the junta, Kabbah was reinstated last year by ECOMOG, the Nigeria-led intervention force which has been protecting him ever since but which was taken by surprise by the rebel attack on Freetown this week.

Civilians in the capital have huddled in their homes over the past three days. Some have reportedly been used as human shields for the rebels.

Aid workers, contacted by radio on Friday morning, said small groups of civilians ventured into the rubble-strewn city streets to seek food.

There have been no figures on how many people have died or been wounded in the fighting.

The rebels are said to be in control of eastern and central districts of Freetown.

The Associated Press and Reuters contributed to this report.

Message board:

- Post your opinion on turmoil in Sierra Leone

Related stories:

- Sierra Leone president, rebels agree to cease-fire - January 7, 1999
- Rebels launch offensive on Sierra Leone capital - January 6, 1999

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Note: Pages will open in a new browser window

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Vol. 15, No. 1 (A) – January 2003



A woman receives psychological and medical treatment in a clinic to assist rape victims in Freetown. In January 1999, she was gang-raped by seven rebels in her village in northern Sierra Leone. After raping her, the rebels tied her down and placed burning charcoal on her body. (c) 1999 Corinne Dufka/Human Rights Watch

I was captured together with my husband, my three young children and other civilians as we were fleeing from the RUF when they entered Jaiwell. Two rebels asked to have sex with me but when I refused, they beat me with the butt of their guns. My legs were bruised and I lost my three front teeth. Then the two rebels raped me in front of my children and other civilians. Many other women were raped in public places. I also heard of a woman from Kalu village near Jaiwell being raped only one week after having given birth. The RUF stayed in Jaiwell village for four months and I was raped by three other wicked rebels throughout this period.

-Testimony to Human Rights Watch

"WE'LL KILL YOU IF YOU CRY"

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE SIERRA LEONE CONFLICT

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 FAX (202) 612-4333
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 FAX: (44 20) 7713 1800
 E-mail: hrwuk@hrw.org

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 1000 Brussels, Belgium
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I. SUMMARY

Throughout the armed conflict in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2001, thousands of women and girls of all ages, ethnic groups, and socioeconomic classes were subjected to widespread and systematic sexual violence, including individual and gang rape, and rape with objects such as weapons, firewood, umbrellas, and pestles. Rape was perpetrated by both sides, but mostly by the rebel forces. These crimes of sexual violence were generally characterized by extraordinary brutality and frequently preceded or followed by other egregious human rights abuses against the victim, her family, and her community. Although the rebels raped indiscriminately irrespective of age, they targeted young women and girls whom they thought were virgins. Many of these younger victims did not survive these crimes of sexual violence. Adult women were also raped so violently that they sometimes bled to death or suffered from tearing in the genital area, causing long-term incontinence and severe infections. Many victims who were pregnant at the time of rape miscarried as a result of the sexual violence they were subjected to, and numerous women had their babies torn out of their uterus as rebels placed bets on the sex of the unborn child.

Thousands of women and girls were abducted by the rebels and subjected to sexual slavery, forced to become the sex slaves of their rebel "husbands." Abducted women and girls who were assigned "husbands" remained vulnerable to sexual violence by other rebels. Many survivors were kept with the rebel forces for long periods and gave birth to children fathered by rebels. Some abducted women and girls were forcibly conscripted into the fighting forces and given military training, but even within the rebel forces, women still held much lower status and both conscripted and volunteer female combatants were assigned "husbands." For civilian abductees, aside from sexual violence their brutal life with the rebels included being made to perform forced labor, such as cooking, washing, carrying ammunition and looted items, as well as farm work. Combatants within the rebel forces had considerable latitude to do what they wanted to abducted civilians, who were often severely punished for offenses as minor as spilling water on a commander's shoes. Escape for these women and girls was often extremely difficult: In many instances, the women and girls, intimidated by their captors and the circumstances, felt powerless to escape their life of sexual slavery, and were advised by other female captives to tolerate the abuses, "as it was war." The rebels sometimes made escape more difficult by deliberately carving the name of their faction onto the chests of abducted women and girls. If these marked women and girls were caught by pro-government forces, they would be suspected of being rebels, and often killed. Even though many women did manage to escape, some escaped from one rebel faction or unit only to be captured by another. An unknown number of women and girls still remain with their rebel "husbands," although the war was declared over on January 18, 2002.

The main perpetrators of sexual violence, including sexual slavery, were the rebel forces of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the West Side Boys, a splinter group of the AFRC. Human Rights Watch has documented over three hundred cases of sexual violence by the rebels; countless more have never been documented. From the launch of their rebellion from Liberia in March 1991, which triggered the war, the RUF perpetrated widespread and systematic sexual violence. Its ideology of salvaging Sierra Leone from the corrupt All People's Congress (APC) regime quickly degenerated into a campaign of violence whose principal aim was to gain access to the country's abundant diamond mines. The AFRC, which consisted of disaffected soldiers from the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) who in May 1997 overthrew the elected government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, were also responsible for subjecting thousands of women and girls to sexual violence, including sexual slavery. After the signing of the peace agreement in Lomé, Togo, in July 1999, sexual violence, including sexual slavery, continued unabated in RUF-controlled areas and was also perpetrated by the West Side Boys, who operated outside of the capital, Freetown. The human rights situation worsened after the May 2000 crisis when fighting broke out again, until relative peace was re-established, with U.N. and British assistance, by mid-2001. The prevalence of sexual violence peaked during active military operations and when the rebels were on patrol. Even in times of relative peace, however, sexual violence continued to be committed against the thousands of women and girls who were abducted and subjected to sexual slavery by the rebels. No region of Sierra Leone was spared.

Human Rights Watch has documented only a limited number of cases of sexual violence by pro-government forces, the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) and the militia known as Civil Defense Forces (CDF), the latter consisting

of groups of traditional hunters and young men who were called upon by the government to defend their native areas. Human Rights Watch has not documented any cases of sexual violence by the SLA prior to 1997. This may in part be due to the fact that survivors would have often found it difficult to distinguish between rebel and government soldiers, as the latter frequently colluded with and disguised themselves as RUF forces. Sexual violence was committed relatively infrequently by the CDF, whose internal rules forbid them from having sexual intercourse before going to battle and who believe their power and potency as warriors depends upon sexual abstinence. Some of this internal discipline, however, was lost as CDF moved away from their native areas and traditional chiefs and were given more responsibility in national security. Human Rights Watch has documented several cases of rape by the largest and most powerful CDF group, the Kamajors, who operate predominantly in the south and east.

Human Rights Watch has documented several cases of sexual violence by peacekeepers with the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), including the rape of a twelve-year-old girl in Bo by a soldier of the Guinean contingent and the gang rape of a woman by two Ukrainian soldiers near Kenema. There appears to be reluctance on the part of UNAMSIL to investigate and take disciplinary measures against the perpetrators. Reports of rape by peacekeepers with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), the majority of whom were Nigerian, deployed at an earlier stage in the war, were rare. Both ECOMOG and UNAMSIL peacekeepers have sexually exploited women, including the solicitation of child prostitutes, whilst deployed in Sierra Leone.

Rape in wartime is an act of violence that targets sexuality. Moreover, conflict-related sexual violence serves a military and political strategy. The humiliation, pain, and fear inflicted by the perpetrators serve to dominate and degrade not only the individual victim but also her community. Combatants who rape in war often explicitly link their acts of sexual violence to this broader social degradation. The armed conflict in Sierra Leone was no exception. The rebels sought to dominate women and their communities by deliberately undermining cultural values and community relationships, destroying the ties that hold society together. Child combatants raped women who were old enough to be their grandmothers, rebels raped pregnant and breastfeeding mothers, and fathers were forced to watch their daughters being raped.

To date there has been no accountability for the thousands of crimes of sexual violence or other appalling human rights abuses committed during the war in Sierra Leone. The 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement included a blanket amnesty under Sierra Leonean law for offenses committed by all sides, as the price for the RUF/AFRC agreeing to lay down arms. The United Nations (U.N.) stated that it did not recognize the Lomé amnesty insofar as it purported to apply to international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other serious violations of international humanitarian law.

Two important transitional justice mechanisms, the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) have been established with U.N. assistance and are tasked with investigating the human rights abuses, including sexual violence and sexual slavery, committed by all parties during the war. Both bodies were operational by the third quarter of 2002. The SCSL, a hybrid national and international court, is mandated by the U.N. Security Council to try "persons who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law" committed in the Sierra Leonean conflict since November 30, 1996. As the SCSL is likely to try only a very limited number of persons, due to funding constraints, a clear and comprehensive prosecutorial strategy is essential, with a strong affirmation that gender-related crimes will be thoroughly and competently investigated and rigorously prosecuted as crimes against humanity or war crimes. The TRC, provided for under the 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement partially to offset the controversial amnesty it also included, has the mandate to establish an impartial historical record of violations and abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law from the outset of the war in 1991, promote reconciliation, and make recommendations aimed at preventing a repetition of the violations committed. The final report on the findings of the TRC should highlight the crimes of sexual violence committed throughout the entire country during the armed conflict and make recommendations to strengthen the promotion and protection of women's human rights.

reinstated. Over the succeeding months ECOMOG forces were able to establish control over roughly two-thirds of the country, including all regional capitals: as of mid-1998, the ECOMOG contingent in Sierra Leone was composed of approximately 12,500 troops, predominantly Nigerian with support battalions from Guinea, Gambia, Ghana and Niger.¹⁷ Sankoh was transferred to Sierra Leone from Nigeria and incarcerated in July 1998. In October 1998, the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone tried and sentenced Sankoh to death for his role in the 1997 coup.

Once expelled from Freetown, the APCR/RUF rebels tried to consolidate their own positions in other parts of the country. The Kabbah government, which had negligible forces of its own, had to rely on ECOMOG to stay in power. Through a series of offensives, the RUF/APRC managed to gain control of the diamond-rich Kono district and several other strategic towns and areas. By late 1998, the rebels had gained the upper hand militarily and were in control of over half of the country, including all the mineral-rich areas. From this position, the RUF/APRC launched a major offensive on Freetown in January 1999.

The battle for Freetown and ensuing three-week rebel occupation of the capital were characterized by the systematic and widespread perpetration of a wide range of abuses against the civilian population, and marked the most intensive and concentrated period of human rights abuses and international humanitarian law violations in Sierra Leone's ten-year civil war. At least five thousand civilians were killed and one hundred civilians had limbs amputated, including twenty-six double arm amputations. Thousands of women and girls, including girls as young as eight, were raped and subjected to other forms of sexual violence. In addition, the rebels used civilians as human shields, both while advancing towards ECOMOG positions and as a defense against ECOMOG air power. They also burnt whole neighborhoods, often with the residents in their houses.

Government and the Nigerian-led ECOMOG forces also committed serious human rights abuses, though on a lesser scale, including over 180 summary executions of rebels and their suspected collaborators. Prisoners taken by ECOMOG, some of who had surrendered and many of whom were wounded, were executed on the spot often with little or no effort to establish their guilt or innocence. Officers to the level of captain were present and participated in the executions. ECOWAS officials have yet to initiate a formal investigation into these killings.

As the RUF/APRC were driven out of Freetown in February 1999, they abducted thousands of civilians, who were used to carry looted goods and ammunition, forcibly conscripted into fighting or used for forced labor. Thousands of girls and women were used as sex slaves by the rebels and forced to "marry" rebel husbands. As they moved eastward, the rebels continued to commit egregious human rights abuses, including killings and amputations, particularly in the villages around the towns of Masiaka, Lunsar, and Port Loko.¹⁸

In the months following the January invasion, and as a result of intense international pressure, Kabbah's government and RUF rebels signed a ceasefire agreement on May 18, 1999,¹⁹ followed by a peace agreement in Lomé, Togo, on July 7, 1999.²⁰ Sankoh was released from prison by the Sierra Leonean government to participate in the peace negotiations. The accord, brokered by the U.N., the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and ECOWAS, committed the RUF/APRC to lay down its arms in exchange for representation in a new government. Sankoh was given the chairmanship of the board of the Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development (CMRRD) and the status of vice-president.²¹ Johnny Paul Koroma was made the chairman of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (CCP), provided for under Article 6 of the peace agreement.²²

¹⁷ See Human Rights Watch, "Sowing Terror: Atrocities against Civilians in Sierra Leone," *A Human Rights Watch Short Report*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (A), July 1998.

¹⁸ See Human Rights Watch/Africa, "Getting Away with Murder, Mutilation and Rape," for a comprehensive report on the January 1999 invasion.

¹⁹ See the annex to U.N. Security Council report, S/1999/585, May 18, 1999.

²⁰ Lomé Peace Agreement at <http://sierra-leone.org/lomeaccord.html>.

²¹ Article 5 (2) of the Lomé Peace Agreement.

²² The RUF delegation to the peace talks in Lomé included members of the AFRC who were also appointed as ministers as part of the agreement to share power.

The human rights situation continued to improve in 2002, with the disarmament and demobilization phases declared completed. By January 2002, 47,710 combatants had been disarmed and demobilized. On January 18, 2002, the armed conflict was officially declared to be over in a public ceremony attended by many dignitaries. In addition, the state of emergency was lifted for the first time in four years on February 28, 2002. Following the end of the state of emergency, the government charged Sankoh, and the other RUF and West Side Boys members held in custody since May 2000, with a number of crimes, including murder and related charges. The resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees from Guinea and Liberia was ongoing as of the writing of this report. By July 2002, approximately 250,000 refugees and IDPs had been resettled. The RUF transformed itself into a political party and nominated presidential and parliamentary candidates for elections held on May 14, 2002.

In the elections, President Kabbah's SLPP was re-elected for a second term and faced the challenge of rebuilding the country and its economy. After a decade of war, Sierra Leone ranks last out of 162 countries in terms of life expectancy at birth; adult literacy; combined enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education; and GDP per capita.³¹ Fifty-seven percent of Sierra Leone's population struggles to survive on only U.S. \$1 per day.³² Unemployment is rampant and the current economy is driven by the presence of UNAMSIL and other international organizations. Investors who could create desperately needed jobs remain cautious given the rampant corruption that permeates all levels of Sierra Leonean society and their concerns about regional security.

Women and Girls under Sierra Leonean Law

The Sierra Leonean Legal system

Three systems of law—general, customary, and Islamic—co-exist in Sierra Leone.

General Law

General law consists of the statutory law (codified) and common law (based on case law) mainly inherited from the United Kingdom, the former colonial power. General law is administered through the formal court system, which follows the usual Commonwealth structure, under which the High Court hears more important cases, and magistrates courts the less important ones, both civil and criminal. There is an appeal system, first to the Court of Appeal and then the Supreme Court, which is the ultimate court of appeal and also hears cases relevant to the interpretation of the constitution. The Court of Appeal and Supreme Court are located in Freetown. A High Court and magistrates courts are constituted in Freetown. The High Court was re-established in Kenema and Bo in 2002 and there are magistrates courts in Bo, Kenema and Port Loko.³³ The court system in the provinces, which had a limited infrastructure before the war broke out in 1991, was virtually destroyed during the war—the High Court has not held hearings outside Freetown for six years—and was only gradually being rehabilitated from 2002. Access to the judiciary for rural Sierra Leoneans is further limited by their lack of funds for lawyers, or even transport money.

Only a small number of women, primarily those who reside in the Western Area (where Freetown is located) and women with sufficient funds, have access to the formal court system. As many general law provisions have not been updated since colonial days, the protection that general law affords women is often only marginally better than that provided under customary or Islamic law.

Customary Law

Customary law is defined by the 1991 constitution as "the rules of law by which customs are applicable to particular communities in Sierra Leone."³⁴ Although there are sixteen ethnic groups in Sierra Leone, a general treatment of customary law is justified, as there are many fundamental similarities between the customary laws of

³¹ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2001: Making New Technologies Work for Human Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 141-144.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³³ An itinerant judge covers the High Court in both Bo and Kenema.

³⁴ The Constitution of Sierra Leone (1991), Chapter XII - The Laws of Sierra Leone, Section 170 (3). See <http://www.sierra-leone.org/constitution-xii.html>.

these ethnic groups.³⁵ Customary law has not been written down or codified and is only applied by the local courts.³⁶ These courts operate in the provinces and not in the Western Area, which is historically where the Krio and the British colonizers settled. A chairman presides over the local courts with the assistance of chiefdom councilors who are knowledgeable in customary law. The chairmen in theory should be independent from the paramount chiefs who used to preside over the local courts before reforms were introduced both prior to and after independence.³⁷ Customary law officers who are trained lawyers are supposed to review decisions of local courts and provide training to the personnel of local courts. The government Law Officers' Department, however, remains chronically understaffed, and few of the customary law officers' posts are filled.

As the majority of Sierra Leoneans live in the provinces, customary law governs at least 65 percent of the population in relation to issues not reserved by statute to the magistrates courts or High Court. In practice, issues that should be dealt with in the magistrates courts and High Court are also dealt with under customary law. In addition to problems accessing the formal court system, rural Sierra Leoneans, in particular, have historically always preferred to administer justice amongst themselves to ensure that good community relations are maintained in villages where the other residents are invariably relatives by marriage or descent, rather than turning to outsiders.

Although customary law is not applied in the formal court system, it is recognized and there is some interaction between the two systems. There is the right of appeal from the local courts to the District Appeal Court, where a magistrate sits with two assessors who are chiefdom councilors from the given area of the local court and are knowledgeable about the customary law in their respective areas.³⁸ The assessors advise the magistrate on questions of customary law, with the decision remaining with the magistrate. Likewise, a decision of the District Appeal Court can be appealed to the High Court, with the High Court judge being advised by assessors with expertise in customary law.³⁹

Islamic Law

Islamic law has been recognized by statute in Sierra Leone in relation to marriage, divorce, and inheritance among Muslims.⁴⁰ Otherwise, Islamic law, if applicable at all, is considered part of customary law. In this report, Islamic law is therefore treated as part of customary law except when referring to the specific areas dealt with by the Mohammedan Marriage Act, and cases involving Islamic law are heard by the local courts. Criminal *sharia* law is not applicable in Sierra Leone.

Constitutional Status of Women

In theory, Sierra Leonean women are granted equal rights to men under the 1991 constitution, which provides as one of the "fundamental principles of state policy" that the state "... [s]hall discourage discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, circumstances of birth, sex, religion,..."⁴¹ The equal rights of women are again underscored in the human rights chapter of the constitution.⁴² Under Section 27 of the constitution, however,

³⁵ H. M. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law* (Freetown: Atlantic Printers Ltd., 1983), p. 6.

³⁶ See 1963 Local Courts Act.

³⁷ Richards, *Fighting for the Rainforest*, p. 46.

³⁸ Section 29 (1) of the 1963 Local Courts Act and Section 76 of the 1965 Courts Act.

³⁹ Section 31 (1) of the 1963 Local Courts Act.

⁴⁰ The Mohammedan Marriage Act (Cap. 96 of the revised laws of Sierra Leone, 1960) deals with marriage, divorce, and intestate succession. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, p. 20. Intestate successions occur when the deceased did not leave a will.

⁴¹ The Constitution of Sierra Leone (1991), Chapter II – Fundamental Principles of State Policy, Section 6 (2). See <http://www.sierra-leone.org/constitution-ii.html>. Under Section 8 (2) (a), "... [e]very citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations, and opportunities before the law..." and specific safeguards of equality before the law in terms of health care, employment and education are provided under Section 8 (3) (d); Section 8 (3) (a), (c), (e) and Section 9 (1) (a), (b) and (2) respectively.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Chapter III – The Recognition and Protection of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms of the Individual, Section 15. See <http://www.sierra-leone.org/constitution-iii.html>. Section 15 provides that "every person in Sierra Leone is entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual, that is to say, has the right, whatever his race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex, but subject to respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public

discrimination is permitted, *inter alia*, under laws dealing with "adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other interests of personal law," which have direct bearing on the rights of women, as well as under customary law.⁴³ This important contradiction in the constitution—similar to that in many African constitutions—has contributed to the low status of women in Sierra Leone, as it legitimizes the application of discriminatory customary law. No protection from discriminatory customary law can be sought under the constitution on the basis of sex. Customary and Islamic laws also continue to be widely applied, notwithstanding the fact that legislation provides that general law should prevail over customary law when customary law is "repugnant to statute or natural justice, equity, and good conscience."⁴⁴

Marriage

The rights of married women remain limited, particularly for those married under customary and Islamic laws, which govern most marriages. Women married under the general law have comparatively more rights.⁴⁵

A married woman's position under customary law is comparable to that of a minor: a woman is generally represented by her husband who has the right to prosecute and defend actions on his spouse's behalf.⁴⁶ Sierra Leonean women can gain status through marriage as well as through their role as mothers: a woman's status within society and the polygynous household increases with the number of children she bears. Sierra Leone has one of the highest birth rates in the world, with the average number of children born to each woman estimated at 6.5.⁴⁷ Most households are polygynous, apart from the monogamous Christians (approximately 30 percent of the population); under customary law, a husband can marry as many wives as he wishes. Muslims (60 percent of the population) can marry up to four wives.

Under customary law, a girl is considered of marriageable age once her breasts have developed, her menses have started and she has been initiated, which could mean as young as twelve. Marriages are usually arranged, and the consent of the bride-to-be is not considered essential in most ethnic groups, but the consent of the girl's/woman's family is required.⁴⁸ The fact that a girl is considered "ready" for marriage at such a young age and her consent is not sought has contributed to the common practice of early forced marriages. Men wishing to marry do not need to seek consent from their own parents. The statutory age of marriage under general law is twenty-one years.

interest, to each and all of the following—(a) life, liberty, security of person, the enjoyment of property, and the protection of law; (b) freedom of conscience, of expression and of assembly and association; (c) respect for private and family life, and (d) protection from deprivation of property without compensation."

⁴³ Ibid., Section 27. Subsection 27 (1) provides that "Subject to the provisions of subsections (4), (5), and (7), no law shall make provision which is discriminatory either of itself or in its effect." Under Subsection 4, however, the protection provided under Subsection 1 does not apply "... (d) with respect to adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other interests of personal law, or (e) for the application in the case of members of a particular race or tribe or customary law with respect to any matter to the exclusion of any law with respect to that matter which is applicable in the case of other persons." Discrimination is also permitted against persons who are not citizens of Sierra Leone or naturalized Sierra Leoneans. According to Dr. Tucker, former Chairperson of President's Kabbah's Advisory Committee, the original intent of Section 27 was "to preserve certain areas of segregation which are embedded in traditional practices and are generally acceptable to both sexes, such as the segregation between male and female secret societies. What was taken up in the constitution was more extensive than what was intended." Human Rights Watch interview with Dr. Tucker (Consultant on the Law Development Program funded by the U.K.'s Department for International Development (DFID)), Freetown, April 25, 2002.

⁴⁴ Section 2 of the 1963 Local Courts Act and Section 76 of the 1965 Courts Act.

⁴⁵ Marriages under the general law are governed, *inter alia*, by the Christian Marriage Act, (Cap. 95), the Civil Marriage Act (Cap. 97), and the Matrimonial Causes Act (Cap. 102).

⁴⁶ Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, p. 98. Under customary law, a Sierra Leonean woman is always under the guardianship of a male relative.

⁴⁷ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2001*, p. 157. This figure is based on births recorded for 1995-2000.

⁴⁸ Consent is a very relative term, as girls generally will find it very difficult to disobey their parents' wishes, which can result in severe punishment, including ostracism from the immediate and extended family.

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Under Islamic law, a male or female dependant can be given in marriage against his or her will, and the legal guardian of an adult woman has the right to object to her choice of husband if the prospective husband is not of equal birth.⁴⁹ Under customary law, a dowry is usually paid to the wife's family. Under Islamic law, the dowry is paid to the bride, although the contract is concluded with the legal guardian of the bride-to-be.⁵⁰

Under customary law, a wife can only refuse to have sexual intercourse with her husband if she is physically ill, menstruating or suckling a young child. She can also refuse intercourse during the daytime, in the bush or during Ramadan.

Under customary law, a wife's decision-making powers are limited since she is obliged to always obey her husband. This lack of decision-making power means that women in families where the breadwinner is the man find it very difficult to influence decisions on how the (generally) little income that the family makes is disbursed. Under customary law, a married woman must ask her husband for permission to work outside the house or visit her family. In families where the woman has been given permission to work outside the house and is the breadwinner, it seems that the added responsibility has not necessarily come with increased decision-making power.

A wife, especially in rural communities, is expected to cultivate food for herself and her children, whilst the husband's responsibility is limited to providing accommodation and clothing.⁵¹ A wife residing in an urban area is generally given a lump sum of money by her husband to start a small business, usually petty trading. If the business fails, the wife must refund the capital to her husband. Given the heavy work burden on women, however, there is little opportunity for women to seek remunerated work outside the house.

Divorce and Death of Husband

Under customary law, both parties can bring divorce proceedings either extrajudicially or judicially before a local court, but in practice women are generally not as free to do so as men.⁵² Only the husband has the right to divorce through unilateral repudiation.⁵³ A wife married under customary or Islamic law may, however, seek dissolution of marriage on grounds of impotence of the husband, for example.⁵⁴

Under customary law, the dowry is refundable upon divorce. Dowries paid to poor families are sometimes set purposely excessively high to ensure that the wife's family will not sanction a divorce given their inability to repay the dowry, again highlighting how little control women married under customary law have over their lives.⁵⁵ Under general law, a husband is expected to pay alimony for his wife and children on divorce, which both parties may initiate.⁵⁶

When a husband dies, the widow is expected under customary law to undergo a mourning period and rituals.⁵⁷ It is only after these rituals that widows are considered purified and can remarry. Some ethnic groups

⁴⁹ Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 161-2.

⁵⁰ Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 161.

⁵¹ Full maintenance of his wife is only the responsibility of the husband during the rainy season (approximately between the months of May and November) or when his wife is sick or nursing a baby. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, pp. 106-7.

⁵² Judicial divorces are rare as they are more expensive. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-149.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4.

⁵⁴ Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 165.

⁵⁵ Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, p. 79. Strict tribal Muslims do not require that the dowry be repaid on divorce.

⁵⁶ Christian Marriage Act, Cap. 95 of the revised Law of Sierra Leone, 1960, s. 7 (2), s. 15 (1) (b), and s. 5 respectively.

⁵⁷ A widow must mourn for forty days. Her head is shaved or, in some chiefdoms, disheveled and her body is washed with the same water used to wash her husband's corpse. In some chiefdoms her body is smeared with mud to indicate her mourning. After either one week or forty days for strict Muslims, widows are taken to a stream to be ceremonially washed.

still insist that if the widow remarries, she does so within her deceased husband's family, otherwise all marriage payments are refundable.⁵⁸

As Sierra Leone is a patrilineal society and the husband has custodial rights over children, children are handed over to the husband's family head upon his death.⁵⁹ Under Islamic law, the mother has the right to care for a boy child until the age of nine and a girl child until she comes of age.⁶⁰

Under customary matrimonial property law, a wife is generally only able to keep her own possessions and her self-acquired property in the event of divorce or death. A wife is generally not entitled to keep property acquired through the joint efforts of husband and wife and has no rights over the matrimonial home.⁶¹ Nor can a wife inherit under Islamic law: either the eldest son or brother or the official male administrator of the deceased inherits.⁶² Under general law, a wife is also only entitled to one third of her deceased husband's property, if he has not made a will.

This denial of inheritance rights of women is a major problem given the large number of war widows who are now able to return to their villages of origin, but have no access to land.

Domestic Violence

Societal attitudes to domestic violence are another indicator of the status of women and girls in society; physical violence against women and children is common in Sierra Leone. Indeed, under customary law, a husband has the right to "reasonably chastise his wife by physical force."⁶³ If the husband is persistently cruel and frequently beats his wife to the point of wounding her or causing her great pain, the wife can divorce her husband, but under customary law a single act of physical and brutal force is permitted. A population-based assessment of war-related sexual violence in Sierra Leone carried out by Physicians for Human Rights among 991 female-headed households in camps for displaced people found that, although 80 percent of women surveyed expressed that there should be legal protections for the rights of women, more than 60 percent of the women believed that a husband had the right to beat his wife.⁶⁴

Rape as a Crime under General Law

The laws governing rape in Sierra Leone are very confusing even for persons working in the criminal justice system, such as members of the judiciary and police force. They are also archaic and date back to the British 1861 Offences Against the Person Act. Under this Act, rape is defined as "the unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman without her consent by force, fear or fraud."⁶⁵ Penetration (however slight) is required to constitute the crime of rape.⁶⁶ In addition, although a child is defined as a person under the age of sixteen,⁶⁷ Sierra Leonean law makes the extremely unhelpful distinction between unlawful carnal knowledge of a girl under the age of thirteen and

⁵⁸ The Mende, Krim, Sherbro, Vai, Karonko and Yalunka adhere to this custom, whereas the Temne, Susu, Limba, Loko, Kissi and Kono allow a widow to select her own husband and do not require a refund of the marriage payments if she marries outside her deceased husband's family. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, p. 138.

⁵⁹ If the couple was married under general law, the custody of the children is often determined by the courts, which generally grant the mother custody of the children.

⁶⁰ Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 167. In practice, the mother and children will stay with whomever has the money to provide for them.

⁶¹ As customary marriages are generally polygynous, a divorce with one of the wives would result in the dissolution of the whole household if she were to ask for a refund for her contribution to building the house. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Family Customary Law*, pp. 113-120.

⁶² Mohammedan Marriage Act, Cap. 96 of the revised laws of Sierra Leone, 1960, s. 9.

⁶³ Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Family Customary Law*, p. 152.

⁶⁴ Physicians for Human Rights, *War-related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone: A Population-based Assessment* (Boston: Physicians for Human Rights, 2002), p. 55 (hereafter referred to as PHR report).

⁶⁵ Offences Against the Person Act, 1861 (24 & 25 Vict. c 100), s. 63. Unlawful carnal knowledge refers to sexual intercourse between unmarried persons. The law does not actually forbid or make sexual intercourse between unmarried persons a punishable crime, but it only recognizes the right to sexual intercourse for married couples.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act (1926), Cap. 31 of the revised Laws of Sierra Leone 1960, s. 2.

unlawful carnal knowledge of a girl between thirteen and fourteen years of age. The law is unclear about unlawful carnal knowledge committed against persons aged between fourteen and sixteen, although the few cases involving this age group that have gone to trial have reportedly been prosecuted as rape.⁶⁸

Nor is the age of consent explicitly stated, although it is presumably by necessary implication sixteen years old. Marital rape does not exist under Sierra Leonean statutory law, and most Sierra Leoneans firmly believe that it is the duty of a wife to have sex with her husband even if she does not want to.⁶⁹

Unlawful carnal knowledge of a girl under the age of thirteen, whether with or without her consent, is a felony and carries a maximum sentence of fifteen years of imprisonment.⁷⁰ Unlawful carnal knowledge of a girl between the ages of thirteen and fourteen, whether with or without her consent, is, however, only considered a misdemeanor and carries a maximum sentence of two years.⁷¹ The language "with or without her consent" refers only to cases of unlawful carnal knowledge that do not constitute rape; for example, an eighteen-year-old man who has sexual intercourse with a thirteen-year-old girl with her consent.

The police and judiciary seem to have misconstrued the meaning of the law. When an offence of rape against a girl under the age of fourteen is reported, the police and judiciary turn to either Section 6 or 7—depending on the age of the victim—of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act and determine that the girl did not consent. Based on her age, they then charge unlawful carnal knowledge and not rape. This misinterpretation therefore leads to a lesser charge for the rape of a child than for the rape of an adult.⁷²

Rape of a person over the age of sixteen is considered a felony and carries a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.⁷³ Indecent assault—sexual assault without penetration—on or attempts to have carnal knowledge of girls under the age of fourteen years carry the same maximum sentence as unlawful carnal knowledge of girls between the age of thirteen and fourteen i.e. only two years of imprisonment.⁷⁴ No person can be convicted of unlawful carnal knowledge, indecent assault or attempted unlawful carnal knowledge "upon the evidence of one witness, unless such witness be corroborated in some material particular by evidence implicating the accused."⁷⁵

The law pertaining to the abduction of girls for immoral purposes applies to any unmarried girls under the age of sixteen.⁷⁶ Abduction of girls for immoral purposes is a misdemeanor, carrying a maximum sentence of two years of imprisonment.

In addition to the legal confusion that exists in general law concerning rape, attempts by women to obtain the prosecution of rapists are frustrated by the collapsed state of the judiciary and the lack of effective law enforcement, which has contributed to the ongoing climate of impunity for offenders.

⁶⁸ Human Rights Watch interviews with Abdul Tejan-Cole (human rights lawyer and acting coordinator for the national nongovernmental organization Campaign for Good Governance), Freetown, February–May, 2002.

⁶⁹ As the right to have intercourse between a husband and wife is recognized, a husband cannot be guilty of raping his wife unless he has been legally separated from his wife. See also PHR report, p. 55.

⁷⁰ Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, s. 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, s. 7. If a man were legally married to a girl under fourteen years of age, sexual intercourse with her would not be an offence.

⁷² Human Rights Watch interview with Bill Roberts and Anne Hewlett (respectively crime adviser and criminal investigation trainer with the Commonwealth Community Safety and Security Project), Freetown, May 1, 2002.

⁷³ Offences against the Person Act, s. 48.

⁷⁴ Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, s. 9. Section 9 stipulates that "whosoever commits an indecent assault or attempts to have carnal knowledge shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall on conviction before the Supreme Court be liable for imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding two years." Consent is no defense to a charge of indecent assault of a child under fourteen years.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, s. 14.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, s. 12. There are also problems with the term "unmarried" because abduction of persons should obviously be prohibited irrespective of their marital status.

Prosecution of Sexual Violence under Customary Law

The manner in which rape is dealt with under customary law is indicative of the societal values towards sexual violence and the low status of women and girls in Sierra Leone. Although all serious criminal cases should automatically be tried under general law, rape cases continue to be prosecuted under customary law in the local courts.⁷⁷

Under customary law, when a case is brought to the local court, the perpetrator is generally required to pay a substantial fine to the victim's family as well as to the chiefs. "Virgin money" is payable to the victim's family if the victim was a virgin. In some communities, in particular Muslim communities, the victim is forced to marry the offender, as a girl who is not a virgin is considered less eligible for marriage. Traditionally, in some ethnic groups, both the victim and the perpetrator will be made to undergo a purification ceremony. For the victim, the purification ceremony is supposed to restore her virginity and for the perpetrator to cleanse the guilt. Any man who invades the husband's exclusive sexual rights over a wife compensates the husband, and not the wife, for "woman damage."⁷⁸

In addition to applying discriminatory laws, the local court system is problematic as women of some ethnic groups do not have direct access to the local courts, but must be represented by a male guardian.⁷⁹ The situation is further exacerbated as the chairmen and chiefdom councilors of the local courts are generally all male, which makes it difficult for women to bring cases of sexual violence as the women are often embarrassed and their cases are generally dealt with insensitively by the male court staff. The local courts are also prone to interference by the chiefs as well as the concerned parties, especially in cases dealing with sexual violence.

Many people in rural areas prefer to settle the case between the families and do not go to court. In cases settled between the two families, money or goods are given to compensate the victim's family. Paradoxically, the giving of gifts or money to a rape victim may even elevate her status within her family.

Some families turn to the local chiefs who can arbitrate between the two families but have no right to impose any fines. In practice, however, the local chiefs have been known to impose fines.

Discrimination against Women and Girls in Practice

In addition to being subjected to discriminatory laws, all women and girls face structural discrimination in Sierra Leone's patriarchal society, which accords automatic respect to its older male members. As a result of the low status accorded to them by law and by custom, women in Sierra Leone face substantial discrimination in practice.

Education

Systemic discrimination against women starts in childhood, when many parents prefer to spend their scarce resources on the education of their sons rather than their daughters. According to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Gender-Related Development Index, females account for only 21 percent of the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio, compared with 32 percent males.⁸⁰ This gender disparity illustrates not only that fewer girls attend school but also that their education is discontinued at an earlier age than boys. This is reflected in the literacy rate of persons over fifteen years: only 20 percent of females are literate compared to 40 percent of males.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Under Section 13 (1) of the 1963 Local Courts Act, the local courts have no jurisdiction in seduction actions, which includes any act intended to lead the wife astray. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Family Customary Law*, footnote 34, p. 121.

⁷⁸ Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Human Rights Watch interview with Dr. Mariane Ferme (Lecturer, Department of Social Anthropology, Cambridge University, U.K.), Freetown, April 19, 2002.

⁸⁰ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2001*, p. 213.

⁸¹ Government of Sierra Leone, *The Status of Women and Children in Sierra Leone: A Household Survey Report (MICS-2)* (Freetown: 2000), p. 30. The literate population includes those who are able to read "easily" or "with difficulty." Only 30 percent of the total population over fifteen years is literate.

The high illiteracy rate among women can in part be explained by the higher demand for female labor in the family. Girls are required to work in the house at an early age given that their mothers have to take care of the household and the children and do farm work. Another contributing factor to women's illiteracy is the harmful traditional practice of early forced marriage, which is very common in the provinces (see below).

The Workplace

Sierra Leone has ratified numerous international labor conventions.⁸² Some discriminatory practices, such as restricting the right to maternity leave to married women, which was the norm in the formal sector in the 1970s, have been prohibited by law. Extremely poor working conditions, however, persist in Sierra Leone for the majority of workers. In addition, women working for male bosses continue to be subjected to sexual harassment. According to the president of the Sierra Leone Labour Congress, the trade union federation, much work remains to be done to ensure the full and even application of the labor laws, especially in the provinces.⁸³

Sierra Leone's rural population is primarily engaged in subsistence farming, with women constituting 80 percent of the labor that produces 70 percent of the nation's food.⁸⁴ This agricultural labor is generally not remunerated by cash wages and women have unequal access to land or technology. In Sierra Leone, the different ethnic groups continue to operate under communal and family land holding systems. Women can use the land for subsistence farming but the control and management of the land and any property on it is vested in the male head of the family. With the post-war resettlement process underway, war widows returning to their villages of origin often lack the legal means or community support to reclaim their families' properties. As women have little or no property to offer as collateral, their access to credit is limited. Women therefore tend to rely on traditional sources of credit such as rotating savings, which only provide small loans.⁸⁵

Due to the limited number of educated women, which is partly the result of the high demand for girls to perform household tasks at a young age, the preference of sending boys to school, and early forced marriages, few women are represented in the better remunerated professional or managerial jobs. Sierra Leone's crushing poverty and high unemployment have also meant that positions that in the West are perceived as women's jobs are often held by men in Sierra Leone, leaving even fewer openings for women. In the formal employment sector, women therefore constitute only 40 percent of the clerical staff and a mere 8 percent of the administrative and managerial cadre.⁸⁶ In the informal sector outside agriculture, where the cash returns are low, women are mainly involved in petty trading, soap making and tie-dyeing. Given the lack of opportunities for remunerated work, women tend to be heavily dependent on their husbands.

The breakdown of community values as the result of the war, combined with cultural practices, also serves to make girls and women vulnerable to abuse and sexual exploitation, which has historically been rampant in Sierra

⁸² Multilateral Convention (no. 29) concerning Forced or Compulsory Labor, as modified by the Final Articles Revision Convention, June 28, 1930, 39 U.N.T.S. 55 (entered into force May 28, 1947); Multilateral Convention (no. 105) concerning the Abolition of Forced Labor, June 25, 1957, 320 U.N.T.S. 291 (entered into force January 17, 1959); Multilateral Convention (no. 100) concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value, June 29, 1951, 165 U.N.T.S. 303 (entered into force May 23, 1953); Multilateral Convention (no. 111) concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation, June 25, 1958, 362 U.N.T.S. 31 (entered into force June 15, 1960). Sierra Leone has not signed Convention 47 (40 hour week), Multilateral Convention (No. 95) concerning the Protection of Wages, July 1, 1949 (entered into force September 24, 1952), Multilateral Convention (No. 102) concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security, June 28, 1952, 210 U.N.T.S. 131 (entered into force April 27, 1955) or Multilateral Convention (No. 182) concerning the Worst Forms of Child Labor, although a social security system for both the public and private sector was recently established.

⁸³ Human Rights Watch interview with Uriah O. H. Davies, president of the Sierra Leone Labour Congress, Freetown, April 14, 2002.

⁸⁴ Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, *National Policy on the Advancement of Women* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 2000), p. 7.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 15. Rotating schemes are schemes whereby groups of women pool their resources and each member of the group has access to the funds on a rotating basis.

⁸⁶ Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, *National Policy on Gender Mainstreaming* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone), p. 3.

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Leone.⁸⁷ Many women and girls have been driven to prostitution as a result of the increased poverty caused by the conflict and their lack of other opportunities and skills.

In the Political Arena

Discrimination against women is evident in the political arena. Women were not granted the right to vote or stand for election for any political office until after independence in 1961. Given their economic dependence on men, it is also much more difficult for women to raise the necessary campaign funds. In the Northern Province, women continue to be excluded from contesting and voting for the elections for traditional leadership positions (although there are reportedly several female chieftain councilors).⁸⁸ Out of the 149 paramount chiefs in the country, only three are female, all based in the south.

Under the new block voting system which was introduced for the 2002 elections, 112 parliamentary seats are elected by popular vote. An additional twelve parliamentary seats are reserved for paramount chiefs who are elected in separate elections by chieftain councilors. There are presently only eighteen female parliamentarians, including two female paramount chiefs. This does represent an increase over the previous government, which had a total of eight women parliamentarians, including two female paramount chiefs. At government level, there are only three female ministers and three female deputy ministers, which is a marginal increase from President Kabbah's previous Cabinet.⁸⁹

Harmful Traditional Practices and Their Impact on Women's and Girls' Health

Early forced marriages

The health of many women and girls in Sierra Leone is compromised by early forced marriage.⁹⁰ Early forced marriages are very common in the provinces, where men often sponsor a girl from birth (paying for school fees, clothes, etc.) and marry her after she has been initiated (see below for an explanation of the initiation process).

Early forced marriage is one of the factors contributing to Sierra Leone's high maternal mortality rate, since young girls have several children before their bodies are fully mature. At 1,800 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, Sierra Leone's maternal mortality rate is one of the highest in the world. This mortality rate translates to approximately 4,000 maternal deaths per year based on a total population of five million.⁹¹

Girls who are forced to marry early not only miss out on education, but also on skills training opportunities and are therefore highly dependent on their husbands.

⁸⁷ Human Rights Watch interview with a highly respected international observer who has worked in Sierra Leone for two decades. Freetown, February 27, 2002.

⁸⁸ Only persons paying tax can contest and participate in elections for paramount chiefs who are elected from ruling houses. The paramount chieftaincy system was introduced by the British Colonial Administration to administer the various chiefdoms in the Protectorate (i.e. the whole of Sierra Leone excluding the Western Area). Although there is reportedly no law against women paying taxes, women in the Northern Province have historically not done so probably due to lack of opportunities to find remunerated work. The tax is a negligible amount that women are willing to pay to ensure their eligibility for these elections. Human Rights Watch interview with Joseph Hall and Honerin Muyoyatta from the National Democratic Institute (NDI), Freetown, March 22 and 23, 2002.

⁸⁹ The three ministerial posts are Minister for Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, Minister for Trade and Industry, and Minister of Health and Sanitation. The three female deputy ministers are in the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and the Ministry of Works, Housing and Technical Maintenance. The new government was sworn in on July 12, 2002.

⁹⁰ Early forced marriages are marriages whereby the consent of either party is not sought or more commonly whereby the consent of the girl is not sought and whereby one or both spouses is/are under the age of consent (which under international law should not be less than fifteen years of age). This harmful traditional practice contravenes article 16(3) of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which states that the betrothal and marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, article 16(1) and (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and article 23(3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which says that "[n]o marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouses."

⁹¹ Government of Sierra Leone, *The Status of Women and Children in Sierra Leone*, p. 63.
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Female Genital Cutting

Sierra Leonean girls as well as boys are traditionally initiated into secret societies at adolescence. The secret societies that perform the initiation rites take the adolescents into a sacred place in the bush where they are circumcised and taught about traditional practices. The male and female societies are segregated and males are not supposed to know what happens in female secret societies or vice versa.

Traditionally, initiation for girls entailed spending an extended period (up to two years) in the bush with girls of the same age, being taught various cultural skills (dancing, singing, drama, arts and craft, how to use local herbs, how to respect elders, etc.) and being a good wife (cooking, cleaning, child welfare, hygiene, fishing, etc.) by older women. Girls who undergo initiation through the secret societies are treated with deference after having completed the ritual and are feted by their communities.⁹² Today, the duration of the initiation ceremony has been greatly reduced, minimizing the skills transfer aspect, and thus focusing on the cutting itself. Because it was not always possible to hold the ceremonies during the war, initiation rites are now often practiced on adults, girl mothers, and pregnant girls—whereas traditionally it was seen as a rite of passage into adulthood for adolescent girls, who had to be virgins. In recent years, girls and/or adult women who do not wish to be initiated have been abducted and circumcised by force by female members of the community.

Ninety percent of Sierra Leonean women have undergone female genital cutting, which can have major health repercussions, including pain, injury to adjacent tissue of the urethra, hemorrhage, shock, acute urine retention, and infection.⁹³ Longer-term health effects include recurrent urinary tract infections, pelvic infections, infertility, keloid scar, and problems during childbirth.⁹⁴ The high prevalence of conflict-related sexual violence, which causes trauma to the genital area, can only have served to aggravate these health repercussions and both have in turn contributed to the increased spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS).

This harmful traditional practice, which is contrary to provisions of several international human rights instruments, continues to be practiced due to the significant societal pressure exerted by adults as well as peers.⁹⁵ Girls who have not been initiated are seen as less eligible for marriage and many future husbands sponsor the initiation of their bride-to-be.

Societal Attitudes to Sexual Violence against Women and Girls

The low status of women and girls is highlighted by the prevalent societal attitudes towards sexual violence. The notion of sexual violence as a crime is a very recent concept in Sierra Leone. It is still widely believed that only rape of a virgin is rape, which in Krio is called "to virginate." Rape of a non-virgin, on the other hand, is not considered rape, and there is often a belief that the woman must have consented to the act or is a seductress. Marital rape is not recognized under either customary or general law in Sierra Leone.

⁹² Human Rights Watch interview with Dr. Mariane Ferme, (lecturer, Department of Social Anthropology, Cambridge University, U.K.), Freetown, April 19, 2002.

⁹³ Dr. Olayinka Koso-Thomas, *The Circumcision of Women: A Strategy for Eradication* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1992), p. 19. The type of female genital cutting performed in Sierra Leone is clitoridectomy (removal of the prepuce of the clitoris) and excision (removal of the prepuce, the clitoris and all or part of the labia minora). The extreme form of infibulation is not practiced in Sierra Leone.

⁹⁴ U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), *Report on the First Donors Meeting For FGM/FGC Elimination* (Washington D.C.: USAID, 2001), p. 12.

⁹⁵ Female genital cutting violates the right to be free from violence (Article 1 of the CEDAW) and the right to bodily integrity (Article 6 of the CRC). Under Article 5 (a) of the CEDAW, states are called upon "to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women." Article 24 (1) and (3) of the CRC also requires states to abolish traditional practices that are harmful to the health of children. General Recommendation 19 of the CEDAW Committee also links traditional attitudes which subordinate women and violent practices, including female genital cutting, that "... justify gender-based violence as a form of protection or control of women."

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Given the lack of statistics about rape cases before the war, it is impossible to establish the historical prevalence of sexual violence, but several doctors reported to Human Rights Watch that, before the war, they only treated a limited number of young girls who generally had been raped by older men.⁹⁶ According to the doctors interviewed, many cases of rape before the war occurred within the extended family and were considered family matters. They were rarely discussed or reported, in order to ensure that the victim's chances of marriage and obtaining a good dowry were not destroyed. Rape was also apparently unlikely to occur within a village community, where everyone knew each other and the shame attached to the offender would be too great. Rape outside the extended family was more likely to be committed in environments where there were mixed ethnic groups, such as in mining areas or larger towns. The cultural definition of rape and lack of reporting, however, may have led to the understanding that rape rarely occurred before the war. Sexual exploitation, however, has always been rampant in Sierra Leone, where economic options for women are limited and which has traditionally condoned a high level of promiscuity, despite the high value placed on virginity. With the increased poverty caused by the war, sex has become even more of a commodity.⁹⁷

The societal attitudes to rape and the low status of women have meant that no cases of conflict-related sexual violence and few cases of non-conflict-related sexual violence are prosecuted.⁹⁸ (See also below at p. 61 for a discussion on the amnesty included in the Lomé Peace Agreement.)

V. SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Prevalence of Sexual Violence during the War

Throughout the ten-year civil war, thousands of Sierra Leonean women and girls were subjected to widespread and systematic sexual violence, including rape and sexual slavery. A survey of 991 female heads of households in communities of displaced persons carried out by Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) in 2002 found that approximately one of every eight household members (13 percent) had been subjected to one or more incidents of conflict-related sexual violence; among the actual respondents to the survey, the prevalence rate of conflict-related sexual violence was 9 percent (94 out of 991).⁹⁹ Based on this prevalence rate, as many as 50,000 to 64,000 internally displaced women may have been subjected to sexual violence as a result of the war.¹⁰⁰ Adding extrapolated data for other types of victim, PHR calculated that as many as 215,000 to 257,000 Sierra

⁹⁶ Human Rights Watch interview with Dr. Olayinka Koso-Thomas, Freetown, February 25, 2002; Dr. Noah Conteh, Freetown, March 1, 2002 and Dr. Bernard Fraser, Freetown, March 3, 2002. The latter two doctors practiced in the provinces as well as in Freetown.

⁹⁷ Sex can be bought for as little as U.S. \$0.50. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Save the Children U.K., *Sexual Violence and Exploitation: The Experience of Refugee Children in Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone* (Geneva/London: UNHCR/SC-UK: 2002). Human Rights Watch has some concerns about this report as the report does not provide an adequate review of the context, including the status of women and girls within the given countries. Given the low status of women and girls in these countries, the sexual exploitation is much wider than reported: the power dynamic means that men of all walks of life, such as teachers, pastors, police, businessmen as well as aid workers or peacekeepers, exploit girls and women. It would also appear that the short-term solutions proposed do not adequately address the underlying structural issues, such as poverty, lack of education or alternative means of income generation for many women.

⁹⁸ It was not possible to obtain reliable statistics as reporting and recording of cases by the police and judiciary are not consistent.

⁹⁹ PHR report, p. 2. The PHR report captures some of the different types of sexual violence that women were subjected to. Of the ninety-four internally displaced women reporting their own experience of sexual violence to PHR, interviewees reported among other things: rape (89 percent); being forced to undress/stripped of clothing (37 percent); gang rape (33 percent); abduction (33 percent); molestation (14 percent) and insertion of foreign objects into genital opening or anus (4 percent). It should be noted that the definition of rape used by the PHR report differs from that used throughout this report. The definition used in this report, as mentioned above, is that used by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, in the *Foca* case.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3. As PHR points out this figure might be an underestimate due to deliberate non-disclosure of sexual violence and the lack of privacy in some of the interviews, despite efforts made to ensure privacy.

Leonean women and girls may have been subjected to sexual violence in the conflict period.¹⁰¹ Although these figures are necessarily no more than estimates, they do give an indication of the widespread nature of sexual violence during the war.

Human Rights Watch has primarily documented sexual violence committed during the latter stages of the war when the organization had a full-time presence in the country, beginning April 1999. This does not mean that sexual violence was at its worse during this period. Since that time, Human Rights Watch extensively documented crimes of sexual violence during the January 1999 invasion of Freetown as well as ongoing human rights abuses. Human Rights Watch has also received numerous reports of sexual violence dating from earlier in the war.

Perpetrators

Survivors of sexual violence mostly reported being raped by rebel forces, but were at times not able to identify which rebel faction the perpetrators belonged to or whether—especially given the frequent collaboration between soldiers and rebels—the perpetrators were indeed rebels or rather soldiers from the Sierra Leone Army (SLA). In addition, survivors explained that they often deliberately did not want to look at their rapists out of fear and because they did not want to make eye contact. For example, D.T., a twenty-five-year-old woman raped by four rebels, including one child combatant, said that she would not be able to recognize any of the perpetrators, as she was too afraid to look at them (see below at p. 36).¹⁰² A. B., a thirty-year-old who was raped by two rebels, also said that:

When you are with these people [rebels], you do not ask questions. I did not even look into their faces. Many of them rubbed black chalk on their face and when you looked at them would say, "What are you staring at?"¹⁰³

Rebel Forces

The RUF committed crimes of sexual violence—often of extreme brutality—from the very beginning of the war when they invaded Sierra Leone from Liberia in March 1991. RUF rebels committed crimes of sexual violence in the course of their military operations, during which thousands of women and girls were abducted and forced to "marry" rebel "husbands." These abducted women and girls were repeatedly raped and subjected to other forms of sexual violence throughout the duration of their captivity, which in many cases lasted years. During captivity, these women and girls were also made to carry out forced labor, including carrying heavy loads, cooking, cleaning, etc. Many women and girls have given birth to children fathered by rebels.

The AFRC committed crimes of sexual violence from May 1997, using the same tactics as the RUF. Sexual violence by the RUF and the AFRC continued to be committed after the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on July 7, 1999, and they were joined in this by the West Side Boys, a splinter group of the AFRC formed after the signing of the Agreement. An unknown number of abducted girls and women still remain under the control of their rebel "husbands" who did not want or feel able to relinquish the "families" they had founded in the bush; in many cases the abductees' own families would not have welcomed them back.

Sexual violence peaked during the rebels' military operations, which occurred countrywide as the rebels sought to capture more territory. After capturing a town or a village, the combatants rewarded themselves by looting and by raping women and girls, many of whom they later abducted. Crimes of sexual violence committed during and following military operations, such as "Operation No Living Thing" and "Operation Pay Yourself"

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 3-4. PHR's calculation is not inclusive of all categories of victim: to the IDP women reporting conflict-related sexual violence, PHR added non-conflict-related sexual violence among non-displaced women, assuming a prevalence rate of 9 percent.

¹⁰² Human Rights Watch interview, Foriah, March 6, 2002.

¹⁰³ Human Rights Watch interview, Bo, February 9, 2000.

that took place in 1998, have been documented by Human Rights Watch.¹⁰⁴ Human Rights Watch has also extensively documented the January 1999 invasion of Freetown by the RUF/AFRC, during which sexual violence was systematically committed against women and girls on a massive scale. The sexual violence committed during January 1999 serves as an illustration of the widespread nature of sexual violence committed by the rebel forces. Among the perpetrators were child combatants, and many of the victims were also children. Members of the Small Boys Units (SBUs) within the rebel forces were known to be particularly cruel and committed egregious human rights abuses.

Although there are no exact figures for the number of women and girls subjected to sexual violence during the January 1999 invasion, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and the Sierra Leone chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE Sierra Leone), a nongovernmental organization that has been treating survivors of sexual violence since 1999, provided medical treatment and counseling to 1,862 female survivors of sexual violence who had been raped and/or abducted during the invasion. According to MSF, 55 percent of these survivors reported having been gang raped and 200 had become pregnant.¹⁰⁵

As the RUF/AFRC rebels controlled most of the countryside apart from pockets of government-controlled areas in the south and some key towns, including Bumbuna and Freetown, at different times throughout the war, women and girls living in these rebel-held areas were also subjected to sexual violence when the rebels went on patrol or simply sought to assert their domination over the population. Women and girls in government-controlled areas also lived in fear of rebel hit-and-run attacks, during which many women and girls were subjected to sexual violence and abducted. Women and girls residing in Freetown were "spared" until the January 1999 invasion by the RUF/AFRC.

Pro-Government Forces

Human Rights Watch has not documented any cases of sexual violence by the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) prior to the time of the 1997 AFRC coup. According to the survey conducted by Physicians for Human Rights, of seventy-five women and girls who reported having been raped and identified the rapists' affiliation, only three said they were raped by SLA soldiers.¹⁰⁶ This may in part be due to the fact that survivors would have often found it difficult to distinguish between the rebel factions and the SLA. With the "sobel" phenomenon, the SLA soldiers would disguise themselves as rebels (the rebels were also known to disguise themselves as members of the SLA or the ECOMOG peacekeeping force).

Human Rights Watch has documented only a few cases of sexual violence committed by the pro-government Civil Defence Forces (CDF). The CDF movement consists of groups of traditional hunters and young men organized into militia. They were initially only deployed by the government in their own chiefdoms, in order to ensure their loyalty and discipline and make the best use of their superior bush knowledge.¹⁰⁷ The government provided training, weapons and food to the units. The relatively small number of identified cases of sexual violence perpetrated by the CDF may be related to the CDF's internal rules that stipulate that warriors cannot have sexual intercourse before going to battle, as they would lose some of their protective powers that are bestowed on them during their initiation ceremonies. These powers are meant to make the fighters invincible and immortal. During the initiation ceremonies, the fighters are also instructed not to harm civilians, and required to take an oath to that effect. Thus, it is likely that the pro-government forces did not actually commit sexual violence on a widespread and systematic basis; however, the low number of identified cases may also be partially due to Human Rights Watch's human resource constraints, faced with the overwhelming number of abuses committed by the rebel forces. Research on the CDF was mainly conducted in the south where the Kamajors, the

¹⁰⁴ See Human Rights Watch, "Sowing Terror: Atrocities against Civilians in Sierra Leone," *A Human Rights Watch Report*, July 1998.

¹⁰⁵ Human Rights Watch interview with MSF, Freetown, March, 2000.

¹⁰⁶ PHR report, p. 48. and Table 5 on p. 52. See also Binta Mansaray, "The Invisible Human Rights Abuses in Sierra Leone: Conflict-related Rape, Sexual Slavery and Other Forms of Sexual Violence," June 2001. On file with UNAMSIL human rights section.

¹⁰⁷ The Kamajors operate predominately in the south and east, the Tamaboros in the far north, the Gbettis in the north and the Donzos in the far east. See also "Background" section.

largest and most powerful group of the CDF, are based. In recent years, as the Kamajors have been moved away from their villages of origin and the influence of their traditional chiefs, they have become increasingly undisciplined and cases of rape by Kamajors have become more common.

Peacekeeping Forces

Human Rights Watch has documented several cases of sexual violence by UNAMSIL peacekeepers, including the rape of a twelve-year-old girl in Bo by a soldier of the Guinean peacekeeping contingent in March 2001 and the gang rape of a woman by two Ukrainian peacekeepers in April 2002 near Kenema (see below). There appears to be reluctance on the part of UNAMSIL to investigate and take disciplinary measures against the perpetrators. Reports of rape by ECOMOG peacekeepers, the majority of whom were Nigerian, were rare.

Both ECOMOG and UNAMSIL peacekeepers have sexually exploited women and solicited child prostitutes.

Sexual Violence Committed by the Rebel Forces

"Virgination"—Targeting Young Girls

The rebel forces subjected women and girls of all ages, ethnic groups, and socioeconomic classes to individual and gang rape. Although the rebel forces raped indiscriminately irrespective of age, the rebels favored girls and young women whom they believed to be virgins. This was evident not only by their actions, but was also explicitly stated by them as they chose their victims. As in many countries, Sierra Leonean society places a high value on virginity. Girls who have been "virginated" and are therefore no longer virgins, are considered less eligible for marriage. M.B., a fifteen-year-old girl from Freetown, described how RUF/AFRC rebels deliberately sought out virgins for violation during the January 1999 invasion of Freetown:

We were hiding in the mosque when two rebels dressed in civilian [clothing] entered. It was dark but they shone their flashlights looking for girls and said, "We are coming for young girls ... for virgins, even if they tie their heads like old grandmothers, we will find them." They also said that if the people did not hand over the young girls, they would open fire on all of us.¹⁰⁸

Some victims explained that female rebels physically checked girls to see whether they were virgins.¹⁰⁹ M.W., a thirty-eight-year old nurse who was captured by the RUF/AFRC during the January 1999 invasion of Freetown and forced to treat wounded rebels and civilians, said that the youngest rape victim she treated was "a little nine-year-old from Calaba Town [an area of Freetown]. Her perineum was bleeding and had been badly torn. Every day we gave her sit baths and she eventually recovered."¹¹⁰ The consequences of sexual violence for virgins can be particularly severe as these testimonies highlight, although mature women also reported experiencing similar consequences.¹¹¹

R.T. was about sixteen when she was brutally raped vaginally and anally by ten RUF rebels in the forest near Koidu in Kono district in January 1997. R.T. developed vasico-vaginal fistula (VVF) and vasico-rectal fistula (VRF) from her brutal gang rape:

I was hiding in the bush with my parents and two older women when the RUF found our hiding place. I was the only young woman and the RUF accused me of having an SLA husband. I was still a virgin. I had only just started my periods and recently gone through secret society. There were ten rebels, including four child soldiers, armed with two RPGs [rocket propelled grenades] and AK-47s. The rebels did not use their real names and wore ski masks so only their eyes were

¹⁰⁸ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, May 1, 1999.

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that virginity can not be medically proven.

¹¹⁰ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, October 21, 1999. The victim probably suffered from vasico-rectal fistula (a tear or opening in the tissue between the rectum and the vagina, usually resembling an open blood vessel), which would have left her incontinent.

¹¹¹ International humanitarian law prohibits all rape and other acts of sexual violence, of course irrespective of whether the victim was a virgin or not.

visible. The rebels said that they wanted to take me away. My mother pleaded with them, saying that I was her only child and to leave me with her. The rebels said that "If we do not take your daughter, we will either rape or kill her." The rebels ordered my parents and the two other women to move away. Then they told me to undress. I was raped by the ten rebels, one after the other. They lined up, waiting for their turn and watched while I was being raped vaginally and in my anus. One of the child combatants was about twelve years. The three other child soldiers were about fifteen. The rebels threatened to kill me if I cried.

My parents, who could hear what was happening, cried but could do nothing to protect me. I was bleeding a lot from my vagina and anus and was in so much pain. My mother washed me in warm water and salt but I bled for three days. I can no longer control my bladder or bowels as I was torn below. We stayed in the bush until ECOMOG took over Koidu. When we came out of the bush, even adults would run away from me and refused to eat with me because I smelled so badly. I had an operation in 2000 but it did not work. Before I got a catheter in 2001, I had no friends, as I smelled too bad. I am still in pain and have a problem with vaginal discharge. I also have nightmares and feel discouraged.¹¹²

This extreme sexual violence is illustrated also by the following testimony by F.B., who describes the resultant deaths of eight young girls in one Liberian refugee camp alone (no doubt many others died from similar treatment during the war). F.B.'s testimony also illustrates the RUF's connection to Liberia and the role of Liberian mercenaries in the RUF movement. F.B. was a ten-year-old girl living in Mano village in Kailahun district near the Liberian border when the RUF accused civilians in her village of helping the SLA. Her family decided to flee to Liberia in November 1991, but was fired upon by the rebels as they fled. At least fifteen civilians were killed, including her father and several women with babies on their backs:

Only six of my family survived; my mother, one brother, two sisters, one uncle, and me. After hiding and fleeing through the bush for three days, Mohammed, my uncle, found someone with a boat to help us cross over to Liberia. We crossed into Vahun where there was a sort of refugee camp. We were there for two weeks and terrible things happened. We thought we had escaped from the rebels but we found many of them there. They controlled the camp. Even though food was being air dropped, the rebels took it all. They took everything we had, our money, salt, and all our food. The rebels were mixed Sierra Leoneans and Liberians.

About a week after arriving, the rebels came into our house in the evening and took my fifteen-year-old sister away. My mother stayed up the whole night. The next day my uncle went from hut to hut looking for her. He called her name and heard her groaning inside a hut. He picked her up and carried her home. When my mom saw her she burst out crying. I was only ten and didn't know anything about man business. My sister was crying all the time and couldn't walk. She cried, "Oh mother, I'm going to die." My mother just held her and told her it would be O.K. My uncle exchanged five gallons of palm oil so we could get some salt, which my mother later mixed with water and had my sister sit in. She was bleeding a lot. She told me they had tied her mouth and raped her many times, but I didn't know what rape was.

After that my uncle shaved my head, gave me trousers and made me look like a boy. When I was walking around a camp I saw a few girls aged under twelve years old, lying on the ground with their legs spread open and blood coming out between their legs. Some had their dresses pulled up and others had cloth stuffed in their mouths. During the two weeks I was in Vahun I saw eight girls like this. Sometimes their family would come and wrap them in white so I knew they had

¹¹² Human Rights Watch interview, IDP camp called "Lebanese Camp," March 2, 2002. Women and girls with obstetric fistulae suffer from a constant wetness that results in genital ulcerations, frequent infections and a terrible odor. These fistulae generally require surgery although occasionally they spontaneously heal.

died. Other times no one picked them up and they stayed there for days until someone buried them. There were so many girls who had lost their parents and were there alone, so no one would come for them.

I saw the rebels catching young and even older women. Once they caught an old woman. She said, "No, leave me. I'm too old for this business." But they made fun of her saying, "Oh look, we have caught a young *Bundu* [initiate into secret society] girl here." Other times I heard women screaming in the middle of the night. Everyday people were dying—from hunger, illness, and this rape. After that I had dreams about a dead person coming to hurt me.

The only reason we stayed that long was because people were still moving across the border and we figured things were even worse in Sierra Leone. Besides, the rebels stopped us from going back home, and we did not know anyone in Liberia so we would have died of hunger.¹¹³

M.M. was only eleven when she was abducted, together with her aunt and her aunt's four children, when Koidu was attacked during the dry season¹¹⁴ in 1994. M.M. had not yet experienced her first period or been initiated into secret society:

I was raped by seven child combatants, who were aged between fifteen and sixteen years old, on the way to Kailahun. I was raped in my vagina and anally. Other rebels and also civilians saw me being raped but the civilians were too afraid to protect me. My aunt put native herbs on my genital area but I bled for five days. The RUF had medicine but would not give it to us civilians. My aunt carried me on her back, as I could not walk because of the pain. It took us five days to reach Kailahun. A rebel commander wanted my aunt to be his wife but she refused so he killed her. In Kailahun, I was not raped again. Since my rape, I have only experienced irregular periods and my belly is always swollen like I am pregnant.¹¹⁵

M.F. was abducted from Koinadugu town in Koinadugu district in September 1998 when the RUF/AFRC attacked the town. She was only thirteen at the time and was brutally raped both vaginally and anally by five RUF rebels. During the same attack, the RUF killed over thirty older women:

I was only thirteen and a virgin. They forced me to go down on my hands and knees with my bottom in the air and raped me both vaginally and anally. Five rebels raped me on that first day. My clothes were bloodied and it hurt to urinate and defecate afterwards. The rebels who raped me promised to take me to Freetown and give me money and dresses. They gave me nothing after they used me. I was given to one of them, Mohammed, as his wife. We stayed in Koinadugu town for four days. I was with my parents but could not tell them about the rapes although my mother heard me being raped.

The RUF said they came to kill civilians who were ungrateful and talked bad about the RUF. The RUF cut my grandmother with a knife and beat her with a pestle. She died. The RUF told the older women to go to the mosque to attend a ceremony. More than thirty women, some of whom had children, went to the mosque. The RUF set fire to the mosque. Another old woman was rolled into a mat and the mat was set on fire.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Human Rights Watch interview, Bo, February 9, 2000. *Bundu* is one of the secret societies that initiate girls and perform female genital cutting.

¹¹⁴ The dry season in Sierra Leone is approximately between November and May.

¹¹⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Lebanese Camp, March 2, 2002.

¹¹⁶ Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, March 7, 2002.

Rape Victims Subjected to Multiple Human Rights Abuses

Rapes were often preceded by or followed by other human rights abuses against the victim, her family members and/or her community. Hardly any family was unscathed by abuse during the war. The PHR report highlighted that 94 percent of the 991 female-headed households surveyed had experienced at least one serious human rights abuse during the ten-year period.¹¹⁷ M.P., who was twenty-four years old when the RUF attacked Jaiweii village in Kailahun district in May 1991, testified:

I was captured together with my husband, my three young children and other civilians as we were fleeing from the RUF when they entered Jaiweii. Two rebels asked to have sex with me but when I refused, they beat me with the butt of their guns. My legs were bruised and I lost my three front teeth. Then the two rebels raped me in front of my children and other civilians. Many other women were raped in public places. I also heard of a woman from Kalu village near Jaiweii being raped only one week after having given birth. The RUF stayed in Jaiweii village for four months and I was raped by three other wicked rebels throughout this period.

The rebels, who spoke Liberian English, said they were fighting for the SLPP to be in power. When the RUF first entered Jaiweii, they accused my husband of giving information to the SLA, so they tied his hands behind his back and beat him mercilessly. They kept him tied up and continued to beat him. After six days, he died and they threatened to kill me if I cried. The RUF also shot three other men whom they accused of giving information to the SLA. My three children all died because they became sick and there was no medicine. The older one who was five years died one week before the two younger ones who died on the same day. They were only three and seventeen months old.¹¹⁸

M.P. added that the RUF had said that they could do whatever they want with women whom they "owned." A.J., a fourteen-year-old student, was abducted by the RUF from Pujehun and was held by them from February to May 1994. She was first tortured, caged, and then brutally raped:

On February 3, 1994 at around 8:00 p.m., the RUF attacked Pujehun. There was lots of firing because the SLA was deployed here. As we were fleeing, we ran straight into a group of over one hundred RUF. They were dressed in civilian clothes and nearly all had guns. Among those rebels was one named Maliki, who was actually from Pujehun. RUF Commander Bai Bureh started to select several people from our group. As he was doing the selecting, Maliki told him to choose me because if they let me go, I would go back to Pujehun and tell the SLA that he was there. They chose eight of us, four young men and four young women, including three of my cousins. They told the rest of the civilians to go back into the bush and said that if they found them the next day they would be killed. We were taken to their camp.

Two weeks later, the four young men managed to escape. When the rebels found out, they blamed us for what happened. They said the boys were really SLA soldiers that were there to get information on the RUF. I was then tortured by a Liberian RUF commander named C.O. Rackin. He said I was "bright and bold" and must have known how they escaped. He interrogated me, asking me if the boys were SLA's. During the interrogation he cut me in twenty-one places with a knife including a deep cut on my left breast. He drew a small, small circle in the dirt and told me to step inside and walk around in it. Any part of my body left outside he stabbed with a knife.

Then a commander called Momoh Rogers, who was the battalion commander, ordered that my cousin and I be put in a wooden cage smaller than one square meter. He said that if our brothers

¹¹⁷ PHR gave the following examples of serious human rights abuses: beating, bodily injury, amputation, torture, killing, forced labor, captured for less than one day, sexual assault without rape, rape, abduction, burned dwelling, looting. PHR report, pp. 45-47.

¹¹⁸ Human Rights Watch interview, Lebanese IDP Camp, March 2, 2002.

who had gone to tell the SLA came to attack, it would be very easy for them to kill us. The cage was what the village people used to store their husk rice in and it had almost no ventilation. We were only let out to defecate. They told me I had to pee on myself in the box. They poured water into the cracks but it was never enough and was dirty. Sometimes they dropped cassava and boiled bananas into the cage, feeding us like we were animals. The stab wounds I had got infected and I got sores all over my body. They were painful and smelled very badly.

After about two weeks in the cage, one of Patrick's bodyguards took me to C.O. Patrick's house. When I saw him, I told him about the sores on my feet and breasts. I told him I was in pain and asked for treatment. C.O. Patrick told me to shut up and ordered me to go into the house. He turned to his bodyguard and said that if I refused, I was to be taken behind the house and executed. When we got inside, Patrick told me to lie down on the floor. Then he forced himself upon me. I was a virgin. He was violent and rough. Then he told me to turn over and give him my behind. But I told him I could not lie down because my breast was so swollen. So he brought a chair and told me to stand up and lean onto the chair. Then he stood behind me and tried to shove his penis into my vagina. The first time he did this I fell over onto my chest, which was so painful. I started bleeding from my chest wound. Then he told me to get up and said if I did not hold the chair firmly he was going to kill me. He took a long time doing that thing to me. I was crying from the pain of my breast and because it was painful, being the first time. He told me to shut up. As he was sexing me he accused my brothers of being spies and said he was going to kill me and that he was only waiting for the others to come from the frontline to do it.

C.O. Patrick asked if I had done sex before and I told him "No, I am a school-going girl." Then he said, "Well, tonight you are going to have sex, because you are going to be killed and you should do it before you die." I was terrified. I started crying. All I could think of was my death and all that guy could do was do that thing to me. After he was satisfied, I was taken back to the cage.¹¹⁹

A.M. was eighteen when she fled Freetown with her two children, two sisters, and brother after the 1997 AFRC coup. Not only was she first forced to watch the execution of three male civilians by Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers in Fadugu, Koinadugu district, but also the rebel execution of her brother and sister. The RUF tried to get her to eat her brother's liver and heart. Her sister's head was also placed on her legs:

After the rebels were driven out of Kabala by ECOMOG, the rebels spread to different towns, including Mongo, Badela, and Dankawali. One day I went with my brother to wash in the stream, as I was afraid to go by myself. We heard shots, which my brother thought must have come from ECOMOG soldiers. I was afraid. We met three rebels with guns who accused my brother of being a SLA soldier. "Superman" was the commander. They beat my brother with their gun butts and took off his clothes. "Superman" forced my brother to go down on his hands and knees and made me sit beside him. They cut his neck from the back and then took an axe and cut his back. They removed his heart and liver and put them on my hands. The heart had more shape and the liver was flat. They tried to force me to eat them but I refused to. Another rebel, Colonel Titus, a mercenary who spoke Liberian English, arrived and told the others not to force me to eat my brother's heart and liver. He said he would show me how they will deal with me. He said they should abduct me. They took me back into the village of Dankawali where we met my grandmother on her veranda. She was tied up and she said that another rebel commander, Hakim, had carried my two children and small sister away in the first group.

The rebels had abducted another group of twenty-five persons and held them by the cotton tree. My big sister was under the cotton tree. I told her that the rebels killed our brother. Colonel Titus slapped my sister and told her not to cry. They killed my sister and two other women and placed

¹¹⁹ Human Rights Watch interview, Pujehun, February 12, 2002.

their cut off heads on my legs. The rebels also locked some villagers in the houses and set all houses on fire.¹²⁰

H.K., a sixteen-year-old student, was abducted from Freetown during the January 1999 invasion. She was taken to Makeni where she was "virginated" and forced to be the wife of Colonel "Jaja," a twenty-two-year-old half-Liberian who threatened to kill her entire family if she escaped. H.K. was brutally tortured after Colonel "Jaja" accused her of stealing his money, which was in fact taken at gunpoint from her by "Superman," a notorious rebel commander and his bodyguard called "Yellowman." She described what happened afterwards:

Then the rebels took me into a stream and tied me to a tree in the water. They told people to beat me. I was in water up to my head. "Jaja" said the boys should cut down the tree and let me drown. I was there for several days, maybe up to a week or so. Once a water snake swam by and ate my foot in the water. When I was tied there, Jaja cut my neck and put cocaine into my body. He also gave me marijuana cigarettes to smoke. Finally he untied me and put me in an old container where I stayed for several days. While in the guardroom Jaja and Alhaji "Cold Boots" came several times to give me drugs.¹²¹

The rebels often used psychological torture against civilians by, for example, making them clap or sing in praise while watching family and friends being killed, raped or mutilated. They further exerted their domination over civilians by not allowing them to show any emotion, and threatening to kill anyone who did. In 1997, when K.M. was abducted by the RUF from Kabala in Koinadugu district, her brother was shot in front of her. The RUF accused him of planning to escape. She was not allowed to show any emotion and was forced to throw his body in the river. In 1999, K.M.'s husband was killed in front of her by RUF Captain Solvelar in Yomandu in Tonkolili district, when a child combatant accused her husband of not doing his job properly. As Captain Solvelar shot K.M.'s husband, he warned her not to cry otherwise she would be killed. Later in the same year, K.M.'s baby was killed in front of her in Kambia district by a rebel captain who wanted to rape her:

Captain "Danger" pulled my baby from my back and before I could do anything, he sliced my child in two. I was told not to cry as otherwise I would be killed as well.¹²²

Rape with Objects and Other Sexual Torture, including Sexual Mutilation

The rebels frequently used objects, including weapons, burning wood, and hot oil, to rape or otherwise torture (including sexually torture) women and girls, sometimes resulting in their death. In 1994, J.M., an elderly man from Giehun village in Kailahun district, witnessed the killing of nine civilians accused of plotting to set Foday Sankoh up for a government ambush. One of those civilians, a woman named Janneh, was alleged to have been one of Sankoh's "wives." J.M. described how rebels brought her into the village square, forced her to lie down and then poured boiling palm oil into her vagina and ears:

The RUF rounded up about seventy of us civilians, including Abi and Janneh, and accused us of making a plot to arrest Sankoh. The commander said we were to be killed but that first he would do an investigation. First he called upon Abi who accused Janneh of calling people in Freetown to arrange something against Sankoh. So Janneh was the first to be killed. The rebels grabbed her, stripped her and threw her down in front of the whole village. Several of them pulled her legs apart and held her tightly. They poured a pan of boiling palm oil into her vagina and then into her ears. This terrified us. She started shaking all over and was bleeding from the nostrils and mouth. While on the ground they struck her with a gun and danced around her saying, "When you were loving with the old man [Sankoh], you didn't show us any respect, but now your time for punishment has come." She died about an hour later. The rebels said they were sent by Sankoh who was living in Kailahun about seven miles. Nothing small or big happened without his

¹²⁰ Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, March 9, 2002.

¹²¹ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, October 12, 1999.

¹²² Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, March 7 and 9, 2002.

knowledge. After killing Janneh they poured hot oil in the mouths, eyes and noses of three other villagers, and then shot five others. I guess Janneh must have known all of Sankoh's secrets.¹²³

M.F., the thirteen-year-old who was raped by five rebels (see above, p. 30), witnessed how her stepmother's mother was beaten by the RUF with a long pestle in Momoria village in Koinadugu district in 1998. The rebels then shoved the pestle into her anus. M.F. said that her stepmother's mother was still alive when they left her with the pestle in her anus, which was bleeding.¹²⁴ One woman also reportedly had pepper put in her vagina as the RUF suspected her of being the wife of a SLA soldier. Rebels inserted burning firewood into the vagina of twenty-five-year-old F.T. and another woman during the January 1999 invasion of Freetown:

On 21 January 1999, I went to a neighbor's house to buy rice, as I had not eaten for over two days. The rebels had been in the area and as I bought two cups from my neighbor, we heard the rebels coming again. My neighbor told me to leave quickly so that he could lock up his house. When I left with another woman and a man, we met a group of ten rebels who surrounded us. They were dressed in full combat [uniform] and asked us where we were going in Krio.

The rebels asked us what we could give them, so the man took out all his money and gave it to them. He was then allowed to go. As the other woman and I did not have any money, they told us to take off our clothes at gunpoint. We begged them not to harm us. The rebels then told us to lie on the dirt ground and open our legs. They put their guns to our throats and stomachs to make sure that we followed their order. Once we were on the ground all the rebels surrounded us, and a tall rebel well over six feet went to the kitchen of Parliament House and took a piece of burning firewood from the fire. He then squatted down and with his two hands inserted it into my vagina. Then he returned to the fire and got another piece and then a third. I felt like I was being stabbed inside.

He did the same to the other woman. While they did this to us, I heard them say "This is the way we are going to fuck you. We are not able to do to you half of the things we do to people in the provinces. You bastard civilians, you hypocrites; as soon as you see ECOMOG, you start to point fingers at us."

They left shortly afterwards and I managed to drag myself to a nearby house with blood gushing from my vagina. I went to a clinic where the doctor removed bits of firewood from my vagina. I feel so unhappy and fear my husband will find another wife to satisfy his sexual desire. The treatment is very slow and I do not have money for treatment. There are sores inside me. I can not sleep at night or walk more than one hundred yards.¹²⁵

H.K., the sixteen-year-old Freetown student forced to be the wife of Colonel "Jaja," had an umbrella shoved up her vagina as part of the torture that followed her being accused by "Jaja" of stealing his money:

When Jaja came home, I told him what happened and instead of believing me, he blamed me and accused me of having stolen the money. He dragged me out of the house into the street and started beating me. He caused a great scene. He stripped me, tied me up and hit me again and again with a stick. He also beat with the butt of his gun. Then he took an umbrella and pushed it up inside me two times—he shoved it up into my privates—hard. Many people were standing around watching and even some of the other rebels told him to leave me. He went crazy. He started shooting up in the air. I lay there for a few days, naked and bleeding. I was three months pregnant but after this I aborted. I bled for over a month. Once a boy named Junior came by and put his hand inside my vagina. He brought out his hand, which was all bloody and said, "Look at

¹²³ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, November 11, 1999.

¹²⁴ Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, March 7, 2002.

¹²⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, May 21, 1999.

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your blood, you're sick." All the civilians seeing this felt sorry for me, but of course they couldn't say anything.

Rebel forces were known for mutilating pregnant mothers to find out the sex of the unborn child. According to witnesses, they would bet large sums of money, and the rebel who had rightly guessed the sex of the unborn child after the women's belly had been cut open would keep the money. Some women were cut open alive, but sometimes the women were killed before the rebels cut their abdomens open. K.M. who was abducted during the 1997 attack on Kabala, witnessed the killing and sexual mutilation of a pregnant woman near Kono in Kono district (see above):

They captured a Koranko woman who was pregnant. Two RUF, Captain "Danger" and C.O. "Cut Hand" argued about the sex of the child. They bet 100,000 leones [approximately U.S.\$50] on the sex of the child. Then they shot the woman dead and opened her belly. The RUF held up the baby with the placenta, which they shook in the air. The baby cried and then died. I wanted to run away but my husband said that the civilians would think that I was a rebel and that they would kill me.¹²⁶

Fifteen-year-old F.K. was raped by the RUF in Lunsar in Port Loko district in May 2000 and witnessed the sexual mutilation of a pregnant woman as well as the killing of her three male relatives, and six amputations:

I was raped when the RUF attacked Lunsar in May 2000 by four rebels including one man called "Put Fire," who had made me his rebel wife from 1997 to 2000. One of the other rebels was called "Kill Man No Blood." While I was being raped, the rebels found my three male relatives who were hiding under their beds. They stabbed them with their bayonets and then shot them. They raped me in my bedroom and then brought me into the living room. Three men and three women were also brought into the room. They were put in line and then the rebels gave them the choice between their life or their money. The rebels strip searched each one and then killed them on the spot. The group was forced to watch as each was killed.

One of the women was six months pregnant and slightly disabled. She was last in the row. When it was her turn, she was stabbed in the neck and fell down. The rebels started to discuss whether she was carrying a boy or a girl. They bet on the sex of the baby so they decided to check it. Kill Man No Blood split open her belly. It was a boy. One of the other rebels took the baby out and showed everyone that it was a boy. The baby was still alive when he threw it on the ground next to the woman but died shortly after. As the rebels took me away, I saw six men who had just been amputated. Some had an arm cut off below the elbow, others above the elbow. They were screaming, "Please kill us, don't leave us this way."¹²⁷

Sexual Violence with the Added Element of Violating Cultural Norms

The rebel forces have used sexual violence as a weapon to terrorize, humiliate and punish, and to force the civilian population into submission. The rebels sought complete domination by doing whatever they wanted with women, including sexual acts that, by having the additional element of assailing cultural norms, violated not only the victim but also her family or the wider society. The rebels have forced civilians to commit incest, one of the biggest taboos in any society. One survivor witnessed the RUF trying to force a brother to rape his sister in Sambanya village in Koinadugu district. When the brother refused to do so, the rebels shot him.¹²⁸ Fathers were forced to rape their daughters. Fathers were forced to dance naked in front of their daughters and vice versa. In Sierra Leone, postmenopausal and breastfeeding women are presumed not to be sexually active, but rebels violated this cultural norm by raping old women and breastfeeding mothers. Child combatants also raped women who could have been their mothers or in some instances even their grandmothers. Many rapes were committed in

¹²⁶ Human Rights Watch interview, March 7 and 9, 2002.

¹²⁷ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, May 25, 2000.

¹²⁸ Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, March 9, 2002.

full view of other rebels and civilians. Victims were also raped in mosques, churches, and sacred places of initiation.

During the January 1999 invasion of Freetown, A.C. was forced to watch the rape of his daughter by RUF/AFRC rebels:

The rebel in charge was a thirty-year-old ex-SLA known as "Amos." I knew him from before. He had plasters on his face. The others were called "Junior" and "Blood," who did most of the talking. They gathered five young girls together, including my fifteen-year-old daughter, and put them in the back room. They asked us for five million leones [approximately U.S. \$2,500] otherwise they threatened our girls would be killed. We managed to collect 350,000 leones [approximately U.S. \$175], which we gave to them.

Then they brought out the girls. They pushed my daughter and a seventeen-year-old on the bed in the parlor and started tearing off their clothes. I peeked through a crack in the door and could see them fighting with my daughter. They put clothes in her mouth so she would not scream. The rebels punched, slapped her and knocked her head with the butt of their rifle. Then one of them opened the door and asked who the fathers of the girls were. One of them took us and lined us up right in front of the bed and said, "Don't you want to see what we do to your daughters?" We begged them to leave them alone but they said, "If you continue to talk, we will burn this house and kill everyone of you." A rebel had his gun pointed at us the whole time and there were two more at the door. Amos raped my daughter and Blood raped another girl. Then the rebel with the gun and the one guarding took their turns. My daughter was crying but they covered her mouth and told her to shut up. Blood then told the girls to get dressed and they took them away.¹²⁹

S.G., a fifty-year-old widow, was raped by a teenage rebel called Commander "Don't Blame God" and subsequently had both arms amputated in Matru village in Bo district prior to the 1996 elections:

I pleaded but Commander Don't Blame God said he was going to kill me if I didn't lie down. I told him it had been such a long, long time since I had sex. During the rape I was pleading with him saying, "Don't kill me, please don't kill me." He was so rough with me. Then he took me up a big dune above Matru village. As we were walking, he said he was going to kill me. I pleaded with him and he then said, "I've changed my mind, I'm going to give you a letter." Once we got there I saw many more rebels, about twenty. I was stripped naked down to my underwear. It was humiliating. Then they asked me to sit down and wait. Commander Don't Blame God said: "I have a letter for you but wait for the cutlass man to come." Then the one with the machete came and told me to put out my left arm. It took them three chops with the cutlass to cut off my arm. After this I begged them not to cut my other arm but they struggled with me and a rebel held it down and cut it off. The cutlass man said, "We belong to Foday Sankoh's group." Then one of them took my left arm and put it under my vagina and kicked me twice in the vagina ... very, very hard.¹³⁰

D.T. was gang raped by a child combatant and three other RUF rebels in the rainy season in 2000 near Foriah village in Koinadugu district:

I was hiding in the bush from the rebels with about fifteen other villagers when the rebels found us. The rebels separated me from the others because my nine-month-old son was crying. A child combatant ordered me at gunpoint to put my son down. He then raped me. I do not know how young he was but he had not yet been circumcised. He was maybe as young as twelve. Then three other rebel men raped me. When I was being raped, I made no movement as they might think that

¹²⁹ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, May 3, 1999.

¹³⁰ Human Rights Watch interview, Bo, March 2, 2000.

I was trying to resist. I was bleeding after being raped by four males. After being raped, the rebels forced me to carry a heavy load and walk to Kania town. I escaped the same day and returned to the farm. I explained to my husband that I had been raped but he was happy to accept me back.¹³¹

R.F., a thirty-three-year-old farmer, explained how she felt after she was gang raped by West Side Boys, including four child combatants, at Petifu village in Port Loko district in November 1999:

Four children between ten and twelve years used me. They were so small I could barely feel them inside me. The small ones tried to imitate the older ones and one of them kept saying, "I'm trying it, I'm trying it." It was the war that brought that humiliation. I kept comparing them to my own children; my first-born son is ten. I forgave them because they are children. It was not of their own making. They must have been drugged.¹³²

In December 1994, thirty-year-old A.B. was abducted with six other women from Yonibani in Tonkolili district by the RUF when they launched a surprise attack with the collusion of the SLA. The RUF made the women carry looted items to their camp, where A.B. stayed for a week before escaping. She herself was repeatedly raped by two rebels, including one Liberian, and witnessed the rape of an old woman with gray hair:

At least four of the women I had been abducted with were raped. Before they raped me, the rebels went for an old woman with white hair. When she realized what they wanted, she took off her headscarf to show her white hair and said, "I'm old, I have stopped having sex." At first the commander said the rebels should not touch her because she was old. But the other rebels got annoyed and started insulting the commander saying, "Fine, you can fuck any woman you want, anytime you want, but now that we have one we want, you say no." The commander finally said that they could go ahead so all five rebels, including a small boy of fifteen years raped her. One was on his knees with his trousers down while the others stood around watching.

When I saw that I felt sick. When I saw a young boy and that old woman, I realized they could do anything and that they were going to do the same thing to me. But I guess I was lucky as only two did it to me.¹³³

S.J., a wealthy forty-five-year-old woman, was raped by RUF rebels, including a child combatant, and then burnt in late January 1999 in Manjoro village in Bombali district:

Thirty rebels attacked our village. The rebels said that we, the civilians don't want peace. I saw them kill three people and were it not for God, I would have been the fourth. Then they burned thirteen houses and looted all our things. I ran with my four children to the house in the bush where we tend to the cows. We slept there with the cows for a few days but then seven rebels surprised us there. The commander of this group was called C.O. Caca Scatter. He was a Mende. Others were speaking Mandingo and Temne.

They started stealing what few possessions I had and then C.O. Caca Scatter said that I should be raped. When I heard that order I pleaded, "Please, don't do that one to me." But they said they would do whatever they wanted. Four raped me and the last one to rape me was a fifteen-year-old. I could have given birth to him, he was so young. He put a knife to my throat and said he was going to kill me but the C.O. said I shouldn't be killed.

Then they tied my hands behind me and C.O. Caca Scatter burnt me. He scooped up hot charcoal from the fire we had been cooking with and tried to burn my face with it. I struggled and turned

¹³¹ Human Rights Watch interview, Foriah, March 6, 2002. The rainy season starts in May and ends in October.

¹³² Human Rights Watch interview, Port Loko, November 27, 1999.

¹³³ Human Rights Watch interview, Bo, February 9, 2000.

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my face so he burned my chest instead. He did this four times on my front and seven times on my back. Each time they picked up the charcoal and held it on my body until it burned deep into my skin. They left me with my skin burning but I could not roll on the ground for fear it would catch fire and burn me even more. When they started to burn me I pleaded for them to kill me. I started screaming and my children came around to try and save me. They took two of my children, gave them looted property to carry and took them away. That is the last I have heard of them.¹³⁴

T.B., a fifty-year-old woman was abducted from Freetown during the January 1999 invasion and made to walk to Magburaka in Bombali district. There, a RUF/AFRC rebel raped her until she developed an abscess in her vagina:

In Magburaka, I was first raped by three rebels. While doing it they called me a bastard child and that civilians wanted to burn them all alive. After that I was taken as a wife by a commander called "Bird Bod" who was in his thirties. He raped me every day. They were always on drugs. He said he didn't have a wife so I cooked and washed for him. He roughed and beat me and used to put his fingers violently up inside me. He would get an erection while he was doing this and would sometimes rape me afterwards. I think this is how I started to get boils—I had five or six of them. It started to create an ulcer. Over the two months I was with them it got worse and worse. It was terribly painful but Commander Bird still raped me and put his fingers up me even though I had this problem. I don't know why the RUF would treat an old woman like me in such a way.

The abscess got very swollen and started to hang down between my thighs. I could barely walk. It started to smell very bad and it was then that the commander finally drove me away. I walked for two to three weeks through the bush going from village to village until I got to Masiaka. In every village I went, the women felt for me and would give me food and make a bath of herbs and salt for me to soak in. Then when I felt strong enough, I would walk to the next village. When I reached Freetown, I received medical treatment. My husband has accepted me back and feels sorry for me.¹³⁵

Breastfeeding mothers were also not spared by the rebel factions even though in Sierra Leonean culture, women are not supposed to have sexual intercourse until their children have been weaned and can walk, which can take up to three years.¹³⁶ Sierra Leoneans believe that doing so will weaken the breast milk and the ability of the child to fend off infection. Women whose infants died from malnutrition after they—the mothers—had been raped frequently attributed the death of their child to the fact that they had been raped. It is also a specific crime for a man to commit adultery with another man's wife while she is breastfeeding. Traditionally, the guilty spouses are thought to be under a curse and will suffer misfortune.¹³⁷ A.B., who was raped by two rebels and witnessed the rape of an old woman, tried at first to dissuade the first rebel from raping her by telling him that she was a breastfeeding mother with full breasts, but the rebel said he did not care.¹³⁸ M.C. was breastfeeding her two-week-old baby when she was brutally gang raped by RUF/AFRC rebels in early January 1999 near Mabang in Tonkolili district; she breastfed her baby while being raped. She suffered a prolapsed uterus¹³⁹ as a consequence of the rape:

At the time of the January 1999 offensive, my husband who is a policeman was based in Mile 91. I became very worried about him and decided to travel to find him. I left Bo on January 8. I had just given birth to a baby girl two weeks before so was still feeling very weak but I desperately wanted to find my man.

¹³⁴ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, September 17, 1999.

¹³⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, July 8, 1999.

¹³⁶ Mariane C. Ferme, *The Underneath of Things: Violence, History, and the Everyday in Sierra Leone* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2001), p. 131.

¹³⁷ Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Law*, pp. 127-8 and 131.

¹³⁸ Human Rights Watch interview, Bo, March 2, 2000.

¹³⁹ A prolapsed uterus is a condition in which the uterus drops from its normal position. In severe cases, such as those that may be associated with injury from sexual violence, the cervix and uterus may protrude beyond the vaginal opening.

I arrived late in the evening. Then all of a sudden we heard firing. There was confusion and armed rebels captured me. They took me to their bush camp in a place called Mabang. They started sexing me two days later. I tried to fight and told them to leave me, but several times they put a pistol into my vagina. I gave myself up to God and asked that he save me. The first day, about ten sexed me. After the first day there were fewer men, between three and six a day. Every day they came and stood in line waiting to rape me. All together there were over thirty different men. They were aged between seventeen and twenty-five years old. The younger ones were rough and most of them seemed to be on drugs. I think these were RUF people. Most of them seemed to be Mendes. I saw many young girls in their camp. I guess the lucky ones only had one rebel. But I'm from Bo and wouldn't allow myself to be together with one of them. I told them I wasn't a Kamajor and that my husband was a policeman and they said, "Oh policemen are our enemies ... we've killed them all. Forget about your husband."

Sometimes they tied my legs to my arms with my legs spread and raped me one after the other. They said since I was from Bo and I was a Kamajor's wife that they were going to rape me to death. [Sometimes] I held my baby Hawanatu in my arms while they were raping me. When she cried they said they wanted to shoot her so I gave her the breast.

They raped me for two or three weeks and then in early February, my vagina came out [i.e. she suffered a prolapsed uterus]. It was so, so painful. I can't tell you how much it hurt. When this happened, I thought I was going to die. In order to get it to go back in I had to lie down and push it back in. To urinate, I had to lie down. They provoked me and made fun of me. They said now my Kamajor husband will not be able to have sex with me. A wife of one of the commanders told a villager to help me escape which they did. He took me to a nice woman in another village away from the rebel area and after explaining my problem, she helped me so much. She gave me herbs and tried to cure me and my baby who by that time was vomiting and very sick. It's only God that helped keep my little Hawanatu alive. He decided that this little child is mine to keep. Later, when I was stronger, I made it to Freetown and had an operation for my prolapsed uterus. I feel much better now.¹⁴⁰

Rebels also raped pregnant women. In polygynous marriages, pregnant women generally stop having sexual intercourse with their husbands once their pregnancy has been confirmed, to protect the fetus. R.F, the thirty-three-year-old farmer gang raped by West Side Boys at Petifu, Port Loko, in November 1999 (see above, p. 39), was six months pregnant at the time. As the result of the gang rape she delivered prematurely, causing the baby's death:

I went with Isatu, her husband and my five-year-old son to harvest rice in Isatu's village, Petifu. We traveled by boat and at night to avoid the rebels. When we were resting having worked all the next day, we heard the rebels. They were all over the village and told us to give them our rice and palm oil. Several of them started hitting me on the head with their guns. Three were wearing uniform, the others wore civilian clothes. They spoke all different languages.

One of them tied a rope around my waist like a goat and pushed me out of the door screaming, "Show me where your people are." My little boy was left sleeping on the bed. Seven of the rebels then led me about a mile out of the village, screaming at me to tell them where we had hidden the rice and palm oil. I told them I was a stranger there but they did not believe me. They took me into a small farmhouse where they all used me. This went on for a few hours until the cloth I was lying on was soaked. I could barely walk. Then they ordered me to get up and dragged me like a sheep back to the village.

¹⁴⁰ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, September 5, 1999.

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Once back in the village, they put me in a house and more of them started raping me. I was used by at least twenty rebels. I think the whole unit raped me throughout the night. The only one who did not use me was the commander. He kept coming in and saying, "Have you had your turn?" He was the one they kept calling "Commander."

When one of the Temne speaking rebels was raping me I said, "Please brother, talk to these people and ask them to leave me." But he said he could not do anything. Another rebel pulled out a knife when he was on top of me and said if I said anything he would kill me. I told them I was pregnant and said, "Can't you see? I have a six month belly." But they said, "We do not care. We see your belly but so what." Two of them told me to stoop down, but I couldn't and they just pushed me down and used me. After many had used me one of them said, "Oh, there is no more sweetness there," so they turned me over and did it to me from behind. Three of them did it to me like that, and now when I go to the toilet it is so painful; I am still bleeding and it feels like my insides are coming out. One rebel had sex with me several times. He said he was punishing me for not having shown him where the rice and palm oil was hidden. I yelled for the commander and complained, saying, "He wants to kill me, tell him to leave me!" but he said, "We have killed others that are better than you." I did not complain after that. They kept saying they were about to stop fighting—that they really want peace and that after peace comes, they won't do these things any more.

In the early hours of the morning, they finally left. They wanted me to carry their looted items but I could not walk. They took other people whom they used to carry the looted goods. At one point I tried to get up but could not, I slipped and fell down to earth. By this time I had started bleeding. I felt my baby trembling in my belly. A few hours later the water broke and then I started to have contractions. I have five children and had never even had a miscarriage. I had about three hours of labor before giving birth. The little thing shook for a minute or so and then it died. It was so beautiful; it had fine hair and the face was so pretty. I wrapped it with a cloth. I could not bear to look whether it was a boy or a girl. I was gushing out blood and shortly after I delivered the placenta. I felt dizzy. I was barely able to walk.

Later when I had a little more strength I covered my baby and threw it in a pit latrine. I felt so bad for throwing it away like that but I did not have the strength to bury it properly. After thinking everything over, I am only angry at this war and thankful that I still have my life and that the life of my child [her five-year-old] was spared. It's only God that saved him. He was lying on the bed the whole time.¹⁴¹

Forced Pregnancies

Many women and girls became pregnant as the result of the rape(s) they were subjected to. Although some women were reportedly able to abort without the knowledge of the rebels using traditional herbal treatments, the majority had no choice but to carry the child to full term. M.W., the abducted nurse already quoted above (see p. 28), said that many girls who had been raped had miscarriages that might have been self-induced with herbs. I.S., a twenty-seven-year-old student who was abducted by the AFRC during the January 1999 invasion, tried to abort, but was unsuccessful:

When I got pregnant I didn't tell my rebel husband for months. I asked a woman who knows about medicine to give me herbs to abort the baby, but it never worked and after my belly started to swell, he found out. He warned me that if I tried to flush the baby out, he'd kill me. He said he wanted the baby and that he hoped it would be a boy.¹⁴²

M.W., the abducted nurse, also mentioned that medical personnel were instructed by a rebel doctor, Dr.

¹⁴¹ Human Rights Watch interview, Port Loko, November 27, 1999.

¹⁴² Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, September 17, 1999.

Lahai, not to perform abortions, give birth control, or advise that traditional herbal treatments be taken, as the rebels felt that too many people had died and they needed to increase the population.¹⁴³ Many women did have miscarriages because of the brutal rapes and trauma they were subjected to by the rebels, as well as the difficult conditions in the bush.

Forced Abortion by West Side Boys

Human Rights Watch has documented one case of forced abortion by the West Side Boys, the splinter group of the AFRC that took power in the 1997 coup. Twenty-year-old M.K. was abducted from Magbele village in Port Loko district in July 2000, when she was four months pregnant. She was raped by four West Side Boys and was made the wife of a rebel who forced her to abort:

I was abducted with two other civilians, including my brother-in-law, by the West Side Boys. They were all wearing uniforms; some uniforms were new, and others wore old ones. We were taken to their base in Magbele Junction where there were many other abductees. At nighttime one of the rebels called Umaro Kamara came to me and said he wanted to have sex with me. He spoke nicely with me and said that he wanted to take me to Makeni and make me his wife. He raped me that day. The rebels saw that I was pregnant and said to Umaro, "We are not going to work along with any pregnant woman, we should kill her." Umaro said that he wanted to take me as his wife and that I should be given an injection instead. Umaro called me and tried to convince me to get rid of the baby. He said, "They will kill you if you do not agree so you better have the injection." I was taken to the doctor who gave me an injection and some pills. Two days later I started bleeding. I felt weak and had pain all over my body: Then I lost the baby.

When Umaro was on patrol, three other rebels raped me. When we moved out to go to another base, I saw the body of my brother-in-law. After one day I started bleeding again so Umaro took me to the doctor who gave me another injection. When we reached Lunsar, Umaro wanted to make me his wife. Even while I was bleeding, Umaro used me. He told me to wash myself before raping me.¹⁴⁴

Rape by Female Combatant

Human Rights Watch has documented a case of a female rebel manually raping female abductees. The virginity checks performed by female rebels on abductees prior to their "virgination" by male rebels, noted above, also constitute rape given that penetration occurred without the consent of the victim. More of such abuses may have been committed but not reported due to shame, as expressed in the testimony below. The rebels captured sixteen-year-old F.P. on January 7, 1999 when—as she was fleeing the fighting in central Freetown with two other girls—she ran into a patrol of five heavily armed rebels, including one female rebel. They knew the female rebel from before as Aminata; she had lived in their neighborhood before the 1997 AFRC coup. She had joined the rebels at that time and had not been seen since the AFRC was driven out of Freetown in February 1998. F.P. remembered having had an argument with her several years ago. The rebels called her "C.O. Sally." F.P. was taken with her sister and another girl whom she did not know to a rebel base. Her friend was raped by five men, which she was made to watch. F.P. was also "virginated" by male rebels and sexually molested by "C.O. Sally," along with another girl, also called Sally:

C.O. Sally came into the room where we were kept and said, "Why are you hollering? These are my boys, why are you refusing them?" Since we knew C.O. Sally, we asked her to help us get away, so finally on January 10 she took us at gunpoint to another house. She made us cook and wash for her. Once she told us to go into a room and take off our clothes. She had an RPG [rocket propelled grenade] on the ground as well as a gun. We took off our clothes and then she took two long sticks and tied our hands to them straight out from our shoulders. She stood us in front of her and asked if we remembered her to which I answered, "No." Then she said that she remembered

¹⁴³ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, October 21, 1999.

¹⁴⁴ Human Rights Watch interview, Port Loko IDP camp, July 13, 2000.

me and that we had fought last time we had met each other. She made me put one leg up on a drum and then she fingered me with two fingers. I was so embarrassed and ashamed. I asked her why she was doing this but she screamed at me to shut up. She did not touch herself or say anything, but kept on fingering me. Then she called Sally and did the same thing to her. When she was finished, she left us standing there with our arms tied. A little later she fingered us again. It did not seem sexual to me and I do not know why she did it. An hour later a young rebel came and said he thought he was hearing gunshots from ECOMOG. C.O. Sally ordered the boy to untie us as "I have punished these people already."¹⁴⁵

Rape and Other Sexual Violence against Boys and Men by Male and Female Rebels

According to FAWE Sierra Leone, boys and men were also raped by male rebels. FAWE Sierra Leone treated fourteen boys aged between nine and fifteen years old who had been raped, but suspects that there are more cases. Due to the stigma attached to homosexuality in Sierra Leone, male victims of rape feared they would be perceived as homosexuals and therefore few boys were willing to report it. Human Rights Watch has not documented any of these crimes of sexual violence, which were apparently committed on a much smaller scale than sexual violence committed against women and girls. FAWE Sierra Leone did not want Human Rights Watch to interview the boys they had treated as they feared that interviewing them would re-traumatize them.¹⁴⁶

Human Rights Watch documented two cases in which female rebels forced men to have sexual intercourse at gunpoint. One case involved a female rebel forcing a male civilian to have sex during the January 1999 invasion of Freetown, and the second involved a RUF female training commander and male conscripts in Kono. Cases of these crimes of sexual violence were also reported by FAWE Sierra Leone. It is impossible to determine the prevalence of this type of sexual violence, but—given the general level of violence within the rebel forces and the power that female combatants had over civilians—Human Rights Watch believes that such incidents did happen more often than has been reported, albeit again on a much reduced scale compared to male combatants raping female civilians.

Abduction, Sexual Slavery, Forced Labor, and Conscription

Abduction

The rebel forces used abduction as their primary method for recruitment. During an attack on a town or village, rebels typically rounded up civilians as they tried to flee or were found hiding. Men were abducted to carry the looted items as well as being forcibly conscripted. The abducted children were also given military training and forcibly conscripted.

In thousands of cases, women and girls were abducted after being subjected to sexual violence. The rebels often killed family members who tried to protect their women and girls. Abducted women and girls described being "given" to a combatant who then took them as their "wives" (see also "Sexual slavery" section, below).¹⁴⁷ Abduction of civilians continued for the duration of the armed conflict. In the early years of the conflict, the RUF went on hit-and-run raids, returning to their base camps with looted items and abducted civilians. As the RUF took over more territory, an increasing number of civilians were abducted. As their ranks increased with more men and boys being forcibly conscripted, so did their abduction of women and girls. The AFRC and West Side Boys used the same tactics. Some women had the extreme misfortune of escaping from one rebel faction, or unit, only to be abducted by another. One such victim, thirteen-year-old M.F. (see above, p. 34), who was first

¹⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, May 18, 1999.

¹⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch interview with Christiana Thorpe (founding Chairperson of FAWE Sierra Leone Chapter), Freetown, March 22, 2002.

¹⁴⁷ The PHR report found that 9 percent of women reporting having themselves experienced sexual violence had been forced to "marry" their rebel "husband." PHR report, p. 2. These types of marriage are similar to marriages by capture, which were common at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. In tribal wars, the conquerors would kill the male inhabitants of the vanquished village and capture the women who subsequently became the wives of the conquerors. The "marriage" was validated by the captor's public declaration of his intention to cohabit with his captive. Such a wife was regarded as a slave and her children could not inherit from their father. Joko Smart, *Sierra Leone Customary Family Law*, p. 29.

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abducted from Koinadugu by the RUF/AFRC and gang raped, was driven out of Makeni in October 1999 when it came under attack by the RUF. She was subsequently abducted by the West Side Boys and raped by two child combatants.¹⁴⁸

Sexual Slavery and Forced Labor

Women and girls were primarily abducted to be the sex slaves of the rebels and to perform slave labor. The survey conducted by Physicians for Human Rights found that 33 percent of the interviewees reporting war-related sexual violence had been abducted and 15 percent had been subjected to sexual slavery. Consistent with fairly common practice among the Sierra Leonean male population at large, many rebels had polygynous "marriages," including with abducted women whom they had forced to "marry" them. Rebels also changed "wives" frequently when they tired of them or when their "wives" were too ill to perform their tasks (a consequence of the brutality that they were often subjected to). Victims interviewed by Human Rights Watch reported attaching themselves to one rebel to avoid gang rape and be given a degree of protection. The more highly ranked the commander, the more protection a woman had. Women and girls, however, remained vulnerable to sexual violence by other rebels. M.F., the thirteen-year-old who was gang raped by the RUF/AFRC in Koinadugu was raped by two other commanders when her "husband" Mohammed was out on patrol.

Women who were "married" to high-ranking rebels benefited not only from "protection" but also were able to exert power over others. The women and girls often benefited from the looted items that their rebel "husbands" gave them, and took part themselves in looting raids to steal clothes, shoes, and jewelry. Not all were abductees: some women and girls voluntarily joined the rebel forces and sought to benefit from their relationship with the rebels, i.e. from the looted goods or escaping from their parents (some girls would use a relationship with a rebel boyfriend to gain freedom from parental control, by threatening to involve the boyfriend in their dispute over parental restrictions). Such women consenting to marry a rebel were probably still vulnerable to sexual violence from other rebels.

Numerous victims described being subjected to abuse or forced to work by commanders' wives. FAWF Sierra Leone also reported that female combatants "married" to rebels killed new abductees if their "husbands" showed a preference for them. A.J., the fourteen-year-old student who was abducted in Pujehun and tortured by the RUF from February to May 1994 (see above, p. 31) is an example of how some "wives" were treated by other female abductees or combatants:

I was put under the control of Commander Patrick, a Liberian. He was married to a woman called Neneh who was very jealous of me. Once, after the commanders had gone to the war front, Neneh told one of our guards to open up the cage where I was being held and take me out. She said, "My husband is interested in you. If you accept him to have sex with you, I'll kill you, so be forewarned." Neneh and Patrick have one child. She told me she'd joined the rebels voluntarily. She said, "You are just a captive. Do you think I was abducted? I was not abducted. I joined voluntarily. So you have no right to fall in love with my husband."¹⁴⁹

A few victims also described how some of these women, usually the wives of commanders, used their power to try and protect, and at times facilitate the escape, of other abductees. For example, M.C., who was brutally raped by rebels in early 1999 in Mabang and suffered a prolapsed uterus (see above, p. 38) was helped to escape by a commander's wife who felt sorry for her.¹⁵⁰

Abducted women were made to carry out forced labor during their captivity, including cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, and carrying heavy loads of ammunition and looted items. In many instances, women—intimidated by their captors and the situation they were in—felt powerless to escape their lives of sexual slavery, and were advised by other female captives to tolerate the abuses, "as it was war." The rebels often deliberately

¹⁴⁸ Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, 7 March 2002.

¹⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch interview, Pujehun, February 12, 2000.

¹⁵⁰ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, September 5, 1999.

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marked abducted civilians with the letters "RUF" or "AFRC" carved mainly onto their chests. This made escape more difficult because, were they to be caught by government forces, they would likely be suspected of being rebels and killed. Some women used traditional herbal remedies to remove their markings, and international organizations have also performed surgery on these victims to remove the scars.

Relationships between Rebels and Abductees

The relationships that developed between the abductees and rebels were very complex and varied. Most relationships were obviously very volatile, as described by I.S., the twenty-seven-year-old student who was abducted by the AFRC in the January 1999 invasion (see above, p. 40). She stayed with the AFRC/West Side Boys until August 1999 when she was able to escape:

We stayed there for months and they were always going on attacks in the Port Loko area. Occasionally C.O. Blood was nice to me and I had to kiss him and play love with him. But I could never tell him what was really in my heart; that I missed my family and wanted to escape. Other days he would beat me for nothing. He did the same thing to his other "wife." Neither of us could complain.¹⁵¹

H.K. was assigned as the wife of "Jaja" and was so badly treated by him that even the other rebels sometimes tried to prevail on him to be less violent:

Jaja was already "married" to another abductee, and when she saw what he had done to me, she escaped. He always beat both of us. He used to sex me twice every night. He made me take his penis in my mouth. I tried to refuse him but he always threatened to kill me. He was actually an SLA soldier but had joined the RUF. His C.O. was Colonel Stagger, who used to criticize him for how he treated us. Colonel Stagger used to say, "Look, when we take these kids, we should take care of them and now you beat her for nothing." Jaja used to say it was not Stagger's business. Stagger's own abductees were treated pretty well. He never beat them.¹⁵²

Some women fled at the first opportunity. Other women, especially those who had children with the rebels, found it difficult to leave these abusive relationships. Many women and girls experienced their first sexual relationship with their rebel "husband" and may have developed aspects of the "Stockholm Syndrome," whereby the hostage identifies with the hostage-taker. They adjusted to the level of violence with the rebels, which over time became "normal," in order to survive.¹⁵³ Others feared that their "husband" might seek revenge if they escaped and returned to their family. The rebels instilled fear in their "wives" by telling them that their families would not accept them back. The abductees also feared to some extent that they would be blamed for what happened to them. For some women who had lost their families, the rebels became a surrogate family. As many rebels had themselves lost their families or could not return to their villages of origin, given that they had in some cases committed human rights abuses in their communities, they did not want to relinquish their surrogate families or their slave labor.

As the women and girls were never registered in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) program and there was insufficient documentation of this large category of victims throughout the armed conflict, it is unclear how many girls and women were abducted. It is now impossible to establish how many remain under the control of their rebel "husband" or have returned to their village of origin.

The ones who have remained involuntarily will only re-examine their situation when alternatives become available. Women who wish to sever links with ex-combatants have few alternative economic or social options. They are a very vulnerable group that has little or no means of support. They are often not able to return to their

¹⁵¹ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, September 17, 1999.

¹⁵² Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, October 12, 1999.

¹⁵³ A group of female ex-combatants and abducted women, for example, defined to Human Rights Watch domestic violence as "wounding or losing consciousness."

villages out of fear, lack of funds and social stigma, especially if they have given birth to children fathered by rebels. The women are therefore often forced to remain in situations in which they are vulnerable to continuing abuse. Numerous victims end up being commercial sex workers, selling their body for as little as U.S.50¢. Exploited girls and women can end up abandoned with several children to raise by themselves by the time they are in their early twenties.

Rebel Control over Abductees

Life with the rebels was very tough. Civilian abductees, in particular, were treated ruthlessly. The RUF established a military police system and courthouses to administer a form of justice to those who contravened RUF rules of behavior. Some of the RUF rules were written, but the rules, trial and punishment were to a large extent arbitrary, dependent on the particular commander. Interviewees reported that severe punishment was meted out for small incidents such as spilling water on a commander's shoes (one week in a cell with daily beatings) or not lodging complaints through the official channels (imprisonment in a dungeon). "Courthouses" were established to try both combatants and the civilians.¹⁵⁴ A rebel was expected to provide for his "wives" and children during their captivity even if he had taken on another "wife" or "wives." If a rebel reneged on his responsibility, then he could be put in a cell and beaten to death. Civilian women who were tried by the court were raped and beaten if they did not have a commander to stand up for them. According to K.M., who was abducted by the RUF from Kabala, Koinadugu, the three male rebels who presided over the courthouse in Burkina, a training camp in Kailahun, would arrange amongst themselves who could rape the women. She also said that one woman was raped to death by six rebels.¹⁵⁵

Forced Conscription: Female Combatants

Women and girls were also forcibly conscripted into the rebel fighting forces. The RUF established military training camps for women. During active fighting, female combatants were sent into battle after the men and the Small Boys Units (SBUs). There were only very few high-ranking female commanders in the rebel forces and a much smaller number of female combatants than adult men or boys. Female combatants had more power than female civilians: combatants, including female combatants, who had received military training, had substantial power to do whatever they wanted to civilians. Within the rebel forces, however, women still held much lower status: female combatants were assigned "husbands."

Forcibly conscripted female combatants were in many ways as vulnerable as civilian abductees, and may have decided to stay with their rebel "husbands" for the same reasons as their civilian counterparts i.e. shame, lack of alternative options, and economic dependence on their "husbands."

RUF Officers' Responsibility for Sexual Violence

...ability for crimes of sexual violence and sexual slavery; for ordering the commission of such crimes. (see above, p. 60; for a discussion of the principle of command responsibility in international law). C. Caca Scatter, for example, ordered the gang rape of S.J., the wealthy forty-five-year-old woman (see above, p. 37). A.J., the fourteen-year-old student, was tortured, caged and brutally raped by C.O. Patrick (see above, p. 43). S.G., the fifty-year-old widow was raped and had both arms amputated by Commander "Don't Blame God" (see above, p. 36).¹⁵⁶ ... as the number of rebels involved in these abductions and the number of victims abducted, suggest a ... of premeditation and planning on the part of the RUF, AFRC and West Side Boys command structure ... presence of commanders, which again suggest that sexual violence was committed under the direction of and with ...

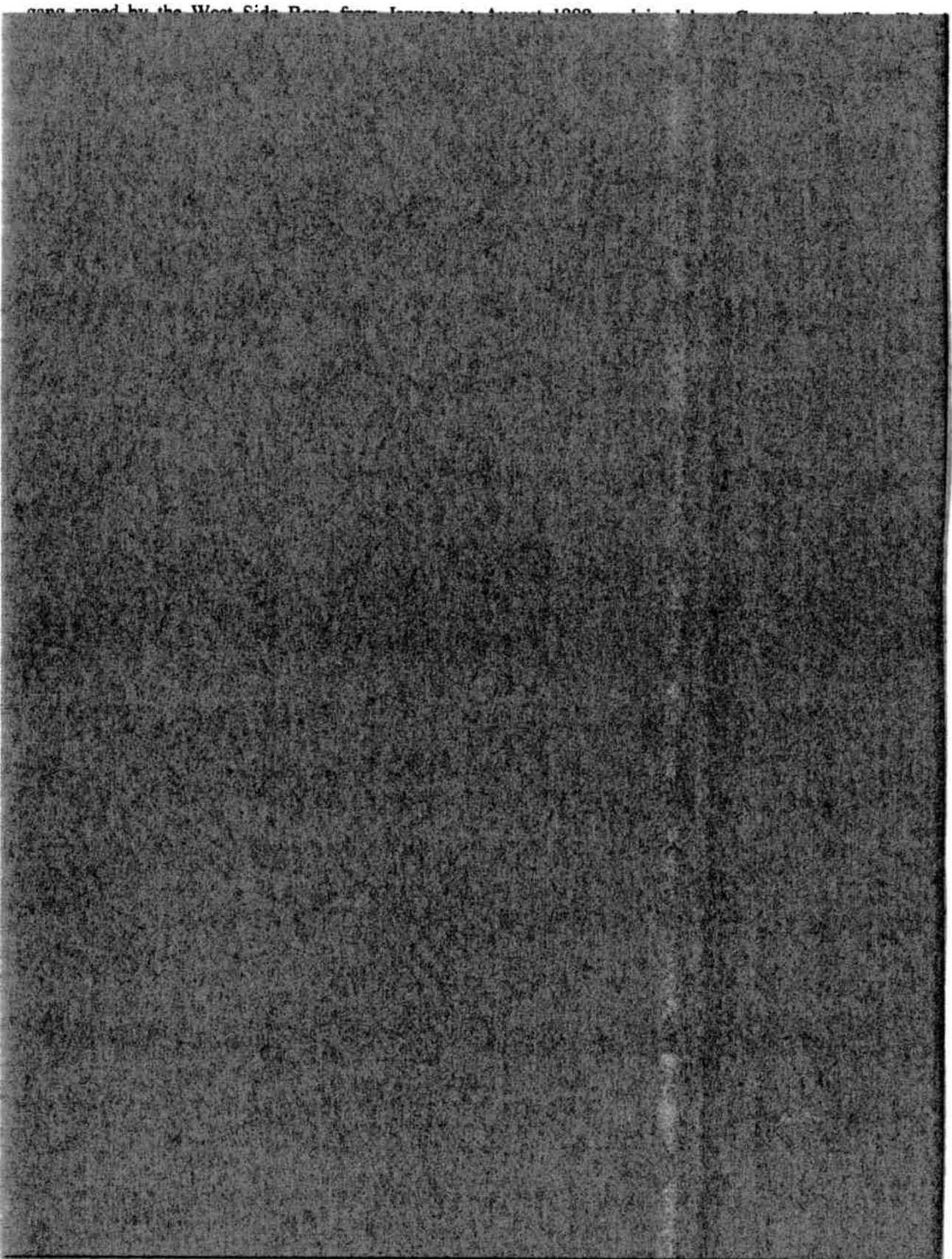
¹⁵⁴ Abdullah and Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," p. 189.

¹⁵⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Kabala, March 7 and 9, 2002.

¹⁵⁶ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, May 3, 1999. Under Article 6 (1), persons are held individually responsible for the planning, instigating, ordering, committing or otherwise aiding and abetting in the planning, preparation or execution of a crime referred to in articles 2 to 4 of the statute.

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stabbed to death numerous alleged rebels. The Kamajors also ate some of their victims, believing that this would bestow additional powers to them. The accused had no means to defend themselves, as ECOMOG initially backed the Kamajors and did not realize until later that the killings were carried out along tribal lines. After receiving death threats, M.B. sought refuge in the house of a chief who was Temne and the father of Jeneba. A group of about eight Kamajors came to the house, looking for Jeneba, and accused her of having a sexual relationship with an AFRC fighter:

I saw Jeneba being raped by one Kamajor, while the others were standing around watching. Then the Kamajors threatened to kill us if we did not stop looking at them, so we went into other houses to hide. From there we could not see what was going on but heard Jeneba screaming at the top of her voice, and when the Kamajors had gone we came outside and found Jeneba dead. She was naked and her hands and feet had been mutilated by a machete.¹⁶²

On February 17, 1999, J.K., a thirty-one-year-old woman was raped by two Kamajors in a small village in Bonthe district. A group of Kamajors entered J.K.'s house looking for her brother, who had not been home for the past three years:

One of the Kamajors called Kinie said that they had been told that my brother was in the village and was planning to attack them. I assured them no one knew where he was. During this argument, the other civilians in village became afraid and fled into the bush. As soon as the Kamajors forced their way into my bedroom, I followed them to check up on what they were doing. Kinie and another Kamajor whose name I did not know pushed me to the ground, tearing off my clothes. I screamed for help but no one came to my rescue. Even my father who was in the house was unable to help me. They both raped me while the others stood around laughing. When they left the village, they looted some goats and chickens. There was no one to report the incident to and I had no money to pay for a hospital visit. I decided to leave everything to the Almighty God.¹⁶³

In another incident, at least three female civilians were raped, including by a Kamajor commander. In July 2000, M.S. and twenty-five other passengers were taken off a bus at Bauya in Moyamba district, beaten, and accused of being RUF rebels. All their possessions were taken off the bus and inspected by the Kamajors but they did not find any incriminating goods. Their possessions were stolen by the CDF. In the evening, M.S. was locked in the guardroom at the CDF office with nine other women and her young child:

Twenty CDF came to the guardroom and told us, the women that we could choose between [being] raped or killed. I was raped by a young CDF on the ground of the guardroom. I told him that I was a suckling mother but he did not care. My baby was in the room when he raped me. He made me stoop like an animal. He said, "I am a government man so no one will ask me anything about this." My breast milk has gone bad now. I could hear another woman who initially refused to be raped being beaten with the torch. She was raped by two CDF called Mohammed and Ahmed.¹⁶⁴

In the same incident, an older high-ranking CDF commander raped a thirty-five-year-old trader, R.K.:

Mr. S. raped me all night. He raped me five times. I cried as I was not used to doing that even with my husband. He was rough and did it from behind like an animal in a bad way. He accused me of being a RUF commander's wife. I told him my husband is a Gbetti [part of the CDF].¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Human Rights Watch interview, Kenema, August 12, 2002.

¹⁶³ Human Rights Watch interview, Bonthe district, July 8, 2002.

¹⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, August 21, 2000.

¹⁶⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, August 21, 2000.

door to the car and the light had come on. I am sure they were raping her and she was fighting with them to stop it. I stayed and watched this go on for several minutes. I later learned a few more people were also watching what was going on. In fact we talked about it the next morning.

Then, perhaps afraid of being watched, the two whites moved their truck further down the road ... past my house, further down the road going out of town. Maybe they thought that because there were no houses around, we would not see what they were up to. They stayed another thirty or so minutes in this second location. I saw both of them have their turn on her, but I did not see any guns. After they were finished, I saw one of them drag her out of the cabin and put her in the back of the big truck. I can not remember if one of them got in the back with her but I think so. Then they drove off.

The next morning when I went out to go to the mosque, we found one of her black shoes that she must have kicked off while struggling with those men. The shoe was near the first place they had stopped. We took it to the police but they never came to ask us any questions. We are all a bit frightened of those UNAMSIL people now. We tell our girls never to get in a truck with them or the same thing might happen to them.¹⁶⁸

Neither the SLP in Joru or UNAMSIL in Kenema conducted a proper investigation into this alleged gang rape, both claiming that the absence of the victim prevented them from conducting their investigation. The UNAMSIL human rights section was not aware of this alleged gang rape until Human Rights Watch informed them, and to date has also not conducted a thorough investigation.

On June 22, 2002, a fourteen-year-old boy was allegedly raped by a Bangladeshi peacekeeper near the Jui transit camp for Sierra Leonean returnees located outside of Freetown in the Western Area. The rape occurred when the victim and his friends were fishing with several Bangladeshi peacekeepers near the camp. The offender was reported to have taken the boy away from the others in the group before raping him. The victim's friends reported that the boy looked disheveled after rejoining the group and immediately told them what had happened. The offender gave the victim the equivalent of U.S \$0.25 to silence him. The boy reported the rape to the SLP on June 24 and a medical exam carried out on the same day confirmed penetration had taken place.

The SLP were involved in the case for ten days, until the UNAMSIL provost marshal took it over. The provost marshal concluded that there was no conclusive evidence to link the crime to the perpetrator. After reviewing the case, the UNAMSIL force commander concluded that while the evidence was inconclusive, the circumstantial evidence was strong enough to conclude that the peacekeeper had violated military discipline, and as such issued an order of repatriation. It is not clear to Human Rights Watch whether this violation will be recorded on the offender's file. According to a reliable source, the investigation by the police and UNAMSIL was conducted in an insensitive manner and members of the Bangladeshi contingent spoke with the victim while the UNAMSIL investigation was ongoing, even though they should not have had access to him. Nor did UNAMSIL follow up with the victim or his family to apologize, provide compensation, and explain the outcome of the investigation.¹⁶⁹

UNAMSIL investigations into allegations of sexual violence by peacekeepers indicate a lack of appreciation for the seriousness of the problem of sexual violence. Human Rights Watch urges UNAMSIL to fully investigate any allegations of sexual violence committed by UNAMSIL military or civilian personnel. The human rights section should systematically monitor and report on sexual violence, including cases involving UNAMSIL personnel. UNAMSIL should establish a mechanism with the SLP whereby allegations of sexual violence by persons employed or affiliated with UNAMSIL reported to the police are immediately reported to the relevant UNAMSIL staff members, including the provost marshal and the gender specialist in the human rights section. UNAMSIL should reciprocate by reporting cases known to it to the SLP. UNAMSIL should ensure that states

¹⁶⁸ Human Rights Watch interview, Joru, May 28, 2002. Other villagers did not want to be interviewed.

¹⁶⁹ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, September 15, 2002

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report within the prescribed six months on follow up to cases involving military personnel that have resulted in the alleged perpetrator being repatriated to his country of origin, in order to ensure that states prosecute the accused. This will serve to actually enforce a stated "zero tolerance" for sexual exploitation by UNAMSIL staff and persons affiliated with UNAMSIL, which to date has had no teeth and therefore no impact on changing behavior. Civilian staff who commit sexual violence should be fired and their misconduct properly recorded in their personnel file to ensure that they are not rehired in another U.N. mission.

The UNAMSIL human rights section should also provide in-depth gender sensitization training to military and civilian staff. The training should ensure that the peacekeepers understand the code of conduct and the consequences if they do not adhere to it. The U.N. Code of Conduct for peacekeepers and the Military Observer Handbook need to be revised to ensure that the zero tolerance policy for sexual exploitation by persons employed or affiliated with U.N. missions and the consequences of such acts are clearly stated in these guidelines. Similar guidelines for civilian staff need to be widely disseminated to all U.N. missions.

Both ECOMOG and UNAMSIL peacekeepers have sexually exploited women and solicited child prostitutes.

VI. EFFECTS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Health

Sexual violence often continues to impact the physical and mental well-being of survivors long after the abuses were committed. In addition to the reluctance of some survivors to seek medical treatment, the lack of health facilities, especially in the provinces, as well as the survivors' lack of money for transport, medical treatment and drugs has meant that the health status of survivors is poor.¹⁷⁰ Survivors also were often only able to seek medical treatment months after the abuse had happened, for example when they managed to escape rebel captors and make their way to a health center.

The probability of transmission of HIV and certain other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) is greatly increased in violent sex and any sex where a woman or girl is injured. Doctors and other health personnel interviewed by Human Rights Watch reported a high prevalence of STDs amongst victims, as the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, like other armed conflicts, served as a vector for sexually transmitted diseases.¹⁷¹

A World Health Organization (WHO) report found an alarmingly high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS amongst Sierra Leone Army soldiers. According to the report, the SLA tested 176 soldiers and eighty-two civilians working for the army who had prolonged diarrhea, tuberculosis, weight loss or pneumonia, and found a HIV-positive rate of 41.9 percent (or 108 persons). Among the group tested were eighty female soldiers of whom thirty tested positive (37.5 percent). As many SLA soldiers defected to the rebel factions, it is likely that victims of sexual violence by them have been infected with the virus.¹⁷² A U.N. report on the impact of conflict on children states that rates of sexually transmitted diseases among soldiers are two to five times higher than those of civilian populations, and that during armed conflict the rate of infection can be up to fifty times higher.¹⁷³ Commercial sexual exploitation of women by soldiers, including peacekeepers, also contributes to the spread of

¹⁷⁰ PHR report, p. 45.

¹⁷¹ Human Rights Watch interviews with Dr. Olayinka Koso-Thomas, Freetown, February 25, 2002; Dr. Noah Conteh, Freetown, March 1, 2002 and Dr. Bernard Fraser, Freetown, March 3, 2002.

¹⁷² World Health Organization, *HIV/AIDS in Sierra Leone: The Future at Stake—The Strategic and Organizational Context and Recommendations for Action* (Freetown, 2000), p. 3.

¹⁷³ See United Nations Security Council resolution 1308 on the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international peacekeeping operations, July 17, 2000; and Graça Machel, "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: A critical review of progress made and obstacles encountered in increasing protection for war-affected children," report prepared for and presented at the International Conference on War-Affected Children, September 2000, Winnipeg, Canada, p. 12, at <http://www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/machel-e.asp>.

STDs, including HIV/AIDS.¹⁷⁴ In 1997, tests showed that 70.6 percent of commercial sex workers in Freetown were HIV positive compared to 26.7 percent in 1995.¹⁷⁵

The 2002 report by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) on the global AIDS epidemic estimated that by the end of 2001 there were 170,000 persons aged between fifteen and forty-nine living with HIV/AIDS in Sierra Leone. UNAIDS estimates that more than 50 percent of this figure (90,000) are women and girls.¹⁷⁶ More accurate figures on HIV/AIDS prevalence in Sierra Leone, as opposed to estimates, should be known when the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) publish their report based on a nationwide HIV/AIDS prevalence survey conducted in May 2002.¹⁷⁷ The government of Sierra Leone should ensure that future information campaigns on HIV/AIDS are designed both to impart basic information and to help reduce stigma, especially in light of the large number of survivors of sexual violence who may have been infected with HIV.

Other health problems are vasico-vaginal and vasico-rectal fistulas (VVF's and VRF's), as a result of the rape(s) especially of young girls but also of mature women; complications when giving birth; prolapsed uterus; trauma; and unwanted pregnancies. Health professionals have noted high rates of pregnancies amongst young girls with likely resultant illness, injury, and even death, due to pregnancy-related complications. These girls are likely to experience future complications including uterine problems and scarring, reducing their ability to have a normal sex life or to conceive or carry a child to full term in the future. The health of children born to abducted girls is also likely to suffer as the girls often have no one to teach them motherhood skills, contributing to high rates of infant mortality. The health risks are further exacerbated by various factors that impede safe sex, including lack of information about HIV/AIDS, as well as cultural practices and beliefs that undermine the use of reproductive health services and contraception.¹⁷⁸ The lack of attention paid until recently to conflict-related sexual violence has meant that the health needs of women and girls have not received as much attention or funding as required to adequately address the scale of the problem. In general the Sierra Leonean health services lack trained and motivated personnel, medical equipment and supplies, drugs, and blood for transfusion. The reproductive health infrastructure, which was poor before 1991, virtually collapsed during the war.¹⁷⁹ There are only six specialist obstetricians and gynecologists in Sierra Leone.¹⁸⁰ Treatment for sexually transmitted diseases is limited to the main towns and outreach by mobile clinics in some chiefdoms.

Mental health services for survivors of sexual violence are inadequate and as of 2002 there was only one qualified psychiatrist in the country. FAWE Sierra Leone, which has substantial expertise in treating survivors of

¹⁷⁴ Human Rights Watch interview, UNAMSIL medical personnel, Freetown, April 30, 2002.

¹⁷⁵ Ministry of Health and Sanitation, *National AIDS/STD Control Programme Annual Report for 1998* (Freetown, Ministry of Health and Sanitation, 1998), p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ UNAIDS, *Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic 2002* at <http://www.unaids.org/>, p. 190. This figure is based on a total population of 4,587,000.

¹⁷⁷ Human Rights Watch interview with Dr. Joaquim Saweka (WHO Sierra Leone Representative), Freetown, May 3, 2002. The preliminary results of the CDC showed a prevalence rate of 4.9 percent.

¹⁷⁸ Only 297 of 4,923 women (or 6 percent) surveyed by the government in 2000 reported that they used contraceptives. This low prevalence of contraception use is due to lack of access to family planning services within the communities, inadequate health facilities, especially in the provinces, lack of disposable income to pay for these services, and the low education of women. Only 3 percent of women with no education used contraception compared to 8 percent of women with primary education and 14 percent of women with secondary or higher education. Another worrying factor is the unwillingness of partners to use condoms, which does not bode well given the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other STDs. See Government of Sierra Leone, *The Status of Women and Children in Sierra Leone*, pp. 55-58.

¹⁷⁹ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2001*, p. 198.

¹⁸⁰ WHO and the Ministry of Health and Sanitation, *Assessment of District Hospitals in Sierra Leone for the Delivery of Safe Motherhood and Reproductive Health Services* (Freetown: 2002), p. 10. The Assessment also found that physicians attended only 3 percent of births whereas traditional birth attendants assisted in 38 percent of births nationally. Ibid. pp. 56-57. Only 10 percent of 4,923 women surveyed by the government in 2000 reported that they received antenatal care from a physician. See Government of Sierra Leone, *The Status of Women and Children in Sierra Leone*, p. 10.

sexual violence, believes that counseling on a massive scale is needed to ensure that the women and girls can face the future.¹⁸¹

Stigmatization and Shame of Survivors

The rebels frequently committed crimes of sexual violence in public places. A.M., a twenty-year-old male, reported that when he was held in captivity in State House in Freetown from January 8, 1999 for three days, he saw from his cell window RUF/AFRC combatants raping about twenty to twenty-five girls each night on the grounds.¹⁸² Given that rape has been committed on such a systematic and widespread scale and was witnessed by many people, it seems that rape survivors, particularly in urban centers, are generally not stigmatized by society. Survivors interviewed have expressed fear of rejection by their families and communities, but in practice it seems that their fears are unfounded. Most survivors are accepted back into their communities, with their families simply overjoyed to find that they are still alive.

Nevertheless, some women, like R.K. who was raped by the CDF (see above, p. 48), have been rejected by their husbands:

I told my husband what happened. He cried and rejected me. He said he will find another wife. My family has begged him to accept me as it was not my fault. He does not love me anymore. I am annoyed because I was the senior wife and now he does not treat me well.¹⁸³

Girls and women who voluntarily joined the rebel forces are less likely to be welcomed back.

The survey conducted by Physicians for Human Rights gives an indication of survival strategies employed by women who had been raped: of the ninety-four interviewees reporting having themselves experienced sexual violence, sixty-one (or 65 percent) told someone about their case(s) of sexual violence. The majority of these survivors (fifty women and girls or 53 percent) reported their experience to a health care provider in a hospital, health care center or to a traditional healer, albeit on average five months after the incident(s) occurred. Among those not reporting these incidents and who stated a reason (twenty-eight out of thirty-three), the reasons given were feelings of shame or social stigma (eighteen women and girls or 64 percent), fear of being stigmatized or rejected (eight women and girls or 28 percent) and not having trust in anyone (six women and girls or 21 percent). Eighteen women and girls (19 percent) reported that discussions with family members helped them to try to forget about the incident(s). Other survivors reported that what helped most was to try and forget about the incident (46 percent), support of family (35 percent), a health care provider (33 percent) and traditional medicine (32 percent).¹⁸⁴

Human Rights Watch also found that many survivors feel intense personal shame that the rebels have defiled them, and therefore often do not report the crime or seek medical attention. S.G., the fifty-year-old widow who had both arms amputated after being raped (see above p. 36), described the shame and anger she felt after her ordeal:

I didn't even tell my people about the rape. It's such a shameful act. Not just because of the rebel's age, but also because never in my life have I had sex with someone besides my husband. I was a good woman. Can you imagine how I felt when this young boy raped me, kicked me and then told me to get out of his sight after doing this to me? And without my arms, how can I as a woman even clean myself, let alone take care of my affairs. We're farmers and how am I to farm now? Both the rape and amputation are awful ... but later when thinking about what happened, I was even angrier about the rape than the amputation because of him to have done that to me was

¹⁸¹ Human Rights Watch interview with Christiana Thorpe (founding chairperson of FAWE Sierra Leone Chapter), Freetown, March 22, 2002.

¹⁸² Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, April 12, 1999.

¹⁸³ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, August 21, 2000.

¹⁸⁴ PHR report, p. 51 and Table 6 on p. 54. Women could select more than one of the choices given.

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like killing me inside because of the shame. Sex is something you should enjoy together with your man. But to do it like that, to handle me like that, to torture me like that and then kick me and leave me like that ... it's too much. But I guess I was somehow lucky. There could have been ten people doing that to me.¹⁸⁵

P.S. twenty-five, who was abducted and gang raped by the West Side Boys in January 2000, explained why she had not reported her rapes:

I didn't want to tell anyone what happened. I was ashamed because it is bad enough being done like this, but having a rebel do it is even worse. I felt so bad because I wanted to save myself for someone special. I went to secret society and they instructed us not to be involved in sex until we were ready to marry. And now I'm afraid because of AIDS. When I think of them I feel so angry.¹⁸⁶

VII. INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PROTECTIONS AGAINST GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Introduction¹⁸⁷

Women and girls have, since time immemorial, been subjected to sexual and gender-based violence, including rape and sexual slavery, during armed conflict. Mass rape of women and girls was documented during the Second World War as well as in more recent conflicts in such diverse countries as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁸⁸ Sexual violence has traditionally been considered as the inevitable by-product of armed conflict and has been mischaracterized by military and political leaders as a private crime or the unfortunate behavior of renegade soldiers. The use of rape as a weapon of war, however, means that rape is not a private or incidental crime. Rape as a weapon of war serves a strategic function and acts as an integral tool for achieving military objectives.

Conflict-related rape is an act of violence that targets sexuality, but it is also a military and political tool. It functions to subjugate and humiliate both the women and men within the targeted community. Furthermore, rape is generally not committed in isolation and victims are often subjected to multiple human rights abuses, which serve to further traumatize the survivor. In conflicts in which civilians are the principal targets, sexual violence has become an even more deliberate and insidious weapon of war. In the former Yugoslavia, for example, rape and other grave abuses committed by Serb forces were with the intent to drive the non-Serb population from their homes and communities.

¹⁸⁵ Human Rights Watch interview, Bo, March 2, 2000.

¹⁸⁶ Human Rights Watch interview, Freetown, February 8, 2000.

¹⁸⁷ Some of the information in this section was published previously in Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project, *The Global Report on Women's Human Rights* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1995); and Dorothy Q. Thomas and Regan E. Ralph, "Rape in War: Challenging The Tradition of Impunity," *SAIS Review* (Washington D.C.: John Hopkins University Press, Winter-Spring 1994).

¹⁸⁸ See for example Human Rights Watch, *War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina: U.N. Cease-Fire Won't Help Banja Luka* Volume 6, Issue 8, June 1994, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1994/bosnia2/>; Human Rights Watch, *Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Fall of Srebrenica and the Failure of U.N. Peacekeeping*, Vol. 7, No. 13, October 1995, <http://www.hrw.org/summaries/s.bosnia9510.html>; Human Rights Watch, *Bosnia and Herzegovina, A Closed, Dark Place: Past and Present Human Rights Abuses in Foca*, Vol. 10, No. 6 (D), July 1998, <http://www.hrw.org/reports98/foca/>; Human Rights Watch/Africa, Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project, *Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme*, Human Rights Watch, *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*, September 1996, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm>; Human Rights Watch, *The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo*, June 2002, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/drc/>; Human Rights Watch, *Democratic Republic of Congo, War Crimes in Kisangani: The Response of Rwandan-backed Rebels to the May 2002 Mutiny*, Vol. 14, No 6 (A), August 2002, <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/drc2/>; United Nations, *Preliminary report submitted by the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1994/45, E/CN.4/1995/42* (United Nations, 1994), p. 64.

VIII. TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE MECHANISMS FOR SIERRA LEONE

Two transitional justice mechanisms are currently underway to address the cycle of impunity in Sierra Leone: a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and a Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL). Both bodies became operational in the third quarter of 2002.

The Lomé Amnesty

The Lomé Peace Agreement of July 7, 1999, controversially provided for amnesty for combatants in the civil war. Under Article 9 (1), Sankoh was granted an absolute and free pardon (he had been convicted and sentenced to death for his involvement in the 1997 coup); and under Article 9 (3) the government was required to ensure that "no official or judicial action is taken against any member of the RUF/SL, ex-AFRC, ex-SLA or CDF in respect to anything done by them in pursuit of their objectives as members of those organizations, since March 1991, up to the time of signing of the present Agreement...."²⁴³ At the last minute, the U.N. secretary-general's special representative attending the talks added a hand-written caveat that the U.N. held the understanding that the amnesty and pardon provided for in Article 9 did not apply to international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other serious violations of international humanitarian law.

Under international law, states have an *erga omnes* obligation—in other words a duty owed to the whole international community—to investigate and prosecute crimes against humanity, genocide and torture even if this means that amnesty laws are in effect annulled. This means that Sierra Leone therefore has an obligation under international law to prosecute those who committed crimes against humanity and torture, irrespective of the Lomé Amnesty and the setting up of the SCSL. Other states also have an obligation to prosecute these crimes based on the principle of universal jurisdiction (see below at p. 66 for a discussion on this principle). Crimes committed in the post-Lomé period fall outside the amnesty and can be prosecuted under domestic law.

The granting of an amnesty may also be challenged under the Sierra Leonean constitution and international law, as being against the fundamental legal principle of the state's duty to provide an effective remedy against official violation of guaranteed rights. The U.N. Human Rights Commission has ruled that "States may not deprive individuals of the right to an effective remedy, including compensation and such rehabilitation as may be possible."²⁴⁴ A duty to revoke the amnesty retroactively may even arise under international law. Several Sierra Leonean lawyers have discussed the issue of the amnesty's constitutionality and whether to challenge it in court.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement provides for the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was conceived by nongovernmental organizations attending the peace talks as a counterbalance to the amnesty granted to all parties. Under the peace agreement, the TRC was to be established to "address impunity, break the cycle of violence, provide a forum for both the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations to tell their story, [and] get a clear picture of the past in order to facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation...."²⁴⁵

The commission should have been established within ninety days after the signing of the peace agreement, but the Sierra Leonean Parliament did not pass the Truth and Reconciliation Act establishing the TRC until February 2000. Its establishment was further delayed due to the renewed outbreak of fighting in May 2000, and lack of political will of both the government and the international community. As the selection process for the commissioners took longer than planned, the government also decided to delay the commencement of the TRC until after the May 2002 elections to ensure that the TRC would not be politicized by the elections. The activities of the TRC may well be further hampered by funding shortfalls. Only U.S. \$1.5 million had been pledged as of June 2002, partially because the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) did not

²⁴³ Article 9 of the 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement.

²⁴⁴ Robertson, *Crimes against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice*, p. 260.

²⁴⁵ Article 26 (1) of the 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement.

launch the funding appeal until January 25, 2002. Its total planned budget was reduced from almost U.S. \$10 million to U.S. \$6,276,440 in August 2002 and has remained unchanged since then.²⁴⁶

On May 13, 2002, President Kabbah announced the seven commissioners. The four Sierra Leoneans are: Rt. Rev. Dr. Joseph C. Humper; Justice Laura A. E. Marcus-Jones; Prof. John A. Kamara; and Mr. Sylvanus Torto. The three international commissioners are: Madam Ajaaratai Satang Jow (Gambia); Ms. Yasmin L. Sooka (South Africa); and Professor William Schabas (Canada). The commission had a three-month preparatory phase, which started in July 2002, and must wrap up its activities and submit a report within twelve months of the start of hearings, which as of this writing have not yet begun.²⁴⁷ An interim executive secretariat headed by the Sierra Leonean lawyer Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff and staffed with eight other members was established to support the work of the commissioners. The budget will be used to establish the secretariat of the commission in Freetown, which will support the seven commissioners and the office of the executive secretary. In addition, it is likely that six operational units will be established to provide support to the commissioners and the executive secretary.²⁴⁸ The establishment of regional offices is also provided for under the Act and should encourage Sierra Leonean participation and ownership of the process. These offices are expected to begin functioning in early 2003.²⁴⁹

The TRC's mandate is "to create an impartial historical record of violations and abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law related to the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, from the beginning of the armed conflict in 1991 to the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement; to address impunity; to respond to the needs of the victims; to promote healing and reconciliation and to prevent a repetition of the violations and abuses suffered."²⁵⁰ The commission is called upon to give special attention to the subject of sexual abuse and may also implement "special procedures to address the needs of such particular victims as children or those who have suffered sexual abuse ..."²⁵¹ Any committees formed by the commission to assist it in the performance of its functions should also take into account gender representation.²⁵²

Both the UNAMSIL human rights unit and NGOs have conducted sensitization activities, mainly in the key urban centers, to ensure Sierra Leonean awareness of the process, but at the time of writing, there was still considerable confusion about the role of the TRC, especially in relation to the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL).

Human Rights Watch believes that the work of the TRC would be greatly enhanced were the staff of the TRC to be gender-balanced with women represented at all levels and to include persons with expertise in sexual and gender-based violence. The gender adviser, expected to take up the post in January 2003, should provide gender sensitization training and ensure that the work of the TRC, including investigations and hearings, are carried out in a sensitive manner. Human Rights Watch recommends that the TRC explore the relationship between the widespread and systematic nature of conflict-related sexual violence and the low status of and discrimination against women. The final report on the findings of the TRC should highlight gender-specific abuses committed throughout the country during the armed conflict. The TRC should also make recommendations on improvements to the law and judicial system toward eliminating the discriminatory nature of customary and general law, and on legal reform and human rights training for government authorities, including members of the criminal justice system. The report should highlight the need for increased assistance (shelter, medical care, education, skills training, mental health programs, etc.) for women, as well as for strengthening existing women's groups through capacity building.

²⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch telephone interview with TRC staff, November 14, 2002.

²⁴⁷ The TRC can extend its operations for another six months provided that good cause is shown. TRC Act 2000, Section 5 (1). See <http://www.sierra-leone.org/trcact2000.html>.

²⁴⁸ The six operational units will probably be: Administration and Programming; Public Information and Education; Legal; Investigation; Research; Reconciliation and Protection.

²⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch telephone interview with TRC staff, November 14, 2002.

²⁵⁰ TRC Act 2000, Section 6 (1). See <http://www.sierra-leone.org/trcact2000.html>.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Section 6 (2) (b) and 7 (4) respectively.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, Section 10 (2).

Special Court for Sierra Leone

Following the hostage taking of over 500 U.N. peacekeepers and the renewed outbreak of fighting between the RUF and government forces in May 2000, the government of Sierra Leone requested that the U.N. assist in establishing a court "to try and bring to credible justice those members of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and their accomplices responsible for committing crimes against the people of Sierra Leone and for the taking of U.N. peacekeepers as hostages."²⁵³ The government expressly mentioned that the RUF, in renegeing on their obligations under the Lomé Peace Agreement, continued to subject many women and children to human rights abuses, including sexual slavery. On August 14, 2000, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1315 requesting the secretary-general to negotiate with the Sierra Leonean government an agreement for the establishment of a special court.

Due to delays in funding contributions and agreement on key substantive matters, the agreement between the government and the U.N. to establish the Special Court for Sierra Leone was not signed until January 16, 2002.²⁵⁴ The total budget for the SCSL is U.S. \$56.8 million. The first year of the court has been fully funded and pledges have been received for the second year.²⁵⁵ The secretary-general appointed the prosecutor and registrar on April 19, 2002, and it is hoped that the first trials will commence in the second quarter of 2003.²⁵⁶ Given budgetary constraints, it is likely that only a limited number of persons will be tried, perhaps as few as twenty.

The SCSL differs in notable ways from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Firstly, it is based on an agreement between the government and the U.N. and was not established by a Security Council resolution under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter. This means that the Special Court does not have the power to require international cooperation.²⁵⁷ Secondly, the SCSL is a hybrid court relying on both international and domestic laws. The professional and support staff of the court will be a mix of Sierra Leonean and foreign nationals.

Article 1 of the SCSL provides that the court has the competence to try "persons who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law committed in the territory of Sierra Leone since 30 November 1996."²⁵⁸

Other crimes that the court has the jurisdiction to prosecute are provided under Article 2 to Article 6. Under Article 2, which defines the crimes against humanity that the SCSL has the power to prosecute, the following crimes of sexual violence are specified: "rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and any other form of sexual violence."²⁵⁹ Rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault can also be prosecuted as violations of Common Article 3 to the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II as stated under Article 3 of the statute. Under Article 4, specific serious violations of international humanitarian law are enumerated, including intentionally attacking civilians and the recruitment of children under fifteen years old into

²⁵³ Letter dated June 12, 2000 and addressed by the president of Sierra Leone to the U.N. secretary-general. Letter and annexed Suggested Framework for the Special Court.

²⁵⁴ Agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Sierra Leone on the Establishment of a Special Court for Sierra Leone at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/reports/2000/915e.pdf>.

²⁵⁵ Human Rights Watch telephone interview with Robin Vincent (registrar of the SCSL), U.K., July 4, 2002.

²⁵⁶ S/2002/246, Letter dated March 6, 2002 from the secretary-general addressed to the president of the Security Council. David Crane, a prosecutor for the U.S. Department of Defence, was appointed as prosecutor and Robin Vincent of the U.K. was appointed as the registrar.

²⁵⁷ See also letter from Human Rights Watch to members of the Security Council and other interested states dated September 27, 2001. Under Chapter VII, which is entitled "Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression," the Security Council can decide to take non-military and/or military action against states that threaten international peace and security. Decisions taken by the Security Council under Chapter VII—which should be read in conjunction with Article 24, which confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security to the Security Council, and Article 25, under which U.N. member states agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council—are binding on member states.

²⁵⁸ Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone at <http://www.sierra-leone.org/documents-specialcourt.html>.

²⁵⁹ The other crimes against humanity are: murder; enslavement; deportation; imprisonment; torture; persecution on political, racial, ethnic or religious grounds; and other inhuman acts.

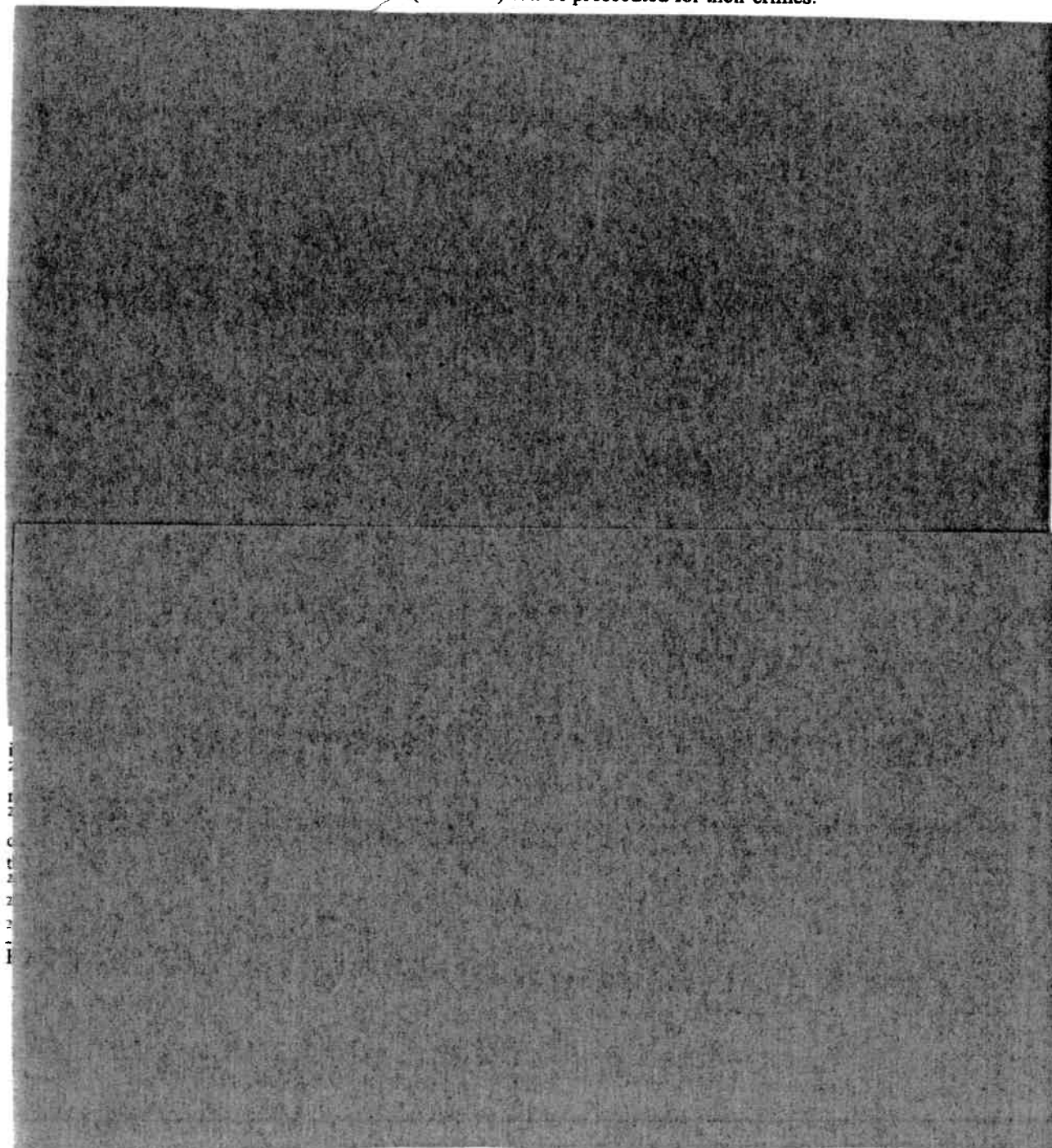
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the armed forces. With the unanimous adoption by the U.N. General Assembly of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in May 2000,²⁶⁰ however, the minimum age for any conscription or forced recruitment has been raised to eighteen.²⁶¹ Under Article 5, gender-based crimes can also be prosecuted under domestic law provisions. However, as these provisions do not meet international standards in terms of definition of crimes and punishment, they should not be applied.²⁶²

In accordance with the U.N.'s statement that it did not recognize the Lomé amnesty as it purported to apply to genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other serious violations of international humanitarian law, Article 10 of the court's statute states:

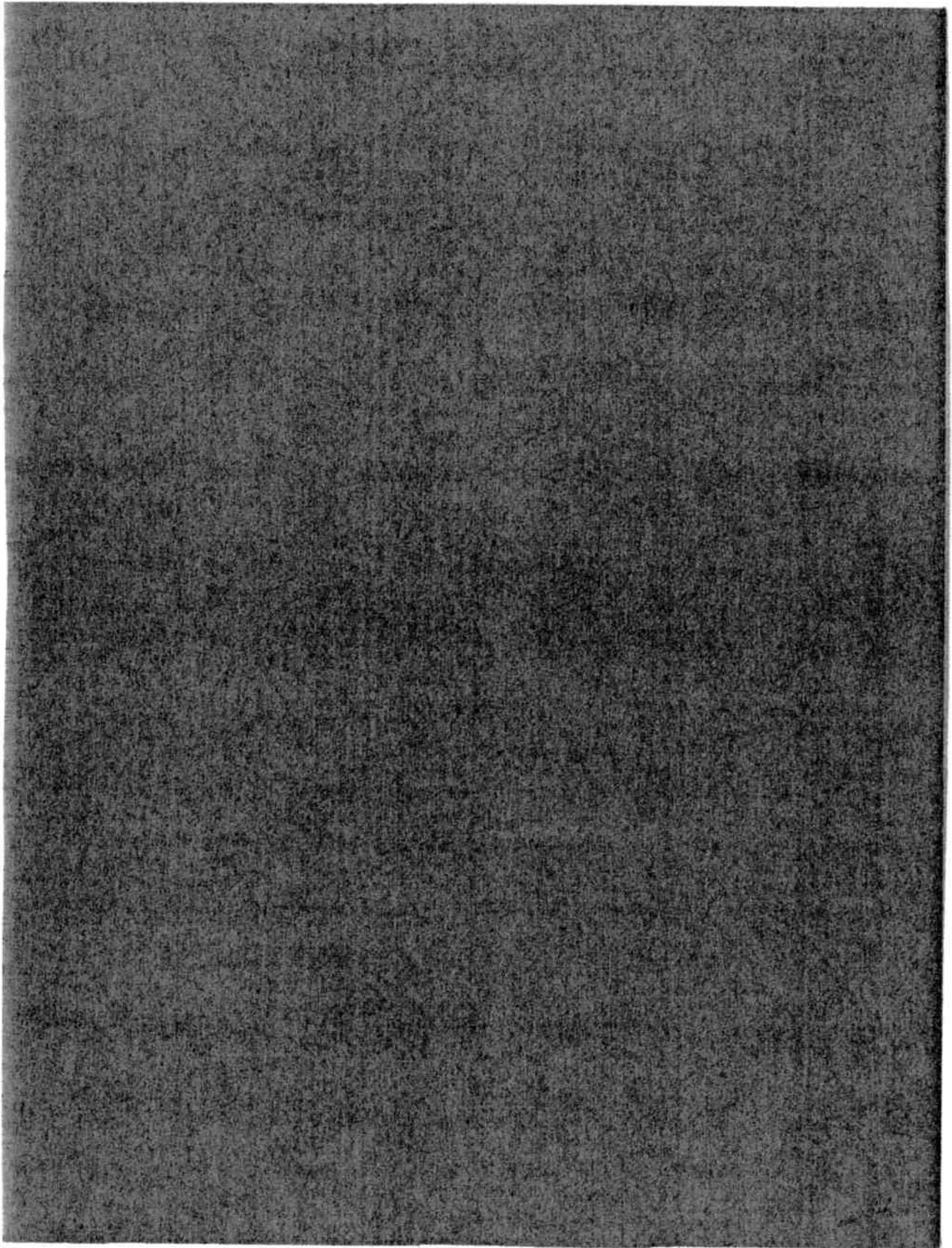
An amnesty granted to any person falling within the jurisdiction of the Special Court in respect of the crimes referred to in articles 2 to 4 of the present Statute shall not be a bar to prosecution.²⁶³

This means that those bearing the greatest responsibility for crimes against humanity (Article 2); violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II (Article 3); and other serious violations of international humanitarian law (Article 4) can be prosecuted for their crimes.



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IX. THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

National Response

Climate of Impunity

Human Rights Watch is not aware of any prosecutions in the Sierra Leonean courts of any cases of conflict-related sexual violence or other human rights abuses. The lack of both categories of prosecutions is due to a number of factors. Firstly, many survivors simply want to try to forget about the sexual violence and other human rights abuses they have been subjected to and just get on with their lives in post-conflict Sierra Leone, which for many is a daily struggle. Secondly, some women and girls fear reprisals. According to the survey conducted by Physicians for Human Rights, thirteen (or 25 percent) of the fifty-one respondents indicating that their perpetrator should not be punished, expressed this fear.²⁷⁴ Thirdly, women and girls are often ashamed of what happened to them and are therefore reluctant to present themselves in court. Fourthly, women and girls have little faith in the criminal justice system or the customary law system, which were never equipped to deal with crimes of such widespread and systematic nature. If a survivor of sexual violence does decide to prosecute, she is likely to be retraumatized by the whole experience given the very poor track record of the Sierra Leonean criminal justice system. Fifthly, many women and girls lack the financial means to access the court system. As women are generally economically dependent on men, many women who have initiated prosecution of non-conflict-related sexual violence, have dropped their cases once they realize that their husband may be sentenced to prison (dependency means that a previously abducted woman or girl who is still with her rebel "husband" is even more unlikely to bring any charges against him). Sixthly, victims are often not even aware of their rights, given high illiteracy rates, prevalent societal attitudes towards sexual violence, and women's low status in Sierra Leonean society. Many rural women and girls, in particular, see little value in the formal court system as there is often no financial or material benefit from bringing a case. Attitudes towards sexual violence, and the subordinate status of women and girls, mean that there is considerable societal pressure for women not to bring cases before the courts that could bring shame to the extended family, such as sexual violence cases.

The climate of impunity means that violence against women and girls remains a serious problem in post-conflict Sierra Leone. Rape continues to be committed by former rebels, members of the CDF and by civilians who are used to doing what they want with women by force and with impunity. A lawyer who practices in the Eastern Province reported to Human Rights Watch that of the rape victims he was currently representing at least 50 percent had been raped by civilians and the remainder by former combatants.²⁷⁵ Girls continue to suffer the greatest number of sexual assaults: a lawyer who practices in the Freetown area reported to Human Rights Watch that of the at least fifty rape victims she represented at the time of writing, 98 percent are under fourteen years old.²⁷⁶ Although there are no reliable statistics on the incidence of sexual or domestic violence, the police doctor in Connaught Hospital in Freetown, which is the largest government-run hospital in the country, sees about thirty victims of recent rape and sexual assault per month.²⁷⁷ For the reasons enumerated above, this figure is likely to

²⁷² UN Commission on Human Rights resolution 1999/1, April 6, 1999.

²⁷³ United Nations, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women* E/CN.4/2002/83/Add. 2, 2002, para. 78.

²⁷⁴ PHR report, pp. 53-55 and Table 7 at p. 56. Women could select more than one option.

²⁷⁵ Human Rights Watch interview with Abdulai Bangurah (lawyer), Freetown, March 15, 2002.

²⁷⁶ Human Rights Watch interview with Claire Fatu Hanciles (lawyer), Freetown, August 9, 2002.

²⁷⁷ Human Rights Watch interview with Bill Roberts and Anne Hewlett (respectively crime adviser and criminal investigation trainer with the Commonwealth Community Safety and Security Project), Freetown, May 1, 2002.

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be the tip of the iceberg. Physicians for Human Rights found that 39 percent of respondents expressed concern ("quite a bit" or "extremely worried") about future sexual violence by family members, friends or civilian strangers. Ninety-one women (or 9 percent of all respondents) had experienced sexual abuse, occurring at an average age of fifteen, from family, friends or civilians during their lifetime.²⁷⁸

Despite all these problems, seventeen out of a total of ninety-four respondents (or 18 percent) reporting sexual violence to Physicians for Human Rights supported punishment for "all those involved," thirty women (or 32 percent) supported punishment for the perpetrators, and seventeen women (or 18 percent) supported punishment for the commanders. Thirty-three women believed that punishment of perpetrators would prevent sexual violence from happening to others.²⁷⁹

Corrupt and Ineffective Judiciary

Lack of faith in the system, as the few women who have decided to prosecute non-conflict-related rape have experienced, is fully justified. The judiciary—which, prior to the conflict, barely existed in the provinces, and in Freetown was only accessible to those who had sufficient funds—completely collapsed during the war. Many lawyers fled the conflict, and much of the infrastructure, including the law courts in Freetown, was destroyed. The low salaries of personnel working in the judiciary have meant that magistrates, lawyers, and judges are easy targets for bribery and/or intimidation. In addition to these problems, women who seek justice for crimes of sexual violence have to contend with more gender-specific problems. The judiciary is dominated by men and some of its older members, in particular, do not think rape is a serious crime and that the victims are generally to blame. The legal processes are very cumbersome and open to corruption, factors which favor the perpetrator. At the magistrates court level, it is up to the magistrate to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to submit a case to the High Court and whether to grant bail. As the court system is so overburdened this phase can take weeks or months, and it is not unusual for victims to have to appear over ten times before the case is handed on to the High Court. Magistrates have also been known to grant bail even if the offender and victim live in the same compound, which means that the victim is at risk at least of intimidation and even physical violence.²⁸⁰ Many cases die in the magistrates courts, as victims run out of money, patience, and/or time. Cases at this stage are also frequently dismissed, if, for example, the witnesses do not show in court (after three no shows, the case can be dismissed): witnesses often decide against appearing in court for reasons including intimidation, ignorance of the law, lack of transportation money, and the slow pace at which court cases proceed, or because they simply do not care. The requirement for corroborating evidence is often an obstacle to prosecution and violates international norms.

If the magistrate decides that there is sufficient evidence, the case is handed up to the High Court. Cases in the High Court can also take months especially as there are also continuous indefinite adjournments to contend with. There have been no High Court sittings in the provinces for the past six years, and cases in the provinces have therefore been on indefinite hold. One offender who sexually assaulted two young girls spent five years in pre-trial detention before being sentenced to two years for indecent assault—the five years already served in pre-trial detention were ignored by the court, thus putting the offender in detention for a total of seven years rather than two.²⁸¹

Need for Law Reform

Both general and customary law offer little protection for women and girls (see above, "Women and Girls Under Sierra Leonean Law"). The misinterpretation of the general law provisions pertaining to rape by members of the criminal justice system means that girls are offered even less protection than adults. There is an urgent need for the laws to be revised: the discriminatory provisions in both general and customary law should be removed and brought into line with international standards of human rights, including in relation to the protection of women and girls from violence. The law relating to rape, in particular, should be simplified as well as

²⁷⁸ PHR report, p. 49.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁸⁰ Human Rights Watch interview with John Bosco Alieu (lawyer), Freetown, February 26, 2002.

²⁸¹ Human Rights Watch interview with Abdulai Bangurah (lawyer), Freetown, March 15, 2002.

strengthened. Specific legislation on domestic violence, which currently does not exist, should be introduced as women seeking legal redress for domestic violence generally face even more difficulty in convincing the police and members of the judiciary that their rights have been violated.²⁸² The constitution should also be amended to remove the exemption for customary law and personal law from the prohibition on discrimination. Ending discrimination under customary law in practice will require a major public education exercise, but, as a start, staff of local courts, especially those presiding over them, should be trained in relation to issues of discrimination and the rights of women under the (revised) constitution and international human rights law. The judiciary and the police force need to be trained on the new laws to ensure that they are properly applied.

The Sierra Leone Police

Prior to the civil war, the Sierra Leone Police had been used by politicians for their own purposes and had not received any substantive training for decades. The attitude of the police force to sexual and domestic violence remains insensitive. Police officers, for example, often do not take reports of rape seriously and chastise women who report domestic violence. There are many problems with police investigations of rape cases. Firstly, the police lack basic investigation skills. Secondly, victims must be examined by state-employed doctors, including police doctors, as only a state-employed doctor can present medical evidence in court. Both the police and other state-employed doctors often charge money for these examinations even though they should be free of charge. Thirdly, both the doctors and the police may be intimidated and/or bribed to drop the cases, or police may demand money from plaintiffs before interviewing witnesses and arranging their transport to court. A nationwide system of Family Support Units (FSUs) is in the process of being established with the support of the British-funded Commonwealth Community Safety and Security Project (CCSSP) to deal with cases of sexual and domestic violence.²⁸³ To date, however, only a small number of police officers (approximately sixteen) have received some training and much work remains to be done before the FSUs can deal with victims of sexual and domestic violence in an appropriate manner.

The International Response

In addition to funding UNAMSIL, the international donor community pours approximately U.S. \$70 million a year into Sierra Leone for humanitarian assistance. Within the overall humanitarian assistance program to Sierra Leone, only a small percentage of funding is targeted to gender-related programs, notwithstanding the large number of girls and women who have been affected by gender-specific abuses. This funding has also come very late: there were no services specifically for survivors of sexual violence before 1999. After the January 1999 invasion of Freetown, the international community finally took note of the scale of sexual and gender-based abuses and started funding small-scale programs in accessible areas. The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) program consistently overlooked the assistance as well as protection needs of abducted women and girls (see below).

Donor funding has contributed to education, adult literacy, health care, trauma counseling, and skills training programs as well as credit and income-generating schemes for a limited number of survivors of sexual violence. These programs need to be expanded into all parts of Sierra Leone, so that more survivors can benefit from these programs. Long-term sexual and gender-based violence programs that aim to educate communities about sexual and domestic violence as well as provide women with health care and some legal aid on a limited scale have been established in camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the east and south. These programs have been quite successful in changing the attitudes towards sexual and domestic violence of the IDP communities these programs serviced. They have also empowered rural women to stand up for their rights.

²⁸² Charges of physical assault can be made under the 1861 Offenses Against the Person Act under sections 18 (wounding with intent to maim; causing grievous bodily harm with intent; shooting with intent to maim), 20 (unlawful wounding) and 47 (assault, battery, actual bodily harm).

²⁸³ Human Rights Watch interview with Bill Roberts and Anne Hewlett (respectively crime adviser and criminal investigation trainer with the Commonwealth Community Safety and Security Project), Freetown, May 1, 2002.

To date, funding for the judiciary has focused on the rehabilitation of the infrastructure of the judiciary, but as the peace in Sierra Leone takes hold, donors, including the British government and the World Bank, are considering funding desperately needed judicial reform programs.

The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration program

The extent to which sexual violence, including sexual slavery, has been ignored throughout the war and in the post-conflict phase is most evident by the lack of attention paid to the thousands of abducted women and girls and their children. The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) process has completely overlooked the protection needs of these women and children. The lack of clear policy and procedural guidelines on these abductees has meant that the responsibility for these women and girls fell between governmental institutions and implementing agencies, resulting in an *ad hoc*, inappropriate and inadequate humanitarian response. Little to no funding was allocated to the protection needs of abducted women and children and only a small number of programs that provide education, skills training and counseling were established for them. This important human rights issue was raised on numerous occasions at different levels with the relevant government institutions, donor governments and the World Bank by UNAMSIL and nongovernmental organizations as well as by World Bank consultants in confidential reports, but did not succeed in bringing about any concrete policy decisions.

The needs of abducted girls and women should, however, be considered an inextricable part of the DDR process and a priority issue that should have been addressed during meetings between the U.N. and government officials or rebel leaders prior to the commencement of disarmament. The abducted girls and women should have been registered and interviewed at the same time that their "husbands" entered the DDR program, with the interviews conducted separately from the "husbands." Information on alternative options could have been disseminated at the DDR camps through social workers and orientation sessions. Alternatively, if it had been possible to gain access to the abducted women and children in rebel-held areas before or during the DDR process then contact should have been established to determine total numbers and inform them of the reintegration support and alternative options available to them. Female social workers in the DDR camps could also have counseled the abductees to help them understand the implications of their decisions, and that the decision is theirs. Basic reproductive health services, including testing and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases, should also be provided at DDR camps.

Donors and the government of Sierra Leone must redress their neglect of survivors' protection needs by drastically increasing funding for women's programs and providing women with desperately needed assistance in terms of health, education, trauma counseling, adult literacy and skills training to promote their rehabilitation into society. In addition, donors should fund legal reform and training programs for the judiciary and police, which will contribute to increase the protection of women's human rights. Donors should also learn from their failure in Sierra Leone and ensure that DDR programs in other countries where large numbers of women and girls have been abducted by the fighting forces, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, do integrate the protection needs of these abducted women and girls.²⁸⁴

United Kingdom

The U.K. has played a key role in restoring peace to Sierra Leone. During the May 2000 crisis, British troops deployed to Sierra Leone, and a standby force was deployed offshore ready to provide additional support to UNAMSIL and the Sierra Leone Army, if required. Since the May 2000 crisis, it has provided technical assistance to most government departments and military training to the new SLA, and has publicly committed itself to remain closely involved in Sierra Leone.

The U.K. is the biggest donor in Sierra Leone, and in 2002 contributed £100 million (approximately U.S. \$145 million) of which about £50 million (approximately U.S. \$73 million) was disbursed through its development agency, the Department for International Development (DFID). DFID-funded programs aim at

²⁸⁴ Human Rights Watch, *The War within the War: Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002).

strengthening the protection and promotion of women's human rights. Since September 2001, the Commonwealth Community Safety and Security Project (CCSSP), which is funded by DFID and staffed only by British nationals, has been working to establish a nationwide system of Family Support Units (FSUs) to deal with cases of sexual and domestic violence. Under this system, only female police officers are supposed to interview female victims, while both male and female police officers are responsible for interviewing suspects and witnesses. More officers need to be trained in addition to the sixteen who have received training. As the force has few women, more females need to be recruited so only female police officers interview victims of sexual and domestic violence. The police officers in the FSUs lack strong leadership and require more training and close supervision to ensure that victims are dealt with in a professional and sensitive manner.

DFID also funds a program to promote the participation of women in politics, especially in Parliament, as well as university research into conflict-related sexual violence committed in January 1999.²⁸⁵ DFID has provided £2.5 million (about U.S. \$3.5 million) for a three year Law Development Program which aims at rehabilitating the physical infrastructure of the court system, as well as providing training to administrative staff to ensure proper record-keeping of cases. The Law Development Program is under review to determine its future strategy, in particular with relation to legal reform, including customary law. DFID is currently considering funding a three-year program that will establish sexual and physical assault referral centers across the country.

The U.K. has contributed a total of over U.S. \$500,000 to the operations of the TRC and its Interim Secretariat. The U.K. has also pledged U.S. \$9,110,000 over three years to the Special Court.

United States

In 1999, the U.S. put considerable pressure on the warring parties to seek a negotiated settlement. However, following the breakdown of the peace process in 2000, U.S. policy revolved around ending external support for the RUF, supporting British military actions and transitional justice mechanisms as well as providing humanitarian aid. From 2000 to 2002, the United States contributed a total of U.S. \$170 million to Sierra Leone, which was primarily disbursed on food-for-peace programs, the resettlement of displaced persons, and reintegration of former combatants. The U.S. has funded several women's programs, notably in the field of health, including the provision of obstetric surgery and HIV/AIDS education, a sexual and gender-based violence program, a program aimed at promoting women in politics, and micro-finance schemes for women. The Senate's Foreign Relations Committee recommended that the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) expand services to rape victims and fund a public education program on women's rights. The U.S., which is a strong supporter of the Special Court, has contributed U.S. \$5 million to this body, and pledged an additional \$10 million. The U.S. has contributed \$500,000 to the TRC.

After the May 2000 crisis, the U.S. initiated a program called Operation Focus Relief (OFR) to train and equip seven battalions of West African troops for peacekeeping with UNAMSIL. In July 2002, the U.S. pledged to help ECOWAS set up military bases for the rapid deployment of troops in conflict areas. The first steps in this assistance program include the installation of a U.S. \$5.3 million early-warning satellite communications system, which will link the ECOWAS secretariat with observation centers in four ECOWAS countries.

European Union

The E.U. did not play a key role in responding to the armed conflict and to date has not been a major donor. Since May 2000, the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) has disbursed approximately €30 million (roughly the same in U.S. dollars) in Sierra Leone. Few ECHO-funded programs have directly targeted women. ECHO has funded child protection programs, which have assisted child-mothers who became pregnant as the result of conflict-related sexual violence.

²⁸⁵ A survey of 226 victims, conducted by the University of Sierra Leone Gender Research and Documentation Centre in collaboration with the Sierra Leone Association of University Women (SLAUW), Médecins Sans Frontières, UNICEF and FAWE Sierra Leone.

As the situation in Sierra Leone stabilizes, the E.U. will increase its funding to Sierra Leone through the European Development Fund (EDF), which from 2000 to 2002 disbursed €38 million on activities that supported the return to democracy, rehabilitation of infrastructure and resettlement. From 2002 to 2007, a total of €144 million will be made available for disbursement through the EDF on activities that focus on the rehabilitation of rural infrastructure, good governance and institutional capacity building. An additional €76 million can be spent on activities outside of these two focal areas.

In 2002, the European Commission funded a two-year program that supports the reintegration of rape victims and other war-affected persons through the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). Human rights-related programs funded through the EIDHR, which has €6 million for disbursement over the next three years (2002-5), should include women's rights issues, which the EIDHR seeks to mainstream in all its programs.²⁸⁶

In addition to the U.K., other member states of the E.U. have bilaterally contributed to Sierra Leone. The Netherlands, in particular, has since 1999 funded sexual and gender-based violence programs. The Dutch government has also been a strong supporter of the Special Court and has contributed U.S. \$11.4 million, which is approximately 20 percent of the total budget. A donation for the TRC is being prepared at the time of writing, but has not yet been formalized. A small budget for human rights programs was made available for 2002.

United Nations

Security Council, Secretary-General, and UNAMSIL

Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the members of the Security Council have devoted much attention to the conflict in Sierra Leone. Kofi Annan visited the country in July 1999 and December 2000. The Security Council has frequently denounced the egregious human rights abuses committed during the conflict, in particular by the rebel factions, and has stressed the importance of protecting women in armed conflict.²⁸⁷

Following the failure of the U.N. peacekeeping missions in Somalia and Rwanda, there was substantial pressure on the U.N. to ensure that the UNAMSIL peacekeeping mission would succeed when it was established in October 1999.²⁸⁸ After the slow initial deployment of peacekeepers, which led to the May 2000 crisis, the U.N. committed itself to deploy 17,500 peacekeepers in Sierra Leone: UNAMSIL is the world's largest and most expensive peacekeeping mission, costing the international community over U.S. \$700 million annually.²⁸⁹ As of March 31, 2002, there were 17,455 peacekeepers, 259 military observers, 87 civilian police officers as well as 322 international and 552 local civilian staff in Sierra Leone. The mission is now being hailed as a great success, although Human Rights Watch has criticized UNAMSIL on numerous occasions for failing to fulfill its mandate to protect the civilian population.²⁹⁰ In a June 19 report to the Security Council on UNAMSIL, the secretary-general stated that the government security apparatus was not yet capable of protecting Sierra Leone from both internal and external threats and warned that the international community must protect the major investments that had made possible the progress achieved so far.²⁹¹ On September 24, the Security Council extended UNAMSIL's mandate for a further six months, but envisaged a reduction of 4,500 troops in the peacekeeping mission within eight months. The resolution was based on the recommendation of a further report on UNAMSIL which laid out benchmarks to govern the withdrawal of the U.N. from Sierra Leone, including the ability of the police and army

²⁸⁶ Human Rights Watch interview with EIDHR representatives Andrew Kelly and Irene Corcillo and the Economic Adviser to the E.U., René Mally, Freetown, April 10, 2002.

²⁸⁷ In resolution 1370, the Security Council expressed "... its continued deep concern at the reports of human rights abuses and attacks by the RUF and the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) ... against the civilian population, in particular the widespread violation of the human rights of women and children, including sexual violence, [and] demands that these acts cease immediately..." U.N. Security Council resolution 1370, S/RES/1370 (2001), September 18, 2001, para. 4.

²⁸⁸ U.N. Security Council resolution 1270, S/RES/1270 (1999), October 22, 1999.

²⁸⁹ U.N. Security Council resolution 1346, S/RES/1346 (2001), March 30, 2001.

²⁹⁰ See Human Rights Watch letter addressed to Secretary-General Kofi Annan at <http://www.org/press/2001/11/annanltr.htm>.

²⁹¹ *Fourteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone*, S/2002/679, June 19, 2002.

to maintain security, the successful re-integration of ex-combatants, and the situation in the broader sub-region. The resolution also encouraged the government of Sierra Leone to "pay special attention to the needs of women and children affected by the war," and welcomed "the steps taken by UNAMSIL to prevent sexual abuse and exploitation of women and children," and encouraged the mission to continue to enforce a policy of "zero tolerance" for such acts. The Security Council also called on states to bring to justice their own nationals responsible for such crimes in Sierra Leone.²⁹²

UNAMSIL was initially authorized to field fourteen human rights officers, but for the first two years of UNAMSIL's existence, the human rights unit remained understaffed, which meant that human rights abuses were not effectively monitored. At various times during the lifespan of UNAMSIL, the gender specialist post was not filled. When UNAMSIL's mandate was expanded to 17,500, the human rights unit was authorized to recruit six additional human rights officers and most positions are currently filled. The Physicians for Human Rights report on conflict-related sexual violence was produced in collaboration with the UNAMSIL human rights section and has contributed to focusing the attention of the international community on the issue of sexual violence.

In October 2000, the Security Council held an Open Session on Women and Armed Conflict and adopted a resolution calling for documenting the impact of armed conflict on women and the role of women in peace-building.²⁹³ Since then the U.N. Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) has undertaken a major study on the impact of armed conflict on women in more than ten countries around the world, including Sierra Leone. In January 2002, a three-woman UNIFEM team visited Sierra Leone in connection with this study.²⁹⁴ UNIFEM also recently appointed a gender and AIDS adviser in Sierra Leone, who is tasked with strengthening the gender division of the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs and local women's groups as well as mainstreaming gender in the TRC and Special Court for Sierra Leone. She will also research the relationship between gender, conflict and HIV/AIDS with the aim to increase protection against HIV infection.²⁹⁵

In November 2001, a team from the Training and Evaluation Service of the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) conducted a two-week training on gender in peacekeeping. The program involved over 1,000 UNAMSIL peacekeepers and civilian personnel from both Freetown and the provinces. Local human rights activists and women's organizations were invited in order to contribute a domestic perspective on gender issues.

UNAMSIL has funded several women's programs for survivors of sexual violence through various trust funds. These trust funds are normally established for quick impact programs whilst the rehabilitation and reintegration of women who have been abducted and subjected to sexual violence and sexual slavery should be seen as long-term projects.

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

The then U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson visited Sierra Leone in June 1999, while the Lomé peace negotiations were taking place. The purpose of the mission was "to support the peace process, to encourage future programmes for the promotion and protection of human rights in the country, and to draw attention to the plight of children, women and civilians bearing the brunt of the excesses in Sierra Leone."²⁹⁶ OHCHR has provided technical assistance for the establishment of the TRC, but was very slow to issue the funding appeal for the TRC. OHCHR has also assisted in the drafting of the statute for the national human rights commission provided under the Lomé Peace Agreement, but the establishment of this body has not progressed beyond that point.

²⁹² *Fifteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone*, S/2002/987, September 5, 2002; U.N. Security Council resolution 1436, S/RES/1436 (2002), September 24, 2002, paragraphs 14 and 15.

²⁹³ U.N. Security Council resolution 1325, S/RES/1325 (2000), October 31, 2000.

²⁹⁴ See the summary of the assessment's findings at http://www.unifem.org/gov_pax_assessment.pdf.html.

²⁹⁵ Human Rights Watch interview with Jebbeh Forster (Gender and AIDS advisor to UNIFEM Sierra Leone), Freetown, March 11 and April 15, 2002.

²⁹⁶ United Nations, *Sixth Report of the U.N. secretary-general on the U.N. Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)*, S/1999/645, June 4, 1999, para. 39.

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights has condemned the human rights situation in Sierra Leone on numerous occasions.²⁹⁷ In August 2001, Radhika Coomaraswamy, the commission's special rapporteur on violence against women, visited Sierra Leone to highlight the gender-specific abuses that thousands of women and girls have been subjected to. She highlighted that "systematic and widespread rape and other sexual violence has been a hallmark of the conflict in Sierra Leone" and noted that "the failure to investigate, prosecute and punish those responsible for rape and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence has contributed to an environment of impunity that perpetuates violence against women in Sierra Leone, including rape and domestic violence."²⁹⁸ She therefore stressed the need for accountability for these abuses.

World Bank

The World Bank established a multi-donor trust fund for the DDR program, which is now focused on the reintegration of ex-combatants. As discussed above, the protection needs of abducted women and girls were ignored by the DDR program even though World Bank consultants had raised this issue in their confidential reports. In 2002, the World Bank agreed in principle to allocate U.S. \$140 million to support reconstruction and development efforts in Sierra Leone and U.S. \$15 million to go towards HIV/AIDS prevention projects there.

X. CONCLUSION

The decade-long war in Sierra Leone has been characterized by egregious human rights abuses committed primarily by the rebel forces against the civilian population. Throughout the conflict, thousands of women and girls were raped and subjected to other forms of sexual violence of unimaginable brutality, including sexual slavery. The low status of women and girls in Sierra Leone by law, custom and practice remains a contributing factor to their vulnerability and may have contributed to the widespread and systematic sexual violence. In addition to the combatants' motivation to achieve their strategic military objectives through terrorizing the civilian population, the fact that sexual violence during the Sierra Leone conflict predominantly involved *men* raping *women* reveals that conflict-related rape, like most rape, reflects this dynamic of gender inequality and subordination. This assertion by men of their power over women is deeply imbedded in societal attitudes in Sierra Leone. The international community and the government therefore need to think of creative ways to change these deeply embedded attitudes.

The lack of attention paid until recently, both nationally and internationally, to the widespread and systematic acts of sexual violence, sexual slavery and their consequences means that there are few assistance programs for survivors. The international community and the government of Sierra Leone should drastically increase funding to ensure that desperately needed health care, education, adult literacy, skills training, trauma counseling, and income-generating schemes are provided. Nor have there been any prosecutions. Rape therefore continues with impunity and it is little wonder that women and girls in post-conflict Sierra Leone remain vulnerable to non-conflict-related violence, and are reluctant to seek legal redress in the domestic courts or even report the incident given the country's inefficient and corrupt criminal justice system. Although, the establishment of the Special Court for Sierra Leone and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should help to address this climate of impunity, the domestic legal system must urgently be revised to ensure that crimes of sexual violence are prosecuted in a sensitive manner. The international community therefore needs to fund legal reform and training

²⁹⁷ The Commission on Human Rights deplored "... the ongoing atrocities committed by the rebels, including murders, rape, abductions ... calls for an end to all such acts." U.N. Commission on Human Rights resolution 2000/24, April 18, 2000, para. 4. The Commission also expressed its grave concern "...at the targeting and abuse of women and girls that have been committed in Sierra Leone by the Revolutionary United Front and others, including other armed groups, in particular murder, sexual violence, rape, including systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced marriages..." U.N. Commission on Human Rights resolution 2001/20, April 20, 2001, para. 2(b).

²⁹⁸ United Nations, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, submitted in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 2001/49, Addendum, Mission to Sierra Leone*, E/CN.4/2002/83/Add.2 (United Nations, 2002), p. 2.

programs for the criminal justice system as a whole, which has a key role in promoting and protecting the rights of Sierra Leonean women and girls.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The report was edited by Bronwen Manby, deputy director of the Africa Division; James Ross, senior legal adviser; and Ian Gorvin, consultant to the program office. It was also reviewed by Corinne Dufka; Widney Brown, advocacy director in the Women's Rights Division; Zama Coursen-Neff, researcher in the Children's Rights Division; Joanne Csete, director of the program on HIV/AIDS and human rights; and Joanne Weschler, U.N. representative. The final edits were inputted by Max Marcus, consultant. Production and coordination assistance was provided by Jeff Scott, associate in the Africa Division; Patrick Minges, Publications director; and Fitzroy Hepkins, mail manager.

We would like to thank all the organizations and individuals interviewed for this report for their invaluable assistance and insights. We particularly thank the survivors who agreed to recount their experiences. The courage and dignity of these women and girls never ceases to amaze and inspire.

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Africa Division*

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Sierra Leone - UNHC: 16-30.Apr.98

----- Forwarded message -----

Date: Wed, 6 May 1998 15:24:22 +0200

From: Hazan.Gahigi@DHA.UNICC.ORG

To: OCHA.Standard.List.Africa@DHA.UNICC.ORG, ComEmerg...Main@DHA.UNICC.ORG,
ComEmerg...5f...Sierra.Leone@DHA.UNICC.ORG

Subject: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 16-30 April'98

SIERRA LEONE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION REPORT Period covered: 16-30 April 1998

This report has been prepared by the office of the United Nations
Humanitarian Coordinator for Sierra Leone in Conakry, Guinea

SECURITY

1. ECOMOG has continued to prosecute the war against junta and RUF forces in Kono and Kailahun districts with mixed results. Although ECOMOG forces are now in control of the towns of Daru, Pendembu and Koindu, junta forces still occupy large areas in the four chiefdoms in the Eastern part of Kailahun district. Casualties on both sides have been heavy. Some RUF have moved from Kono district towards the North-East and have perpetrated several attacks near the towns of Kamakwie, Batkanu and Makeni. Looting and amputations are widespread.

2. ECOMOG spokesmen have alleged that RUF fighters are being trained at a camp in Lofa county in Northern Liberia. The Liberian Government has rejected these allegations.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

3. President Kabbah has announced that Col. Khobe, ECOMOG's Force Commander in Sierra Leone, will act as his chief security adviser. Col. Khobe will be responsible for Sierra Leone's national security system and for creating a professional army. He will report directly to the President who is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. All the nominations for cabinet posts have been approved by Parliament and sworn into office.

4. The Attorney-General and Minister of Justice have requested the Managing Directors of four banks to freeze 93 accounts operated by deportees and businessmen who owe the State income tax and other sources of revenue. This request is intended to curb business malpractices.

HUMANITARIAN DEVELOPMENTS

5. The intensification of the fighting between ECOMOG and junta / RUF forces in the East of Sierra Leone is creating a severe humanitarian situation. The most recent reports indicate a new influx of 54,000 Sierra Leoneans into Vahun, Liberia and 90,000 into Guinea since the start of the recent ECOMOG offensive against the AFRC/RUF in Kono and Kailahun districts. Many of the Sierra Leonean refugees are reportedly suffering from a combination of malaria, respiratory disease, diarrhoea and malnutrition. UNHCR is organising transport for the refugees from Vahun, which is only 8 miles from the Sierra Leone border, to Kolahun, thus enabling the refugees to benefit from increased access to relief services and improved security. Preparations are already underway for the arrival of

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Monday, January 18, 1999 Published at 19:46 GMT

Covering the battle for Freetown



Ecomog soldiers: Regained Freetown after fierce battle

By West Africa Correspondent Mark Doyle

I found covering the battle for Freetown extremely difficult. I was there when the worst of the fighting broke out between the rebels and the Nigerian-led Ecomog forces.



The rebels terrorised the population with tactics which included murder, rape and arson. It was fierce house-to-house battles, until the Nigerians succeeded in clearing most of the rebels out of central Freetown.

Not only was it so dangerous that most of the time I could not venture into the city, but worse, my best sources of information there had either fled or gone into hiding.

Almost all foreign residents had been evacuated before the fighting reached the city centre, but more important than the foreigners were my Sierra Leonean journalist colleagues. Over more than a year of visiting Sierra Leone, I have come to trust the best of them, sometimes literally, with my life.

Is it safe to drive ahead



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Ecomog forces kept control of Freetown airport

now, or do we pull back? Is it safe to speak to this armed man at that road block, or is it better not to try?

Most of the time only a local journalist knows and understands the subtle signs which can help answer these questions. But when the rebels reached the centre of town, these journalists, like almost all of the residents of

Freetown, had to go into hiding.

Then the phones were cut by the fighting and the rebels hit the power station. Added to the cut in electricity, there was an information blackout as well.

Airport base

The only safe place to be in Freetown was the airport. Throughout the battle it was firmly in the hands of the Ecomog troops who, with a mandate from the United Nations and partly paid for by Britain, are defending the elected Sierra Leone government against the rebels.

But the airport was not such a bad place to be. Over the months I have made friends with some of the Nigerian officers and the people who work with them. They allowed me to stay at the airport and report on the operations of their rear base.



Extra Nigerian troops were brought in

I saw Nigerian air force jets scream off on bombing missions against the rebels. I watched a Hercules transport plane disgorge hundreds of fresh Nigerian troops and then saw them ferried into Freetown on a military helicopter.

When the chopper returned to the airport, it was usually full of terrified civilians who had been saved by the Nigerians from the chaos in the city. They were pitifully few compared with the hundreds of thousands of people trapped there.

Slowly, as these evacuees told their stories, with tears and terror still in their eyes, I built up a picture of what was going on.

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Civilians abused

The horror of it was almost unbelievable. The rebels were using the population as human shields. Gangs of young men with guns, some high on drugs, were forcing innocent people onto the streets and then hiding among them, tried to advance against the Nigerians.

Anyone who did not wave a white handkerchief as a sign of support for the rebels, some of whom were boys as young as eight, risked being shot or having their house burned down.



A Freetown civilian is searched by soldiers

The citizens of Freetown faced a dreadful dilemma. The government controlled radio station told people to stay indoors. If not, they would be considered a rebel and risked being shot by the Nigerians. The rebels, on the other hand, were telling them to stay out on the streets.

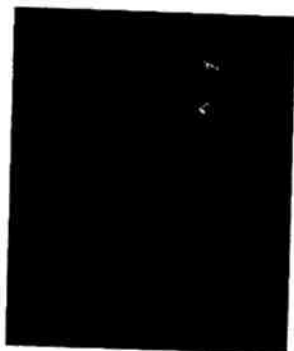
At one point a Nigerian fighter-jet attacked a gathering of people in the centre of the city because the pilot, following his orders, was told to hit any group which could be a rebel concentration. I asked the commander of the Nigerian forces about this incident and he replied angrily that he would use the best weapon he had to deal with any potential threat.

The sounds of war

After a few days at the Nigerian held airport, I travelled briefly into Freetown on board a military helicopter. The helicopter flew low and fast to avoid possible rebel snipers and landed inside a Nigerian military base at the far western tip of the Freetown peninsula. Even in this relatively safe part of town there was virtually nobody on the streets.

I travelled a few, short miles from one Nigerian base to another and heard the sounds of war. Mortar bombs were exploding in the centre of the city. Nearer to the terrifying shrapnel released by the mortars, people were being killed.

A Nigerian general at the military base assured me that this was the sound of his men bombarding the rebels. But another source



Journalist Myles Tierney: Killed by rebels

inside the city later told me that the rebels had heavy mortars as well.

Some of the rebels, for sure, were poorly trained elements out to loot and kill. But others were hardened combatants who knew how to fight.

A few hours after reaching western Freetown I learnt that an American journalist I had been working with a few days before, Miles Tierney, had been killed in the centre of town by the rebels.

Another colleague, a Canadian, was severely wounded in the incident with a bullet in the head. The death of the journalist, a human tragedy in itself, illustrated just how dangerous Freetown was for everybody there. His name will be added to the long list of Sierra Leoneans, Nigerians and others whose bodies are still being collected and counted.

The journalists had been travelling in a convoy organised by the Sierra Leonean Minister of Information and they had 20 armed Nigerian soldiers to protect them. The Minister said he thought that the area they were travelling in was safe.

it was not.

I still do not know what has become of most of my Sierra Leonean colleagues in Freetown.

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Saturday, February 13, 1999 Published at 05:24 GMT

World: Africa

Grim facts of Sierra Leone's war



Mutilation of civilians was common practice, according to the report

A United Nations report has blamed rebel forces for most of the atrocities during an attack on Sierra Leone's capital Freetown last month, but has also accused the Nigerian-led intervention force of carrying out summary executions.



The UN observer mission to Sierra Leone blames the rebels for untold numbers of random killings, mutilations, and rapes and the destruction of a fifth of the capital's buildings.

But the UN document also acknowledged that there had been reports that the West African peacekeeping force Ecomog had been "summarily executing detainees who were allegedly either rebels or rebel sympathisers".

Jon Leyne reports:
Much of the killing
was entirely
arbitrary

The report said that the actual number of civilian casualties suffered during last month's attack on Freetown would never be known, although one mortuary worker said on 25 January that over 2,000 bodies of men, women and children had already been disposed of.

A large number of bodies were believed to have been left in ruined buildings or to have been hastily buried on waste ground.

Since rebel forces had renewed their offensive against



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Sierra Leone's democratically elected government in December, conservative estimates put the total casualty figure at between 3,000 and 5,000, said the UN report.



Many rebel soldiers were children, the report said

It says the rape of women and girls appears to have been standard practice for the rebels.

Many of the soldiers on the rebel side were children, with some as young as eight.

Rebels advancing through Freetown on 6 and 7 January had "frequently forced civilians into the streets for use as human

shields".

Much of the killing had seemed to have been completely arbitrary, the document said, and a number of those interviewed had described "the execution of the entire population of residential compounds" for refusing to obey instructions to dance and make music on the streets.

"Killing occasionally occurred in the context of games in which people were lined up and the executioners teasingly chose who to kill, and who to spare," the report said, adding that perpetrators were often said to have been under the influence of cocaine, other drugs or alcohol.

Food crisis warning



Peacekeepers: 'Made no effort' to establish guilt of victims

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented the report to a closed meeting of the Security Council before its public release on Friday.

The contents of the report emerged as the UN World Food Programme warned that continued fighting in the capital threatens to put the city's entire population at risk of a large-scale food crisis in as little as three weeks.

Although human rights violations by the Nigerian-led Ecomog force and Sierra Leone's Civil Defence Forces

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African Media Watch

Liberia names new army chief


did not match the scale of rebel atrocities, they were nonetheless totally unacceptable, the report said.

Interrogation 'inadequate'

Human rights monitors in Sierra Leone's UN observer mission had witnessed one execution by the peacekeeping force and said "witnesses of the highest probity" had reported that they were present at others.

"Witnesses make clear that, in all cases, the interrogation process was entirely inadequate and that there was no real effort to establish the guilt or innocence of execution victims," it said.

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Wednesday, 27 January, 1999, 12:09 GMT

Freetown bears the scars



Civilians said the rebels had attacked them with machetes

BBC West Africa Correspondent Mark Doyle was among the first foreign journalists to tour the Sierra Leonean capital after the rebels were driven out in 1999:

Freetown is a devastated city. While bullet and bomb damage speak of a city caught in the crossfire during heavy fighting, much of the destruction is the result of a systematic scorched earth policy used by the rebels when they took the capital.

The rebels, who have now been driven out of most of the city, say they are fighting against government corruption. Most Sierra Leoneans believe, however, that they simply want to grab power. For this reason, the Nigerian-led west African troops who now control the capital are seen as a liberation force by most residents.

As the rebels retreated from the city, they burnt buildings and attacked civilians.

'Killed little children'

"They started beating people, burning houses, seizing things, stealing," one resident recalled.

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The BBC's

Mark Doyle

"The situation is still tense and dangerous"



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"There are some things they do which I cannot explain. They went to houses, killed little children in the houses."



Residents are starting to rebuild their homes

Men and women with bandaged stumps of limbs told how the rebels had attacked them with machetes, cutting off hands and feet in order to discourage them and others from supporting the government.

Tens of thousands of people made homeless by the war have taken refuge in a football stadium. Most foreign aid workers have fled the conflict, but local Sierra Leonean charities are doing a good job distributing what food aid they have available.

UK support for government

A British naval frigate, HMS Norfolk, is off the coast, helping to co-ordinate aid plans, and showing Britain's support for the democratically elected government.



Penfold: UK must support Sierra Leonean democracy

Shuffling between the ship and shore is United Kingdom High Commissioner Peter Penfold, an important figure here. The Sierra Leone Government sees him as one of their key backers. In the past, he caused controversy back in London because of his actions. But he made no secret of Britain's current role:

"It's always been a close link between Britain and Sierra Leone. When the Sierra Leoneans decided to embrace democracy, we were very much involved then.

"We want to be the lead with the international community in supporting this restoration of democracy," Mr Penfold concluded.

Tense situation

The Nigerian troops still have a heavy presence on the streets of Freetown, and the situation remains tense with the rebel resistance continuing in the eastern end of the city.



Nigerian-led troops control most of the city

Volunteers are queuing up to join the Sierra Leone army, which has been decimated by soldiers defecting to the rebel side. However, unless there is a lasting political solution to the chronic instability, any new soldiers could end up simply fighting a new war.

Even when Freetown is finally cleared of all pockets of rebel resistance, the war could continue in the countryside.

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BBC NEWS

Bockarie died a wanted man

By Lucy Jones
BBC News Online

Sierra Leone warlord Sam Bockarie will be remembered for allegedly advocating a particularly horrific tactic of war: the deliberate and widespread practice of hacking off the limbs, lips and ears of his victims.

The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) - the rebel group of which Mr Bockarie was a general - also received world attention for its systematic rape of women and abduction of thousands of children who were forced to fight.

Mr Bockarie, who died aged 40, was wanted by the United Nations-backed war crimes tribunal for his alleged part in the atrocities

In his time, he was also a disco dancing champion, diamond miner, hairdresser, electrician and waiter.

Known as "Mosquito" for his ability to attack while people were off their guard - he was one of the most feared guerrilla fighters to emerge from Sierra Leone's decade-long civil war which ended in 2002.

He was also accused of being behind bloodshed, looting and rape in rebel-held western Ivory Coast where his supporters have been held responsible for the killing in April of the rebel leader Felix Doh.

He once said in an interview: "I cannot tell how many people I have killed. When I am firing during an attack, nobody can survive my bullets.

"I never wanted myself to be overlooked by my fellow men."

He has spoken of a childhood of acute poverty in the jungles of eastern Sierra Leone.

His father could not afford schoolbooks - Mr Bockarie was illiterate - and he often went to bed hungry.

Liberia connection

[REDACTED]

Mr Bockarie rose to the rank of deputy commander under the RUF's leader, Foday Sankoh - who

is currently being tried by the war crimes tribunal in Sierra Leone.

When Mr Sankoh temporarily left the scene in the late 1990s, his underlings gave the ragtag RUF rebels a structure and - [REDACTED] - took the rich diamond mines of Sierra Leone.

With money from diamonds, the RUF was able to buy weapons and communications equipment.

When he fell out with Mr Sankoh allegedly over diamonds in 1999, [REDACTED]

But international pressure mounted forcing Mr Taylor to ask Mr Bockarie to leave in 2001.

The United Nations-backed war crimes tribunal in Sierra Leone has accused the Liberian president of sheltering the warlord and another fugitive, Johnny Paul Koroma.

Body mystery

President Taylor, who is under UN sanctions for allegedly backing the RUF, appears to have bowed to the pressure.

Sanctions on his government have just been extended for 12 months and will be widened to include the timber trade.

Liberian authorities say Mr Bockarie was killed by Liberian forces as he tried to enter the country from Ivory Coast with his bodyguards.

Many people would have preferred to see him captured alive and tried for his alleged crimes.

Story from BBC NEWS:

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/3006851.stm>

Published: 2003/05/08 22:23:18 GMT

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Wednesday, 10 May, 2000, 16:17 GMT 17:17 UK

Brutal child army grows up



RUF fighters fire into an angry crowd outside Sankoh's house

The thousands of surgical syringes found amid the squalor at the abandoned home of Sierra Leonean rebel leader Foday Sankoh are an eloquent testimony of the conduct of his followers.

The child army, which has beaten back well-equipped regular troops and terrorised the population since the mid-1990s, has grown up and thrived.

Former child soldiers say they were forcibly injected with cocaine before being sent into battle.

They have gone on to kill, abduct, rape and maim thousands of their fellow countrymen, famously imposing their reign of terror by hacking off the limbs of victims, including children and infants, with machetes.

Youth power

The RUF has no identifiable ideology, but can be defined by opposition to the corrupt political elite in Freetown which has plundered the

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"The most dirty of wars"



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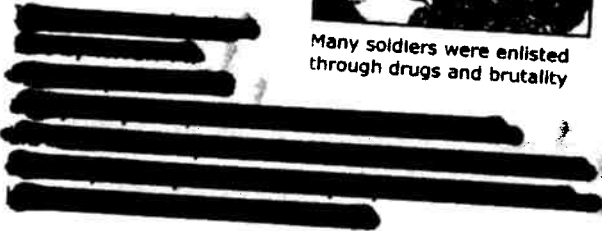
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Renewed bid to free UN troops

nation's mineral wealth.

Many foot soldiers were conscripted through kidnapping or the temptation of winning power and status by wielding a gun.



Many soldiers were enlisted through drugs and brutality



Far from being a puppet offshoot of the Liberian factions, the RUF took on a life of its own and fought successive Sierra Leonean governments.

In May 1997, the RUF joined forces with a group of junior army soldiers, to overthrow the elected government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.



Foday Sankoh, known as Papa by his followers

Their youthful brutality and swaggering self-confidence, with matted locks and tattered clothes, inspired terror in the adult population.

Discipline

Appearances belie their tight discipline and fierce loyalty to commanders.

They travel light, care little for their personal safety, and are at home in the thick forest that comes to the very edge of the city.

The junta which the RUF supported was ousted by the West African intervention

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force, Ecomog, in February 1998, but the rebel soldiers returned a year later to inflict more horrific punishment on the inhabitants of the capital Freetown.



Rebels have terrorised the civilian population

In the subsequent peace process, which gave the RUF a share in government, there were allegations that rebels were continuing their familiar tactics of deliberate mutilation, rape, sexual slavery and murder.

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BBC News Online: World: Africa

Wednesday, 10 May, 2000, 16:05 GMT 17:05 UK

Sierra Leone: The balance of forces



As the fighting continues in Sierra Leone, BBC News Online looks at the strengths and weaknesses of the different sides in the conflict - the rebels, the government troops with their allies, and - caught in between - the UN forces:

RUF rebels

The rebels have shown they can take on detachments of United Nations peacekeepers and win.

Renowned for wanton barbarity, and staffed partly by child soldiers, the rebels are presenting a strong challenge to the poorly-trained national army and the lightly-armed UN peacekeeping force.

Thanks to its wealth from the sale of diamonds, the RUF is believed to be well supplied with a variety of weapons.



In March 1999 Human Rights Watch alleged that 68 tonnes of weapons flown from Ukraine to Burkina Faso were diverted to the RUF.

The shipment apparently included Kalashnikov assault rifles, machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, surface-to-air missiles and anti-tank weapons, and may have been only one of five such deliveries in 1998 and 1999.

It has been estimated that the RUF has 5,000 to 10,000 combat troops, though experts say the figure would be higher if arms-carrying youngsters were included in the count.

As part of its efforts to disarm them the UN had taken 4,000 weapons from the rebels by the end of April.

UN forces

The UN has complained that its peacekeeping operations are conducted on a shoestring, leading to problems with equipment failure, while others say that the peacekeepers simply haven't got the powerful weapons they need.

Defence analysts say a disciplined, well-armed force - such as the Western units sent to Bosnia and Kosovo - would have little difficulty in deterring Foday Sankoh's Revolutionary United Front (RUF).

The BBC's defence correspondent, Jonathan Marcus, says that one of the problems of the existing UN force is that its soldiers - from Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, India, Guinea, Jordan and Zambia - have little training for peacekeeping operations, and have no previous experience of working together.

The mandate of the UN force is to "stabilise" the situation, so it has the powers to shoot back and use force, but in a battle at Masiaka, 220 Nigerian and Guinean soldiers were outgunned.

Armed with only light weapons, they were forced to withdraw when their ammunition ran out.

The UN force, meanwhile, currently numbers 8,700, well below its full strength of 11,000. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has called for urgent reinforcements.

Pro-government forces

Aside from the UN, the forces facing the RUF are the Sierra Leonean Army (SLA) - which is currently allied with the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) headed by former military ruler Johnny Paul Koroma - and civil defence forces including the Kamajors, militiamen originally from a tribe of

hunters.



The International Institute for Strategic Studies estimates the strength of the national armed forces at 3,000 poorly-armed men.

The British government has been training them, but a BBC regional analyst, Tom Porteous, says the army's tendency to disintegrate in times of trouble means that it is of little use.

Soldiers have in the past defected both to the RUF and to Koroma's AFRC. Both of these groups took part in a devastating invasion of Freetown in January 1999, and both joined the government after July's peace deal. The AFRC remains loyal.

The Kamajors, led by Deputy Defence Minister Sam Hinga Norman, fought effectively against the Koroma junta at the beginning of 1998, in an attack co-ordinated with the Nigerian-led West African intervention force, Ecomog.

As Ecomog stormed Freetown, the Kamajors fought their way up through the country from their stronghold in the south-east.

The recent history of Sierra Leone shows that mercenaries ... may be the best answer
Author, William Shawcross

Because of the successful experience of the Nigerian-led Ecomog forces the US is discussing the possibility of financing the return of Nigerian battalions to the country to take on the RUF again.

Mercenary option

Other options could include hiring private military firms.

Tim Spicer, the director of Sandline - a British company at the centre of a scandal supplying arms to ousted president Ahmad Tejan Kabbah two years ago - told London's Guardian newspaper that privately run forces could put the RUF "right back in its box".

The author and journalist, William Shawcross, argued in the same newspaper that developed countries should hire mercenaries to enforce peace in Sierra Leone, if they were reluctant to send their own soldiers.

He said a group called Executive Outcomes had succeeded in protecting civilians in some areas from rebel atrocities until President Kabbah was persuaded to make peace with the rebels, and, in the process, to disperse with the company's services.

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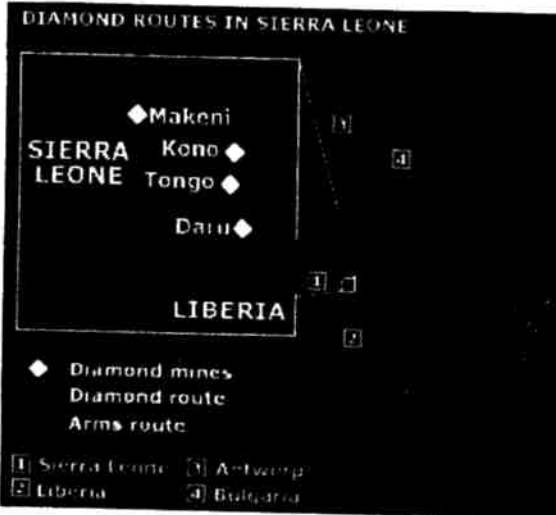
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Monday, 15 May, 2000, 16:25 GMT 17:25 UK

Diamonds: A rebel's best friend



The civil war in Sierra Leone has been financed by diamonds, and has always largely been a conflict about who controls the fabulous prize of the country's diamond mines.

The latest wave of instability has come about as United Nations peacekeepers have tried to wrest control of the mines from rebels who have held on to them in contravention of a regional peace deal brokered a year ago.

It is easy to say the gems have been a curse on the country, especially as hardly any of the proceeds of mining have reached ordinary people, who remain among the poorest anywhere in the world.

Millions of dollars worth of high-quality diamonds are mined in Sierra Leone's eastern and northern badlands every month, much of the haul being



Sierra Leone: Widespread poverty unaffected by diamonds



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smuggled out of the country.

Deposits are to be found close to ground level so men with guns employ labourers simply to dig holes and see what turns up.

Broken commitment

The diamond fields are in territory controlled by the feared rebel army of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by Foday Sankoh.

The RUF youths have done nothing to relinquish their control of the mines to UN forces as required under the 1999 peace accord signed in the Togolese capital Lome.



Rebels have not relinquished control of mines

Part of the deal was that Mr Sankoh became chairman of the Strategic Resources commission, giving him responsibility for the management of the diamond trade.

Anyone wishing to mine diamonds had to go through his Commission to obtain a licence - with any evaders being treated with "the full consequences of the law", he said.

Smugglers' spoils

Over the last two years, the value of official annual diamond exports by Sierra Leone has halved to \$30m.

In the same period, diamond exports by neighbouring Liberia - a country which possesses relatively few diamond fields - has risen dramatically to \$300m.



Displaced by the struggle for gems

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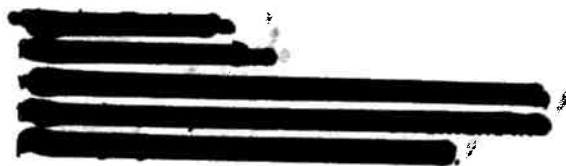
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Indeed, the recently-visiting Canadian Foreign Minister, Lloyd Axworthy, observed that this year's instability in Sierra Leone had been sparked in part by UN forces trying to wrestle control of the diamond-producing areas from the rebels.

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Tuesday, 16 May, 2000, 03:30 GMT 04:30 UK

Liberia fishes in troubled waters



Charles Taylor: Accused of prolonging neighbour's war

By News Online's Martin Asser

Unlike the former colonial rulers, the people enriching themselves through Sierra Leonean diamonds today have little incentive to guarantee stability.

Sierra Leone mines some of the world's best diamonds in terms of size and quality, and the predatory forces encroaching on the diamond trade since 1991 have thrived on war and lawlessness to cover their activities.

Western intelligence reports say Liberia is the main conduit for smuggled diamonds



Taylor, like Sankoh, put boys at the sharp end of the rebellion



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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
controls most of the diamond producing areas
in north and east Sierra Leone.

Major crime centre

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Liberia's annual capacity for diamond mining is 100,000-150,000 carats, but imports of diamonds from Liberia to Belgium, where more than half the world's rough stones are traded, rose to 6 million carats in the late 1990s as the war in Sierra Leone was raging.



A girl's best friend...

A recent study by Partnership Africa Canada says Liberia has become "a major centre for massive diamond-related criminal activity, with connections to guns, drugs and money laundering throughout Africa and considerably further afield".

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Warlord statesman

Charles Taylor launched a military rebellion against the government of Samuel Doe in late 1989 which led to six years of bitter civil war.

...or not: A victim of Sierra Leone's RUF

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His rise was mirrored by that of the RUF, the rebel organisation set up by Foday Sankoh in 1991, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] rebel armies used brutal tactics to terrorise the civilian populations and put children in the front line.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Mr Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) scored an overwhelming election victory in July 1997.

Since his political victory he has sought portray himself in the role of as measured statesman rather than warlord.

His recent "good offices" between the rebels and the United Nations in Sierra Leone are being seen as an attempt to enhance that image.

Certainly, Liberia has benefited in terms of stability since Mr Taylor was elected, but as the recent closure of two independent radio stations attests - they had broadcast items critical of the government - he still holds the country in a iron grip.

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SIERRA LEONE: Humanitarian situation report, 98.02.17

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION REPORT FOR SIERRA LEONE

21ST JANUARY - 12TH FEBRUARY, 1998

>From the Office of the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator

Security

1. On 7th February ECOMOG launched a sustained campaign to drive the AFRC from power in Freetown in response to an attack by the junta on ECOMOG's positions at Jui the previous evening. ECOMOG made significant advances during the next five days and was able to gain control of strategically-important locations such as Leicester Peak and Fourah Bay College (which are located on a hill overlooking Freetown), the ferry terminal in Kissy and Waterloo. ECOMOG has also secured all vehicular routes into Freetown effectively isolating the Freetown peninsula from the rest of the country. On 12th February the ECOMOG advance reached the centre of Freetown where they managed to gain control of State House. AFRC casualties are known to be high and many civilians have been killed and injured. The AFRC has reportedly armed youth groups and demobilised child soldiers in Freetown. Junta soldiers have also embarked on a systematic looting spree commandeering ammunition sites, supplies and vehicles. At least 20 vehicles are known to have been stolen since 7th February from UN agencies, NGOs and the ICRC. This has seriously reduced the capacity of these agencies to provide emergency-related services.

2. The safety of civilians in Freetown has been severely compromised by the recent escalation in the fighting, which has involved the heavy use of mortars, rockets and aerial bombardment. Many houses have been severely damaged and many have caught fire from shelling. ACF reported that the explosion of a bomb near its feeding centre in Kissy resulted in a mother and a child being killed and 10 civilians being injured. MSF has expressed public concern over the detonation of 3 shells in the vicinity of the Connaught hospital on 11th February. On 10th February the UN Secretary-General said in a press statement: I am concerned at reports that heavy shelling in Freetown is posing severe risks for the safety of civilians, and that some staff of humanitarian organisations have been prevented from evacuating. I call on both sides urgently to spare civilians and to ensure the protection of humanitarian personnel.

3. Although heavy fighting has occurred near Bo and Kenema, the towns themselves remain under AFRC control. The AFRC can regularly be firing mortars into likely Kamajor camps and concentration points. Widespread looting has been reported in Kenema and Bo towns as the AFRC have commandeered vehicles and food and other supplies from relief agencies. In Makeni, which remains under AFRC control, vehicles have also been abducted causing relief agencies in this area to retreat to Kambia.

Humanitarian Developments

Source: Pan African News Agency (PANA)
Date: 10 Sep 1999

UN Says Sierra Leone Rebels Holding 1,000 Children

Jerome Hule, PANA Correspondent

New York, UN, (PANA) - Rebels in Sierra Leone are still holding about 1,000 of the 4,000 children they had abducted during their invasion of Freetown in January, a senior UN official has said.

Olara Otunnu, the UN special representative on children in armed conflict, said Thursday in New York that about 60 percent of the abducted children were girls, most of whom were being sexually abused.

Otunnu, who returned from a six-day visit to Sierra Leone on 4 September, pointed out that more than 10,000 children in the country have been serving as child soldiers with the rebels and civil militia, called Kamojors.

On the basis of what he witnessed in Sierra Leone, he has proposed a 15-point agenda for action for the children of Sierra Leone.

In the agenda, he called for the establishment of a national commission for children in the country to promote the rights and welfare of children after the war.

He also called for the rehabilitation of amputees and special programmes for sexually abused children as well as the inclusion of child protection in the mandate of the UN mission in Sierra Leone and other UN missions.

The agenda also makes a case for creation of access to abducted children, demobilisation of child combatants, increase in the resources for relief operations for displaced children and rehabilitation of basic health and educational services in the country.

Otunnu appealed to all political leaders in Sierra Leone to demonstrate their commitment to implement the peace accord signed in July between the government and rebels of the Revolutionary United Front.

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Source: Agence France-Presse (AFP)

Date: 19 Jan 2000

Sierra Leone rebels free 227 child soldiers: report

ROME, Jan 19 (AFP) - Rebels in Sierra Leone have released 227 child soldiers held hostage and forced into rebel ranks, the missionary news agency Misna reported Tuesday.

It quoted the Bishop of Makeni, Giorgio Biguzzi, as saying the children had been freed in Kabala, 100 kilometres (65 miles) northeast of Makeni in the north of Sierra Leone.

Two hundred and sixty other children had been released last Thursday in the Makeni region, the agency reported.

The prelate said the children, "victims of breath-taking violence," had been taken to a religious centre at Lunsar.

The release is a point in the July 7 peace accord between the government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) which formally brought to an end one of the most brutal civil wars in Africa.

aje/bm AFP

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Source: Reuters Foundation

Date: 27 Apr 1998

Sierra Leone rebels said to mutilate 68 civilians

FREETOWN, April 27 (Reuters) - Rebels holding out in eastern Sierra Leone have mutilated 68 civilians and the country's main hospital was battling on Monday to save their lives, eyewitnesses and medical workers said.

They said the men and women were rescued by Nigerian-led West African troops who recaptured four mining villages from rebels in Kono district last week.

They were brought to the Connaught Hospital in the capital Freetown on Sunday, most with a limb or two amputated or fresh gunshot or machete wounds.

A spokesman for the regional ECOMOG force said the peacekeepers had seized the villages of Jaiama Sewafe, Bumpeh, Tumbudu and Motema. All four are around the district headquarters of Koidu taken earlier by the peacekeepers.

"Rebels entered my house and killed my wife and son before chopping off my hand," said Tumbudu resident Sumana Kapio from his hospital bed.

All those able to tell of their ordeal spoke of close relatives killed or mutilated in front of them.

ECOMOG, enforcing a regional mandate, entered Freetown in February and defeated the military junta that toppled President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah in a coup on May 25.

The peacekeepers reinstated Kabbah from exile in Guinea in March and went on to take control of most of the country from junta troops and rebels.

But rebels have been putting up a stiff resistance in the diamond-rich region close to Liberia and Guinea. Aid workers say thousands of refugees, many mutilated, had been streaming into the two countries with tales of guerrilla atrocities.

In a broadcast on Monday marking Sierra Leone's 37 years of independence from Britain, Kabbah deplored the atrocities. He called on Sierra Leoneans to join in efforts to reconcile the country, torn by civil strife since 1991.

"I am distressed by atrocities being committed in the east by junta forces and destruction of bridges in these areas to slow down the rapid movement of ECOMOG troops," Kabbah said.

He called on Sierra Leoneans to reflect on their 37 years of independence, "to think of our mistakes in the past and...what we can do to bring peace, reconciliation and national cohesion back to Sierra Leone."

"Sierra Leone is classified as the least developed country in the world, but at the time of independence Sierra Leone was stronger economically than Singapore and Malaysia," Kabbah said.

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Source: Agence France-Presse (AFP)

Date: 14 May 2001

Sierra Leone rebels release 80 child soldiers

FREETOWN, May 14 (AFP) - Rebels of Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front (RUF) have released 80 children fighting in its ranks and handed them over to the Italian Catholic organisation Caritas, witnesses said Monday.

They said the children, some with gunshot wounds, looked exhausted and undernourished.

The children were released in the town of Lunsar, 80 kilometres (50 miles) northeast of Freetown, and were being cared for in a special facility, they said.

The RUF had last week promised to release 400 child soldiers. The rebels' 10-year campaign against successive governments in Freetown has been marked by widespread atrocities, including mass murder, rape, looting and chopping off the limbs of civilians.

rmj-ach/gd AFP

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ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES

**SIXTH MEETING OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTERS
OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE ON SIERRA LEONE**

CONAKRY, 22-23 OCTOBER 1997

COMMUNIQUE

1. The ECOWAS Ministerial Committee of Five on Sierra Leone held a meeting in Conakry on 22-23 October, 1997.
2. In continuation of the negotiations initiated in Abidjan on 17 and 18 July, 1997 and 29 and 30 July, 1997, the Committee held discussions with an enlarged delegation of Major Johnny Paul Koroma.
3. The meeting reviewed the situation in Sierra Leone since the break-down of negotiations between the Committee of Five and the representatives of the junta since 30 July 1997. It recalled the ECOWAS decisions concerning the monitoring of the ceasefire, the imposition of sanctions and the embargo, as well as the restoration of peace to Sierra Leone by ECOMOG. It also recalled Resolution 1132 of the United Nations Security Council dated 8 October 1997 placing an embargo on Sierra Leone.
4. The Committee of Five and the junta's delegation agreed to accelerate efforts towards the peaceful resolution of the Sierra Leonean crisis.
5. To this end, the Committee of Five and the representatives of Major Johnny Paul Koroma adopted an ECOWAS peace plan for Sierra Leone and a time-table for its implementation over a six-month period with effect from 23 October, 1997.
6. It is recognised that Corporal Foday Sankoh as a leader of RUF could continue to play an active role and participate in the peace process. In the spirit of the Abidjan Accord and in the context of this Agreement Corporal Foday Sankoh is expected to return to his country to make his contribution to the peace process.
7. The ECOWAS peace plan for Sierra Leone provides for:
 - the reinstatement of the legitimate government of President Tejan Kabbah within a period of six months
 - the immediate cessation of hostilities
 - cooperation of the junta with ECOMOG in order to peacefully enforce the sanctions
 - disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of combatants
 - the provision of humanitarian assistance
 - return of refugees and displaced persons
 - immunities and guarantees to the leaders of the May 25, 1997 coup d'etat
 - modalities for broadening the power base in Sierra Leone.
8. The Committee of Five and the representatives of Major Johnny Paul Koroma agreed to continue negotiations towards effective and prompt implementation of the peace plan.

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9. The meeting renewed its appeal to the international community to provide appropriate humanitarian assistance to the refugees and displaced persons and to facilitate their return.

10. The meeting reiterated its appeal to the international community to provide adequate assistance to the neighbouring countries of Sierra Leone which have recorded an increased influx of refugees on their territory.

11. The meeting expressed its appreciation to the UN and the OAU for their cooperation with ECOWAS and appealed to them for material, logistic and financial support to ECOMOG to enable it (to) carry out the mandate given by the Authority of Heads of State and Government and the United Nations Security Council.

12. The Committee expressed its deep gratitude to His Excellency, General Lansana Conte, President of the Republic of Guinea, Head of State, and to the Government and People of Guinea for the excellent facilities put at their disposal and for the hospitality accorded to all the delegations.

DONE AT CONAKRY THIS 23RD DAY OF OCTOBER, 1997

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1 February: Mortar fire was heard from Aberdeen on Monday, as ECOMOG officials acknowledged that they had failed to dislodge rebel forces on the outskirts of the city, the Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported. On Sunday, Guinean ECOMOG troops which had been in control of Waterloo reportedly pulled back, abandoning large supplies of arms and ammunition, the AFP said. ECOMOG sources said Monday they needed military equipment "better adapted for the terrain," such as combat helicopters, in order to "finish off the war." An AFP correspondent witnessed ECOMOG soldiers execute a number of men believed to be rebels or collaborators in previously "liberated" areas of Freetown. Residents said ECOMOG was trying to slow down the mass return of residents to their homes, fearing that rebels might "mix into the crowd." The Italian Missionary Service News Agency (MISNA) said Monday that there were still units of the RUF spread throughout the capital, adding that the possibility of additional attacks could not be ruled out. A clinic in western Freetown has treated an estimated 8,000 victims of gunshot wounds since the fighting began in the capital on January 6. Most of the victims were said to be residents of Kissy.

The cost of food and essential commodities has soared in Freetown as stocks dwindle, the Agence-France Presse (AFP) reported on Monday. The price of a cup of rice, which normally sells for U.S. 12¢, now costs more than \$2.00. A bag of rice sells for \$38 to \$40. A diplomatic source, quoting aid sources on Monday, maintained that the prices of rice and bulgur wheat were "down to their pre-invasion level," while Kevin Kennedy of the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said the price of rice, which had soared 300 percent at the start of the fighting, had fallen to "just above the pre-fighting cost." According to the AFP, a bundle of firewood now costs \$5.00, while a bag of charcoal, previously 50¢, has shot up to \$10.00. A government official said authorities would "definitely not tolerate any move to bring further hardship on the people by any arbitrary increase consumer goods," adding: "The people have suffered too much through rebel atrocities." Two banks in Freetown, including the Union Trust Bank, have reopened, but Barclays and Standard Chartered Banks, whose premises suffered extensive damage during the fighting, remain closed.

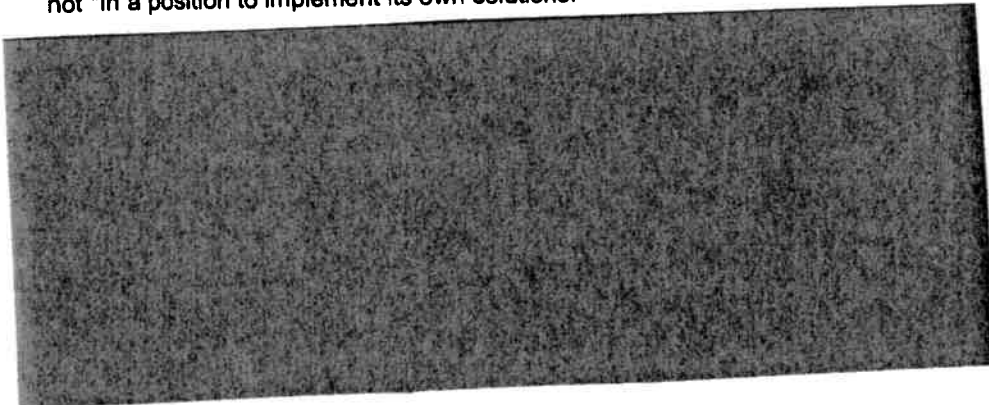
Director of Health Services Sheku Kamara has welcomed the arrival of drugs donated by the British government, WHO, UNICEF, and other aid organisations. The shipments have "helped us cope with what would otherwise have been a calamity," Kamara said.

Three French aid workers attached to the French medical charity Medecins du Monde (Doctors of the World) said they would leave Sierra Leone after being prevented from providing medical assistance. The workers said they had written a letter to the Minister of Health complaining about the way they had been treated. They said they had been told they could not continue working at Connaught Hospital for "administrative reasons," but said given the desperate need for doctors they did not believe this was the real reason they had been excluded. The BBC noted allegations that access to care and medicine in Freetown is currently "the subject of a thriving black market."

A rebel leader accused of mutilating civilians in Freetown, "Bush-Lieutenant" Tafalkoh was captured Thursday by ECOMOG, an ECOMOG source said on Monday. Tafalkoh was reportedly captured in Wellington in a joint ECOMOG-Kamajor operation. "He was responsible for amputating the arms and limbs of civilians as well as killing people after their houses had been set on fire," the ECOMOG source said.

The British government is considering whether to send additional aid to Sierra Leone and to the ECOMOG force, a British Foreign Office spokesman

said on Monday. The British government is awaiting the results of an assessment mission in Sierra Leone which is being conducted by officials of London's International Development Department and the British High Commission. "We are looking at possible areas where we can help, both for ECOMOG and more widely in Sierra Leone," the spokesman said. "We have people there at the moment assessing and as soon as they tell us what's needed we will make a decision on any further support." He said the support could take the form of "immediate humanitarian aid," as Sierra Leone was not "In a position to implement its own solutions."



The Sierra Leone Red Cross said Monday that two of its workers had been killed since fighting began in Freetown on January 6. The Red Cross added that its president, Muctarr Jalloh, and one of its agronomists had been admitted to hospital with machete wounds.

The Nigerian newspaper P.M. News reported Monday that the Nigerian army had buried 16 more Nigerian soldiers killed in Sierra Leone. The bodies arrived in two trucks at the Ojo Military Barracks in Lagos before being buried with full military honours, the newspaper said.

Sister Hindu, one of three nuns of the Missionaries of Charity who were freed by rebels on Friday, has undergone surgery in a Conakry hospital for a gunshot wound in the abdomen which she suffered while in captivity. "The doctors have not yet released a prognosis," said Bishop of Makeni George Biguzzi. Two other nuns were killed in crossfire during clashes between the rebels and ECOMOG troops, while a third was murdered while in captivity.

A United Nations assessment team has arrived in Freetown from Guinea to evaluate the security situation prior to the expected return of U.N. staff. The team will reportedly spend four days in the capital.

An official with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said approximately 3,000 civilians had died since the rebel offensive in Freetown, and there existed an acute need for medicine, health care, and sanitation. "It is estimated that approximately 3,000 civilians have lost their lives, largely as a result of a deliberate campaign by rebel forces to terrorize the population, through forced amputations, shootings, house burnings and rapes," said Kevin Kennedy, who visited Sierra Leone between January 19 and 28. He said aid workers had been unable to enter eastern Freetown, but flights over the area indicated that 80% of the buildings may have been damaged or destroyed in the fighting, creating an urgent need for shelter. Kennedy said the United Nations was shipping plastic sheeting for 10,000 families. He described the situation in hospitals and clinics in western Freetown as "fairly desperate," saying medical teams in hospitals and 23 clinics opened in the past ten days were unable to handle all the injuries and amputations. After Connaught Hospital reopened it had

received 300 cases requiring surgery in five days, mostly people wounded in the fighting or victims of rebel amputations, he said. U.N. World Food Programme warehouses had been looted, losing some 3,300 tons of food, Kennedy added.

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25 February: A Nigerian cargo ship, the Bulk Challenge, has left Freetown carrying 1,048 Nigerian civilians whose property was looted or destroyed during last month's fighting in Freetown, port officials said on Thursday. Many of the evacuees had been long-term residents of Sierra Leone. "This exercise is solely aimed at ameliorating the suffering of our nationals displaced by the war and it does not in any way mean a total evacuation of the over 35,000 Nigerians resident in Sierra Leone," the Nigerian High Commission said in a statement. Nigerian diplomats said, however, that more evacuations by sea might be necessary.

Some 2,000 children between the ages of 5 and 14 have been missing since AFRC/RUF rebels attacked Freetown on January 6, a Ministry of Social Welfare official said on Thursday. "We believe that many of the children have been abducted by the rebels when they were chased out by ECOMOG and have been taken to the bush," he said. "Some are being used as cooks, carriers of looted goods, while others have been illegally married to rebel commandos." The Agence France-Presse (AFP) quoted escapees from rebel camps who said boys were receiving weapons training or were sent on spying missions. The Social Welfare official disclosed that 980 former child soldiers who had received rehabilitation between 1992 and 1997 rejoined the rebels after the project folded in November 1997 for lack of funds. "With assistance not forthcoming, the children joined their colleagues in the jungle after the ousting of the junta in February last year," he said. His account was disputed by former AFRC Secretary of State for Information Mohamed Bangura, who was subsequently quoted by the National Neutral Journalists Association of Sierra Leone as saying that the late Lieutenant-Colonel Kula Samba had continued the demobilisation project even after aid agencies had been prevented from assisting her efforts. Bangura alleged that Samba's records had been destroyed in February 1998 by supporters of the civilian government.

The situation at Kambia remains "extremely chaotic," the Italian-based Missionary Services News Agency (MISNA) reported on Thursday. While ECOMOG troops are positioned near the city, the area surrounding Kambia is subject to frequent rebel incursions, MISNA said, adding that in the past few days "many men of both sides have lost their lives in the heavy fighting." The news agency confirmed that both Lunsar and Makeni remained in rebel hands where, it said, young men were being recruited to join the rebel forces.

RUF legal representative Omrie Golley told the Agence France-Presse (AFP) Wednesday that RUF representatives and U.N. Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo had together drafted a document "in which we express our desire for the search for a peaceful solution" to the Sierra Leone conflict. He added that a copy of the document had been sent to President Kabbah. "We see that the United Nations is exercising its moral authority to reach a negotiated solution, and we are glad of it," said Golley. He said he had spoken directly to President Kabbah two weeks ago "for the first time in two years" in a conversation arranged by the U.S. State Department while he was in Washington, D.C. "It wasn't talks strictly speaking, but a simple discussion during which I repeated our demand for Sankoh's release. Since then we have had no contact," he said.

Freetown's Inter-Religious Council appealed Wednesday for the rebels to free three Christian priests they are holding: Italian Xaverian missionary priest Father Vittorio Mosele, Irish Brother Noei Bradshaw of the "Brothers of Christian Instruction," and Sierra Leonean priest Dominic Kargbo. "If the rebels should consent, it would indicate a political opening and a positive step towards, dialogue," Makeni Bishop George Biguzzi told the Missionary

Services News Agency (MISNA).

13 April: ECOMOG has begun a "final offensive" against junta loyalists in Kono and Kailahun Districts, ECOMOG task force commander Colonel Maxwell Khobe announced on SLBS (state radio) late Sunday. "Our troops commenced the final push today," Khobe said. Aid workers said Monday that the ECOMOG force was using tanks and warplanes in its drive against junta positions. Civilians reaching Bo and Kenema reported fierce fighting near Koidu and the town of Kailahun. Khobe said his troops were converging from Kabala, Sewafe, Bo, Kenema, and Daru, while Guinean ECOMOG troops were advancing from their border. "At the moment, the central axis is making good movement," he said. "The junta troops are divided into pockets and are fighting in different directions." Yengema, on the outskirts of Koidu, had already been captured by ECOMOG troops, he added. On Friday, Khobe told reporters that ECOMOG would "liberate" Kono and Kailahun Districts by Wednesday. ECOMOG Force Commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said the rebels have made use of Sierra Leone's thick forests to evade capture and to launch ambushes against ECOMOG troops, but he noted that the attacks were infrequent and did not appear to be well-organised. He said it was not clear how long it would take to complete the offensive. Junta loyalists and RUF fighters have vowed to make their final stand at Koidu, and witnesses say they have fortified the city and massed thousands of fighters in preparation for the ECOMOG assault. Civilians fleeing Kono have told of widespread killing of civilians and destruction of property by junta forces at Koidu and in numerous villages throughout the district.

RUF leader Sam "Maskita" Bockarie has disputed reports that ECOMOG is closing in on Kono District. "I learned [indistinct] they are trying to do so, that they are forcing their way to take Kono, but we haven't given any chance and I am telling you that I will not allow them to take Kono. We will not allow them. We will fight till as much as they want us to fight. We will not give up. It is true they have launched an all-out offensive, but they will not succeed," Bockarie told the BBC by satellite telephone. He said that the RUF was prepared to wage guerilla warfare against ECOMOG. "As a guerilla, we don't want to fight in the big towns. We trick them to get into the jungle where we can deal with them, before ever marching to the towns." Bockarie rejected a suggestion that the RUF lay down its weapons. "We are fighting a just cause. We are fighting because ECOMOG has moved into our country," he said.

Deputy Minister of Defence and Civil Defence Leader Sam Hinga Norman denied rumours Monday that he planned to overthrow the government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah with the aid of Kamajor militiamen. "No presidents have performed better for the ousting of the illegal AFRC regime and the return of civilian rule than President Kabbah," Norman told a crowd at Bo Town Hall. He promised he would remain loyal to the head of state "till the end of the world." Norman disclosed plans for the formation of a regional task force for the defence of the eastern, southern, and northern provinces in times of aggression.

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27 April: Medical workers at Connaught Hospital in Freetown are working around the clock to save the lives of 68 persons mutilated or otherwise injured by AFRC/RUF rebels in Kono District over the weekend. The attacks left 23 people, including children, with arms or feet crudely amputated, while others suffered from bayonet, machete, or gunshot wounds. The victims were among some 3,000 persons rescued by ECOMOG troops when they captured the towns of Jaiama Sewafe, Bumpeh, Tombodu, and Motema. All of those able to tell of their ordeal spoke of close relatives killed or mutilated in front of them.

President Kabbah, in a speech broadcast Monday to mark the 37th anniversary of Sierra Leonean independence, said the day should be one for reflection rather than for celebration. "We have to think of our mistakes in the past, how such mistakes could be avoided in the future, and what we can do to bring peace, reconciliation, and national cohesion back to Sierra Leone," Kabbah told the nation. "Sierra Leone is classified as the least developed country in the world, but at the time of independence, Sierra Leone was stronger economically than Singapore and Malaysia." He added that this Independence Day called for "national reflection to identify things to be done to move the country forward." No public celebrations were held to mark the occasion after Kabbah cancelled an official reception, saying that the cost was too high and that the money could better be spent on development. In his address, Kabbah deplored recent atrocities carried out by AFRC/RUF rebels holding out in eastern Sierra Leone. "I am distressed by atrocities being committed in the east by junta forces and destruction of bridges in these areas to slow down the rapid movement of ECOMOG troops," he said.

Nearly 70,000 Sierra Leonean refugees have arrived in Guinea since March 15, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) legal officer Machiel Salomons said in Conakry on Monday. Salomons said 40,000 of the new refugees had fled fighting in eastern Sierra Leone. The new influx brings to 130,000 those who have fled the country since last May's military coup. "The situation is under control but could deteriorate at any time," Salomons said.

Two or three Sierra Leonean refugees a day are reportedly dying in the overcrowded refugee camps in Vahun, Liberia. Paramount Chief Collins Brima Ganda said six deaths were reported on Tuesday. Despite the influx of refugees into the district, Ganda said, there had been no delivery of relief supplies since February. He said all the cassava farms in the area had been harvested, and that people will soon have nothing to eat if food is not immediately brought to the area. Ganda also complained about inadequate drugs to treat the influx of new arrivals, which currently stands at between 90 and 120 daily. Alfred Boima, field supervisor of the government refugees agency, described the death rate among the more than 20,000 refugees as low. He attributed the food shortage to bad road conditions. Boima said the World Food Programme (WFP) was doing its utmost to supply food, and that there was some 12 metric tons of food at Kolahun for the refugees, but that bad roads were making it difficult to transport the food to Vahun.

Over 300 AFRC/RUF fighters have surrendered to Liberian immigration authorities at Vahun since February, Liberian *Star Radio* reported on Monday. The fighters have been transferred away from the border to prevent them from returning to the bush.

Aid officials in Liberia have expressed alarm at reports of the growing incidence of venereal disease among the Sierra Leonean refugee population at Vahun. As many as 9,000 of the 20,000 refugees in the area are thought to have been affected. An aid worker with the British medical charity MERLIN

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attributed the high incidence of venereal disease to several factors, emphasizing that many of the female refugees had been victims of rape.

A local official in Lofa County, Liberia has expressed concern that fighting from Sierra Leone might spill over into Liberia. Foya District Commissioner Tennyson Farcornia told Elections Commission officers that ECOMOG Alpha jets were constantly flying low over border towns. He said the Liberian towns of Warsonga, Mendicorma, and Sodu were separated from Sierra Leone by land boundaries, and expressed the fear that Alpha jets might stray into Liberian territory and cause problems, as the borders are not visible from the air.

29 April: A Kamajor militia leader has called for the registration of all Civil Defence Forces (CDF) fighters because of growing lawlessness among them, SLBS (state radio) said on Wednesday. Alieu Kondowa, speaking to paramount chiefs and CDF leaders in Bo, criticised "acts of lawlessness by some Kamajors who now roam the streets of Bo," and said that all militia members should be registered. "All Kamajors not deployed in Bo should return to their respective bases, as ECOMOG has been mandated to arrest all roving Kamajors and send them back to their operational areas," Kondowa said.

Deputy Minister of Education Abass Collier said Wednesday that Sierra Leonean students who fought alongside ECOMOG would receive government grants of between \$100 and \$150. Ten such students have so far been identified, and dozens more are known to have fought against the junta.

Desmond Luke was sworn in as Chief Justice on Tuesday, after his appointment was confirmed by parliament. At the swearing-in ceremony, Luke said he was "prepared to face the daunting task of salvaging the image of the battered judiciary which once ranked among the best in Africa and the Commonwealth about 30 years ago." Luke holds law degrees from Cambridge and Oxford Universities, and has served as foreign minister, health minister, and ambassador to the European Union. He was a candidate for president in the 1996 elections, finishing tenth with 1.1 percent of the vote. He has been a strong advocate of democratic government, and during the period of AFRC rule emerged as a leading supporter of the Kabbah government-in-exile. During the ceremony, President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah said: "Ethics and morality in the judiciary started to decline in the 1960s when some judges became partisans in politics and involved in high-level impropriety." He succeeds Justice Samuel Beccles-Davis, who was reportedly forced to retire due to his swearing in of AFRC Chairman Johnny Paul Koroma as head of state following last May's coup. Beccles-Davis has denied that he collaborated with the military regime. Many of the judges who fled the country following the coup have returned since the restoration of the civilian government. There are now seven High Court judges in the country. Only one Supreme Court judge remains active, while three others are on leave prior to retirement.

52 more civilians are reportedly being treated in Freetown after an attack Wednesday by AFRC/RUF rebels at Motema, in Kono District. Close to 100 people are currently undergoing medical treatment at Connaught Hospital. More than 30 had their fingers or wrists chopped off with machetes, while at least 15 had their ears amputated.

ECOMOG task force commander Colonel Maxwell Khobe has said that close to 100 Liberian mercenaries have been captured in the past week, either in combat or in towns and villages in the interior where AFRC/RUF rebels are still fighting. He said 50 fighters from Liberia's former ULIMO-K militia and 20 from the NPFL were being detained at Pademba Road Prison in Freetown.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
"Perhaps more than 1500, because we were driven in trucks to RUF-controlled areas, along the Sierra Leonean border, and since then, three weeks ago, we have been fighting in Kono district where I was captured," he said. Konneh said it was easy to recruit Liberian fighters, since thousands of youths who had fought in Liberia's civil war had nothing to do. "I was happy

to come fight in Sierra Leone because I know nothing other than the gun," he said. "President Taylor could not integrate us into the Liberian army and I thought coming to Sierra Leone to fight, could have helped me out." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] told us not to allow Kono and Kailahun districts in the east to fall, because these places have rich diamond and gold deposits," Konneh said. As the rebels have continued to lose ground in Kono, they have resorted to atrocities against the civilian population. "Most of the rebels speak with Liberian accents and do not understand the terrain in Kono, so they just kill, rape and burn without compunction," said Aiah Ngegba, a civil servant from Yengema whose left hand was chopped off by junta forces.

Several non-governmental organisations implementing food and development programs are in danger of running out of food in June or July if donors are not found soon, a humanitarian source said Wednesday. USAID, the primary donor for most of the programs, has not yet approved its 1998 food commitment. The World Food Programme (WFP) said it was unable to loan food because of its own low reserves. Humanitarian agencies said their efforts were also hampered by security and access problems in the east. AFRC/RUF forces holding out in the east have destroyed several key bridges, preventing the delivery of humanitarian aid.

8 May: At least 20 people have been killed by AFRC/RUF rebels in northeastern Sierra Leone, and 30 more who suffered crude amputations in the attacks have been admitted to Makeni Government Hospital, Catholic church sources and survivors said Friday. Most of the victims were said to be from Ndaraya, Worodala, and Karina, about 30 miles from Makeni.

Witnesses said 10 people were killed in Ndaraya and eight in Kareena, adding that the attackers also burned down many houses in the villages. A Catholic priest from the area said he had no details from Worodala, other than that 12 houses had been burned down. "The rebels cut off the arms of our townsmates, telling them: 'You're Kabbah supporters. Now we have cut off your arms we'll see how you vote for Kabbah in the next election,'" a survivor quoted the rebels as saying. Church sources say ECOMOG has sent trucks carrying troops and several hundred Kamajor militiamen to flush out the rebels in the north. The London-based human rights group Amnesty International has denounced the killings, mutilations, and rapes by junta loyalists and RUF fighters. "Victims have reported women and children being rounded up, locked into a house which was then set alight. Women have been raped and have suffered other forms of sexual assault. Men who refused to rape members of their own family were reported to have had their arms hacked off," Amnesty International said.

The government-owned *Daily Mail* newspaper reported Friday that RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie has been shot and seriously wounded at Daru, in Kallahun District. "Bockari was trapped in an ambush Wednesday set up by civil defence forces," the newspaper reported. "He sustained serious gunshot wounds but managed to escape to his base at a small village, Gbehu, deep in the forest some seven miles from Kallahun Town." There has been no independent confirmation of the report. The *Daily Mail* alleged that Bockarie had been trading coffee and cacao for arms and ammunition in Liberia.

The British mercenary firm Sandline International said Friday it had received British government approval to train and supply arms to militias supporting Sierra Leone's exiled civilian government, in contravention of a U.N. arms embargo. Sandline lawyer Richard Slowe released a letter sent to British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook which said that Britain's High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Peter Penfold, had first suggested to President Kabbah that he approach Sandline for help in regaining power. The letter named five senior diplomats and two military officers the company claims had been briefed about the operation. Sandline was "led to believe that clearance was given at Head of Department level," the letter said. "Sandline was involved quite openly and with the full prior knowledge and approval of Her Majesty's Government, with an operation which involved assisting, with both personnel and military equipment, the restoration of the lawful government of Sierra Leone, which was the express purpose for which sanctions were applied in the first place. Far from any offence having been committed in these circumstances, it would merit serious criticism that one department of government (Customs and Excise) should be investigating, to the considerable inconvenience and distress of our clients, a matter which was conducted with the knowledge and approval of another department." The company also alleged that the U.S. State Department and Pentagon had been kept informed and had approved the deal. According to the letter, State Department Country Desk Officer for Sierra Leone and the Gambia Michael Thomas communicated "the U.S. government's full support for Sandline International's involvement" to Philip Parnam, a diplomat at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C.—a charge rejected by State Department sources. A State Department official acknowledged on Friday that Sandline had kept in touch with the State Department following the coup, but denied the company's assertion that Thomas had indicated support for Sandline activities in Sierra Leone. "The State Department has asked the British

government to take a strong lead in soliciting logistical and technical support for ECOMOG operations in Sierra Leone, as requested by three U.N. Security Council resolutions," the official said. U.S. State Department Spokesman James Foley said Friday that Sandline had periodically contacted the department "and commented on the situation in Sierra Leone, but provided no information on arms shipments. A State Department official told Sandline that "meeting with them did not endorse what they were doing," Foley said. "Sandline provides security for private mining and construction interests, including an American mine in the Sierra Leone countryside," Foley added. "I would note that Sandline employees were among the few expatriates who remained in Sierra Leone after the coup and kept in touch with State Department officials, as was perfectly legitimate for them to do and for us to do on our side."

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) announced Friday that it had stepped up food deliveries to the Guinean town of Gueckedou to cope with an influx of some 150,000 Sierra Leonean refugees fleeing fighting during March and April. The WFP said it had positioned 3,000 metric tons of food in Gueckedou, enough to feed 250,000 people for one month. The agency is now bringing in additional food from Conakry and from Liberia and Ivory Coast before the start of the rainy season, which will render most of the roads in the region impassable. In the last five days, the WFP headquarters in Abidjan has delivered at least 970 tons of various food commodities to Gueckedou with its 64 chartered trucks. Four trucks were sent from the Liberian town of Voinjama, marking the first time in seven years a food convoy has been allowed to cross the border from Liberia into Guinea. The border between the two countries is officially closed.

20 May: The United Nations Security Council issued a presidential statement Wednesday calling for an immediate end to the violence against civilians in Sierra Leone, and expressing grave concern about reports of foreign military support for AFRC/RUF rebels. The statement called on all states to observe relevant Security Council resolutions and avoid destabilising the situation in the country. The statement welcomed efforts by the civilian government since its return from exile, and urged the rebels to lay down their arms and surrender to the ECOMOG force.

Guinea has extradited 48 members of Sierra Leone's military government to Freetown to stand trial. According to a Ministry of Information news release, those sent back included AFRC Secretary-General Colonel Abdul Karim Sesay, Freetown City Council Chairman Dr. Wiltshire Johnson, and former Secretary of State for Transport and Communications Osho Williams. Upon arrival in Freetown, the 48 were taken to Wilberforce Military Barracks for questioning. In a press conference in Freetown, Col. Sesay called on forces loyal to the former military junta to end their resistance and surrender to ECOMOG. He appealed to them to stop their campaign of terror, which has resulted in the death and mutilation of scores of civilians.

Former NPRC Attorney-General Claude Campbell collapsed in court Tuesday after his request to be tried without a jury was turned down. Campbell had argued that "the adverse effects of radio, TV, and newspaper publications" would so influence the jury that a fair trial would be impossible. Attorney-General Solomon Berewa objected to the application, saying that Campbell "should not be frightened" by the adverse pretrial publicity. "The jurors are human beings, and the trial judge will advise them not to take account of what they saw during junta rule such as the burning of houses, killings and maiming of innocent people," Berewa said. After Judge Aihaji Rashid ruled that he had "failed to produce sufficient argument of law to convince the court," Campbell collapsed in the dock.

Rebels holding out in Kono District have completely devastated the city of Koidu, London Times journalist Sam Kiley told the BBC "Network Africa" program on Wednesday. "Koidu has effectively ceased to exist as a city in a way that you or I would understand it," Kiley said. "Every single structure -- and I mean every single structure -- everything, from chicken coops to hotels, has been reduced to rubble by the RUF/AFRC forces as they withdrew ahead of the Nigerian-led advance. They burned down every single building. I have covered a large number of cities that have been very badly damaged during conflict, but this is a city that has been annihilated." Kiley said most of Koidu's estimated 100,000 population had fled into the bush and to surrounding villages. "A few are now filtering back to Koidu proper, about 6,000 people, but they are filtering back to a city that really doesn't offer them very much hope at all. There is nowhere to sleep, there isn't any kind of shelter from the rains that have just begun, and they now face a very miserable future of trying to rebuild lives from the ground up, quite literally." Kiley said the government was cooperating with NGO's to bring medicine and food into the district, but that serious security concerns still remained. Kiley reported a brief firefight between ECOMOG troops and rebels who mounted a hit-and-run attack on the city during his visit to the area on Wednesday. "The rebels are continuing their reign of terror not very far beyond the city limits," he added.

An ECOMOG spokesman said Wednesday that the ECOMOG force is in "effective control" of all district capitals in the country. "There is no doubt that we are in effective control of these of these areas and our presence is undisputed," the spokesman said. He added that ECOMOG held the key towns Daru, Segbwema, Pendembu, Mobai, Kailahun, Buedu, and Koindu in

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Kailahun District and maintained it was "just a matter of time" before the border town of Bomaru—from where the RUF launched its rebellion in 1991—was captured. The spokesman said ECOMOG was "appalled over the wave of amputations on innocent civilians," but denied that Sierra Leone was degenerating back into civil war. "It is unreasonable to think so," he said. "As far as we are concerned and with the reports available so far, there is no problem for us in any of the districts in the country, as we are pursuing the war according to the schedule of the ECOMOG commander."

Burkina Faso's foreign minister has denied accusations by Sierra Leonean refugees in Guinea Monday that his country was "the main supplier of arms, ammunition and food" to AFRC/RUF rebels. "Our people have problems with water. With such a situation, we are not going to find the means to get involved in a country as far away as Sierra Leone," Foreign Minister Ablasse Ouedraogo said. "Do you think we have the means to support a rebellion with such financial obligations lying ahead?...We say that in the case of Sierra Leone, it is intolerable to seek legality through force, one must use dialogue. Perhaps that is the cause of the opposition levelled against Burkina and Liberia"

United Nations military liaison officer Brigadier General Subhash Joshi said Wednesday that the cities of Bo, Kenema, and Makeni were "quite ready to start the process of disarmament and demobilisation." Joshi said he intended to position military liaison officers in the three areas shortly to work with ECOMOG and Sierra Leone government agencies.

The head of the London-based mercenary firm Sandline International has disputed British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook's account of events in the so-called "Arms to Africa Affair." Tim Spicer told the BBC Sandline had received no "red letter warning" over his company's proposal to supply arms to the government-in-exile of President Kabbah. Of Cook's assertion Monday that Sandline had been warned it risked violating the U.N. arms embargo, Spicer said, "I would say my recollection is somewhat different to that which has been articulated already," regarding a January 19 meeting at the Foreign Office. "We spoke to the Foreign Office," Spicer said. "I spoke to the British High Commissioner, the government's representative, and we touched base with the State Department in the United States." He acknowledged that he had no evidence the information had reached the ministerial level, but said: "If one has conversations with senior (Foreign Office) officials, one assumes that fits in with normal procedure in that ministry." Spicer also disputed a Foreign Office claim that a Sandline helicopter serviced by the H.M.S. Cornwall was being used for humanitarian purposes. Spicer said it was also being used for military missions. "The helicopter was there to support ECOMOG. Its task was to provide tactical air mobility. They need to transport troops," he said. "I believe (British officials) knew of its presence but were not concerned with the detail." Spicer promised to cooperate with the independent inquiry being conducted by Sir Thomas Legg, QC.

British Defence Secretary George Robertson, in a written response to parliament, has said his office first became aware of the Customs and Excise Office investigation of Sandline International on April 24, when it received a copy of a letter from the company's lawyers protesting the investigation. Sandline claimed its activities had Foreign Office approval. "The first my private office knew of the existence of the Customs and Excise investigation into the involvement of Sandline International in operations in Sierra Leone was the afternoon of April 24, when they received a faxed copy of the letter from SJ Berwin and Company to Mr. Cook," Robertson said. In Parliament Tuesday, Prime Minister Tony Blair defended Foreign Secretary Robin Cook from a Conservative charge that he had "given the impression of misleading"

the House. "He corrected the facts as soon as he knew of them," Blair responded, adding that "all this" would be looked at by the Independent inquiry headed by Sir Thomas Legg, QC.

Some 50 junta supporters were killed over the weekend when the Kapra militia attacked a rebel base in the Mandaha forest, about 30 miles from Makeni, local journalists reported. Missionary sources said the rebels then attacked the nearby villages of Kassassi and Mabuya, mutilating some 17 civilians including mothers and children, and burning 10 houses. A message attached to one of the mutilation victims warned that ECOMOG had "90 days to quit Sierra Leone or the rebel operation 'No Living Thing' will continue with intensity."

Sources at Connaught Hospital in Freetown said Wednesday that six people had been admitted after having their eyes gouged out by AFRC/RUF rebels in a village near Kabala. Some of the victims had their arms cut off and were stabbed in the back.

Plans are underway in Freetown for a march on Saturday in support of Nigerian leader General Sani Abacha. "We want to bring to the forefront the achievements of the Nigerian leader in fighting for peace in the sub-region," said Allmamy Kamara of the Sierra Leone-Nigeria Brotherhood. "We expect a massive turnout to show the world that we do not hide our support for General Abacha."

The state-owned *Daily Mail* newspaper called Tuesday for the arming of civilians. In a front page editorial, the newspaper called for "township and village people to organise themselves into strong self-defence groups. Let them be given the appropriate training and weapons to defend themselves. The civil defence forces must be beefed up to serve as vanguard and as supplements to ECOMOG."

Minister of Political and Parliamentary Affairs Abu Alah Koroma has warned that illicit diamond mining in the east is fueling the violence in Sierra Leone. "Allowing illicit miners at this point in time is a recipe for junta rebels and their civilian supporters to stay and harass the people of Kono, Kailahun, and Koinadugu Districts," Koroma said, adding that he had witnessed illicit mining in several areas. "I have brought these developments to the attention of ECOMOG authorities and civilians who have joined in committing such acts are not different from RUF and junta bandits and they should be treated as such," Koroma added.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Sierra Leone Red Cross Society are conducting a joint operation to distribute some 180 tons of upland seed rice to 60,000 people in seven chiefdoms in Tonkolili and Kenema Districts, the ICRC said in a statement released in Geneva. The distributions are due to begin May 30. Each recipient will also receive a food ration to ensure proper use of the seeds, the statement said. "Thanks to the good results achieved with last year's agricultural programmes, many farming families can still live on their reserves, provided they were able to save them from looters", said Helene Cunat, ICRC relief coordinator in Freetown. "But if the seed is not planted now, there could be serious food shortages in the second half of this year." The seed was purchased locally to ensure optimum results and to help the economy recover. A distribution of swamp rice seed to 170,000 people in Tonkolili, Kenema, Kailahun, and Pujehun districts is currently being planned and is scheduled to start in late June.

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30 June 1997: RUF reinforcements have arrived in Freetown, saying they are willing to fight to the death to defend the capital. According to the rebels, some 2,000 RUF fighters arrived over the weekend and are now encamped in towns around Freetown. "We have come to reinforce our positions in and around Freetown in case we need to defend it against any attacks," one fighter said. "We will fight to the last man if ordered to do so."

West African countries have closed their embassies in Freetown, in line with an ECOWAS decision not to recognize the AFRC military regime. Nigeria closed its embassy the day after the May 25 coup, while Gambia closed its embassy on June 29. Guinea's embassy remains open, but the ambassador and senior diplomats have left. Staff members remaining behind say they are there to provide travel documents to Guinean citizens wishing to return home.

Reaction: John Dinger, acting U.S. state department spokesman: *"The United States wants to see early restoration of order and democracy in Sierra Leone, where soldiers and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels overthrew the elected government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. We believe concerted efforts by Africa to find a negotiated solution offer the best hope for returning the legitimate government, and advancing stability in Sierra Leone. Thus, we applaud the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) toward a peaceful solution to the crisis in Sierra Leone. We welcome ECOWAS' June 27 Communiqué from Conakry calling for the early reinstatement of President Kabbah, the return of peace and security and the resolution of the issues of refugees and displaced persons. The United States hopes ECOWAS will take immediate steps to move the process forward. We are prepared to work with Sierra Leone's neighbors in helping to reach a peaceful settlement."*

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28 June: Soldiers killed at least 25 people in Bo District Thursday, according to witnesses who reached Freetown on Saturday. Among the dead was Albert Sani Demby, Paramount Chief of Baoma Chiefdom, the father of ousted vice president Joseph Demby. Chief Demby, who is said to have been blind, was taken from his compound in Gerihun by soldiers, who shot him in the stomach and killed him. The soldiers then attacked two more towns, Telu and Sembehun, killing 25 civilians including another traditional chief. The witnesses said soldiers burned town part of Telu, Jaiama-Bongor Chiefdom, the home of Deputy Defence Minister Hinga Norman. The soldiers were said to be scouring the bush for Kamajors who they believed were gathering in preparation for an attack on military bases in Bo. Military officials in Bo have declined comment. The independent newspaper *Voices of the People* reported Saturday that unidentified attackers firing automatic rifles, grenade launchers, and mortars forced residents of Moyamba to flee the town last week.

The AFRC Saturday issued a statement asking ECOWAS countries to reconsider their efforts to isolate the military government. "The AFRC regards such measures as counter-productive, in the sense that it will not only hurt the people of Sierra Leone but will further lead to the economic sinking of the country," the statement said. The Nigerian newspaper *Daily Times* reported Saturday that sanctions will be imposed on Sierra Leone and force will be used if the military does not return President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to power "within a reasonable timetable."

Reaction: Tony Lloyd, British Minister for Africa: *"The demands were for the coup plotters to recognise that the game is up, and it is up. However long it takes, the game for them is up. The people of Sierra Leone do not deserve what they've had unleashed. Our commitment and that of the whole international community is to make sure that the legitimate government is back in power as quickly as possible. There's a very strong need now for the coup plotters to recognise that it is in their hands to offer proper salvation to the people of Sierra Leone. (They need to) to get round that negotiating table and to recognise that they cannot continue with the present position."*

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25 June: AFRC leader Major Johnny Paul Koroma said Wednesday that he is ready to allow President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to return as long as Kabbah stops "misleading" the international community. In an address to the nation, Koroma said he would soon announce the composition of his new government and a "timetable for a proper return to civilian rule," which he said would be as short as possible. Koroma promised to hold free and fair elections which would be unlike the polls last year when 54 people were killed in Freetown on election day. Commenting on the coup, Koroma said, "We just could not sit down and allow a president to be manipulated as people were killed or maimed." Koroma said Kabbah should have incorporated RUF leader Foday Sankoh into the political system, but had failed to do so "out of greed." On Tuesday, UNPP leader John Karefa-Smart said he had strongly advised the AFRC not to name a cabinet, as this would send a signal to the international community that the coup leaders do not intend to relinquish power.

ECOWAS foreign ministers will meet Thursday in Conakry, Guinea to assess the current situation in Sierra Leone, and to work out a framework for resolving the political crisis there. OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim and ECOWAS Executive Secretary Edouard Benjamin are expected to attend the meeting, which will be chaired by Guinean president General Lansana Conte. In Abuja, Nigeria a senior army general said that Nigeria is not contemplating removing its troops from Nigeria. "If we pull out that will be a defeatist attitude," Major-General Patrick Aziza said following a meeting of Nigeria's Provisional Ruling Council. "We have been holding consultations with the men in command there and we hope it will yield positive results," he said.

RUF rebels have been seen in churches, mosques, and other public places asking forgiveness for atrocities they committed during six years of civil war. "We have now joined our parents, our brothers and sisters. The war, mutilations, burnings and indiscriminate killings have stopped," said RUF spokesman Lieutenant Eldred Collins in a message repeatedly broadcast on SLBS radio and television this week. Collins and other members of the RUF—now renamed the People's Army of Sierra Leone—have been regularly attending church services in Freetown. "_____ interior," Collins said. "We burned, looted, maimed, and killed but we did not do this because we wanted to. We had to because that was the only way we could have uprooted a rotten system." The AFRC has named three members of the RUF to its ruling council, including RUF leader Foday Sankoh, who is currently being detained in Nigeria, and Collins, who was named Supervisor of the Department of the Interior. "We are basically working out a power-sharing arrangement with the People's Army so that lasting peace would come," AFRC spokesman Colonel Abdul Sesay said. The People's Army's War Council, which serves as the RUF's high command, says that its fighters are ready to disarm, but only if the ECOMOG intervention force pulls out.

The AFRC acknowledged Tuesday that looting and killing continues in Freetown, and promised intensified patrols. The announcement, made over SLBS (state radio), did little to calm the fears of residents, some of whom have resorted to vigilantism and street justice. On Wednesday, a teenage boy was hacked to death by a mob after he was caught breaking into a house. His arms and head were chopped off and one testicle placed in his mouth. "I know the boy. He doesn't live in the area but he frequents it during the day. He has been leading gangs of boys who break into people's homes, looting them clean," a witness said.

The human rights group Amnesty International (AI) repeated its call

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Wednesday for the AFRC to respect and protect the fundamental rights of all Sierra Leoneans. Among concerns already raised by directly with Major Johnny Paul Koroma was the detention of at least 15 people arrested on June 16, accused of conspiring to overthrow the military government. "We fear that some of these people may be detained only because they opposed the military coup which brought the AFRC to power. If this is the case, they should be immediately and unconditionally released," AI said. AI called for a fair trial for any of the detained who are accused of a criminal offence, and noted that there is concern that they will not receive a fair trial if tried before a military court. Those arrested are civilians associated with President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah's government or the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), and senior military officers. They are reported to include Dr. Sama S. Banya (medical doctor and SLPP member), Colonel K.E.S Boyah, Dauda Bundu, Colonel Tom Carew, Major Francis Gottor (former NPRC Chief of Defence), Dr. Abdul Jalloh (Member of Parliament), Dr. Bockarie M. Kobba, Abu Aiah Koroma (Minister for Political and Parliamentary Affairs), Elizabeth Loveli (Member of Parliament), Colonel R.Y. Koroma, Captain John Massaquoi, Abdullahi Mustapha (State House Liaison Officer), Lieutenant-Colonel J.A.H. Tucker (from Patricia Kabbah's family), Major Vandí Turay and David Quee (Minister for Local Government). At least two of those detained were reportedly physically assaulted by soldiers at the time of their arrest. They are currently being held incommunicado at Pademba Road Prison. AI has called for them to be allowed immediate access to their families, lawyers, and doctors. AI also expressed concern about the summary executions of suspected looters by military officials. Such killings appear to contravene international standards on the use of lethal force, the group said. Soldiers have killed at least 10 people in Freetown; similar killings have been reported in Bo.

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30 July: United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan convened a Special Conference on Sierra Leone Thursday. The conference, which brings together Sierra Leonean leaders, diplomats, and non-governmental organisations, looks to raise funds to support ECOMOG peacekeeping operations, and to address emergency relief and humanitarian issues as well as the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Sierra Leone. Annan said that since the civilian government was reinstated in March, some 500 people mutilated by AFRC/RUF rebels had been treated and more than 2,000 more had died in the bush "terrified of meeting another human being." He called on the rebels to "lay down their arms without further delay." Since the restoration of the Kabbah government, Annan said, the rebels had been "resisting the government's authority in this fighting. Horrific attacks have been carried out against civilians, including children, that shame all humanity." Among those taking part in the conference were President Kabbah, British Minister of State for Africa Tony Lloyd, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Susan Rice, ECOMOG Commander General Timothy Sheldipi, OAU Secretary-General Salim Salim, European Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs Emma Bonino, Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyoaku, and ECOWAS Secretary-General Lansana Kouyate.

President Kabbah told delegates to the United Nations Special Conference on Sierra Leone Thursday that the gathering represented "an act of solidarity" with the people of Sierra Leone. "More importantly, we see it also as a concrete assurance of your determination to join forces with us in finding substantive solutions to the critical political, social and economic problems, including those which emerged over the past fourteen months, and which continue to afflict our people," he said in his address. Kabbah told delegates that the ECOMOG force had been experiencing logistic and related problems and, unless assistance were forthcoming, "the rebel activities will not only continue and create more human tragedy, but will also drain our limited resources." He also stressed the deteriorating infrastructure which had deterred progress in returning life to normal and compromised the government's ability to resettle refugees and the displaced. "I have no doubt that this conference, while assessing the programme of economic recovery, will also give the plight and vulnerability of refugees and the displaced the attention which they deserve," he said. Kabbah said that, in the short term, the government would disband the army and replace it with a new military "based on competence, professional integrity, loyalty to our democratic institutions, and patriotism." The new security force, he said, would take into account ethnic and regional considerations to reflect the diversity of the nation. Citing the Costa Rican and Panamanian models, Kabbah said that in the long term Sierra Leone would consider whether it needed an army at all. "However, I should emphasize that before considering this as an option, we should definitely have to take into account the availability of a regional or sub-regional multilateral force, such as ECOMOG, to meet the security needs of small and relatively weak states such as Sierra Leone," he said, adding that the availability of such a force would allow the country to devote its limited resources to economic development, literacy, employment, and job training "and thus help to eradicate some of the causes of political and economic instability which have plagued the nation over the past several decades." Kabbah stressed Sierra Leone's commitment to the rule of law, and adding that his government had resisted "the popular clamour for revenge" and the "demand for draconian laws and measures to deal with the present situation." He said that the trials of junta supporters would be open, fair, and transparent, and that International observers would be given unrestricted access to the accused.

Sierra Leone was represented at the United Nations Special Conference on Sierra Leone by President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, Dr. James O.C. Jonah,

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(Minister of Finance and Economic Planning), Dr. Sama Banya (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Sheka Mansaray, (National Security Adviser), Dr. Jah (National Commission for Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation), John Leigh (Ambassador to the United States), Fode Dabor (Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Charge d'Affaires), Sylvester Rowe (Political Adviser), Otto During (Head of Chancery), Nikita Kyne-Sam (First Secretary), and Fode Kamara (Second Secretary).

AFRC/RUF rebels carried out a surprise attack on ECOMOG troops at Kabala on Monday. ECOMOG task force commander and Chief of Defence Staff Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe said at a press conference in Freetown on Thursday. Khobe said some 200 arrived in Kabala, saying they wanted to take advantage of an amnesty following Saturday's call for a ceasefire by RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh. However, Khobe said, the rebels "regrouped under the guise of surrendering to ECOMOG." He said the rebels had formed three groups, with the first two groups wearing white headbands, signaling their intention to surrender. He said the men lined up in front of a set of tables on which surrender documents were placed. "While ECOMOG soldiers were making arrangements to have them surrender, a third batch entered the town [walking behind others who were carrying palm leaves] and opened fire on ECOMOG soldiers, which led to a fierce battle between my troops and them," he said. "But we expected this type of action, and our men were prepared and returned fire." The rebels apparently surrendering joined in the fighting, as their arms had not yet been taken from them. Khobe acknowledged there had been deaths on both sides, but said ECOMOG casualties had been "minimal." The rebels were armed with rocket-propelled grenades and heavy guns, he said, adding that sporadic fighting continued on the outskirts of Kabala until midnight on Wednesday, but that ECOMOG remained in control of the town. "We have now moved the military commander and more troops from Makeni to reinforce Kabala, but there is no cause for alarm," he said. Khobe said he was also sending reinforcements from Lungi, but that ECOMOG had no plans to go on the offensive after having agreed Tuesday to respect Sankoh's unilateral call for a ceasefire. "No, we will not go on the offensive. Two wrongs don't make a right," he said. Catholic priests in the area said by radio that heavy fighting was still continuing around Kabala on Thursday, and that thousands of residents had been forced to flee the area. "There was shooting everywhere and we had to flee 20 miles on foot," one missionary told the BBC, adding that there was no time for the priests to collect the 100 handicapped children in their care. The BBC reported that three Catholic priests had moved to Makeni along with several of the handicapped children. "The Catholic Mission we spoke to told us that the rebels were not in control of Kabala, but they were all over the place in Kabala," BBC correspondent Winston Ojukutu-Macaulay said.

Khobe said there had also been an increase in rebel attacks at Koidu and Kayima in Kono District and Daru in Kailahun District, but gave no details.

"The Guinean border is closed and manned by Guinean guards," he said.

Khobe complained that "the countries that promised to send troops to beef up ECOMOG in Sierra Leone have still not sent anyone. We cannot just sit and wait."

Makeni residents reported that, prior to the attack on Kabala, six people died when rebels ambushed a government bus on the Makeni-Kabala road. The bus, worth some \$70,000, was destroyed by fire, a bus company official said.

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Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe introduced his successor as ECOMOG task force commander on Thursday, Brigadier-General Abu Ahmadu. Khobe was last week named as Sierra Leone's Chief of Defence Staff by President Kabbah.

3 October: RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh (pictured left) and former AFRC Chairman Lieutenant-Colonel Johnny Paul Koroma (right) finally arrived in Freetown on Sunday, nearly three months after the signing of the Lomé Peace Accord on July 7 to end more than eight years of civil war. "We are here. We are here," said Sankoh as he stepped off the plane at Lungi International Airport. "It's a success for the people of Sierra Leone. It's a victory," he added. Koroma followed from the plane,

accompanied by his wife and holding a small girl in his arms. A delegation of ECOWAS and international officials accompanied the two rebel leaders on their flight from Monrovia to Freetown. The two rebel leaders were greeted by a small group of family members and well-wishers on the balcony of the airport terminal. An earlier plane brought senior rebel aides, field commanders, and their families including.

Sankoh and Koroma met at the airport with government ministers, officials of ECOMOG and the United Nations Military Observer Force in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), members of the RUF and the pro-government Kamajor militia, and international officials, including U.N. Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo and U.S. Ambassador Joe Melrose. They were then flown by helicopter to Cockerill Military Headquarters, and from there proceeded by motorcade to the Presidential Lodge for talks, and later for a joint press conference, with President Kabbah.

"Ladies and gentlemen, today, we hail the dawn of a new era. The war has ended. The hour of peace, forgiveness, and reconciliation has come. We stand before you today to ask for your forgiveness and a spirit of reconciliation across this country," Sankoh said in a prepared statement which was broadcast over the radio. "You, who we have wronged, you have every human right to feel bitter and unforgiving, but we plead with you for forgiveness. Those who have died, those who are grieving for the loss of their loved ones, those who have been disabled, whose property has been destroyed, those traumatized — the children, the youth, the women, the aged — we ask their forgiveness." However, Sankoh denied that the RUF was holding thousands of civilians, including some 3,000 children, documented missing since the rebel attack on Freetown in January. "The question is irrelevant, all lies," he said in answer to a question on when the civilian abductees would be released. "We, the Revolutionary United Front, do not abduct people, we rescue them."

Koroma, too, called for reconciliation. "Let bygones be bygones," he said. "If we don't forgive one another we cannot implement the peace accord." Koroma said a key demand of the rebel soldiers — that they be reinstated in the Sierra Leone Army — had been granted, although there was no confirmation of this from Sierra Leone government officials.

"I want them to know that the war is over, and the riches of this country must go to the people of this country and not individuals," he said. President Kabbah declared that "this is indeed a great day for the people of Sierra Leone," adding: "By this symbolic occasion we have demonstrated to our people that the war is over." He declined Sankoh's request, however, for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and night curfew, saying he would first have to consult with his security chiefs.

Four European non-governmental organisations announced a campaign Sunday to prevent rebels in Africa from funding their military operations with illicit diamond sales. The "Fatal Transactions" campaign will target diamonds

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originating in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Angola. The four participating organisations, Britain's Global Witness, Germany's Medico International, The Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa, and the pan-European development group Novib, called on the legitimate diamond trade to put effective controls in place to ensure that diamonds can no longer fund weapons purchases by rebel armies.

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11 November: The death toll from Monday's rebel attack on the northern town of Gbendembu has risen to about 100 as more bodies have been found, aid workers said on Wednesday. Some of the victims were beheaded, while others suffered bullet wounds or had their throats cut. "Inside the Wesleyan Church in Gbendembu town, people have found 11 men, women, and children with their throats savagely cut," one aid worker said. "It is still not definite how many people died in the fighting but it is now certain that it is close to 100." An ECOMOG officer said 20 of the dead were ECOMOG troops and Sierra Leonean soldiers. "We also killed more than 30 rebels," he said. "We will be flying the bodies of ECOMOG soldiers to Nigeria for burial." Another "senior source" close to ECOMOG said the combined death toll among pro-government forces was 39. A survivor related to *Reuters* Wednesday how he had watched the attack as he hid on the roof of a building next to the Wesleyan Church. "They searched from house to house... Then I saw them march 11 people, men, women and children from (the) nearby bush into the church. The wife of the church pastor, Marie Fornah, was among the 11 and also the pastor's uncle," he said. "The rebels closed the door after they entered. After two or three minutes I heard their hostages screaming. It was horrible. They were screaming that the rebels were killing them, cutting their throats." The survivor said the rebels, numbering about 20, left the church after about 30 minutes. "I waited another half hour and stole into the church. There were the bodies of the 11, all of them with their throats cut and blood still gushing out," he said. "I don't know if my parents were captured by the rebels." He added that he saw the rebels driving scores of people, mainly women and children, into the bush. At the Connaught Hospital morgue, relatives of slain soldiers were claiming the bodies and taking them away for burial, witnesses said.

United Nations officials in eastern Sierra Leone say they have been unable to verify reports, carried by the BBC and news wire services, that AFRC/RUF rebel forces killed about 100 civilians near Tongo on Monday morning. The Associated Press quoted ECOMOG spokesman Paul Aghimlmen in Freetown, while BBC correspondent Prince Brima attributed his report to eyewitnesses. The U.N. said it is still investigating, but that initial findings suggest the reports were based on rumours.

RUF rebels have blocked and cut the road between Makeni and Kamakwie, *Liberian Star Radio* reported on Wednesday. People fleeing the area said the rebels attempted to overrun an ECOMOG base, but were repelled. A number of civilians were reported killed, while others escaped by bush paths.

About 100 Sierra Leonean refugees arrived in Freetown from Guinea Wednesday aboard plane chartered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A UNHCR spokesman said two flights a day, each carrying about 50 refugees, would continue until Saturday.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has begun registering child soldiers in Sierra Leone as part of a demobilisation programme. Fewer than 100 child soldiers have so far been demobilised. Media reports have cited the Kamajor militia, which has been unwilling to release child soldiers.

The government of the Netherlands has donated \$4 million to ECOMOG to facilitate the deployment of Malian troops in Sierra Leone, *Liberian Star Radio* reported on Wednesday.

Sierra Leone's university lecturers have ended their "indefinite strike" after meeting with Education Minister Dr. Alpha T. Wurie. The lecturers began their work stoppage last week to demand an agreed-upon salary increase.

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and arrears. Wurie described the lecturers' action as a small misunderstanding, and said they were demanding what was due them.

Sierra Leone's national soccer team has been forced to withdraw from the Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia in the year 2000 because of lack of funding. The Sierra Leone Football Association said it had to withdraw the team after the government failed to come up with the money to allow the team to travel to Gabon for a qualifying match. The International Football Federation, FIFA, has already agreed to pay for two of the team's next international matches, against Morocco and Mali.

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19 November:

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Bockarie rejected a call by United States Special Envoy to Africa Rev. Jesse Jackson for the RUF to lay down its arms. "(The U.S. is) a big hypocrite whose intention is to steal our natural resources rather than bring peace to the country," he said. "America and the world should know that we shall not lay down arms, because only a defeated man can do so."

ECOMOG troops on Monday attacked suspected rebels on Tasso Island, 12 miles from Freetown, and captured 35 of them, an ECOMOG officer said on Thursday. Witnesses who fled the island said at least five rebels had been killed in the raid. "The rebels had suddenly re-emerged on the island, training and planning to carry out attacks on Freetown," one ECOMOG commander said. "We captured 35 of them and inflicted casualties." He gave no further details.

ECOMOG officers said Thursday they were committed to ending the Sierra Leone conflict militarily, and displayed five "hard core" rebel leaders captured recently in Lungi. Among them was a Lieutenant Kargbo, a member of the disbanded Sierra Leone Army, who had opposed disarming the army after the signing of the Conakry Peace Accord.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Tuesday it had suspended the airlift repatriation of Sierra Leonean refugees from Kissidougou, Guinea on November 13 after discovery of several cases of meningitis in refugee camps in the Prefecture of Gueckedou, where candidates had registered for a return to Freetown. The UNHCR had begun a second phase of the operation on November 11, returning 305 persons on several flights. All returnees undergo medical screening before returning to Freetown. The operation, for which 1,800 persons have registered so far, will be restarted if no further cases of meningitis are identified in the refugee camps.

President Kabbah raised the possibility Thursday of an amnesty for five key rebel leaders if they would lay down their arms and agree to leave Sierra Leone for a period of time. In an ECOMOG security briefing, Chief of Defence Staff Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe identified the five as Captain SAJ Musa, Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, Eldred Collins, Dennis "Superman" Mingo, and AFRC Chairman Major Johnny Paul Koroma. Kabbah said he would be willing to consider allowing them to depart "to a third country that is not neighboring Sierra Leone for awhile," and to later be resettled in Sierra Leone.

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[REDACTED] stressed, however, that rebel leaders who "have committed very, very serious crimes will have to face the law." General Khobe confirmed at the security briefing that the government has been in constant contact with rebel leaders, particularly with Captain SAJ Musa. He said the entire sub-region was interested in peace in Sierra Leone, and if what was needed was to provide safe passage for rebel leaders to

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depart so that Sierra Leoneans could live peacefully, the entire sub-region would be prepared to provide refuge for them. Minister of Information, Communications, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer stressed that no negotiations had taken place. He said the rebel leaders must be prepared to lay down their arms, and that then the possibility exists for them to live elsewhere in the sub-region.

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22 December: AFRC/RUF rebels attacked Waterloo Tuesday, causing thousands to flee toward Freetown and reportedly advancing as far as Wellington before being turned back by ECOMOG troops. Government and ECOMOG officials instituted a press blackout and banned unauthorised news dispatches Tuesday, but a number of refugees reported the rebels burned houses and randomly killed civilians at Wellington. ECOMOG soldiers manning checkpoints said the rebels had been turned back from Wellington early Tuesday, but that the situation remained unstable. The *Associated Press* cited unconfirmed reports of heavy fighting in towns closer to the capital. A "forest guard in Waterloo District", Abubakar Sesay, told the BBC that the rebels had been brought into Lumpa, an extension of Waterloo, by sympathisers, who kept them in their homes. "So at about 3:00 a.m. these rebels just opened fire," he said. "There was a lot of shooting, but their number was about 50. And not all of them were armed. There was a lot of shooting in the air." Sesay said the ECOMOG troops stationed at Waterloo withdrew to a nearby garrison and returned with armored personnel carriers. "Waterloo came under the control of ECOMOG at 5:00 a.m. this morning, and at this time I'm talking they're in control of Waterloo," he added. ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi, in a written statement read over SLBS (state radio) late Tuesday, appealed to residents to remain calm. "I wish to assure you that ECOMOG is in control of the situation and is presently engaged in seeking out and destroying the rebels," Shelpidi said. "Do not panic and abandon your homes at the sound of gunfire... You need to be aware that the rebels are using your fear to achieve their aims." He warned refugees to beware of "rebels who may have mingled among you, pretending to be displaced people." Civilians attempting to leave Freetown were turned back by ECOMOG troops, while others attempting trying to reach the capital were searched before being allowed to enter.

The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported Tuesday that Kabba Kargbo, a freelance journalist with the independent Pathfinder newspaper, was arrested in Freetown Tuesday afternoon by Criminal Investigation Department (CID) officers and transported to CID headquarters. The arrest came shortly after Kargbo told the BBC's Focus on Africa programme that he had witnessed Saturday's attack on Waterloo, and said that the rebels appeared to be militarily superior to ECOMOG.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie told the BBC Tuesday that his forces captured Koidu last weekend following a 48 hour battle with ECOMOG and Civil Defence Forces troops. "I can tell you we destroyed them a whole lot. It is just that we cannot talk," Bockarie said by satellite telephone. "Now today, my men reported that they have taken Masori with two armed tanks from them again and which have gone up to five now." He denied that the RUF had stepped up its military campaign to coincide with the Christmas season. "We decided to intensify our military campaign simply because the Tejan Kabbah-led government has denied the people peace. We now want to force him to adhere to peace. As we know, dialogue is only the solution to the present problem in Sierra Leone. Dialogue is the only solution to this problem. We know that and we know military option cannot solve the problem. The Nigerlans are not worth enough to get us out of Sierra Leone as we are citizens of this land and we are fighting a just cause and we do not believe if there is any reason for Tejan Kabbah to kill everybody in Sierra Leone who is fighting for his or her right." Bockarie denied that the RUF was receiving any help from outside the country. "The RUF has been existing ever since without any outside support," he said. "If we had been getting support from abroad, then there is no need for them (the civilian government) to be in Freetown now." Bockarie maintained that the RUF had the capability to take Freetown. "That is our belief. Freetown is our goal and that is our target," he said. He said that the RUF was seeking dialogue and the release of their leader, Corporal Foday Sankoh, who is

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currently appealing a treason conviction and death sentence in Freetown. "We want dialogue and that Kabbah should know that Sankoh is our sole and legitimate leader of the RUF," he said. "We stand strong against the idea of imprisoning and molesting our leader. We can do anything if Kabbah does not release our leader. He is going to face the same of what he is doing now."

27 December: ECOMOG troops fought AFRC/RUF rebels on Sunday for control of Makeni, an ECOMOG official said in Freetown. He said about 50 rebels were killed Saturday when Nigerian Alpha jet fighters attached to the ECOMOG force bombed rebel positions in the town. The official said he expected the planes to return to take action against the rebels, who had regrouped at Makeni Teachers College. The college, which is on the outskirts of the city, is close to ECOMOG's main military base in northern Sierra Leone. "Most of the civilians in Makeni and the surrounding area have fled so we are only left face to face with the rebels," the official said. Communications links to Makeni have been cut, and no independent assessment of the situation in Makeni could be made, *Reuters* reported. Makeni residents who reached Freetown on Saturday confirmed that ECOMOG was in control, although some reported that the rebels were in parts of the town or that ECOMOG was defending the military barracks. RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie also made claims that his fighters had captured the town, saying Saturday that the rebels had killed 60 ECOMOG soldiers and dragged their bodies through the streets "as an example to everyone." Bockarie, who has threatened an AFRC/RUF rebel assault on Freetown, called on President Kabbah to resign. "Failure of Kabbah to resign, and we will start bombarding Freetown and will not stop until victory is won," Bockarie told the *Associated Press*.

Hundreds of people have reached Freetown, saying they were forced to flee rebel attacks between Thursday and Saturday on the fishing village of Tombo, just south of the capital.

A delegation headed by Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Dr. Sama Banya arrived in Abidjan, Ivory Coast on Saturday night for a meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Sierra Leone. In Freetown, Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer said the Sierra Leoneans will plead for additional troops to reinforce ECOMOG. A "senior Western diplomat" told *Reuters* that the Sierra Leone government may come under increased pressure to negotiate with the rebels. "There is a growing fear in the region that a new civilian government taking over in Nigeria in May next year may not want to shoulder the burden of peacekeeping in Sierra Leone," the diplomat said. "The Sierra Leone government may need to look at what happened in Mozambique in 1992. The government there concluded a successful accord with Renamo rebels, and Renamo were just as vicious as the Sierra Leone rebels." Committee members include the foreign ministers of Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, and Liberia. The foreign ministers of Burkina Faso and Togo will also attend, as their countries hold the presidencies of ECOWAS and the OAU, respectively. The United States is sending its Director of the State Department Office of West African Affairs and Special Envoy to Liberia Howard Jeter, and Ambassador to Sierra Leone Joseph Melrose. Britain will be represented by its High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Peter Penfold. ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi will also be present.

The Sierra Leone government has condemned the mob killing of two suspected rebel spies during a demonstration in Freetown on Saturday. "Mob justice cannot be a solution to our problems as it could lead to the loss of innocent lives," a government statement broadcast over SLBS (state radio) said. "While government understands the cause of anger among the majority of Sierra Leoneans, it will not condone people taking the law into their own hands. All cases of rebels and suspected rebels must be referred to ECOMOG or the law enforcement bodies." According to news accounts, the two men were severely beaten before some in the crowd put petrol-filled tires around their necks and set them on fire. The charred bodies were taken away by police, who did not interfere with the killings.

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has condemned the upsurge in fighting in Sierra Leone and attempts by ARC/RUF rebels to overthrow the country's civilian government. "The Secretary-General is extremely concerned by the latest news of rebel armed activities in Sierra Leone," Annan's spokesman said in a statement issued in New York. "He condemns the refusal of the RUF and junta remnants to lay down their arms, as well as their continuing military actions...He wishes to take this opportunity to emphasise the unacceptability of attempting to overthrow duly-elected governments by force. He appeals to the rebels to lay down their arms at once and to enter the peace process without preconditions."

The government, in a radio broadcast, has condemned the evacuation of British nationals from Sierra Leone, saying it played into rebel plans to spread panic.

ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi has called on the international community to "rally round and support Sierra Leone, which is trying to restore democracy."

26 December: ECOMOG troops have turned back a rebel attack on Makeni, an ECOMOG spokesman said on Saturday. "The rebels can never take Makeni from us, even though they are heavily armed and in quite large numbers," he added. AFRC/RUF rebels and ECOMOG had battled for control of the town since Thursday. A Catholic priest who was in Makeni on Friday said most residents had fled, and that rebels controlled parts of the town. A Ministry of Defence spokesman quoted by *Reuters* acknowledged that the rebels had captured part of Makeni. Sources in radio contact with the area earlier on Saturday that the fighting was continuing.

Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer said Saturday that Freetown was calm, and maintained that the security situation in Sierra Leone was firmly under the control of ECOMOG and other security forces. "As far as Government is concerned, we remain faithful to the position adopted by the United Nations Security Council with respect to the conflict in Sierra Leone, which is to simultaneously pursue the military option and dialogue," he said in a press release. Spencer said that despite media reports to the contrary, "Makeni town is in the hands of ECOMOG, although there are continuing rebel attacks on the township. With regard to Kono, no military occupation has been established in the area by the rebels. Rather, the area was invaded by marauding gangs of illegal miners, among whom are rebels. This situation is being addressed by the security forces." Spencer said that of the twelve districts in Sierra Leone, the rebels were known to operate in parts of only three. "It is also important to stress here that the rebels are currently under severe pressure in the Eastern part of the country where they have their main base," he said. "All other parts of the country are calm and secure."

British Foreign Office Minister of State for Africa Tony Lloyd reiterated Saturday Britain's support for Sierra Leone's civilian government. He made the statement as British nationals evacuated from Freetown arrived in London. "But our strong support for the democratically-elected government of President Kabbah remains undiminished," Lloyd said. "We continue to lead international support for the legitimate government in Sierra Leone, and we are in close touch with our partners in the Security Council and elsewhere on how to take things forward."

Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer, in a BBC interview on Saturday, called "absolutely false" rebel claims to have captured Makeni. "It is simply propaganda that they are trying

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to mount," he said. "They have been trying to take control of Makeni. They have been attacking the place for the past three days. They have not succeeded. They have not taken control of Makeni. Indeed, there has been fighting going on around Makeni, not right inside the town. They have been trying to get into the town and up to this point that I am talking to you they have not succeeded...ECOMOG hasn't gone on an offensive in that area. They are simply holding defensive positions, ECOMOG and the Civil Defence Forces in that area, and very soon they will be thrown out of the area completely." Spencer rejected a suggestion that the civilian government might be overthrown a second time by the rebels. "That is absolutely impossible. What we are going to see in the new year is the total elimination of rebel activity in this country. That I assure you. Let them wait and see. Nobody is going to run away anywhere. Even the women are saying they are going to stand up. Nobody is running away. For the Kabbah government to be removed is absolutely impossible, totally out of the question. Anybody who thinks that is dreaming."

The ECOWAS Committee of Five foreign ministers charged with finding ways to end the Sierra Leone conflict will convene in Ivory Coast on Monday, an Ivorian official was quoted as saying on Saturday.

Thousands of demonstrators turned out in Freetown Saturday to show support for President Kabbah and to denounce rebel attacks and Liberian President Charles Taylor, whom they accuse of backing the rebels. The demonstration, called by the Citizens' Security Movement, ended outside the law courts in the center of the capital. Witnesses said youths caught and burned to death two suspected rebels during the rally.

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17 December: RUF field commander Sam "Mosquito" Bockarie has fled Sierra Leone after allegedly executing eight senior officers loyal to RUF leader Foday Sankoh and vandalising his Field Command Headquarters, ECOMOG said in press statements released on Friday. According to ECOMOG, Bockarie fled Sierra Leone with his family in the early hours of the night of December 16 after executing the RUF officers on Wednesday. No details were provided, and there has been no independent confirmation of the report. While ECOMOG said Bockarie fled to an "undisclosed country," a diplomatic source told the Sierra Leone Web that the rebel commander had called a U.N. official to claim he was in Liberia. In an interview with the BBC on Friday, ECOMOG commander Major-General Gabriel Kpamber disclosed that Bockarie had attempted to seize the town of Segbwema earlier in the week. "Three days ago, he attempted to take a position close to the ECOMOG position in Daru," Kpamber said. "Daru is also one of our demobilisation centers. He tried to take that position by sending some troops who went in. The actual place is called Segbwema, but these troops were overpowered by the RUF chaps loyal to Foday Sankoh and thereafter, this morning, we heard that he fled the country... We are trying to ascertain the number of people he took away, but prior to this, some of the RUF officers who were apparently advising him to abide by the will of Chairman Foday Sankoh were reported to have been assassinated by him. So, we feel he has so much blood on his hands that he has decided to flee the country." Kpamber said he felt it unlikely that Bockarie had left Sierra Leone for the purpose of meeting with RUF leader and CMRRD Chairman Foday Sankoh in Monrovia. "He left the command post of the RUF, and we learned that he has vandalised the headquarters by removing the communications gadgets. Now, this would not be true if his intention was only to answer the summon of the Chairman Foday Sankoh. So, I believe he has fled." Reuters, quoting "a senior aide to Sankoh, reported Friday that the RUF had named Momoh Rogers to replace Bockarie as its new field commander in Kailahun District.

The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) is being deployed in record time, the U.N. Special Envoy to Sierra Leone, Oluyemi Adeniji, said on Friday. Speaking at a joint press conference in Freetown with the UNAMSIL commander, Major-General Vijay Jetley, Adeniji emphasised that UNAMSIL was in Sierra Leone at the invitation of the government to assist with the disarmament and demobilisation process. "The deployment of UNAMSIL, contrary to the general impression that it's been long delayed is being done practically at a record time," he said, adding: "The international community is now facing its responsibility. It is not only a problem in West Africa for the West Africans." Adeniji noted that the United Nations had a primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. "There is no reason why the United Nations, which is often prepared to go elsewhere, should not come to Africa," he said. Since arriving last Sunday to take up his post, Adeniji has met with President Kabbah and senior government officials, AFRC leader and CCP Chairman Lieutenant-Colonel Johnny Paul Koroma, ECOMOG force commander Major-General Gabriel Kpamber, the heads of diplomatic missions and political parties, and representatives of civil society. He said he was looking forward to meeting with RUF leader and CMRRD Chairman Foday Sankoh upon his return to Sierra Leone.

Two Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF - Doctors Without Borders) medical workers held by the RUF in Kailahun District for more than a week were flown by helicopter from Daru to Freetown on Thursday. MSF Country Director Giuseppe Scollo said the two, Belgian doctor Patrick Cloos and German logistics expert Klaus Leppolled "were fine when they arrived, but they said they had been depressed as they did not know their fate" while being held by the rebels. A source told the Sierra Leone Web that Dr. Cloos would soon return to Belgium. Leppolled's plans were not immediately known.

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The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP), in an update issued on Friday and covering the period through December 14, said that an inter-agency team comprising representatives of WFP, CAD, HACU, UNICEF, OXFAM, International Medical Corps, Concern World Wide, LEONNET, Save the Children Fund (SCF) and Caritas, undertook a mission to Port Loko on December 3 to assess the condition of 6,560 internally displaced persons (IDPs) registered at the Maforki Displaced Camp. The mission recommended that the IDPs, who were found to be in need of food, water and sanitation, be relocated away from the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) camp and provided with a one-off food ration, shelter, water and sanitation. During the week ended December 5, the WFP distributed 464 tons of assorted food commodities to 31,400 beneficiaries in Kenema and Bo. The agency also delivered six tons of seed rice to Daru for distribution to farmers between Daru and Segbwema for planting in perennial swamps. "WFP has been forced to postpone distribution of some 70 tons of assorted food aid commodities to 9,400 school children under the school feeding programme in Lungi on 6 December due to security concerns," the report said.

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LENGTH: 1501 words

HEADLINE: What War Has Wrought: Sierra Leone's Sad State

BYLINE: By NORIMITSU ONISHI

DATELINE: FREETOWN, Sierra Leone

BODY:

Issa Alison-Konteh sat at an intersection in this capital, an unsteady stool beneath him, the gutted Piccadilly chicken grill behind him, a crumbled house beside him and two burned-out buildings before him.

The two buildings were set aflame last February, when Nigerian-led peacekeeping troops swarmed into Freetown and restored President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to power. He had been ousted a year earlier by rebels who contend that they are battling a rich clique that they say runs what the United Nations ranks as the world's poorest nation.

Then in a so far vain but extremely brutal campaign to recapture the city, the rebels returned and destroyed the house and restaurant.

"The politicians do their own, the rebels do their own, and you're caught in the middle," said Mr. Alison-Konteh, 39.

After eight years of civil war between the rebels and a Government that says the guerrillas are merely out for their own gain, Sierra Leone lies in ruins, a country only in name. More than 440,000 of its people -- about 10 percent of the population -- have fled to neighboring countries. Government authority has dissolved. The main national defense force is the Kamajors, a ragtag militia of men and boys who often wear mirrors on their chests in the belief this will ward off bullets.

Until now, the Government's only significant support has come from a West African peacekeeping force headed by soldiers from sub-Saharan Africa's most populous country, Nigeria.

But that support seems about to evaporate, leaving Sierra Leone's capital under attack and its northern and eastern regions in the sway of rebels who, according to the Government, foreign diplomats and locals, terrorize residents by hacking off hands and feet of captives to show what vengeance they can deliver.

"It's a big mess," said a Western diplomat in the region. "It is not a mess that will be easy to clean up."

The reasons for this change lie in Nigeria. The former dictator there, Gen. Sani Abacha, found it useful to draw attention away from his record of abuse at home by promoting democracy abroad -- which in Sierra Leone meant

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What War Has Wrought: Sierra Leone's Sad State The New York Times January 31, 1999, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

heading up the peacekeeping force known as Ecomog and restoring Mr. Kabbah to power in 1998 (the grateful Mr. Kabbah promptly renamed one of Freetown's main arteries Sani Abacha Street).

But General Abacha died in June, and his successor, Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar, has promised to restore civilian rule in Nigeria and said he hopes to withdraw all its troops from Sierra Leone by May. In addition, the price of oil, Nigeria's chief source of wealth, is plummeting, slicing at the money needed to help keep Sierra Leone together.

As for Washington, it gave Ecomog \$3.9 million in 1998 for peacekeeping in Sierra Leone. This year, as part of the United States' shrinking total peacekeeping budget in Africa, only \$1.3 is budgeted. No reliable figures exist about the costs incurred by Nigeria, though some diplomats have suggested that they might reach as high as \$1 million a day.

For now, the Nigerians are still in Freetown, a city of ruins that belies the optimism of its name, given when it was settled two centuries ago by freed slaves from Britain and America.

The first university in sub-Saharan Africa was founded here. But now there is only death, despair and devastation. Nigerian forces shell the hilly outskirts of eastern Freetown, where the rebels have fled for now, retreating from their latest offensive, launched Jan. 6, to retake this skeleton of a city.

The latest assault on Freetown followed three months during which the rebels killed and maimed villagers in eastern and northern Sierra Leone. The rebels' actions seemed to be a reaction in part to the public execution in Freetown of 24 soldiers involved in the 1997 coup against Mr. Kabbah and, more important, the death sentence handed out last October to their leader, Foday Sankoh.

Mr. Sankoh, who is appealing the death sentence and is believed to be in jail somewhere in Sierra Leone, founded the Revolutionary United Front in 1991, saying he was disgusted with the mismanagement and corruption of successive civilian Governments.

A cashiered army corporal, Mr. Sankoh directed his guerrillas from the bush. He has been seen in the outside world only a few times and is said to inspire religious devotion among his followers, an unknown number of whom are now fighting on his behalf and demanding his release.

In 1996, Mr. Sankoh signed a peace agreement with Mr. Kabbah, who had been chosen President in what were considered fair elections. The elections followed five years of rule by the military, whose young officers enriched themselves in the country's diamond mines -- tapped since by the Government and the rebels to finance their war efforts.

But the 1996 accord quickly unraveled. The military staged a coup in 1997 and invited the rebels to join them in Freetown in a partnership that lasted until February 1998 when the Nigerians helped restore Mr. Kabbah.

The rebels now trying to topple the President are made up of Mr. Sankoh's group and former members of the military. No one knows exactly how many they are; nor is there a precise number for the Ecomog forces in the country.

Mr. Sankoh's group, consisting of men and boys from rural areas, says it represents disaffected Sierra Leonans against a powerful, small elite in Freetown who exploit and monopolize the country's diamonds.

"We have vast mineral resources and yet we are the poorest country on the face of the planet," said Martin Coker, the special assistant to Sam Bockarie, the rebels' battlefield commander.

Reached in the bush on his satellite phone, Mr. Coker said: "Our people are deprived of basic human rights to health, education, and a better standard of living. It is a noble cause that we have embarked on."

Mr. Coker, who said he lived illegally in the United States for a decade and worked as carpenter in Washington until 1996, denied charges by ordinary Sierra Leonans, the Government, foreign diplomats and international

What War Has Wrought: Sierra Leone's Sad State The New York Times January 31, 1999, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

humanitarian groups that members of his organization had committed atrocities. He blamed instead the militia fighting for the Government.

Septimus Kaikai, the President's spokesman, rejected the rebels' criticisms. "There are no issues for these people," he said. "They do not have a political agenda. They do not have a religious agenda. There's no social agenda. What they're simply doing is simply personal; it's personal aggrandizement, selfishness on their part, just to amass wealth."

The Government -- along with the United States, Britain and Nigeria -- has accused Liberia of helping the rebels in Sierra Leone with arms and men. [REDACTED]

Mr. Taylor has denied his Government's involvement in Sierra Leone, although he has said that Liberian individuals are fighting in the country.

The legacy of the Liberian war -- reflected later in wars in countries like Zaire, now Congo, Rwanda, the Congo Republic and Sierra Leone -- included the widespread use of child soldiers and the notion that unarmed citizens are fair targets. But the influence of Liberia's war may have been greatest on Sierra Leone: [REDACTED] soldiers, rebels and mercenaries from both countries are believed to have fought in each other's wars, easily crossing the porous border between the two countries.

When Sierra Leone's rebels briefly held power, they proved extremely unpopular among residents of Freetown, many of whom lined the streets this month to cheer Nigerian soldiers. After the deaths and mutilation of thousands in the capital during the latest offensive, any reconciliation with the rebels is hard to imagine.

In the city's main sports stadium, where thousands of refugees and hungry gathered, there was no talk of forgiveness.

"We want them to be flushed out of the country," said Abdul Margai, 28, whose house had been set afire by rebels. "Just kill them. We don't want to see them again."

"Just kill them," echoed Emmanuel Dijohn, 25.

On the streets, men, women and children walked in file, staring straight ahead, carrying on their heads bags of rice, branches and other tools to start over again.

"Hello! How are you? Welcome!" a woman cried to a reporter drawn to a small fire burning in the ruins of her house.

A group of boys had burned down the front of her house, leaving only a back portion, which Fatimata Koroma was now cleaning. Mrs. Koroma, 40, said she had fled the fire by jumping over a backyard fence at least two feet above her head.

"Imagine a woman like me jumping this fence and then jumping another fence higher than this one," she said.

"It was fearful," she said. "I would prefer to die than see such things again." Then she returned to cleaning the remains of her house.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photo: After eight years of civil war in Sierra Leone, Freetown, the capital, is a city in ruins. A soldier of the Nigerian-led intervention force checked the bag of a resident on the Main Motor Road. (Agence France-Presse)

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What War Has Wrought: Sierra Leone's Sad State The New York Times January 31, 1999, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

Page 4

Map of Sierra Leone shows location of Freetown: Freetown, Sierra Leone, now belies the optimism of its name.

LOAD-DATE: January 31, 1999

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AAP NEWSFEED

May 10, 1998, Sunday

SECTION: Western Australian Regional; Overseas News

LENGTH: 405 words

HEADLINE: AFR: SIERRA LEONE VILLAGERS TELL OF REBEL ATROCITIES

BYLINE: By Clarence Roy-Macaulay

BODY:

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, May 9 AP - Ousted from power by a West African force loyal to Sierra Leone's president, former junta members hiding in the countryside were wreaking revenge with ethnic killings and maimings.

Aid workers today transported 18 amputees from the northern town of Karina to a hospital in the capital of Freetown after rebel fighters hacked off their hands on Thursday.

The victims said their attackers told them they were being punished because they were from President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah's Madingo tribe. "The rebels told me to use my amputated hands to vote for Tejan Kabbah in the next presidential elections," said Abu Mansaray, maimed Thursday in the northern Bombali district.

Witnesses said another 18 villagers were killed and 30 maimed Friday in similar ambushes by rebels from other ethnic groups.

"A rebel drank the blood of a man murdered in front of us," said one victim, who asked not to be identified, who saw four members of his family killed in the nearby Ndaraya village.

After spending months in exile, Kabbah was restored to power in March after the Nigerian-led West African force known as ECOMOG ended 10 months of rule by fighters loyal to junta leader Lieutenant Colonel Johnny Paul Koroma.

Koroma came to power in a bloody coup last May.

In small villages throughout the country, reports of revenge attacks have intensified.

A private radio station, Radio Mankneh, reported that the northern towns of Karina, Kamabai, Ndaraya and Worodala have been abandoned after attackers killed dozens and torched a number of homes.

Amnesty International yesterday said that it has new evidence of atrocities committed by the retreating rebel forces, including the amputations of one or both arms of at least four villagers in the country's Kono District.

The human rights groups accused the rebel forces, the Revolutionary United Front and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, of brutalising hundreds of civilians.

Eight West African governments have recommended reinforcing the 10,000-member Nigerian-led force, which was trying to disarm rebel and military groups.

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Kabbah has disbanded the army and has asked ECOMOG to train a new national force.

"As long as there are groups of rebels moving about, we will continue to hear about atrocities committed against civilians," presidential spokesman Septimus Kai Kai said today.

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Document 1 of 40 [next](#) ➤

The Usual Suspects

Liberia's Weapons and Mercenaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone

Why it's Still Possible, How it Works and How to Break the Trend

A Report by Global Witness.



Ho Kai Ming

Liberian President
Charles Taylor

Libyan President
Ghannim

Gus Kouwenhoven

Sam Maskell
Brockton

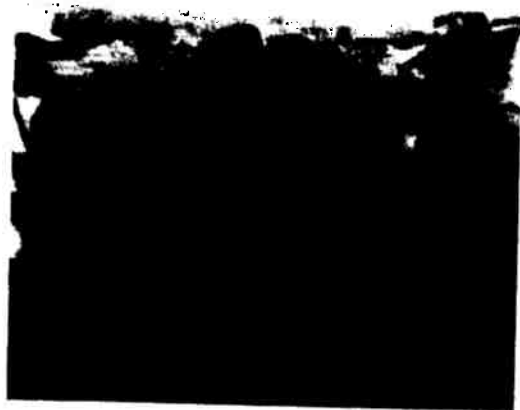
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3 Executive Summary

This report documents the involvement of the Liberian Government in the international markets for illegal arms and mercenaries, and how its access to these outlets has permitted Liberian President Charles Taylor and his associates to launch and maintain a mercenary attack in Côte d'Ivoire, and begin implementing an incursion into Sierra Leone.

In Côte d'Ivoire, President Charles Taylor has used his illegal arms imports and ties to groups of ex-combatants to organise, arm and deploy the two Western Ivorian^b rebel groups: the Popular Movement for the Ivorian Great West (MPIGO)^c and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP)^d. The Liberian Government's aim is to destabilise the current Ivorian Government and install a leader more amenable to the Liberian Government.

In Sierra Leone, the Liberian Government has planned a two-pronged attack, activating cells of well-armed, Liberian paid operatives already within Sierra Leone, which will be joined by an external force of Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) fighters attacking from Liberia. Fearing prosecution for war crimes by the Special Court in Sierra Leone, President Charles Taylor and his closest associates plan to disrupt the Court's proceedings, release ex-RUF leader Foday Sankoh, and regain full access to Sierra Leone's lucrative diamond resources. The Liberian Government's cross-border strategies, combined with the UN's continued withdrawal from Sierra



Members of the Navy Rangers, 2003.

Leone, are setting the stage for regional turmoil.

Liberia's continued access to illegal arms and mercenaries is due to the availability of funds and logistics provided by the Liberian timber industry. The omission of timber sanctions in *Resolution 1343 (2001) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4287th meeting, on 7 March 2001^e* and *Resolution 1408 (2002) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4526th meeting, on 6 May 2002^f* has allowed Liberia to maintain regular imports of arms and cash to pay both its domestic security forces and the mercenaries recruited for Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

The information contained in this report results from extensive Global Witness investigative interviews and research trips conducted across four continents. The key findings are:

- The Liberian Government continues to import illegal weapons on a regular basis, which come primarily from Eastern Europe but transit through Libya, Nigeria, and France. Most weapons are delivered by ship to Buchanan and Harper ports, with shipments coming in two or three times per month. Additional deliveries are made by air to Robertsfield International airport (see *When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003*, page 26). Liberian logging companies remain actively involved in facilitating illegal arms shipments, both for the government's forces within Liberia and for the mercenaries fighting in Côte d'Ivoire. MWPI, based at Harper port, receives weapons at Harper port and ships them to its River Gbeh bush camp, where they are stored for use by the MPIGO and MJP rebels groups (see *Where: Points of Entry for illegal arms*, page 26).
- The Liberian Government is directly involved in the Côte d'Ivoire conflict through its control of the two western Ivorian rebel groups, MPIGO and MJP. President Charles Taylor's goal is to maintain a land-route to Burkina Faso, destabilise the Gbagbo regime, install one more favourable to Liberia, and create an escape route should he be threatened by the situation in Liberia.
- The MPIGO and MJP forces are comprised

^b "Ivorian", when used in this document with regard to MPIGO and MJP, is used to define area of operation and not the nationality of combatants. Approximately 90% of MPIGO and MJP forces are paid mercenaries from Liberia and Sierra Leone.

^c Mouvement Populaire Ivorian du Grand Ouest.

^d Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix.

^e Referred to in the remainder of this document as UNSC Resolution 1343 (2001).

^f Referred to in the remainder of this document as UNSC Resolution 1408 (2002) and available in Annex X.

of 90% Liberian and Sierra Leonean mercenaries, many ex-RUF, which were assembled in Liberia and sent across in the months prior to their initial attack on 28 November 2002, under the command of Cuccoo Dennis and Benjamin Yeaton. President Charles Taylor continues to maintain ties with ex-RUF forces, including Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, who commands 1,000 mercenaries fighting for Taylor in Côte d'Ivoire (see *The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire*, page 29)

- The Liberian Government has begun implementing a plan to destabilise Sierra Leone using cells of ex-RUF, ex-Sierra Leone Army (SLA), and ex-junta⁴ fighters inserted into the country. There are four cells, one based in Freetown, with additional sub-cells within the army and police forces. A second invasion force plans to attack from Liberia near the border with Foya-Kamala. President Charles Taylor's primary goal is to disrupt the functioning of the Special Court, by which he and many close associates expect to be indicted (see *Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone*, page 31). The Liberian Government is delivering small amounts of weapons for these cells into Sierra Leone two or three times per week by small boats.
- The Liberian Government is hiding large sums of embezzled money in bank accounts in Switzerland, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. Liberian deposits in Swiss accounts are more than either Nigeria or South Africa, and are, at a minimum, approximately US\$3.8 billion.
- The Oriental Timber Company and its importer to China, Global Star (Asia) Trading, have been directly linked to the large mainland Chinese timber processor Global Timber Corporation, which has very close ties to the Chinese government. All three, through a complex network of off shore companies and registrations, have a common investor.

The Liberian Government's access to the international arms and mercenary market is largely dependent on the Liberian timber industry, and the financial and logistical support it provides to this end. In order to restrict the Liberian Government's ability to engage in such aggressive, cross-border activities, Global Witness calls upon the United Nations to recognise the facilitative role the timber industry plays with this regard, and impose sanctions on timber exports.

4 Introduction

The illicit trade in arms and the employment of mercenaries is a worldwide problem that is growing. Brokers who deal in illicit weaponry are feeding an insatiable market in impoverished and fragile states, usually to rogue governments and rebel groups, while mercenaries roam from one conflict to another. In the case of Liberia, the arms trade spans from President Charles Taylor, timber companies, shipping agents, and brokers from Eastern Europe and Hong Kong, to facilitators in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Libya. The result is a country and region that is deeply embedded in conflict.

Liberia has been the greatest threat to West African peace and stability for over a decade; its own civil wars spill over into neighbouring countries, and calculated moves by Liberian President Charles Taylor and his associates undermine peace and security in the region for political and economic gain (see *Annex 1: A Regional Analysis*, page 36).

Liberian President Charles Taylor began his National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) rebellion from Côte d'Ivoire in 1989, with the aid of then president Houphouët-Boigny and future president General Robert Guei¹. This fractious civil war eventually claimed more than 250,000 lives and displaced half the country's population², lasting almost a decade. Rebel leader Charles Taylor very quickly began making deals with timber companies to exploit the territory under his control, in exchange for cash and weapons.³ The timber industry was both lucrative financially and helpful logistically, and has become even more so since Charles Taylor became President of Liberia in 1997.

President Charles Taylor was also personally involved in facilitating the Sierra Leone civil war in the 1990s through his support of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels⁴, a group infamous for its use of child soldiers, amputation and mutilation

Targeted Sanctions

"[Targeted sanctions] are directed against significant national decision-makers (political leaders and key supporters or a particular regime) and resources that are essential for their rule" From: *Making Targeted Sanctions Effective: Guidelines for the Implementation of UN Policy Option*, p iii.

⁴ This includes Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), and pro-Taylor militias.

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6 Cast of Characters

This list is comprehensive though not exhaustive. It includes the names behind the logistics and the finances of the arms trade. Sources and further information on the activities of individuals mentioned herein are contained in Parts One and Two of this document.



Courtesy of Global Policy

Charles Taylor – President of Liberia, and former NPFL warlord. Supported the RUF rebels in Sierra Leone during 1990s, and is currently behind the two splinter groups MJP and MPIGO in Côte d'Ivoire,

while planning another destabilisation of Sierra Leone. Imports arms in contravention of UN sanctions, with the aid of timber companies, in which he has large, personal financial stakes.



Courtesy of Agence France Presse

Sam Bockarie (aka Maskita) – Former RUF commander who had been hiding in Burkina Faso until returning to Côte d'Ivoire¹⁶ and Liberia to carry out Charles Taylor's orders. He receives orders from Taylor

through Benjamin Yeaton, and commands approximately 1,000 troops in Côte d'Ivoire.



Courtesy of Al About Liberia

Daniel Chea – Minister of Defence in Liberia and was active in Taylor's NPFL rebel incursion. He set up the Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) and is in charge of its recruitment. He also oversees the remnants of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL).



Courtesy of Al About Liberia

Moussa Cisse – Chief of Protocol for the Executive Mansion. He runs the Mohammed Group of Companies (MGC), which is owned by Mohammed Salané and involved in importing illegal weaponry¹⁷. He is a businessman whose association with Taylor goes back to the NPFL rebel incursion in 1989. His brother, Jebbah Cisse, is the Liberian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and Moussa uses his brother to make contacts there. Moussa Cisse was living in Côte d'Ivoire, where he has been in charge of logistics for the Liberian-backed rebels. He is on the UN travel ban and used to handle the Taylor-Guei connection¹⁸.

Maurice Cooper, Oscar Cooper – Run the

Inland Logging Company (ILC) and were involved in a US\$2.5 million timber deal with Limad AG, a company owned by Leonid Minin who has been linked to Ukrainian organised crime. Maurice is also on the UN travel ban, having been implicated in providing financial or military support to the RUF¹⁹.

Cucuo Dennis (aka Captain Marvel) –

Executive of the Salami Molawi Logging Company (part of the Mohammed Group of Companies), and head of a large militia that has incorporated several of the logging company militias. He is commanding rebel troops in Côte d'Ivoire²⁰, has a history of recruiting and training troops for President Charles Taylor.

Gabriel Doe – Owner and manager of the Cavalla Timber Company (CTC) operating in Grand Gedeh and River Gee Counties. Doe is also a government official and on the UN travel ban. Before the Ivorian conflict started he was sighted in Côte d'Ivoire several times in violation of the UN travel ban.



Courtesy of Al About Liberia

Roland Duo – Head of the National Port Authority²¹, and has direct control over all the security forces in Liberian ports.

George Dwanah (aka Jack the Rebel) –

Oversees Liberian mercenary forces fighting as MPIGO and MJP rebel in Côte d'Ivoire.

Talal El-Ndine – Handles President Charles Taylor's international finances for both diamond and timber deals. He is on the UN travel ban for his role as paymaster of the RUF. His offices are in Monrovia, on 13th street, Sinkor.

Abbas Fawaz – President and chief shareholder of Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI)²² and a close associate of President Charles Taylor. Fawaz helps oversee the importation of weaponry into Liberia through Harper Port, which is under the management of MWPI. He brought weapons in last year that were destined for use by Liberian-backed rebels in Côte d'Ivoire.

Major Andrew Guei (aka Junior) – Affiliated with MPIGO and MJP troops. He is the son of former Ivorian President General Robert Guei. Major Andrew Guei has taken over his father's relationship with President Charles Taylor, who knew Guei from his days as army commander under Houphouet-Boigny's government. When Robert Guei staged a bloodless coup against President Bedie in 1999, Taylor supported him.

General Guei was one of Taylor's key supporters during the rise of the NPFL.

Philip Kibbo – Largely unknown beyond Liberia's borders. He was in the NPFL Special Forces and one of Charles Taylor's numerous business managers since 1990. OTC pays Kibbo, who then pays the ATU.

General Koffee – Head of OTC's militia forces.



Gus Kouwenhoven – Managing Director of the OTC, the largest logging company in Liberia, and runs RTC and other smaller logging companies. He is very close to President Charles Taylor, and an integral player in the illegal arms trade. The OTC currently maintains a militia in excess of 2,500 armed fighters. OTC also manages Buchanan Port, a principal entry point for illegal arms into Liberia.



Courtesy of Liberian Orbit

Grace Minor – Senator and current Senate President Pro-tempore, as well as very close associate of President Charles Taylor²⁴. She opened a bank account for President Charles Taylor in Switzerland in 1993, which is used for hiding embezzled funds.

Aziz Nassour – Lebanese diamond merchant implicated in trading for Al Qaeda via Liberia²⁴. Nassour was involved in the May 2002 shipment of arms from Bulgaria to Liberia. In the past, Nassour would pay for arms that were brought in for Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, a senior RUF rebel.

Sanjivin Ruprah – Arms dealer for Africa, he was involved in logging before the OTC came in, and then turned his focus to diamonds. The Panel of Experts on Liberia cited a transfer of \$500,000 by OTC's parent company in Singapore, Borneo Jaya Pte Ltd to San Air, an arms trafficking company owned by Ruprah. He had an office at the Executive Mansion on the same floor as President Charles Taylor's office.

General Sackie – Mobilised in Bong County for actions in Côte d'Ivoire. He is one of President Charles Taylor's closest operatives through his marriage with Taylor's cousin, Leilan Neufuille Sackie. He is part of the National Bureau of Intelligence (NBI), which deals with state security matters and is known for its brutality.

Fatu Sankoh – Former RUF-leader Foday Sankoh's wife, who is currently in Côte d'Ivoire,

where the RUF had their first bases²⁵. She is reported to be in Côte d'Ivoire with Johnny Paul Koroma's sister, and has been in charge of running ex-RUF and other combatants from there. The RUF were originally based in Danane but were forced out by Ivorian President Gbagbo. Fatu and Koroma's sister remain active in Abidjan, where their primary role is to secure more funds for the RUF and to gain the release of Foday Sankoh. The network that is being set up in Côte d'Ivoire is designed to be at the disposal of President Charles Taylor should he go into exile. Fatu Sankoh is trying to restructure the RUF from the outside, with the help of Bockarie and President Charles Taylor.

William Sumo – Chairman of the Joint Security in the southeast and liaison between the MWPI management and Charles Taylor in Maryland County. Sumo also set up a training base for the rebels in Côte d'Ivoire.

Bob Taylor – President Charles Taylor's brother, who serves on the Board of the Forestry Development Authority (FDA).

Charles Taylor, Jr. (aka Chuckie) – Son of President Charles Taylor and head of ATU. As head of the ATU, he has been implicated in numerous human rights abuses, including summary execution and torture²⁶.

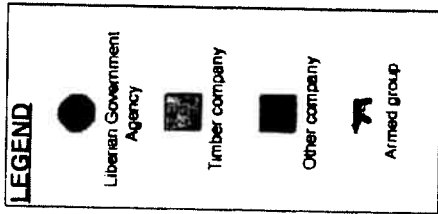
Joe Tuah – Assistant Director of the Special Security Services and personally manages the unloading of weapons upon arrival into port. He is involved in importing illegal weaponry²⁷, as well as commanding troops in Côte d'Ivoire.

Joseph Wong – Executive of the OTC, suspected gunrunner, and alleged son of Global Star (Asia) Group owner. He moved to Liberia at the same time as OTC operations began. He is on the UN travel ban as the UN determined that he was involved in providing financial and military support to armed rebel groups in the region²⁸.



Courtesy of Ali About Liberia

Benjamin Yeaton – President Charles Taylor's most trusted security commander and Military General in charge of operations in Côte d'Ivoire, although he maintains a presence in Liberia. He is involved in importing illegal weaponry²⁹ and serves as the liaison between President Charles Taylor and Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. He has been involved in the deployment of the rebels in Côte d'Ivoire³⁰, and is a senior figure in MPIGO and MJP acting on President Charles Taylor's behalf.



*Liberia's Security Apparatus**

The Liberian government has a large security apparatus, though this number fluctuates as logging company militias are often seconded into various government forces. OTC, for example, has a private militia of 2,500 troops, and is headed by General Koffee while MWPI has 500 troops. Both groups were trained by top ATU officials. Benjamin Yeaton, Director of the Special Security Services (SSS), acts as battle front commander for Liberia. Other commanders such as Roland Duo and Cocoo Dennis command their own troops and also have equal access to Liberia's President. Each of these commanders coordinates with the others but may not necessarily be subjected to the others' instructions.

Armed Forces of Liberia:

Headed by Daniel Chea, Minister of Defence. Largely disbanded since 1996, and replaced by the ATU and other affiliated security services.

Special Operations Division (SOD):

Overseen by Paul Mulbah. Officially part of the Liberian National Police, and made up mainly of ex-NPFL fighters.

Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU):

Commanded by Chuckie Taylor, President Charles Taylor's son. However, a Sierra Leonean called Momo Jibba from Kailahun District was reported to be head of ATU last March 2002. The ATU was created by President Charles Taylor in 1997, is notorious for its brutality, and is President Charles Taylor's most trusted security apparatus. It is comprised of approximately 90% Sierra Leonean ex-RUF combatants.

Navy Rangers

Commanded by Roland Duo, who is head of the National Port Authority and, as such, Chief of Security for all Liberian Ports. The Navy Rangers are a large fighting force, the bulk of whose personnel is comprised of logging company militias. They can be identified by their yellow t-shirts with "Navy Ranger" printed on the front. The group was originally referred to as the Bush Marines.

The Marine Division

Commanded by George Dwanah, aka Jack the Rebel. The Marine Division used to be called the "Strike Force Marines" during the NPFL insurgency. Following Taylor's election in 1997, they were disbanded but have recently being reinstated. They are made up of approximately 6,700 men and are one of the largest militia units. They used to be headed by Melvin Sogbani, who is now Minister of Post and Telecommunications.

Special Security Service (SSS)

Commanded by Benjamin Yeaton, who also acts as head of all militias and field-commander of the war in Liberia. The SSS was created by Taylor in 1997, but is used only rarely, and particularly when foreign diplomats visit.

Delta Force

Commanded by Major Sam Cheplay. They are based in Fasama, in lower Lofa. They comprise 150 troops in total.

Wild Geese

Commanded by Major Sam Cheplay. They are a reconnaissance team of about 75 men, operating in different parts of Lofa.

Man Moving Man Dropping

Commanded by Major General Samuel Varney who is also the Chief of Staff of the AFL. They comprise 300 men and operate on the highway between Lofa and Gbarnga, where Cocoo Dennis heads the operation.

Lofa Defence Force

Commanded by George Dwanah, aka Jack the Rebel. It is made up mainly of child soldiers from Lofa, but the exact size is unknown. Massaquoi used to head the force until his death in 2000, when he was reportedly shot in the back by General Momo Gebah, Aide-de-Camp to Liberian President Charles Taylor, and former head of the ATU.



Part One

Nigeria:

A Nigerian diplomat in Monrovia arranges shipments to Liberia from Nigeria. He currently coordinates the arms transfers between the Nigerian and Liberian Governments. In September 2002, he was staying at the Metropolitan Hotel, Broad Street, Monrovia, in room 308⁶⁹. President Charles Taylor has since arranged a house for him in Congo town.⁷⁰

Significant arms shipments from Nigeria to Liberia are delivered by sea. Arms are first shipped or flown into Nigeria, then transferred in containers to smaller cargo boats, which sail disguised as supplies⁷¹. Arms are also transferred to smaller fishing boats on the high seas to avoid detection⁷². The Nigerian government is also involved in arms-shipments to Sierra Leone for the Liberian Government⁷³ (see Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone, page 31).

Taylor went to Libya in the late 1980s, where he was trained by Libyan leader Colonel Ghaddafi to launch a rebellion against the government of then-Liberian president Samuel Doe. It was through the support of Ghaddafi that Taylor organised his National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL). Taylor had been introduced to Ghaddafi through Blaise Campaore, President of Burkina Faso and who was then an officer in the Burkina Faso army⁷⁴. It was in Libya that Taylor met Ibrahim Bala, the Senegalese soldier of fortune who would become Taylor's main fixer of illegal diamond and arms deals⁷⁵. Today, both Burkina Faso and Libya act as transshipment points for arms destined for Liberia⁷⁶.

The flowchart illustrates the following connections:

- President Charles TAYLOR** (top center) is connected to:
 - Gun running** (top left) via a "For" relationship.
 - Gun running** (top right) via a "For" relationship.
 - Shareholder** (middle right) via a "Shareholder" relationship.
 - Involved in** (middle right) via an "Involved in" relationship.
 - Gun running** (middle right) via an "Involved in" relationship.
 - Works for** (bottom right) via a "Works for" relationship.
- Global Star (Asia) Trading/Sky Success Shipping** (middle left) is connected to:
 - Allegedly involved in** (top left) via an "Allegedly involved in" relationship.
 - Part of** (top left) via a "Part of" relationship.
 - Ships timber to** (bottom left) via a "Ships timber to" relationship.
 - Director** (bottom left) via a "Director" relationship.
 - Ships timber for** (bottom right) via a "Ships timber for" relationship.
- OTC** (middle right) is connected to:
 - Involved in** (top right) via an "Involved in" relationship.
 - Controls account of** (bottom right) via a "Controls account of" relationship.
 - Invests in** (bottom right) via an "Invests in" relationship.
 - Common Investor** (bottom right) via a "Common Investor" relationship.
 - Shareholder** (bottom right) via a "Shareholder" relationship.
- Global Timber Corporation** (bottom left) is connected to:
 - Rep. of** (bottom left) via a "Rep. of" relationship.
 - Extra Mile Investments** (bottom left) via a "Rep. of" relationship.
 - Invests in** (bottom right) via an "Invests in" relationship.
- Common Investor** (bottom right) is connected to:
 - Invests in** (bottom right) via an "Invests in" relationship.
 - Shareholder** (bottom right) via a "Shareholder" relationship.
- Natura Holdings PTE** (bottom right) is connected to:
 - Shareholder** (bottom right) via a "Shareholder" relationship.
- Other entities and relationships:**
 - Djajanti Corporation** (top center) is the "Son of owner" of **Joseph Wong** (middle center).
 - Allegedly involved in** (middle center) is connected to **Gun running** (middle right) via an "Involved in" relationship.
 - Gun running** (top left) is connected to **Gun running** (middle right) via an "Involved in" relationship.

i 2



Timber deal between Chinese government-owned company and Limad AG, owned by arms dealer Leonid Minin. 1999.

Guns (GPMs), sub-machine guns (SMGs), RPGs, as well as BZTs, M-16 rifles and PKM machine guns. The majority of weapons for LURD come from Guinea, some are also taken from the AFL when LURD rebels learn that the AFL has been re-supplied⁶¹.

- The UN Panel of Experts also listed weaponry including hand grenades, automatic and long range rifles and ammunition (see Annex V: List, page 49)

Helicopters:

There are currently four operational helicopters in Liberia, including one owned by OTC. The government has three – two can go from Monrovia up to the Lofa/Foya area without stopping to refuel. One of these is a police helicopter, and marked "Police", the other is marked "ATU 003", and is an M18 helicopter. One of the government's helicopters is painted in camouflage.

Recent reports have mentioned the existence of a helicopter gunship owned by the Liberian Government⁶². This could either be true, explaining the recent increase in imports of heavy-weaponry; or it could be a case of mistaken

identity, confusing it with one of the helicopters mentioned above that does in fact exist with a Multi-Purpose Machine Gun (MPMG)⁶³ mounted onto it. OTC currently has a small M12 helicopter, based at Gus Kouwenhoven's Hotel Africa compound in Monrovia. It is used to fly supplies up to the Lofa/Foya area. Ukrainian pilots who fly the helicopters stay in Hotel Komoma on 24th street in Sinkor. The Komoma Hotel is owned by Ms Kadiatu Diarra, one of President Charles Taylor's business managers⁶⁴.



Members of Navy Rangers, including child soldiers, using illegally imported weapons. 2003.

A Failed Audit

In UN Resolution 1408 (2002) the Security Council, highlighting concerns over the misappropriation of revenue from the logging industry and shipping and corporate registries, called upon the Liberian government "to take urgent steps, including through the establishment of transparent and internationally verifiable audit regimes, to ensure that revenue derived by the Government of Liberia from the Liberian Shipping Registry and the Liberian timber industry is used for legitimate social, humanitarian and development purposes, and is not used in violation of this resolution". The Government of Liberia was ordered to respond within three months, by 7 August 2002.

What has ensued is a year of stalling and attempts to pass off substandard submissions to the Council as compliance. The Government of Liberia did not respond to the initial demand until mid September, and that submission was unanimously dismissed by the Security Council as unacceptable²⁷. In response, the government of Liberia offered up a tender to international auditing firms to do the work, and very quickly chose Deloitte & Touche's Ghana office²⁸.

However, the deal was rife with conflicts of interest, raising legitimate doubts about the accuracy and validity of any end product. First, the Liberian government chose the small Ghanaian country office of Deloitte & Touche, to be staffed by an audit team of mainly Liberians and Ghanaians. Moreover, while Deloitte & Touche Ghana was to act as official auditor, and thus bring the international credibility the Liberian government desired, the real auditing work was in fact sub-contracted to a small, Monrovia-based firm called Voscon, which is personally owned by the Deloitte team's lead auditor, a Liberian named George Fonderson²⁹. Moreover, the draft terms of reference were chiefly a systems audit of procedures, and not a retrospective review of funds received and/or missing³⁰.

In response, Global Witness and others expressed their concerns to the parent company Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu over a period of months from October 2002³¹. Eventually, on 13 December, Global Witness received word from Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu CEO James Copeland that the contract had been terminated with immediate effect, thus ending another attempt by the Liberian government to deceive the Security Council and international community. No other reputable auditing firm has signed an agreement with the Government of Liberia to perform the audit, although according to the Secretary-General's report from February 2003, "Viscon" is proceeding with implementation of temporary measures³².

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10 When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003



The importation of weapons to Liberia is frequent and regular. The mode of transport is mainly by sea and by air. Imports by air are flown into Robertsfield International Airport (RIA) usually in the early hours of the morning before sunrise to avoid attracting attention. Imports by ship happen on average of 2-3 times per month and depend on the timber industry. The following list of shipments of arms came to Liberia in 2002 and 2003, and is not exhaustive.

- On 16 February, an arms shipment aboard a Boeing 707 left Kinshasa in DR Congo at 07:40 hours, arriving at Robertfield at 1921 hours⁴⁵.
- On 05 February 2003, an Antonov aircraft departed Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso at 0358 hours, eventually arriving at Robertsfield at 00:32 on 06 February 2003, with a consignment of weapons⁴⁶.
- On the 19 December 2002, the MV Posen brought illicit arms to Harper Port for the use of the MPIGO and MJP rebels in Côte d'Ivoire. It unloaded 19 camouflaged trucks; all had sealed containers on board loaded with arms and ammunitions⁴⁷.
- In October and December 2002, the Liberian coastguard gunboat VB2, also called 467 by local security forces, made regular trips to Harper under the pretence of bringing food supplies for forces in the southeast. Following a tip off, Global Witness investigators began to closely monitor activities in the port while the vessel was docked there. It was discovered that the vessel was there to transfer arms and ammunitions from a vessel stationed at high seas. Several containers carrying arms and ammunitions were delivered by the gun boat to the Harper port and then temporarily housed in the MWPI warehouse before being transferred to the MWPI bush camp at River Gbeh for storage. River Gbeh now serves as the nerve centre for the operations of the rebel groups⁴⁸.
- As mentioned above, in September 2002 food aid was given to Liberia from Libya. Global Witness investigations have found that the consignment of rice in fact accompanied a weapons shipment from

Libya. The vessel was docked at Buchanan port for two weeks⁴⁹.

- In July 2002, there was a 15-ton weapons shipment that was organised in the same way and by the same people as the shipment in May. Most of the cargo was ammunition, shipped in containers painted navy blue and grey. Upon docking, the containers were loaded by ATU members onto commercial trucks and driven to Gbarnga via Zwedru for use in Lofa. As in May, Joe Tuah oversaw the offloading of weapons⁵⁰.
- In May 2002 a 30-ton weapons-shipment was sent from Bulgaria via Nice on the Arktis Fighter, a logging ship. Logistics were handled in Nice by a French arms broker. OTC provided the vessel, and the shipment was unloaded at Harper port, managed by Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI), with the offloading overseen by Joe Tuah and staffed by ATU members. The broker has been involved in shipping weapons from Bulgaria to Liberia since 1991 and has strong ties in both countries. He stopped shipping weapons in 1998, and the May 2002 shipment marked his return as a supplier to Liberia. Aziz Nassour paid for the shipment, which consisted mainly of AK47s and RPGs and GLOCK machine guns that were given to President Charles Taylor's top commanders, including Benjamin Yeaton⁵¹.

11 Where: Points of Entry for illegal arms

The imports of weapons come by air, land and sea. Robertsfield International Airport (RIA) is the primary point of import for weapons shipped by air. Weapons imported by land used to enter via Man and Danane in Côte d'Ivoire, however, with the change in regime from Guei to Gbagbo, and given the present hostilities, the overland route is not used as often. Liberia has four major seaports. They are the Buchanan Port, operated by the OTC; Harper Port, run by the MWPI; Greenville Port, run by ILC; and the Freeport of Monrovia. When an arms shipment is made, port-security is heightened and overseen by Joe Tuah, Assistant Director of the Special Security Service (SSS), while Roland Duo, head of all port security, handles security logistics. When weapons shipments arrive receipts are made

that have neither stamps nor signatures⁹². After weapons are unloaded they are stored near the ports in Buchanan and Harper before being moved to Monrovia, Gbarnga or other destinations⁹³.

While weapons continue to come into Buchanan port, imports to Harper Port have increased. The following are details of the logistics of imports by sea.

Buchanan Port: As this port remains under the management of the OTC, so are the logistics of illicit arms imports into this location. This port has been the primary location for arms imports by sea and is overseen by Gus Kouwenhoven.

Harper Port: Remains under the management of MWPI. Weapons are entering this port with increasing regularity. The management and logistics are conducted by MWPI on behalf of OTC, which arranges the actual arms deals. Upon arrival, General William Sumo handles the local logistical aspects of supervising offloading, temporary storage in the MWPI warehouse, and onward land transport to River Gbeh from where the arms are transported to other parts of Liberia and into Côte d'Ivoire for the use by the MPIGO and MJP rebel groups (see The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire, page 29).

12 Why: Liberia's appetite for weapons

President Taylor continues to import arms because he constantly needs to fuel his expanding involvement in the region's instabilities. The more widespread his involvement, the more crucial his weapons-re-supplies via logging ships and airplanes become. Taylor effectively leverages the lucrative logging concessions that he controls as head of state, to ensure logging companies provide not only a steady supply of illicit weapons and militia fighters to fuel his regional ambitions, but also supply money with which to finance his military operations and his own corruption. His use of logging ships by which to import arms is also a convenience, as the ships are tied to the logging industry and thus their regular arrival and departure does not raise much notice. As mentioned previously, it is extremely difficult to track the route of ships internationally should one wish to investigate.

The institutionalised structures that make the arms trade with Liberia possible have sustained conflict in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, threatened peace in Sierra Leone and perpetuated the build-up of Liberian mercenaries in the region.



Navy Rangers and other pro-Liberian Government fighters, 2003.

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PARTTWO: Rebels without a Cause: Liberian Government Mercenaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone

Part Two

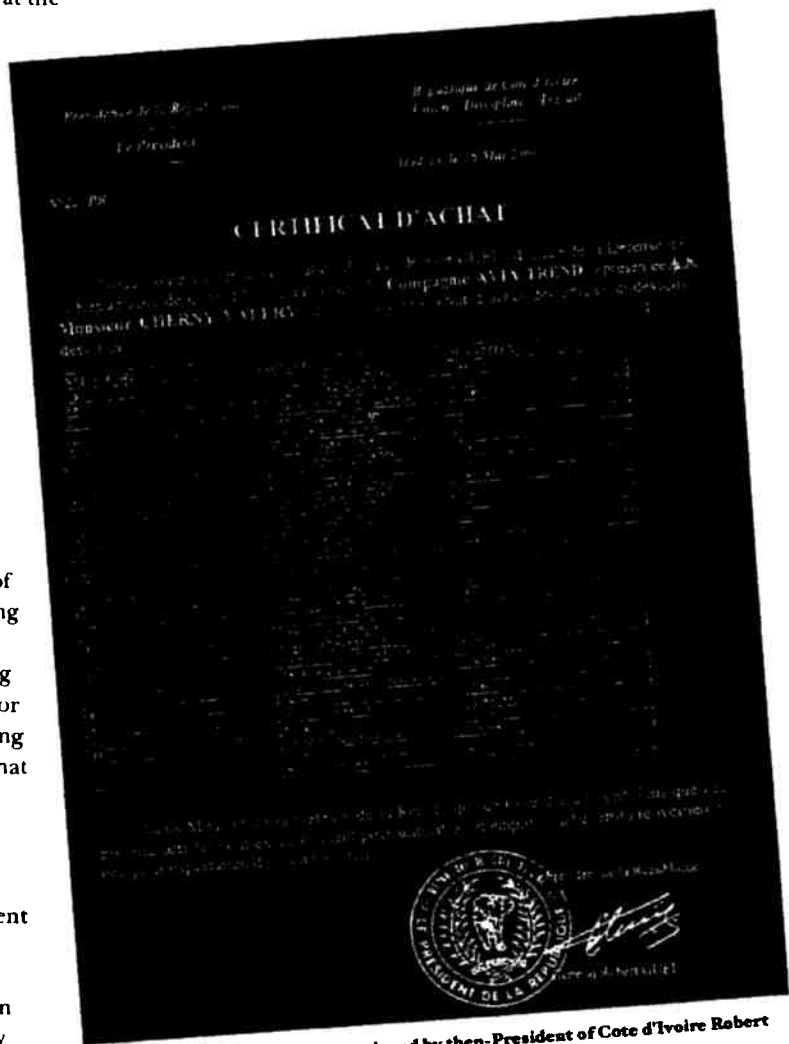
The region encompassing Sierra Leone, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia is one of the most problematic and violent in the world, and at the core of this is the Liberian Government. The international community has placed sanctions on Liberia for its role in fuelling regional conflict. However, these sanctions have not been comprehensive enough and have not contributed to lasting peace in the region.

Liberian President Charles Taylor continues to finance the training of militias and continued import of illegal arms and ammunition. In essence, the Security Council's failure to sanction timber has allowed for the continuation of cross-border activities and regional destabilisation led by Liberia's government and the build-up of forces.

The Liberian Government has a strong security apparatus, many of the members of which have been designated for the ongoing insurgency in Côte d'Ivoire and planned destabilisation of Sierra Leone (see *Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone*, page 31). The fact that logging companies have their own militias means that the number of fighters available to the government increases significantly. The Oriental Timber Company (OTC), for example, has a force of 2,500 militiamen⁹⁴, many of whom are absorbed into government security groups, such as the ATU, when required⁹⁵.

A significant contingent of Sierra Leonean ATU and other militia forces were ordered by Benjamin Yeaton to report to Camp Base in Gbarnga for a military briefing⁹⁶. The meeting,

held on 17 October 2002, was led by Sam "Maskita" Bockarie who briefed those assembled about the operations designed for both Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. Approximately 2,000 men were designated to fight, split equally between the operations in both countries. The group destined for Côte d'Ivoire was to return, upon successful completion of their aims, to reinforce the troops designated for Sierra Leone⁹⁷. This section details the actions planned for both countries.



Arms list found on Leonid Minin, signed by then-President of Côte d'Ivoire Robert Guéi, 2000.

President Charles Taylor and his days at NPFL

With Libyan, Burkinabé and Ivorian support, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) massed its troops in Côte d'Ivoire, and entered Liberia on Christmas Eve 1989. The ensuing civil war, which saw the involvement of ECOMOG forces and various rebel groups, was marked by its excesses of human rights abuses committed by all sides, with particularly brutal tactics employed by the NPFL. The war ended officially with the signing of a peace accord on August 19, 1995 and the creation of an interim government. In July 1997, Charles Taylor was elected as head of state.⁴³

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or plane in Sierra Leone. It was thought the ensuing security concerns would disrupt the functioning of the Special Court; however, the plan was never carried out¹²⁷.

President Charles Taylor's interest in Sierra Leone is also economic. President Charles Taylor has been closely planning the resurgence of the RUF and illicit diamond deals with Foday Sankoh's wife, Fatu Sankoh, who is currently in Côte d'Ivoire¹²⁸. In September 2002, Global Witness investigations uncovered that Fatu Sankoh had been trying to set up a meeting with President Charles Taylor and Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. Bockarie was allegedly hesitant to meet because of misgivings he had towards Fatu Sankoh¹²⁹. This meeting reportedly took place in August in Burkina Faso. Present were the wives of President Charles Taylor and Fatu Sankoh and Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. The meeting mandated Sam "Maskita" Bockarie to conduct work between Burkina Faso and eastern Sierra Leone¹³⁰.

14.1 Tapping old sources: Liberia's Recruitment and Deployment of soldiers in Sierra Leone

President Charles Taylor maintains close ties with people with whom he navigated the rise of the RUF and with whom he plotted his own violent rise to power. When the RUF was disbanded, President Charles Taylor absorbed a sizeable amount of Sierra Leonean ex-RUF, ex-SLA and ex-AFRC military into his own security forces, most notably into the ATU. These forces now provide

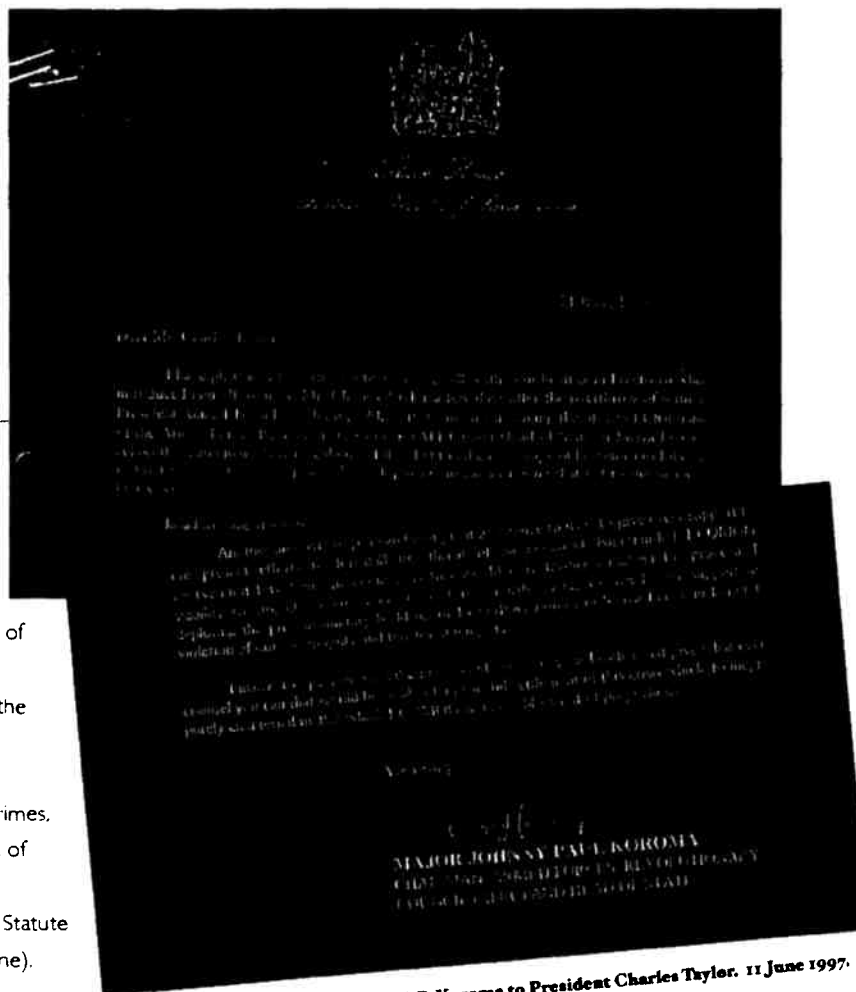
The official position of any accused persons, whether as Head of State or Government or as a responsible government official, shall not relieve such person of criminal responsibility nor mitigate punishment (from the Statute of the Special Court of Sierra Leone).

Taylor with troops who have invaluable knowledge of Sierra Leonean terrain and also contacts in Sierra Leone. Given the fears of Taylor and his entourage about indictment by the Special Court for war crimes, the Liberian Government plans to destabilise Sierra Leone starting from two points, the capital Freetown and from the border between Liberia and Sierra Leone:

- On 17 October 2002 troops were amassed in Liberia for destabilisation attempts in Sierra Leone. They were gathered at Gbarnga and briefed by Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. They were to enter Sierra Leone at Koindu and Bomaru in Kailahun district when called upon to do so¹³². These troops would then

The Special Court

The Special Court shall have the power to prosecute persons who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law committed in the territory of Sierra Leone since 30 November 1996, including those leaders who, in committing such crimes, have threatened the establishment of and implementation of the peace process in Sierra Leone (from the Statute of the Special Court of Sierra Leone).



Letter from AFRC leader J.P. Koroma to President Charles Taylor. 11 June 1997.

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New Democrat Weekly Tuesday February 23-Thursday February 25, 1999 Page 3

CTION THIS WEEK

Demolition Exercise Suspended



ght with shop owners

Since the exercise began, complaints have poured into our offices alleging mistreatment and maltreatment of victims by police officers conducting the exercise. Many of these people are well meaning people who once cared and cared for their families well enough but are now unable to do so owing to the effects of the devastating 7 year long civil conflict," the JPC noted in its February 19, 1999 situation report.

The Catholic Commission said against the backdrop of very high unemployment, a virtually stagnant and depressed economy and the complete absence of a social safety net to cushion the resultant effects of the

demolition exercise, indications are that the exercise is causing more harm than good as it is leaving many, particularly low income earning families in distress.

Besides, the Commission pointed out that a research it has conducted reveals that the demolition exercise is being carried out without any significant input by the Ministry of Public Works. The Ministry is charged with the responsibility to enforce zoning regulations in the city of Monrovia, which is done within the framework of the Zoning Act Chapter 4 sub section 4.1 of the Zoning Act entitled Exceptions and Exemptions, says the Zoning Council may issue a permit to anyone wishing to erect certain prescribed structures within residential or business districts. Regrettably, "the Commission notes that the demolition of structures without first determining whether these structures were erected without proper authority or without doing same properly through the courts is the wrong way to proceed as it violates the rights of victims, most of whom are poor and lack the wherewithal, both political and economic, to secure adequate and proper redress before the law.

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Democrat Weekly
Every Tuesday &
Thursday**

Liberia May Face Sanctions

everything in its power to discourage and to bring to justice those found guilty of involvement in Sierra Leone.

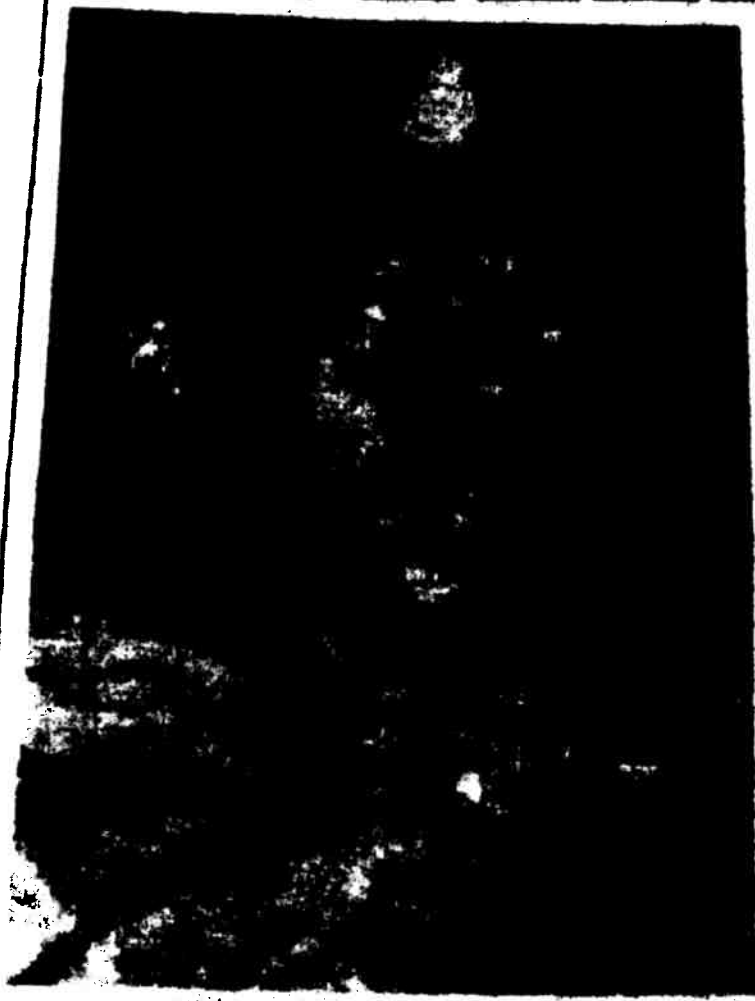
On Liberia's relations with her neighbors, the JPC said the current chill in relations between Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria, which stemmed from the situation in Sierra Leone does not augur well for sustained peace and stability in Liberia and the sub-region.

Besides, the JPC said utterances from various government officials on the matter has only confused the situation even more and has tended to lend credence to the accusations currently being levied against Liberia in the international media. The human rights organization noted that in the face of the prevailing situation, "our country could face isolation in the international community if rapid progress is not made in the restoration of normal relations with Sierra Leone and other countries in the sub-region." In addition, the organization called on the government to take the lead in efforts to restore peace and normalcy to Sierra Leone.

It can be recalled that when the RUF/AFRC Junta rebels under the command of Sam Bockarie, alias "General Mosquito," launched an ill-fated military onslaught to seize power in Sierra Leone last December, relations between Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria turned sour as the two countries who played a pivotal role in ending the Liberia civil crisis, accused the Government of Liberia of allegedly supporting the rebel forces, an allegation Liberia continues to deny.

IN SIERRA LEONE

OVER 300 LIBERIAN FIGHTERS KILLED



Reports monitored from the international wire by the National Chronicle Newspaper yesterday have said that over 300 Liberian fighters have been killed by the RUF/AFRC rebel forces in Sierra Leone.

According to the reports, the Liberians had been fighting alongside the RUF/AFRC rebels against the combined forces of the Sierra Leonean Government and the West African Peacekeeping Force, ECOMOG.

The more than 300 Liberians were reportedly rounded up and slaughtered by the Sierra Leonean rebels in Sagbwema in the Eastern District of Kailahun. The RUF/AFRC forces are said to be blaming their Liberian counterparts for the mass death of some of their men by ECOMOG during the battle for the capture of Freetown in January this year.

The reports said that as a result of the killing of the Liberians, the RUF/AFRC rebels and the remaining Liberian mercenaries have

For a country from war with violence, gross abuses and war institutions, edifies of deeper respect for the rule of law independent first and foremost.

This was the visiting Secy the Independent of Jurists, w his keynote Tuesday d opening o training Magistrates the Temp Monrovia.

President Taylor is from common in a cru He is Liberian ground our w there help

gave the the 199 Sup loc ck le er th

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NATIONAL GAZETTE THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1990 PAGE 6

SAWYER

confirmed in its 1988 report to the Administrative Board of the First United Methodist Church on Ashmun Street. The report carries the signatures of Letraide Brewer, chairperson, John Hama, secretary and Stephen Dweb, treasurer.

When contacted at his Manba Point residence to get his side of the story, our reporter was told by his personal security that he has left the country since three weeks now. When asked to

his year plan of action. Having patiently calmed the weepers during a brief reception at his then office, Senator Brumskine was finally seen vacating the ground of the Capitol and did not return to Senecum.

Meanwhile, Montserrat County Senior Senator Grace Beatrice Minor lauded Senator Brumskine for resigning his post as a gentleman, reports J.T. Hammon.

**FINANCE
RACE**

also happy because he succeeded in building a strong foundation for accountability and transparency at the Finance Ministry. He promised to always make himself available when ever he is called upon.

**SENATE
HOLDS**

to fill the vacancy

The Senate later voted on this motion with 17 for, 1 against and 1 abstention. The President of the Senate, Vice President Enoch Dogboe then mandated the Secretary of the

letter from the Mission until today.

**300
LIBERIANS**

fallen apart.

In a related development, the President elect of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo has assured the Sierra Leonean Government that his administration will continue to support ECOMOG's military operations in that country in the interest of lasting peace in the West African sub-region.

...the need for
criticism, strong
advice, which
efforts to restore
trust and confidence
people in the hands
of government.
...make the
responsible...

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Monrovia Daily News

VOL. 3 P. 32. THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1994

MONROVIA, LIBERIA PRICE \$1.00

Following Sheriff's defeat:

ULIMO contemplates replacing Ziah

Hours after the five-man State Council elected its officials at the United Nations Riverview Compound in Monrovia, there are reports that the ULIMO High Command is contemplating to replace one of its representatives, Mr. Thomas Ziah, who was recently elected vice chairman of the Council.

It is not reports say that readily known who ULIMO has decided will succeed Mr. Ziah to take the stance. Ziah is ULIMO because the latter movement has decision. However, allegedly lost

confidence in Mr. Ziah, for what was reported as a dubious role during the past

In Rivercess Co.: NPFL burns 200 alive

Over 200 people were last Thursday burned alive when fighters of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) set a town ablaze in Rivercess County.

Dorsey Town is said to have come under attack at mid-night while its residents were at sleep.

The town was reportedly used as one of the bases of the Liberia

armed operations. Both Monday and Tuesday

Mr. Ziah, ULIMO representative in the Council, is

During the past week, however, the Council has decided that Monday to contest the chairmanship of the Council which had been held for some weeks as a result

UNOMIL deploys in Maryland Co.

The United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) have been deployed in Harper, Maryland County.

According to a UNOMIL release, the team was received with enthusiasm by the citizens of the county and surrounding towns



Gen. Opende

and villages. Recently, the Chief Military Officer (CMO) of UNOMIL visited Gbarnga, Yekope, Lompato, Ganta, Sanjequille, Butuo, Tappito, among others. In Gbarnga and

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Ecumenical Women's Organization will be observing the World Day of Prayer on March 4th at 2:00 P.M. at Trinity Cathedral on Broad Street. All Church Women are asked to be in attendance. Dress for the occasion is white.

Signed: J. Ekba-Davidson

Secretary

Approved: Eva Jorkey

President

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38	58	42	29	71

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1993 MONROVIA, LIBERIA PRICE \$5.00

BARRINGA UPSIDE DOWN

Fighters on Looting Spree

By: Augustus Nimley & James S. King

Reports from Gbarnga, the central base of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) say the city is in a complete state of confusion as fighters of the NPFL have gone on a looting spree.

The source further explained that displaced civilians in Gbarnga and other areas are in severe need of food. "This is

1,140 Combatants Infected - says NRC Boss

By Augustus Nimley
The Executive Director of the National Re-Adjustment Commission, Mr. D. Karm Carter has

disclosed in Monrovia that 9.5% or 1,140 of 60,000 combatants in the country are carriers of sexually transmitted

PUL Press Club Announces 1st Anniversary

The Press Club of the PUL has announced the first anniversary of the Edward Wilent Blyden Forum this Saturday, September 3rd.

The Blyden Forum was launched last September 3rd, following the reactivation of the Press Club of the PUL, which was dormant prior to the Liberian civil conflict.

A PUL release yesterday said, since the launching of the Forum, the Press Club has organized 13 sessions, including two special sessions, with one commemorating the 29th anniversary of the PUL and the other with a political professor from the University of New Orleans who addressed the forum on the Topic: THE POLITICS OF ETHNICITY AND GENDER.

However, the 14th

session of the forum which is expected to be held today, has been called off due to the ongoing Liberia National Conference and the proposed 30th

OLD FOLKS ON FOOD

By James S. King
Despite the double Special Emergency for the Elderly that it has reduced rations for displaced and interviewed recipients of this paper at the Ministry of Health (MCH) George Taw expressed dissatisfaction with food rations.

The elderly said that they are only getting one spoon per day, while some blood (CM) is not even given



Sam Van Kleeberg
PUL Proxy

anniversary program of the PUL. Moreover, the release said, the forum will play a major role in the 30th anniversary program which

Charles Taylor
fighters have again
on the rampage with
one in control of the
source revealed that
fighters have looted
vehicles from the
World Service
several other vehicles
Medicine San
(Holland), and
relief organizations
in the NPFL
aid workers told The
that the NPFL
Charles Taylor

Fighters

cont'd from page 1

evident by the huge pile of sugarcane dirt in the streets".

The sugar cane dirt, the aid workers explained, can be compared to the experience at Fendell during the height of the war. "It may be true that some people are saying that things are alright with them; these are people who can afford to make ends meet, but not the displaced majority", the source added.

The state of confusion in Gbarnga comes amidst reports that the city which is the seat of the NPFL, is being besieged by the rival Liberia Peace Council (LPC) and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO).

In another development, the former Defense Spokesman of the NPFL, now Labour Minister in the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG), Mr. Jucenas Thomas Woewiyu has accused the NPFL leader, Mr. Charles Taylor of the death of General Nixon Gbye.

Mr. Woewiyu in a press conference last Wednesday at his Camp Johnson Road office, told reporters that Mr. Taylor had earlier ordered the late Gbye to stop the fighting and that Gbye was killed in the process.

Airport (RIA), Unification Town, Harbel and Monrovia.

Minister Woewiyu said that when the late Gbye refused the order on grounds that his men had told him that they were tired of fighting, Mr. Taylor ordered his bodyguards, led by General Domingo, to move on Nixon's base and carry him either dead or alive to Gbarnga.

Mr. Woewiyu said when General Domingo and his men arrived at Nixon's base, they met him (Gbye) briefing his men. Mr. Woewiyu said General Domingo and his men then opened fire on Gbye, wounding him in the stomach.

He further disclosed that Mr. Taylor's bodyguards later took Gbye to Gbarnga under the cover that they were rushing him to the Phoebe hospital, since the shooting was an accident.

Meanwhile, the Central Revolutionary Committee (CRC) of the NPFL, of which Mr. Woewiyu is a member, has condemned and denounced the death of Nixon Gbye as "inhuman, cruel and unjust".

He said the CRC is determined to bring the perpetrators of the crime to justice and to ensure that the death of Nixon Gbye is not in vain.

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VOL. 4 NO. 6

\$ 5.00

AS FIGHTING CONTINUES IN R'CESS

3 CIVILIANS KILLED, OTHERS WOUNDED IN AMBUSH

CHINESE
FEARED DEAD

By Gibson M. Lewis
The National Grand Banks

Three of the National Patriotic Front reportedly ambushed several Chinese fleeing from the R'cess in Buchanan, killing three and wounding others.

Three of those reportedly killed included the Chinese of the National Patriotic Front, who was attempting to escape NPFL fighters in District No. 10 around the Liber-

ian Agricultural Company (LAC) area.

According to some of those who survived the ambush and reached Buchanan safely, the NPFL fighters had barred them from leaving the

area. They were then killed or wounded. The Chinese were then killed or wounded.

Chinese themselves were killed or wounded. The Chinese were then killed or wounded.

Chinese themselves were killed or wounded. The Chinese were then killed or wounded.

'Ethnic Politics Gains Momentum'

The National Patriotic Front (NPFL) has reportedly been fighting in the R'cess area. The Chinese were then killed or wounded.

The National Patriotic Front (NPFL) has reportedly been fighting in the R'cess area. The Chinese were then killed or wounded.

The National Patriotic Front (NPFL) has reportedly been fighting in the R'cess area. The Chinese were then killed or wounded.

R'cess citizens send out SOS

Citizens of Rivercess County residing in Monrovia have sounded an SOS call to the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) and the

International community to rescue their fellow countrymen who are now dying at the hands of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia and Liberia

Peace Council. The citizens of Rivercess County are now dying at the hands of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia and Liberia



INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

ACCESS CITIZENS

C. Sawyer, by
Divergent Repre-
sentative Francis
Johnson, the
citizens said
currently the
fighters are
killing civilians
indiscriminately
and burning
towns.

LIBERIAN STUDENTS

BERIAN STODOL
cont'd from back page

that, "I am here to see to it that I get the realities on the ground so that when I return, I will be able to explain to them my findings."

Mr. Mangunah said, "already I have met with some officials of ULIMO and NPFL and even IGAD, but my main concern now is to meet the leaders; by this week and next week."

JUSTICE TAKEN TO COURT

cont'd from back page

store, broke into
the store and
took away the
generator and
gave it to
Washington. He.

During a preliminary hearing, the court had advised the Ministry not to enter the Plaintiff's premises to remove the generator, but the Ministry issued orders to its officers to break into the store to take away the generator.

Ministry having
lied to conduct
investiga-
ns, sent sub-
police offi-
s to the Le-
use man's

Mr. Kassis is being represented in court by Counselor Isaac Miles, but when this paper contacted the latter about the case, he declined to comment and referred our reporter to the court for more information.

NPFL

Another mass killing was also reported in lower Riverness County involving a foreign national when fighting broke out between NPFL and LFC forces.

The displaced all of whom refused to give their names disclosed that the immigrants the Methodist Church in Boston saw some short time before the sailing of the ship that the British were not only not doing the others identified as this, and some Harris was still dead in Southampton town.

205

"Sometimes we will be in the house, then the LPC people will yell that rats are coming and in few seconds we will have shooting. We will look over the fighters and keep saying 'Oh, and that's shooting at anybody.' They said."



TWO YEARS AGO,
LARRY BRENNAN C
DIED LIKE TWO MEN
ON, BUT THIS
WITH SOMEONE WHO
TO THE AND MORE.
THEY WERE MAN
STILL. BROTHER,
LAURENCE. WARRIOR

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VOL. 8 No. 14

Friday, February, 9, 1900

920.00

Friday, February, 8, 1968 920.00

SECURITY BRUTALITY HITS SENATE

100-443887-100

Justice William C. Cullen, William Vanhook and Police
 Officer Joseph E. Tamm, Jr., have been cited to appear
 before the Education Committee Monday for an investigation
 into the alleged slippage of printed articles by
 government couriers.

The country has been better educated and politically aware of its own needs and the needs of the world. It is a better country than it was 10 years ago.

The British union cannot be

the value of a lawsuit against
Hill before it is Thursday.
primary by Sand County
Senator Mohammed Dahdouh, of
the alleged brutal attack on the
car, hospitalized and driver on
February 1. By a police officer
identified as Capt. Kallinger
with Badge # 324 on Spruce
Street.

The Senate viewed the action of Capt. Kuchner as a complete violation of its constitutional rights and also a complete invasion of the Liberty Foundation and further called for disciplinary action to be taken against the police officer. State County Senator

cont'd on page 6

cont'd on page 6

Taylor Makes Judicial, Security Appointments

...Sacks Some

The President Dr. Charles
Ginsbury Taylor has made
additional judicial
appointments in government
pending confirmation by the
Libertarian Senate.

Those appointed are Joseph Poyall, magistrate, Meigsville City Court, Peter T. H. Cleveland, magistrate, West Point Magistrates Court, Mainland, W. Johnson, magistrate, Beaverville Magistrate Court, Joseph Fourth, associate magistrate, West Point, and Magistrate Court, Mainland 5, West Point.

County, Michigan, Michigan
 Jay Court and Joseph E.
 Whelan, assistant register.
 Catherine Margaret Court

**President Carter**

Meanwhile, President Taylor has dismissed with immediate effect, those judicial personnel for acts not portraying the credibility and integrity of the Judiciary. Those dismissed are Edwin Kahn, a long-seniority const'd on page 6

LCS Issues Statement on Dr. Leone Crisis

The Latvian Council of Churches (LCC) is calling on Latvian mercenaries fighting alongside parties of the South African war to return home and contribute to the national reconstruction parties of the South African war to



President **Karlson**

return loans and contribute
to the national
reconstruction program.
WRITES BILL K.
JASKOL

SARKISIAN. According to a statement transmitted to the Senate Liaison Council of Churches under the signature of LCC President, Bishop William Nash Dixon, the LCC welcomes the recent move by the President Pro Tempore of the Libertarian Senate making a legislative assembly of Libertarian conservatives in action elsewhere will be encouraged.

The LOC wishes and hopes that this serve by Senator Charles Brannan

Bond Lawmaker Clarifies Vandalism Report

House Minority Representative Claude Johnson has clarified that he did order the condemnation of the T and M. Fugate Company premises in Santa Maria as was reported in the February 3, 1966, edition of this paper.

Monday, the
classification yesterday when he
said the full report would not be

following together names that after
receiving information from
some of the witnesses about the
behavior of one of the actors.

he drove to Tabernash, and upon returning from the police there, he was informed that there were no charges against

cont'd on page 6

reason Trials

Treason Trials

Witness Testifies for 4hrs

Leonard Raven's testimony in the previous trial did not

Today marks the fourth
cont'd on page 3

By Bill K. Jarkob

1. 凡属本局管辖之案件，均由本局负责处理。

**INSIDE
TODAY**

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The Washington Post, Friday, February 3, 1989 PAGE 6

LCC Issues Statement

cont'd from front page

will vote the support which
transmission as "it is a right
step in the right
direction."

By this step, the LCC
statement pointed out that
the peace loving people of
Liberia will not only be

removed, but will also help
to restore international
recognition on Liberia, a
country of war weary
people.

The LCC also called on
the Liberian Government to
urgently heed the advice
of Senator Beahman that

Liberian Ambassador in
opposition to Sierra Leone
to help salvage the war
relationship between Liberia
and Sierra Leone.

"We share in the grief,
sorrow and anguish of the
peace-loving people of
Liberia," the statement
overlaid saying that the LCC

is disturbed about the
situation in Sierra Leone
and the persistent
assertion that the Liberian
Government supports the
Sierra Leonean war, has
seriously damaged the
image of Liberia in the
international community.
The government has always

C. C. Pennock Holds

...old from front page

At present, there is no

should the situation.
The LCC statement was
attended to a letter by LCC
Secretary General, Rev.
Preston C. Smith
addressed to the Secretary

Good Government

Some Executive Committee.
It is not known what the
theme of the guest speech will
be. It is expected that the will
speak on how Good
Government could be achieved

...old from front page

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Libert
of Up



SCAM AT POST OFFICE

The government has announced that it has received information that a scam is being carried out at the post office. The scam involves the use of false information to obtain money from the post office. The government has warned that anyone who is involved in this scam will be prosecuted.

DR Congo
Apologizes
Libert

Taiwan Of
Nations

U.S. Embassy Shooting Incident: GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES REGRETS Maintains Stance on U.S.S. Chinook

By Y. Myahoh Parkes
Following a diplomatic protest by the U.S. Government over the shooting incident at its embassy grounds in Monrovia, Liberia, the Liberian government has finally acknowledged receipt of an October 5th diplomatic note and has subsequently expressed regrets. The government averred that it did not mention any firing at the U.S. Embassy or at American citizens.

The government's comment was contained in a MICAT release issued yesterday which also stated that it has informed the United States government of having conducted a preliminary investigation into the matter, but because of the grave accusations contained in the American's note, it has invited the U.S. Government to join in an investigation of the matter.

A Government statement by the Foreign Ministry on October 5th stated that it had not received any diplomatic note to the effect of the status of the Embassy. It did not however mention whether it received a note pertaining to other issues from the U.S. government.

It is unfortunate that the U.S. Charge d' Affaires and other embassy personnel unnecessarily and knowingly exposed themselves to imminent danger when they left the protective walls of the Embassy Compound and went outside into the public street into a potentially unsafe environment in which

sporadic gun firing had ensued from the previous night," the Government said, adding, "Nevertheless, it regrets any injury which may have been suffered."

Cont'd on Page 6



Pres. Sir C. Siran

AFL Soldiers Captured In Sa. Leone

by the Sierra Leonean authorities that the government had been supporting the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).

rebels in Sierra Leone appears to be increasing as reports mentioned here it that three soldiers of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) have been captured in that country.

According to a BBC Focus on Africa program mentioned yesterday, the three AFL soldiers captured are Sgt. Morris Sonneh, Cpr. Moses Fahnbulleh.

cont'd on page 3

73-1637-
DOUGLAS

3 AFL SOLDIERS CAPTURED

and Pvt. Patrick Kays.

The men, according to the BBC's reports, have been taken to Kanopla where they are under detention at the civil defense headquarters.

Sgt. Sennock further told the BBC that there are other AFL soldiers fighting along side AFRC and RUF in other parts of Sierra Leone.

This powerful instrument was the first ever built
specifically for the Navy during the war.

The Kampong Cham District commander, Phnom Penh, told the BBC that the three Liberation soldiers were yesterday afternoon ambushed along with RUF and APRC rebels while trying to infiltrate into the Kampong district.

Despite this latter development, the Liberman government has consistently denied its involvement in the Soviet-Libyan conflict.

SECRET

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FACTS

SPACE
FOR
SALE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1994

MONROVIA, LIBERIA

PRICE: \$5.00

IN LPC, NPFL FIGHT OVER 100 KILLED

Coming from Rivercess
of widespread
burning of towns, and
of innocent civilians
of the NPFL.

from River- Monkey Towns,
fight- their commander

fighters on a
daily basis.

In an effort to
meet the LPC
fighters' demand,
the residents man-
aged an urgent
meeting on Jan.
5, 1994, under a
palava but in the
center of the town.
During the meeting
the NPFL center
attacked and occu-
pied the town,
rounding all in-
habitants of the meet-
ing and shot 34
persons in Monro-
via to death for
using LPC symp-
tomizers, the an-
nals explained.

The source fur-
ther added that
the NPFL fighters
later proceeded
to Monkey Town,
where they killed
over 95 persons
who were then at-
tending a church
service and took
several other hu-
man lives.

An eleven year
old boy, Oidpa
Zah, who sustain-
ed bullet wounds
in his right foot
and upper hand,

and currently re-
ceiving treatment
at the JPS, rep-
tably lost his an-

ther and father
during the incident.
He said that du-
ring the attack

in Monkey Town he
was nine persons
who were seriously
injured.

ON KUNYON'S ISSUE Chiefs threatened with dismissal

Reports emanat-
ing from the In-
ternal Affairs Mi-
nistry has reveal-
ed that Chiefs and
Governors of that
ministry have been
threatened with
dismissal from
their jobs if they
engaged in any de-
liberations con-
cerning the Kunyon
issue.

According to an
insider from the
Ministry of Inter-
nal Affairs who
prefers anonymi-
ty, the threat
came about as a
result of a plan-

and meeting by
Chiefs and Gov-
ernors to issue
a position state-
ment on the com-
mitment of Mon. Min-
ister Kunyon.

When news of the
proposed meeting
leaked, Minister
Brims called the
Chiefs and Gov-
ernors to an emer-
gency meeting at
his Internal Af-
fairs office, the
source added.

The source indi-
cated that while
they were in meet-
ing with the min-
ister, they expect-
ed talks between



Min. Kunyon
ing to their re-
action due then by
government, but
to 'everyone's sur-
prise, the issue

Cont'd on P-6

Taylor, NPFL Leader

book demanded that the
and residents feed his

UNITY COLLEGE

Mr. Korkpor

lands UNOMIL

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100 KILLED

Cont'd from P-1

wounded, out of which two persons, Eric Cooper and Nathan Mandah died from hemorrhage.

In an interview with Mr. Roberto Dole, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, who is also a citizen from Rivercess, he disclosed that the NPFL and LPC have launched a full scale war, looting and kill-

ing at random.

He said the NPFL was currently heading towards Jappa Town and Coston City, where thousands of civilians are trapped, and could be slaughtered by the ruthless NPFL rebels, adding, "We want the UN, OAU and ECOWAS to intervene and save our people from another mortal massacre."

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DAILY TIMES

NO. 5 WEDNESDAY JANUARY 13, 1990 MONROVIA, LIBERIA NUMBER: 200

REBELS ABDUCT LIBERIANS IN FREETOWN

diplomatic efforts are made to end the ongoing fighting in neighboring Sierra Leone, reports coming out of Freetown suggest that several hundred people have been abducted by rebels of the United Front which are battling ECOMOG to depose President Ahmed Tejan

paper learned that the Ministers of Togo and the J'Veure have been between Freetown and Guinea, holding President Kabbah on hand, and rebel leader Sankoh on the other. Though the envoys claimed

that Sankoh wants a political solution to end the fighting, reports say some other Liberians and Sierra Leoneans are entrapped indoors due to bombardment by ECOMOG.

In other areas, many churches and residents are also suffering, with no food or safe drinking water to sustain themselves, as rebels continue to set public buildings and private dwellings ablaze.

Since the Liberians were abducted a few days ago, there have been no reports regarding their welfare or whereabouts.

Reports have it that only those residing in areas occupied by ECOMOG are well off, while smoke rises in some over the city from buildings set ablaze by fleeing

rebels who are being dislodged a few days after they infiltrated Freetown using civilians as human shields.

A couple who recently escaped a rebel-held area and fled to positions occupied by ECOMOG explained in a BBC interview that while camping, they saw bodies of both civilians and soldiers in the streets, while houses were seen burning.

Due to the hostilities there, relief agencies are finding it difficult to get to the vulnerable people of Sierra Leone, while rebels are said to have looted warehouses and armed, many civilians as they were retreating.



In Treetown Trist

TODAY SANKOH

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LIBERIA
MONROVIA
JANUARY 13, 1990
NUMBER 200
PAGE 1

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VOL. 7 No. 250

Wednesday, January 24, 1990

THOUSANDS TRAPPED IN FREETOWN

...Foday Sanneh, leader of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels, says the government forces are still fighting in the city.

Thousands of Sierra Leoneans and foreign aid workers reportedly trapped in their vehicles in the capital, Freetown, where government forces are still fighting with RUF rebels.

According to reports, the situation is desperate because the rebels are burning everything in sight, especially in the northern part of the city where fierce fighting is still going on.

The report said the struggle for Freetown is still continuing because the rebels, who are pushing up reinforcements, are using civilians as human shields thereby creating problems for the regional forces to overrun their positions with heavy shelling.

Up to yesterday, there was no clear picture as to the military situation in Freetown but the report said there was continuous shelling of areas near the city.

Communication with the outside world and electricity have broken down because of the alleged burning down of key installations and other buildings by rebels. Starvation is said to be at its highest peak in the city.

coupled with the lack of drinking water. The scale of destruction is

estimated to be significantly higher than in the previous war. The rebels are reportedly killing and maiming civilians.

The United Nations is providing humanitarian aid.

city's hospital buildings, as well as its schools.

As diplomatic efforts continue to end the fighting, the rebel leader, Corporal Foday Sanneh, has been seen in the city's streets.

During the fighting, Foday Sanneh, who is the leader of the RUF, has been seen in the city's streets.

Rebels will be seen in the city's streets.



A woman rescued by RUF rebels after her son, left, in Freetown. Canadian journalist, Ian Stewart, and American AP journalist Therry killed in Freetown. PHOTO, COURTESY OF INTERNET

Support to Sa. Leone Rebels:

Opposition Wants Clarification

Opposition parties in the House of Representatives are calling on the government of President Charles Chesney Taylor to

properly address complaints and persistent accusations that Liberia is supporting the combined RUF rebels and the armed military junta forces

fighting the Government of Sierra Leone supported by ECOWAS and the Karamoja militia.

Speaking during the formal opening of the Third

Session of the 51st National Legislature Monday, the opposition parties, through the acting Minority Leader, Representative Joseph H. Corcoran, Sr., of Bong County, said the accusations are very serious and if not properly addressed or correctly put to rest, it may cause additional trouble for the country to get international support and assistance.

Representative Corcoran, who also represents Unity, said on page 4

If Coup Had Succeeded...

By: Bill K. Jarkish
Court Reporter

The prosecution's fifth witness in the treason trial,

quately served in the capacity of deputy chief of staff while Anne Clarke was to have served as commanding general

Admiral Sam Willem Dufley also pointed out how he and General Quah met with D.

Reverend Johnson and other supporters of the plot including James Chelley, Edward Stanger, Arnold Yank, the late com'd on page 6

INSIDE
TODAY

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U.S. Gov't Will

...the press in Liberia
...the press in Liberia
...the press in Liberia

W Comp Had Succeeded

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Chief Jallah Lone

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300 Immigration

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Librarian Gets Top

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Thousands Trapped

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Man Breaks Jail

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INQUIRER Gets

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Librarian Gets Top

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In single sessions where "things fall apart" — leaders under attack are perceived as unpredictable and dangerous as wounded bullfrogs

The Nation's News Since 1960

VOL. 2 NO. 111 FRIDAY JANUARY 9, 1968 - MONROVIA, LIBERIA Page 523

Big Walk Against Polio Today

Taylor, others to form part

By Robin Thomas
The Liberian leader, President Charles U. Taylor along with First Lady Jewel Howard Taylor are expected to walk tomorrow against the deadly Polio disease. The involvement of the President and his wife in the exercise indicates that the Liberian Government attaches importance to eradicating polio in the country.
Reports say the walk will begin at 8 a.m. from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare on the By-Pass and end at the New Ministry of Health in Congo Town.
The officials of Government, business executives, representatives of local and international NGOs, Ministers, students as well as the public are also expected to march against Polio on Saturday.
Officially, the National Immunization Days (NID) have been set for January 18, 19 and 20. The NID

is sponsored through the international community's contribution of US\$1.3 million.
Already, massive anti Polio campaigns are being conducted around the country by the women and cultural groups of Liberia. The campaigns are being done through songs, dances and cultural dramas.
Tomorrow's walk will be sponsored with a leaf program at the new Health Ministry where President Taylor is expected to make remarks.
Liberia's participation in the anti Polio campaign is part of a global strategy to wipe out Polio world wide. Health experts say Polio only afflicts human, mainly children under five years.



Cont'd on Page 6

More Bloodbath

In Freetown

AS

the Sierra Leonean capital bleeds from the ongoing desperate battle for power resulting from the rebel infiltration which has left it virtually divided between the West African People's Ruling Party (ECONOMO) and RUF rebels. Indications are that Freetown is heading for more bloodbath.

Due to the scale of damage resulting from the "spoiled riches" use of civilians as human shields



Pres. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah
A difficult statement for a leading democratic president which has made very difficult for ECONOMO forces to effectively punish their enemies, democratically elected President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah yesterday

reportedly held talks with condemned RUF leader Foday Sankoh at the Lunga International Airport following which he announced a ceasefire.

President Kabbah also announced that he would be prepared to release Foday Sankoh under certain conditions according to the report which did not specify the conditions.

The ceasefire which is expected to last for seven days to allow for a negotiated settlement to the end to the fighting in the capital, was rejected by rebel commander Sam Bockarie also "General Maktari". "General Maktari" and others he says his body physically and have been his death. He will not honor the offer of ceasefire from President Kabbah. He reiterated that his men will continue to attack Freetown until they managed to capturing the capital, adding "It is too late to talk."

Immediately following their entry into the capital early this week, the rebels and their collaborators, many of whom are believed to be former Sierra Leonean government soldiers, looted through the Freetown road system and released all the inmates, most of whom were their colleagues apprehended during ECONOMO's take over of Freetown. They were being held in five and Corporal Foday Sankoh who was also detained at that point was released

a few days ago following an ECONOMO intelligence revealing plans to storm the prison.
Following a series of claims and counter claims



Johnnie Paul Sankoh
Where do you want to stay
Sankoh's taken hostages?
about control of the RUF forces, reports from Freetown tonight said the city is now divided with
Cont'd on Page 6

Part 54
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THE NEWS, FRIDAY JANUARY 8, 1999 - MONROVIA, LIBERIA

EMINENT PERSONS

effective monitoring and supervision of these institutions. It also placed emphasis on the re-education of abandoned and orphaned children with their families as opposed to institutionalization. The EPG is expected to work with Health Ministry officials on strengthening the capacity of the Ministry's bureau of social welfare to deliver social services. Health Minister Peter Coleman, who was also present at the meeting, welcomed the EPG's efforts.

Also present at the meeting were the UNICEF Resident Representative, Scholastica Kiamaryo and Information Officer, MacArthur Hill.

Mrs. Kiamaryo praised the Eminent Persons work for children and urged them to see themselves as a bridge to the future happiness and upliftment of the Liberian children. She pledged her support for the EPG efforts and promised UNICEF continued support for the group's work on children's rights, peace and armed conflict. Meanwhile, Eminent Person James Salinsa Debbah has made a personal donation about one thousand U.S. dollars each to street children and former child combatants of the Don Bosco & Children Assistance Programs.

FALLAH COMMENDS TAYLOR

work along with government to lay the framework that could make Liberian loan scheme instituted. Fallah Shalloo further noted that contracts awarded to foreigners are always undertaken by Liberians where as foreigners get the bulk of the money and take out of the country.

Mr. Fallah, who specializes in building construction with more than 15 years experience, has worked for Bang Mines, Firestone, the American Embassy and presently doing renovation work at UNARCO compound, St. Paul Bridge for the use by Exotic, a reputable investment company operating in the country.

EX-ULIMO GENERAL CLAIMS

He said it is unfortunate for some military elements to consider themselves enemies of the government thereby spending lives about their kinships who try to cooperate with government for the reconstruction of the country.

Mr. Fallah threatened to take legal action against anyone who would label him a betrayer and condemn him as a traitor. He said he is not a traitor and he is not a betrayer. He said he is not a traitor and he is not a betrayer. He said he is not a traitor and he is not a betrayer.

CDA REGISTRAR EFFECTS

Mr. Larkpa Karpah, Director of Field Support and Patrick Karber, Cooperative Analyst. Others are Mr. Lloyd Fehelulish, Regional

MORE BLOODBATH

the rebels controlling the east, while ECOMOG which backs the Tejan Kabbah Government controls the west. Independent sources said the peacekeepers still control the Lungi and Hastings airports as well as the two military barracks around the city. ECOMOG reported yesterday that it had beaten off a rebel in its custody.

One ECOMOG commander also told the BBC that his forces will not give in to the rebels, adding, "It will be death before dishonor."

It is not clear how the rebels beat ECOMOG intelligence to enter the capital. One rebel spokesman told the BBC yesterday afternoon that they took training in Burkina Faso. He did not say how they re-entered Sierra Leone after their training to carry out their offences against the Kabbah Government. Sierra is bounded by Guinea, Liberia and the Atlantic Ocean which is patrolled by ECOMOG naval vessels.

Guinea is a troop country to ECOMOG in Sierra Leone and it recently fortified its border with the two neighboring countries, especially Sierra Leone due to rebel threat.

President Kabbah was elected in a democratic election that was sanctioned by the Sierra Leonean people following a referendum. Two of his rivals in that election, former ECIWAS Secretary Abbas Bundu and John Karifa Smart have been accused of supporting the rebels who stand accused of committing untold atrocities against civilians. Abbas Bundu was a brain behind the formation of ECOMOG when the subregion gathered in Banjul in 1998 to find a solution to the Liberian crisis.

Up to press time last night, it was not clear whether the battle had intensified following the rejection of peace talks by the rebels, but should the rebels push for the control of the capital, Freetown is in for a bloody battle. Many innocent lives have been lost, many civilians have been killed and many more are being targeted.

The ECOMOG forces fighting for stability and democracy in the subregion are not likely to stop until the democracy is restored. Their efforts have been every attempt in the past to rule the subregion and it culminated into the current crisis. The crisis which ushered the NPP led President Charles Taylor.

Coordinator, Coastal Region, while Mr. Samuel Tordy was appointed Acting Deputy Inspector with the Ministry of Agriculture. Mr. Tordy's appointment by the President of the Republic of Liberia.

TAYLOR WINS AGAIN

will continue on February 20, 21 and 24 nationwide.

Statewide election under the age of 18 are in

YOUNGS UNDER 18

184 children between the ages of 1-12 graduated. Of these, 200 were girls and 84 were boys. 34 options while 100 of the graduates were males and 76 were females.

She then congratulated the Liberian YMCA for the extension of the program as well as to support local youths in their development of the program. Mr. Taylor also praised the YMCA of Liberia for holding the program which would support parents to better train their children and to be about their education.

Representative of the National Council Secretary of Liberia, Mr. Peter E. M. Taylor said he is grateful to the YMCA for helping to make the program a success.

Meanwhile, Mr. Kabbah stated that the next go the Liberian YMCA is to transform its program to support the youth of the country to be about their education.

He directed the youth to be about their education and to be about their education. He said he is grateful to the YMCA for helping to make the program a success.

Mr. Kabbah said, "The question of what to do with these kids has been sent to the Yvonne Yvonne community and not the YMCA of Liberia. You must tell us what you will have to keep these kids to school through our initiative."

For his part, Mr. David Franklin, Secretary of the Yvonne YMCA, also praised the Liberian YMCA, but added that it was necessary to initiate programs for their welfare.

"If facilities and community assistance is certain."

Happy Birthday

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DAILY TIMES

VOL. 3 NO. 1 MONDAY JANUARY 4, 1999 MONROVIA, LIBERIA PRICE: \$20

2,000 LIBERIANS FIGHTING IN S/LEONE

As the civil conflict intensifies in Sierra Leone, there are reports that more than 2,000 Liberians, whom President

Charles Taylor has described as "mercenaries" fighting alongside all of the various factions in that country.



PRES. CHARLES TAYLOR

He said although the Liberian Government fully recognizes and supports the Sierra Leonean Government headed by President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, Liberian mercenaries have been fighting in Sierra Leone since the regime of President Joseph Momoh.

Addressing a news conference in the Parlor of the Executive Mansion on New Year's Eve, President Taylor explained that since President Momoh allowed Liberians to join Sierra Leone to organize ULIMO, a former warring faction in the Liberian conflict, these mercenaries have remained in that country, actively participating in the conflict there.

He said under President

Momoh, Liberians were paid to fight for that government, just as they are now offering their services to the present government, as well as the ousted military regime, including the RUF rebels on the one hand, and the Karambas on the other, but denied that the Liberian Government is providing support for any group.

President Taylor said since the United Nations has refused to provide observers to ascertain the facts regarding allegations that Liberia is fueling the war in Sierra Leone, ECOWAS should instruct ECOWAS to station troops in Lofa County to determine whether or not the Liberian Government is indeed supporting the rebels.

He said it is an open secret that Liberians are fighting in Sierra Leone, and called on the Sierra Leone

CONT'D ON PAGE 6

Gov't To Be Cleaned Up - Taylor

President Charles Taylor has resolved to clean up

correct errors of the past, there are still people who are around

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NATIONAL

Tuesday, October 1, 1996

Price \$20.00

NPFL SHIPS ARMS TO LIBYA

According to a statement released by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) on Tuesday, the group has shipped arms to Libya. The statement, which was released from the NPFL's headquarters in Monrovia, said that the group had shipped a large quantity of arms to Libya, including rifles, machine guns, and other weapons. The statement also said that the group had received a large quantity of money from Libya, which it used to purchase the arms. The statement was signed by the NPFL's leader, Charles Taylor.

colleagues to the Cuban Unit of the Revolutionary Battle Force in Chicago, and left the General Liberian City in about 4:40 that morning.

One source observed that the arms were sent to one of the many vehicles loaded from the United Nations Office in Monrovia and further disclosed that it was driven by one (Mr. Momo) of the NPFL.

When Congressman Charles G. Taylor arrived in Chicago on

September 28, 1996, the report said, it was concluded during an NPFL leadership meeting that the weapons be transported to the Ivory Coast for shipment to Libya.

The report also disclosed that the transfer of the weapons to the Ivory Coast was made possible through the assistance of an Ivorian security delegation headed by one Captain Jean A. Yamato of the Ivorian Police Station in Bamako, La Côte d'Ivoire.

It was also revealed to The National that another consignment of weapons was also transported to the port of San Pedro to begin shipment to Libya between the 25th and 30th September, 1996.

It can be recalled that upon the return of Congressman Taylor from Libya last month, a local daily reported that the NPFL leader had promised the Libyan leader to return weapons taken from that country to destabilize the government of the late President Samuel K. Doe.

With the shipment of the weapons back to Libya, observers are skeptical as to what the NPFL leader will revert to if he loses the pending election.

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Monrovia Daily News

FRIDAY 13, 1996

MONROVIA, LIBERIA PRICE: \$20

Khaddafi Wants Weapons Back

The Libyan leader wants his weapons returned to Libya, since they were seized by the NPFL at a meeting, during



COL. KHADDAFI

his warfare with the Government of the late President Samuel Doe.

The Libyan leader, the source noted, told the NPFL leader in the presence of President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso to properly send these weapons back to Libya if he (Taylor) is sure to be disarmed of combatants.

Before leaving for Libya, Councilman Charles G. Taylor announced that he had donated 500 fighters of the front while 3000

GOL Receives Medical Supplies

Executive Mansion yesterday, Foreign Minister

Money Market

The exchange rate between the United States Dollar and the Liberian Dollar will stand at 75 LD to one USD; while the one USD buys the following currencies: 80 Naira, 1,000 Leones, 1,000 Guineas, 1,000 Cedis and 525 CFA on the Liberian market.



COUNCILMAN TAYLOR

On Cooperation

11697-8588

leader tried to prevail on the Libya leader about the difficulty in sending the arms back to Tripoli, but "it soon that Khaddafi is insisting."

Plotters

coups plot and investigation continuing.

The report said most of those arrested in connection with alleged coup plot were lower ranking soldiers.

Some of the soldiers were bodyguards to the former Military rulers who handed power to the civilian elected government few months ago.

On Monday, a small group of soldiers planned to seize the bridge leading to the home of the President before attacking his home.

Gov't

misusing public funds give account to the Liberian people.

He said: "It is unfortunate, regrettable and regrettable for money which should have been used for the survival of hungry Liberians are being eaten by few people."

Medical

Both S. Perry, Minister of Health and Social Services and said that the money will be used for the health of the Liberian people.

Perry said the money will be used for the health of the Liberian people.

Perry said the money will be used for the health of the Liberian people.

two matches against Junior Professionals which defeated them in the first round. But, whether the Eilers will stand the night of professionals will be seen. Invincible Elephants, dubbed by technical inconsistency focus NPA-Anchors, which bounced into the premier picture following the withdrawal of P. J. J.

Information

in the country to see how best they can contribute towards the peace process.

He admonished the press to promote unity among members of the Council of State, adding "you should not knock their heads together" through bias reporting.

00031401
IE

The IE President narrated that as the result of the situation his club has threatened to pull out from the league because individuals who served as a support base for the team are not around to assist.

Another reason for his decision

Mr. Hoff

said is because his team has been operating on losses as was shown during recent off season matches played at the Antoinette Tubman Stadium. Despite this LFA General Secretary announced that the league will still kick off on October 13.

ECOMOG

the invitation of a pressman to be qualified. Volkmann was to ensure that the disarmament exercise was given adequate publicity.

ECOMOG stated that the matter is air all the personnel with to

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DEMOCRAT WEEKLY

FACTIONS CHARGED

With Criminal Violations



Criminal Violations-ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff
at the Unity Conference Gender Mandate

A split in the
at the Unity Conference
Chiefs of Staff here. Military
and civilian members of the
addressed the Unity Conference
Monday with Dr. Edward
ECOWAS Executive Secretary
and factions of criminal
the peace process.
ECOWAS forces were due to be
the entire Liberian territory
October and 16 December 1993.
of over and of resources and
local criminal violations by
fighting factions, have set back
of this essential phase of the
the schedule for the Abuja
agreement.

Acting Foreign Minister
the Campaigns of the NPFL.
the government was
the Chiefs of Staff.
summons said, in his prop
the Liberian government will
ECOWAS delegates the
it deserves because it has

defined the "sovereignty" of Liberia. But the
Council's Chairman, Prof. Wilton
Sankawula, just back from Accra, issued a
statement contrary to that of the Foreign
Ministry. He said the ECOWAS military
chiefs were welcome.

Commissioner Oyar A. Quah also told the
New Democrat that he and Permanent Chief
Tamba Taylor, along with the Chairman,
were not part of the decision to stop the
West African Military Chiefs from coming.
He said the meeting of the West African
Army Chiefs of Staff at this time "will be
crucially important in this time" when the
peace process is in jeopardy. Sankawula
said he, along with the Commission's
strongest on order. Commission's Taylor
repeatedly urged them not to do so. He said
the decision to stop the meeting was not
understood by Commission Chairman
ULIMO.

The Chiefs of Staff meeting ended at a
time when the government was in
disarray with increased fighting in Kakata
and the surrounding region.

The ECOWAS Executive Secretary said

the week before the meeting, among others,
with he centered on evolving strategies for
ECOMOG to not only defend itself
decisively when attacked, but also carry out
its mandate without making itself an easy
prey to such attacks. The Executive
Secretary's statement, as he seen as an
apparent reference to the unprovoked attack
launched against ECOMOG in Ghana and
Tutuashburg, Lower Volta and Benin countries
respectively in December 1993 by forces
loyal to Gen. Roosevelt Johnson of
ULIMO-I in that attack, several ECOMOG
soldiers, mostly of the Nigerian contingent,
were killed and large quantities of arms,
including some deadly weapons, 12mm
artillery pieces and seven mortar tubes were
seized by the ULIMO-I militia. Many
civilians were also killed.

FIVE MONTHS
Left For The Ballot
Over Months For National
Candidates To Run
LATELY THEY MUST
-AND NO CAMPAIGN

Kromah Wants Council Arms Registered

Abuja, September 10 (AP) - The
of 1993. Under the new
house which has been
for 1993. The
the house of the 1993.
Councilman Kromah
suggested that arms be
register their arms for
after which a must have
for illegal possession of
conducted by ECOMOG.
Councilman Kromah
Saturday when he was
former neighbors in
some intended for
ECOMOG would be
The Councilman was
the community was
for the reduction of
body guards of
It may be recalled
Omar Quash was the
the demanding personal
because of the
guards.
Most of them
Councilman Taylor
bearing up people
reasons.
Bishop Michael
Catholic Church
dismantling of
mishaps.
Speaking
Councilman Kromah
plan for attack
aggression will
moment.
"You will be
on the city," he
walking dead
our lives."

Fear Engulfs Kakata Residents Refused Leaving

Abuja, September 10 (AP) -
Following the
Kakata have
eviction of
many to leave.
One resident,
with his
armed and
house and
Broadcasting
Councilman

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Kakata

Cont'd From Page 1

similar developments. The station, Kiss FM, interviewed residents following the incident who complained of looting. The stream now is for peace.

After the fall of the town, Councilman Taylor promised to turn it over to the new ULIMO-J leadership. He also pledged that ECOMOG would be in charge of the town. But travelers reporting from the town said this paper was contrary to reports that the Police have been placed in charge and civil authority installed, fighters are still roaming Kakata heavily armed.

The Kakata fighting started last week after the Council of State suspended ULIMO-J leader Roosevelt Johnson from the cabinet and recognized the faction's new leadership headed by its Brig. Gen. William Karyee. Fighters loyal to Mr. Johnson proceeded to erect roadblocks in protest. Councilman Taylor threatened to put at the disposal of the Government the "entire strength of the NPFL" to dislodge the fighters and have the roadblocks removed. He also said his personal security was at risk since he usually travels through Kakata to his stronghold of Gbarnga. It has been revealed that the men who led the NPFL fighters in the Kakata attack were from a "Marines" head, bodyguard to Councilman Taylor. They were on Du Port Road. This implies that the NPFL fighters who took control of the town traveled from Monrovia.

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VOL. 5 NO. 42

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1995

\$ 18.00

TAYLOR'S AIDE-DE-CAMP, OTHERS SURRENDER

By
J. Gaddy Barber

by way of Ivory Coast said while in that country, cont'd on page 10



The senior commanders of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), who recently turned themselves to the Mr. Charles Taylor's thinking is "for free disarmament."

"Mr. Taylor's aim is to achieve power by gun against the will of the suffering civilians," they said.

The commanders are seeking Aide-de-Camp to Charles

Taylor, Gen. Mollie Dahn (M) and Col. Johnson Nwame.

Gen. Dahn, 28, told journalists at the UNHCR camp last Sunday that Mr. Charles G. Taylor

active moves to fight on, stating "I left with the fear that the next day to be

launched by Mr. Taylor could be my end." Gen. Dahn who came to Monrovia

WUMAKPOR FOR GHANA TODAY

The Chairman of the State Council, Prof. David D. Kpomakpor is appealing to the United Nations, the United States and European Governments to contri-

bute funds to the UN Trust Fund for Liberia.

The State Council Chairman made the appeal yesterday in the parlors of the Executive Mansion during a news conference on the eve of his departure for Accra, Ghana for con-

ferences. He confirmed cont'd on page 10



JUSTICE PRESENTS UN CONVENTION ON DRUGS

The Justice Ministry last

Thursday presented to the Transitional Legislative Assembly

Several Evangelists Arrive Tomorrow

21, 1995.

INQUIRY

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The
INCHIRER

S. Leoneans recruiting in Liberia

—For Foday Sankor

The Sierra Leonean Ambassador, acc-
cused here this capital, N.E. Rd.
of William Y. Kano has revealed
that some Sierra Leoneans in
Liberia are allegedly recruiting
in Liberia for the sole purpose of
overthrowing their Government.

Ambassador Kano
said, "I want
these agents to
know that we know
about them and
if they do not
stop their clan-
destine activi-

tion, they will
only have them-
selves to be
blamed."
He continued
"I have
been informed
from reliable
sources of agents
within our country
who are recruiting
into the
country (Liberia)
whom I will de-
scribe as 'agents
of destruction'
to go to Sierra
Leone, either
for the purpose
of forming a
cent's of agents

Pentecostal Bishop May Undergo Treatment

The Supreme
Court of Liberia
has upheld the
ruling of the
Criminal Court
"A" which permit-
ted the former
Pentecostal As-
semblies of the

World (PAW) Bi-
shop, Peter J.
Markie to undergo
a psychiatrist
examination.
The Government
of Liberia last
year filed a pe-
tition for a Writ

of Certiorari
against Judge
Alexander B. Zoa
of the Criminal
Court before the
Supreme Court, re-
questing the let-
ter to review the
ruling of lower
court.

The Court
had allowed
cent's of agents

S. LEONEANS

cont'd from

faction or joining today Sen-
kor's rebels with the ultimate aim
of trying to overthrow our
present Government."

The Sierra Leonean Ambassador made the disclosure Sunday when he addressed the Sierra Leone Community and Leons Descendants Association in Liberia at the Muslim Congress High School Auditorium on Muchlin Street. More than 300 Sierra Leoneans attended the meeting.

He said "In that note, I want to single out one particular group that have called themselves Concerned Citizens of Sierra Leone but have changed to Sierra Leoneans Initiative for Peace (SLIP) who are the only group that have come out in the country to try to do this work in our country and that is to give help in trying to do this work in our country."
Leons."

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big
contin

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NEW DEMOCRAT

**Lack of good
under develop**

by Leroy S. Nyan
A partner of the Sallah Ballah Appointments.
Prof. Willie Ballah, Jr., inaugurated the
under development of Liberia to the task of

Gen. Konah Heads AFL



Brig. Gen. John Tarnue
at the Palace of the Executive Mansion.
President Taylor appointed career soldier
Lt. Gen. Samuel Y. Koss as the new
Chief of Staff of the AFL.

Prior to his nomination to the new portfolio,
Gen. Konah served as Deputy Chief of Staff
of the AFL with a rank of Major General.
Gen. Koss, before the civil war, served as
Deputy Chief of Staff under former AFL
Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Henry Debar. Also
during the first transitional government
under Professor David Kpomakpor, Gen.



Brig. Gen. Samuel Y. Koss
Konah headed the military tribunal that
tried Gen. Charles Jule after his ill-fated
attempt to overthrow the Kpomakpor.

government.
The new Army Chief served as chairman
of the committee set by Government of
Liberia to restructure the AFL.

Also nominated to various positions and
ranks include, Brig. Gen. Samuel Varney
who now becomes Major General and
promoted to Deputy Chief of Staff. Gen.
Varney prior to his new position served as
Director of Staff of the AFL.

The next nomination was Brig. Gen. Moses
Wright who was appointed Director of Staff.
He earlier the AFL as Military Advisor to
the Chief of Staff. He also served as
Commanding General of the AFL during
the period of the transitional government.

Brig. Gen. Daniel Gbovoh who was
Commanding General now becomes
Training Commandant of the AFL.

Also nominated was Col. John Tarnue, the
former SEU Commander and Training
Commandant of the AFL, who was
Cont'd on Page 2

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November 19-Monday November 22, 1999 Page 2

Literary Scene

a pathetic case of a land of

Gen. Konah Heads AFI

promoted to the rank and position of Brig/Gen and Commanding General of AFI.

Making the pronouncements, President Taylor said, he will de-politicize the Special Forces of Liberia. He said the time is coming when the military will be a professional fighting force and not a political tool. He also said the appointment of Gen. Konah to head AFI is a move to ensure the military's continued loyalty to the state.

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AN ACT TO AMEND THE EXECUTIVE LAW TO CREATE A SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE.

It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia, in Legislature Assembled:

Section 1. The Executive Law is hereby amended by adding thereto ten new sections to be sections 1256 through 1265 respectively, constituting a new Chapter to be Chapter 49-A to read as follows:

CHAPTER 49-A. SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE

Section 1256. SERVICE ESTABLISHED. There is hereby created and established in the Office of the Chief Executive, a Service to be known as the Special Security Service. The Special Security Service shall be conducted under the direction and supervision of a Director.

Section 1257. FUNCTIONS OF SERVICE. The functions of the Service shall be:

- (a) To protect and secure the President, his immediate family, other officials and visiting dignitaries (VIPs), to be designated by the President;
- (b) To protect the Executive Mansion and grounds;
- (c) To protect all documents, Top-Secret, Secret, Confidential and Informatory Materials;
- (d) To security check all in-coming mails, packages and things addressed to or for use or consumption by the President and his household;
- (e) To security check all means of transportation used by the President, his family and other VIPs;
- (f) To security check the residence of the President when temporary and permanent;
- (g) To serve in liaison with other Security Agencies in matters pertaining to the protection of persons employed in the Executive Mansion and in the Office of the President;
- (h) To maintain a record of all persons who have been in contact with the President and his family;
- (i) To maintain a record of all persons who have been in contact with the President and his family;
- (j) To maintain a record of all persons who have been in contact with the President and his family;

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- (a) To report directly to the President on all phases of the operation of the Service and all matters appertaining to the Service, as may be required or as directed by the President.
- (b) To develop all operations required to carry out the functions of the Service;
- (c) To select, investigate, hire and train personnel for the Service;
- (d) To call on other Security Agencies for additional strength, whenever the need should arise for reinforcement of the Service. Such Agents, Detectives, Postmen and Soldiers assigned to the Service in accordance with the request of the Director, shall be under the complete command and supervision of the Director; and
- (e) To develop, prepare and implement rules and regulations pertaining to personnel, finance, logistics, training, operations and organizations necessary for the efficient operation of the Service, subject to the approval of the President.

Section 1259. APPOINTMENT AND DUTIES OF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR.—The President with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint an Assistant Director of the Special Security Service who shall be the principal assistant to the Director. He shall perform such duties as may be assigned him from time to time by the Director.

Section 1260. OTHER OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE SERVICE.—The Director may appoint all such other officers and employees of the Service as he may deem necessary and assign their duties, subject to the approval of the President.

Section 1261. EMPLOYEES OF SERVICE AS TRUSTEES OF STATE SECRETS.—Officers and employees of the Special Security Service shall be deemed trustees of the secrets of the Government and the Republic and shall be subject to the same restrictions and penalties as are applicable to such trustees.

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Department, Bureau or Agency of the Government who receives from the Service a request for information which it is empowered to collect, and fails or refuses to comply with such request shall be penalized in keeping with the provisions of Section 121 of the Penal Law.

1263. ARREST WITHOUT WARRANT.—In the performance of the functions of the Service, an Agent may arrest or cause to be arrested any person or persons committing a crime *flagrante delicto*, or aiding and abetting any crime or violation, or who may reasonably be suspected of the commission of a crime.

Section 1264. COMPENSATIONS FOR WIDOWS AND MINOR CHILDREN OF MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE KILLED OR WOUNDED IN THE PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES.—In case of the death of a member of the Special Security Service as a result of wounds received or injuries inflicted in the course of actual service in the lawful discharge and execution of his duties, his widow and minor children shall receive a pension in a sum equal to the amount of compensation which the member of the Special Security Service was receiving at the time of his death.

Section 1265. COMPENSATION FOR TENURE OF SERVICE.—Any member of the Special Security Service who shall serve with good conduct and behaviour for twenty five (25) consecutive years regardless of age, or any member of the Service who shall attain the age of 50, or any member of the Service who because of necessity or circumstances beyond his control is unable to efficiently perform his functions shall be honourably retired and receive a pension of two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of his salary for the remainder of his natural life.

This Section shall operate retrospectively commencing from the date of the establishment of the said Service whereby all members at that time employed and who continue in the Service shall enjoy the benefit herein provided.

Section 2. This Act shall take effect immediately upon publication in hand-bills.

Any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Approved February 23, 1966.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
(DEPARTMENT OF STATE)

MONROVIA
FEBRUARY 26, 1966

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LIBERIA ASSESSMENT

Version 4

September 1999

Country Information and Policy Unit

HOME OFFICE

COUNTRY ASSESSMENT

I. SCOPE OF DOCUMENT

1.1 This assessment has been produced by the Country Information & Policy Unit, Immigration & Nationality Directorate, Home Office, [REDACTED]

1.2 The assessment has been prepared for background purposes for those involved in the asylum determination process. The information it contains is not exhaustive, nor is it intended to catalogue all human rights violations. It concentrates on the issues most commonly raised in asylum claims made in the United Kingdom. It represents the current assessment by the Immigration & Nationality Directorate of the general socio-political and human rights situation in the country.

1.3 The assessment is sourced throughout. It is intended to be used by caseworkers as a signpost to the source material, which has been made available to them. The vast majority of the source material is readily available in the public domain.

1.4 It is intended to revise the assessment on a 6-monthly basis while the country remains within the top 35 asylum producing countries in the United Kingdom.

1.5 The assessment will be placed on the Internet (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/cipul.htm>). An electronic copy of the assessment has been made available to the following organisations:

Amnesty International UK

Immigration Advisory Service

Immigration Appellate Authority

Immigration Law Practitioners' Association

Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants

JUSTICE

Medical Foundation for the care of Victims of Torture

Refugee Council

Refugee Legal Centre

UN High Commissioner for Refugees

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ANNEX C: Chronology of Major Events**Bibliography****II. GEOGRAPHY****A. Location and Climate**

2.1. Liberia is a coastal West African state of approximately 97,754 sq kms, bordered by Sierra Leone to the west, Republic of Guinea to the north and Cote d'Ivoire to the east. The capital city is Monrovia. The country is divided into thirteen counties, each having its own administrative centre.^{1a}

2.2. Liberia experiences a distinct rainy season, between May and October, with a short break in the southern coastal region, and is generally hot and humid throughout the year. The country consists of a wide coastal plain, with several low-lying hill ranges inland, and is densely forested in most parts.^{1a}

B. Population

2.3. The last pre-civil war census, conducted in February 1984, estimated Liberia's total population to be 2,101,628, with a revised mid-1994 estimate of 2,800,000. The population is divided into 16 main indigenous tribal groups, plus groups of non-tribal Liberians and non-Liberian Africans.^{1a,2a}

2.4. As a result of the civil war (1989-1996), approximately 1.2 million people (around 45% of the population) are believed to have been internally displaced. In May 1996, it was estimated that there could be as many as 410,000 Liberian refugees in Guinea, 305,000 in Cote d'Ivoire, a further 15,000 in Ghana, 5,000 in Sierra Leone and 4,000 in Nigeria. By the end of 1997, the number of Liberian refugees in neighbouring West African states was estimated to have fallen to 480,000. Meanwhile, the US State Department has estimated that there have been up to 200,000 fatalities as a result of the fighting and that a total of 750,000 people have fled from Liberia, in addition to the 1.2 million internally displaced persons.^{1a,2ab,19}

2.5. In 1995, UNESCO estimated that 61.7% of the adult population remained illiterate (approximately 46% and 77% of the total number of male and female adults respectively). Although primary and secondary education is largely free, and officially compulsory between the ages of 7 and 16 years, the closure or disruption of educational institutions during the civil war has deprived many children of even basic education in Liberia since 1990.^{1c}

C. Language

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2.6. The official language of Liberia is English. There are a number of native, or tribal, languages spoken which were largely confined to traditional tribal homelands. However, changes in Liberia's economy, growth and infrastructure, and the effects of a long-running civil war, have led to the inevitable blurring of geographically-based language demarcations.^{3,4}

III. HISTORY

A. The Foundation of Liberia and One-Party Rule, 1847-1980

3.1. Liberia was founded by freed black slaves from the southern states of the US who were settled on the Grain Coast under the auspices of the American Colonization Society in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Liberian Republic was declared in 1847, under the presidency of Joseph Roberts. Descendants of the original settlers and colonists, the Americo-Liberians, dominated the politics of Liberia until 1980.⁴

3.2. Between 1871 and 1980, Liberia was effectively a one-party state, under the governance of the True Whig Party. However, in 1979, following a 50% increase in the price of rice (a staple food in Liberia), "rice riots" in Monrovia resulted in approximately 100 deaths and the fatal weakening of President William Tolbert's authority.⁴

B. Samuel Doe and the PRC, 1980-1989

3.3. The Americo-Liberian hegemony ended in a bloody coup on 12 April 1980 led by Master Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe, killing Tolbert along with his presidential guard. Doe established the People's Redemption Council (PRC), and summarily executed 13 members of the deposed government.^{1a}

3.4. The PRC were the first leaders of Liberia to come from the indigenous population, but were largely dominated by Doe's Krahn ethnic group. The PRC soon attracted criticism for its conspicuous corruption and the lavish lifestyle enjoyed by Doe and his associates. A draft constitution, approved by the PRC in March 1983, was adopted in July 1984 following a referendum. Doe promised a return to democracy in 1985, but the elections in October that year witnessed blatant fraud by the PRC, who won with 51% of the vote.^{1b}

3.5. As a result of the PRC's brutality and corruption, there were several attempts to depose Doe, the most notable being led by Thomas Quiwonkpa, a founder member of the PRC who fled Liberia in 1983. Quiwonkpa returned to Liberia in November 1985 to launch a coup attempt, which claimed an estimated 1,500 lives, with the army massacring many of Quiwonkpa's Gio tribespeople.^{1a,4}

C. Civil War and Peace Agreements, 1989-1996

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? The Outbreak of Civil War, 1989

3.6. Doe's regime came to an end following an armed insurrection, which began in Nimba county, led by Charles Taylor, a former Doe official. Taylor's forces, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), were few in number and, initially, did not enjoy much support, but the brutality of Doe's Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), who had massacred hundreds of civilians in Nimba county, led to a massive boost in support for the NPFL, along with the exodus of some 150,000 refugees into neighbouring Guinea.⁴

3.7. The war quickly escalated beyond Nimba county and took on an alarmingly tribal nature. Doe's Krahn dominated army and the allied Mandingo tribe massacred other ethnic groups, particularly the Gio and Mano. In return, the NPFL massacred Krahn civilians and, by May 1990, had taken control of large portions of the country, with the exception of Monrovia and its environs. Attempts at mediation and negotiation of a ceasefire, made by ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States), ended in failure, with Taylor demanding Doe's resignation as a precondition. By July 1990, Doe was besieged in his presidential palace as the NPFL advanced on Monrovia. Taylor established the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG), based in Gbarnga, Bong county. A breakaway faction, the Independent NPFL, led by Prince Yormie Johnson, took control of much of the capital.^{1a}

? ECOMOG Intervention, 1990

3.8. Fighting in Monrovia led to further massacres, with the AFL being held responsible for the murder of over 600 Mano and Gio, mainly women and children, who had taken refuge in a church compound in an eastern suburb of Monrovia. In August 1990, and with the agreement of both Doe and Johnson, ECOWAS sent a seaborne force of 2,500 West African troops to Monrovia. ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group) entered Monrovia and took hold of the port area, [REDACTED]

3.9. At the end of August 1990, at an ECOWAS meeting in Banjul, Gambia (which was boycotted by the NPFL), prominent Liberian political and social dignitaries appointed Dr Amos Sawyer, former head of the Liberian People's Party, as President of an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU). The IGNU was not, however, recognised as being authoritative by the NPFL. Despite ECOMOG efforts, clashes between the AFL and the INPFL continued and, on 10 September 1990, Johnson captured Doe, who was later brutally tortured and killed. Johnson subsequently pronounced himself head of state.^{1a}

3.10. In October 1990, ECOMOG, with the assistance of the INPFL, were successful in driving the NPFL beyond the outskirts of Monrovia. However, the NPFL controlled the remainder of the country, including the strategic port city of Buchanan, from where they continued to receive arms supplies and revenue from the export of timber. Taylor was reluctant to compromise with ECOMOG, who in turn lacked the strength required for an all out offensive on the NPFL. The IGNU, now established in Monrovia (Sawyer was installed as Interim President in November 1990), was powerless beyond Monrovia and entirely dependant on ECOMOG's protection for its survival. A ceasefire signed at Bamako in late November 1990 effectively recognised the division of Liberia into two distinct parts.^{1a,4}

3.11. In the period following the Bamako ceasefire agreement, Liberia existed in a state of uneasy truce,

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punctuated by further negotiated ceasefires and numerous ceasefire violations. A peace agreement, signed at Yamassoukro in October 1991, led to the encampment of the AFL, while the INPFL surrendered to ECOMOG and was subsequently dissolved in September 1992.^{1a,5}

? The Resumption of Civil War, 1991

3.12. A previously unheard of group, the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), based in Sierra Leone, had emerged in June 1991. They immediately declared their opposition to Taylor's NPFL, and entered into combat against it in north-western Liberia during September 1991. In August 1992, the fragile peace was shattered by a ULIMO offensive on NPFL-held territory, which resulted in ULIMO gaining large portions of the western region. It later emerged that ULIMO comprised Doe supporters and many ex-AFL soldiers and officers. ULIMO's offensive re-started the war, and led directly to an NPFL offensive on Monrovia, beginning on 15 October 1992. Fierce fighting continued for weeks, as ECOMOG sought to contain the NPFL advance, and was ultimately forced into an uneasy alliance with ULIMO and the AFL remnants, who had been effectively confined to barracks since November 1990. ECOMOG managed to repel the NPFL offensive but attracted much criticism for its partnership with ULIMO and the AFL, and was accused of partiality by the NPFL. It also received considerable condemnation for its use of aerial bombardment which often resulted in widespread civilian casualties.^{1a,4,5}

3.13. In late 1992 and early 1993, a bolstered ECOMOG force (now comprising some 15,000 troops, mainly Nigerian) began overtly offensive operations against the NPFL, and succeeded in imposing a blockade on certain NPFL areas, causing food shortages in the interior of Liberia and, of more significance to the NPFL, partially depriving Taylor's forces of much needed arms, ammunition and revenue. The United Nations imposed an arms embargo on all the warring factions (excluding ECOMOG) and appointed a special envoy to Liberia.^{1a}

3.14. As a result of the increasingly successful ECOMOG-led offensive against the NPFL, Taylor recommenced negotiations with ECOMOG and the IGNU. During these negotiations, it emerged that between 500-600 civilians had been massacred in June 1993 at the displaced persons' camp in Harbel, 50 kms from Monrovia, where they had been sheltering from the recent fighting. Although initially blamed on the NPFL, a UN Commission of Inquiry, established to investigate the killings, concluded that the AFL were responsible.^{1a,6}

? Cotonou Peace Agreement, 1993

3.15. All-party talks, held in Geneva in the spring of 1993, resulted in a peace accord being signed by all warring factions in Cotonou, Benin, on 25 July 1993. The agreement called for a UN-sponsored ceasefire, the disarmament of all combatants, the establishment of a transitional government and, eventually, nationwide elections. An expanded ECOMOG, together with the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), established by UN Security Council Resolution 886 in September 1993, were to monitor the implementation of the agreement. Although several problems were initially encountered, the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), represented by all factions, was installed on 7 March 1994, headed by a prominent lawyer, David Kpomakpor, and disarmament of the estimated 60,000 combatants began, albeit slowly.^{1a,6,7}

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3.16. Fighting broke out again after both ULIMO and the NPFL split. There was heavy factional fighting in Tubmanburg during March 1994, following the division on ethnic grounds between the Mandingo and Krahn ULIMO contingents, and around the NPFL headquarters at Gbarnga, Bong county, in September 1994. In the same month, a former AFL commander, Charles Julu, led an unsuccessful coup attempt in Monrovia. Julu and six other officers were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment after being convicted of sedition in July 1995. All were, however, later pardoned by the transitional ruling council.^{1b,7}

? Akosombo Peace Agreement, 1994

3.17. A Ghanaian initiative, established during Rawlings' Presidency of ECOWAS, led to further peace talks between Taylor (NPFL), Bowen (AFL) and Kromah (ULIMO-K) in the summer of 1994, culminating in the signing of the Akosombo Accord on 12 September 1994. The Accord met with widespread disapproval as it did not encompass all Liberian factions, and effectively partitioned Liberia. Due to vocal opposition by church leaders, civilian politicians and other civic groups, who were concerned about the likelihood of a military government being established, the provisions contained in this agreement were not fully implemented. However, further inclusive talks led to the signing of another more comprehensive peace accord at Accra on 21 December 1994. The agreement (known as Akosombo II or the Accra Agreement) provided for a ceasefire (which took effect on 28 December 1994), a timetable for disarmament beginning in April 1995, elections at the end of the year, and a new government to be installed by 1 January 1996. Before this was to be achieved, the peace accord initially provided for a reconstituted Council of State. The elections, which were scheduled to take place in November 1995, were later postponed and tentatively rescheduled for August 1996.^{8,9}

? Abuja Accord, 1995

3.18. The original ceasefire was recognised by all factions, but ultimately failed prior to disarmament of the fighters. Fighting between most factions, throughout the country, resumed in February 1995. A further peace agreement, signed in Abuja, Nigeria, in August 1995, was more successful, having provided for an interim Council of State, which was installed on 1 September 1995, backed by a more effective ceasefire, which came into force on 26 August 1995. The Council of State (LNTG II) contained representatives of all the major warring factions in Liberia (except the AFL who were, however, recognised as Liberia's constitutional armed forces), and was headed by a neutral chairman, Professor Wilton Sankawulo. Again, there was some disagreement over the distribution of portfolios amongst the various factions, but most problems were later overcome.⁹

3.19. Sporadic violations of the ceasefire were reported, mainly in Gbarnga, the NPFL stronghold, and Tubmanburg (the traditional ULIMO base). In addition, the proposed disarmament programme suffered serious setbacks, with ULIMO-J (the predominantly Krahn group led by ex-AFL commander General Roosevelt Johnson) refusing to surrender weapons to ECOMOG troops. The distribution of humanitarian aid to areas outside Monrovia was also seriously restricted, and the renewed fighting

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brought further civilian casualties.⁹

3.20. Following the ceasefire, which had been largely effective since its beginning on 26 August 1995, rival groups were to disengage, withdraw behind established buffer zones, report to disengagement centres and surrender their weapons to ECOMOG troops, under the observation of UNOMIL. However, due to extremely limited resources and skirmishes with some of the unco-operative factions, ECOMOG were unable to disarm the estimated 60,000 combatants (later revised down to approximately 30,000) at anywhere near significant levels, and their programme quickly fell behind schedule. A special Ceasefire Violations Committee (CVC) was established by UNOMIL, charged with the responsibility for investigating breaches of the already tenuous peace plan.^{10a}

3.21. In the most serious violation of the ceasefire, during December 1995, fighting broke out at Tubmanburg between a weak ECOMOG force, comprising mainly Nigerian troops, and a large contingent from the ULIMO-J camp. Several ECOMOG troops were killed, many more wounded and approximately 130 were taken hostage. On 16 January 1996, after lengthy periods of negotiation, ULIMO-J agreed to an exchange of prisoners and bodies, and to surrender any arms captured during the incident. However, on 1 March 1996, ECOMOG withdrew from Tubmanburg owing to ULIMO-J's reluctance to surrender any weapons or withdraw from Tubmanburg, and responded forcefully to ULIMO-J's continued belligerence. ECOMOG troops were later able to deploy in order to implement the disarmament plan agreed under the Abuja peace accord, and create the much needed buffer zones to separate the various factions.^{1c,9,10b}

? The Siege of Monrovia, 1996

3.22. In February 1996, the Executive of ULIMO-J ousted General Roosevelt Johnson as their commander-in-chief. This was quickly followed by Johnson's removal from the Council of State. A warrant for his arrest was issued by the Ministry of Justice, in connection with the murder of the new ULIMO-J leader. Johnson, supported by troops still loyal to him, sought refuge in the Barclay Training Centre in Monrovia, former base of the AFL. An attempt by Taylor to implement the arrest warrant led to intense fighting in Monrovia during April, between Taylor's NPFL, supported by Alhaji Kromah's ULIMO-K, and the AFL/ULIMO-J of Johnson. Johnson was, in turn, supported by the leader of a separate Krahn faction, the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), led by George Boley. The resultant fighting, the heaviest and most costly Monrovia had witnessed since the beginning of the civil war, led to approximately 3,000 deaths, including several hundred from starvation and disease.^{1c,9,10cd}

3.23. Foreign residents of Monrovia, who had taken refuge at the US Embassy complex at Mamba Point, were evacuated and thousands of Liberians civilians fled from the city by boat. Three boats, chartered to carry refugees, made their way to Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Takoradi, Ghana. A ceasefire was eventually negotiated and, after the factions withdrew from their frontlines, peacekeeping troops deployed around Monrovia in an attempt to recommence the implementation of the Abuja Accord. However, sporadic fighting continued into June 1996, before a general ceasefire was declared after the Krahn factions, the LPC and ULIMO-J agreed to surrender their weapons before retreating from Monrovia to encampment centres outside the city.^{1c,9,10d}

3.24. Following heavy international pressure, the major warring factions, with the exception of Roosevelt Johnson (ULIMO-J) who was not present, signed a further agreement at an ECOWAS summit in July 1996, indicating their willingness and desire to adhere to the principles set out in the Abuja

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Accord. A further meeting of the summit in August, which included Johnson, approved a reconstituted Council of State (LNTG III), to be led by Ruth Sando Perry, a former senator during the Doe regime. The Council of State was later installed in September 1996. The accord also provided for an immediate ceasefire, disarmament of all combatants by the end of January 1997 and nationwide elections to take place in May 1997, with an elected government to be installed by 15 June 1997. The ECOWAS foreign ministers also agreed that they would take punitive action against any faction leader who failed to comply with the principles of the Abuja Accord.^{10d}

3.25. Following the Abuja summit, there were several significant instances of ceasefire violations, despite the various factions' pledges to abide by the new agreement. Aid workers, who were for the first time able to venture into areas beyond Monrovia under ECOMOG protection, discovered thousands of starving Liberians, who had been effectively cut off from all humanitarian supplies as a result of skirmishes between the rival groups. ECOMOG deployment, in an attempt to disarm all the combatants by the January 31 deadline, succeeded in re-opening most major highways, thereby allowing relief agencies to deliver aid to where it was most needed. During the disarmament period, various agencies reported signs of massacres, and there were several serious clashes which resulted in civilian casualties.^{10d}

D. Return to Politics, 1996

3.26. There was an assassination attempt against Charles Taylor in Monrovia in October 1996. However, no faction claimed responsibility. The AFL, who had remained quiet in the previous months, declared that, despite the fact that they had effectively been disarmed already, they would disband as a gesture of goodwill, and in order to restore confidence in the electorate. ECOWAS assumed full responsibility for security.^{10h,14b}

3.27. In March 1997, Alhaji Kromah was arrested following the discovery of an arms cache at his property near Monrovia. Charges were later dropped, but not before a strike in support of Kromah. Although ceasefire violations continued, there were no serious security problems in Liberia after the disarmament deadline. ECOMOG secured buffer zones separating the various factions, some of which continued to fight despite having been partially disarmed.^{10h}

E. Elections, 1997

3.28. The major factions continued preparations for the forthcoming elections by declaring that they had dissolved their armed wings and had been reconstituted as political parties. Charles Taylor (NPFL), Alhaji Kromah (ULIMO-K) and George Boley (LPC) all announced their intention to stand for election in May 1997 but, under Electoral Commission (ECOM) regulations, were obliged to resign from the interim Council of State. The LNTG III also encountered many political problems, concerning doubts as to the supervision of the elections, the possible amendment of the 1984 constitution and Mrs Perry's efforts to reimburse civil servants, many of whom had not been paid for more than 10 months.^{15a}

3.29. The Liberian elections were postponed until 19 July 1997 as the necessary legislation and logistics were not in place for the original May deadline. Polling passed off peacefully, monitored by independent foreign observers including the Carter Centre and representatives of the European Union, who declared

the elections to be free and fair with no significant irregularities. Charles Taylor was elected President and his National Patriotic Party (NPP) gained 21 of the 26 seats in the Senate and 49 of the 64 in the House of Representatives.^{10j}

F. Economy

3.30. Liberia's principal sources of income, that is shipping registration, export of timber, rubber and the mining of ores and gemstones, had been badly affected by the 1979-1989 recession. The sharp decline in the demand for iron ore and rubber, and the dramatic rise in the price of rice, one of Liberia's staple crops, were key factors in the opposition to, and eventual downfall of, the True Whig Party government in 1979-80.^{1c}

3.31. Liberia's infrastructure, which was poorly developed before the civil war began, has suffered greatly through years of neglect, under-investment and cancelled development programmes. However, more recently, the civil war caused extensive damage to the industrial and agricultural economy, to the extent that the country's external debt is estimated to be more than US\$2 billion, while the domestic debt is put at over US\$230 million.^{10k,2b}

3.32. As a result of the civil war, there are no accurate figures concerning the state of the Liberian economy, at either national or personal levels. The continued fighting led to an almost complete cessation of the official export of rubber, iron ore, timber and precious gems, on which Liberia's economy had been based. In 1996, the World Bank estimated that the average wage was \$725 per annum, which put Liberian wage earners in the "low annual income" bracket. With an 85% unemployment rate, the continued internal displacement of civilians and the absence of infrastructure throughout the country, productive capacity remained depressed until the end of 1997, despite Liberia's rich natural resources and potential self-sufficiency in food.^{2ab,1c}

3.33. The principal source of electrical power for Monrovia, the Mount Coffee Hydroelectric power station, had been almost completely destroyed by the end of 1990, and the main international airport, the Robertsfield International Airport at Harbel, remained closed for several years as a result of severe damage sustained from 1992 onwards. The smaller James Spriggs-Payne Airfield in Monrovia was re-opened to regional flights in June 1996, but had remained operational sporadically throughout the war. Both airports are currently undergoing significant rebuilding programmes.^{14a} In December 1997, the Robertsfield International Airport was re-opened to international flights, and while the government indicated that there was still a considerable amount of reconstruction work to be completed there, it also expressed hope that the re-opening would help to facilitate the recovery of Liberia's economy.^{15e}

IV INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE

A: JUDICIARY

4.1. Although the Constitution provides for an independent judiciary, judges have always been subject to political, social, familial and financial pressures. Corruption and lack of professionalism remained a recurrent problem. The judiciary is divided into 4 levels with the Supreme Court at the apex. All levels of the court system in Monrovia, including the Supreme Court, functioned, though erratically. A new

juvenile court, the first in the country's history, was established in 1997 but it tried no cases during the year. A criminal court established late in 1997 specifically to handle armed robbery cases heard only one case during 1998. Outside Monrovia the judiciary did not function in most areas due to and acute lack of trained personnel, infrastructure and resources. Several localities reverted to traditional forms of justice administered by clan chieftains.

4.2. Under the Constitution defendants have due process rights that conform to internationally accepted standards. However, in practice these rights are not always observed. Courts regularly received kickbacks on damages awarded in civil cases. Defence attorneys often suggested that their clients pay a gratuity to appease judges, prosecutors and police officers and ensure a favourable ruling. In August 1998 the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court summarily sentenced a Deputy Minister of Information to 5 days in the central prison for criminal contempt after he said in a radio interview that he felt that the judiciary was rotten. In December 1998 the President called for reform of the judiciary and dismissed a number of magistrates and justices of the peace accused of incompetence or malfeasance. ²⁴

4.3. In February 1998 President Taylor sacked Justice Minister Jallah for administrative reasons and replaced him with Eddington Varmah who was a senator in the national legislature representing Taylor's National Patriotic Party. ^{2b}

4.4. Clan chieftains continued to use the traditional practice of trial by ordeal to resolve criminal cases in rural areas. Although the Supreme Court ruled that trial by ordeal, commonly the placement of a burning metal object on a suspect's body to determine whether he or she is telling the truth, is unconstitutional, the Ministry of Internal Affairs continued tacitly to condone the practice in an unknown number of cases in 1998. A lawsuit brought in 1994 for injuries resulting from trial by ordeal was still pending before the Supreme Court at the end of the year. ²⁴

B: ARMY AND SECURITY FORCES

4.5. The security forces included the armed forces, the national police, which have primary responsibility for internal security, the Special Security Service (SSS), a large and heavily armed executive protective force as well as numerous other irregular security services attached to certain key ministries and parastatal corporations, the responsibilities of which appeared poorly defined. The national army, which fought against Taylor's faction during the civil war, has yet to be downsized and restructured as required by the Abuja Peace Accords although a restructuring plan exists. Only a few contingents have been deployed to maintain security in parts of rural areas. The many, newly created security services absorbed Taylor's most experienced civil war fighters.

While civilian authorities generally maintained control of the security forces, there were frequent instances in which the security forces acted independently of government authority. Members of the security forces committed numerous human rights abuses. ²⁴

4.6. Since coming to power in August 1997 President Taylor has made it a priority to rebuild the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) ridding it of its Krahn dominance. In January 1998 the defence ministry demobilized and retired more than 2,400 soldiers, including hundreds of senior officers. In May 1998 retired and demobilised soldiers went on the rampage for the third time to protest at not receiving their retirement benefits. Also in May the government announced plans to establish a national social policy

for former factional fighters which would provide them with free medical treatment. A new centre had also been set up which would provide vocational training. President Taylor said that restructuring of the AFL would only take place after approval by the National Legislative. He said the present exercise of demobilisation and retirement was for those who had joined the army during the war. In July Defence minister Daniel Chea announced plans to streamline the armed forces. ^{21abc and 22ab} In May 1999 he said that we would accelerate the process of restructuring the armed forces. ²⁶

4.7. See Section V B In July 1999 a defence ministry spokesman said that a lack of funds has delayed the relocation of the army from the Barclay Training Centre (BTC) to the Coast Guard Base on Bushrod Island in the western suburb of Monrovia. ²⁷

4.8. Security forces committed a substantial number of extra judicial killings during the year. Most were killings of ethnic Krahn on or after 18 September. See Section V B

4.9. On this date security forces in the capital conducted a military assault codenamed Operation Camp Johnson Road against Johnson's base. Hundreds of SSS officers and members of the police Special Task Force, joined by scores of irregular former combatants of Taylor's former faction, employed automatic weapons, rocket-propelled grenades and mortars. Much of the shooting occurred at nighttime and was indiscriminate. Credible reports indicate that as many as 300 people, most of them Krahns and many of them women and children, were killed in a 17 hour battle and in subsequent house to house searches and summary executions by government forces. Several officers of the Krahn dominated Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) were subsequently interrogated and tortured before being summarily executed. The Government falsely claimed that the men had been caught in crossfire during the earlier fighting. Following these events about 9,000 people, most members of the Krahn ethnic group, fled from the country to neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire. ²⁴ A UN fact finding team arrived in the country on 17 May 1999 to gather facts on the fighting in September 1998. ²⁵

4.10. A local human rights organisation claimed that security personnel often use torture in interrogating those they suspect of criminal activity. There were numerous credible reports that security forces subjected citizens to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. On several occasions during the year security forces publicly disrobed, flogged and humiliated perceived opponents of the administration. In April 1998 the Director of Police ordered the flogging of a member designate of the Liberia Human Rights Commission for an alleged traffic violation. J. Kormah Bryemah sustained multiple contusions from the flogging. President Taylor appointed a commission to investigate the matter but refused to publicise its findings claiming that he had ordered the probe for his personal information. The Senate subsequently declined to confirm Bryemah's appointment to the commission. ²⁴

4.11. The Government often despatched security force units to rural areas without paying or provisioning them. There were many incidents in which members of the security services and the armed forces serving in rural parts of the country harassed and extorted money and goods from civilians. There were many credible reports that security forces harassed returning refugees, displaced people and refugees from Sierra Leone, especially in the border areas. ²⁴

C: POLICE AND PRISONS

4.12. The Constitution prohibits arbitrary arrest and detention and provides for the rights of the accused, including warrants for arrest and the right to be either charged or released within 48 hours. However, many people arrested were not released or brought before a judge within this timescale. ^{2b} Although the Government generally adhered to these constitutional requirements warrants were not always based on sufficient evidence and detainees, especially those without the means to hire a lawyer, were often held for more than 48 hours without charge. ²⁴

4.13. In April 18 police officers were suspended for alleged unprofessional conduct including police brutality. ^{21e} Lengthy pre-trial detention is also a serious problem. The police have only limited logistics and forensic capabilities and cannot adequately investigate many crimes including murder cases. When the courts release known criminals for lack of evidence, police officers often re-arrest them on specious charges. ²⁴

4.14. In August 1999 President Taylor appointed Paul Mulbah a former aide of an exiled civil war rival as his new police chief. He replaced Joe Tate who was killed in a plane crash on 10 August. ²⁸ Following his appointment Mr Mulbah announced measures to clean up his crime-ridden force beginning with gun control among police officers. ²⁹

4.15. Prison conditions were harsh and in some cases life threatening. The Government did not provide prisoners with adequate food or medical care. Cells at Monrovia Central Prison were occasionally overcrowded with prisoners awaiting trial. The Deputy Minister of Justice for Corrections welcomed and supported initiatives by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and other NGOs to make improvements to prison facilities in Monrovia and Kakata. President Taylor visited Monrovia's Central Prison in December and subsequently ordered the release of some prisoners being held without charge. Women, who constituted about 5% of the prison population, were held in separate cells. There were no separate facilities for juvenile offenders. Human rights groups were granted frequent access to prisoners in Monrovia and these groups often obtained medical treatment for prisoners. In a number of cases, human rights groups and interested individuals achieved the release of prisoners. ²⁴

V. HUMAN RIGHTS

A. INTRODUCTION

Human Rights Abuses During the War

5.1. Throughout the seven year war there were numerous credible reports of human rights abuses committed with impunity by all the warring factions, mainly against innocent civilians as territory was seized or raided. These abuses include looting and destruction of property, abductions, enforced conscription, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, extrajudicial killings and massacres of civilians. It is difficult to get an exact number of victims of serious human rights violations during the period, but it is estimated that about 200,000 were killed, up to 750,000 became refugees, and over 1.2 million of a pre-war population of 2.8 million were internally displaced.^{1a,2a,10k}

5.2. The civil war, which began on 24 December 1989, was dominated by ethnically-aligned factions, most of which have been accused of participating in various atrocities, the majority against innocent and unarmed civilians. ECOMOG troops, the majority of which are Nigerian, have also been accused of human rights abuses and partiality. The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) are believed to have been responsible for the massacre of over 1,000 civilians in two separate instances: St Peter's Lutheran Church in Monrovia in July 1990 and Harbel Plantation in June 1993. Personnel of the Rapid Response Unit (RRU), established by the LNTG II in 1995 in order to combat a dramatic rise in crime in Monrovia, have also been accused of committing serious abuses of human rights and other unconstitutional acts. These abuses include unlawful arrest and detention, torture and extrajudicial executions.^{2a}

5.3. The conflict in Liberia was essentially a power struggle, with some ethnic elements. Because the control of faction leaders over their troops was often loose and the central government, law and order, and physical infrastructure of Liberia had been either seriously damaged or eliminated altogether, the hostilities were characterised by widespread lawlessness, the easy availability of small arms and gross violation of human rights by all factions against innocent civilians. The IGNU and the LNTGs were unable to exercise effective control due to the poor security situation and were therefore limited in their ability to provide protection to Liberian citizens outside Monrovia. Furthermore, in April 1996, following the escalation of fighting in Monrovia, the already fragile judicial system collapsed and courts did not resume operation until September 1996. While Monrovia continued to operate with a degree of normalcy for the greater part of the war, the remainder of the country has been subject to the general lawlessness which has permitted the various factions to act with impunity and with no regard for human life. The long-term absence of a responsible, accountable or representative government has compounded the systematic abuse of civil liberties which has characterised Liberia's past.^{10k,7}

The Liberian Constitution and the New Government

5.4. The 1984 Liberian constitution provides for certain fundamental human rights, and is supported by a theoretically independent judiciary. However, the security situation during the war meant that there was little chance to adhere to the constitution or uphold its tenets. Furthermore, tribal affiliations and loyalties, together with corruption and general inefficiency, have played significant roles in the Liberian way of life and have all been major factors affecting the impartiality of the police, judiciary and other government bodies.^{1c,2a} Following the July 1997 elections, Charles Taylor was sworn in as President of the Republic of Liberia on 2 August 1997. A new government has also since been sworn in under the

1984 constitution, which remains the operative basic law of the land. ^{2b}

B. SECURITY SITUATION

5.5. Prior to the July 1997 elections, the Liberia National Police (LNP) and the National Security Agency (NSA), which report to the Ministry of Justice, together with the Special Security Services (SSS), which report directly to the head of state, were nominally responsible for internal security, but they lacked the resources and training to function effectively. ECOMOG troops, numbering approximately 10,500 and deployed throughout the country, remained the key military force maintaining security and supporting the government, both before and after the July 1997 elections. During the seven year civil war, ECOMOG had assumed many police powers in the absence of a central government capability, and while it also generally maintained internal discipline, there were a number of incidents in which individual ECOMOG soldiers tortured and killed both former combatants and civilians. ^{2b}

5.6. The security situation in Liberia remained reasonably calm throughout late 1996 and early 1997, with only minor and sporadic outbreaks of fighting, mainly between rival militia in the hinterland. ECOMOG troops were able to exercise control in most regions, having established firm buffer zones, and were successful in disarming large numbers of former combatants. Following the February 1997 deadline for faction leaders to dismantle their paramilitary forces, there were few instances of ceasefire violations, which enabled ECOMOG to provide the necessary security for the safe conduct of the elections. There were no reports of ceasefire violations after January 1997. ^{10h} However, while significant disarmament had been achieved, factional command and control structures were not completely dismantled and remained largely in place. ^{2b}

5.7. While there were no significant security incidents, either immediately prior to or immediately after the elections, Monrovia has experienced an increase in violent crime, ^{10k} including looting, ritualistic killings and vigilante justice. ^{2b} A National Security Council, which includes the ECOMOG Force Commander, was established by President Taylor and a meeting of the ECOWAS heads of state in Abuja in August 1997 recommended that ECOMOG remains in Liberia in order to help the Liberian government establish and train a reconstituted national police force. The government has since appointed superintendents for all thirteen Liberian counties and the Liberia National Police have begun preparations to re-open police stations across the country. ^{10k} During 1997, there were reports that members of the security forces, including the police, had committed serious human rights abuses, which increased towards the end of the year. ^{2b}

5.8. In November 1997, President Taylor stated that the task of restructuring the AFL was now his responsibility, not ECOMOG's, and announced the formation of a 1,000 man force to form the nucleus of a new AFL, most of whom it is believed will come from Taylor's disbanded NPFL militia. For its part, ECOMOG's commander, General Victor Malu, has stated that the force is ready to leave as soon as the Liberian government has made a case to the ECOWAS that it is prepared to assume full responsibility for Liberia's security. It was expected that ECOMOG would not remain in Liberia beyond the expiry of its current mandate on 2 February 1998. However, in November 1997, Taylor stated that he favoured ECOMOG's continuing presence beyond that date, but only as a capacity-building mission

which would assist him in maintaining peace and security in Liberia.^{15b,18} Nigeria said it would withdraw its last batch of peace-keeping soldiers in late September 1999. Some 80 Nigerian soldiers are still in Liberia as part of the ECOMOG force charged with overseeing the destruction of weapons remaining from the country's 7 year civil war.³⁴ See paragraph 5.26

5.9. On 27 June 1997, the United Nations Security Council approved the extension of UNOMIL's mandate to cover the elections and the installation of the new government. However, that mandate finally expired on 30 September 1997, whereupon the UNOMIL observers commenced their withdrawal from Liberia. The UN Secretary General has recommended that a permanent office is established in Liberia to promote peace, reconciliation and reconstruction.^{10j} In December 1997, it was announced that a UN peace-building mission would be established in Monrovia for six months.^{2b}

5.10. The July 1997 elections have been accepted as credible by international observers and the majority of the Liberian political parties. President Taylor gave his assurances that he would establish and promote a human rights commission and a national reconciliation commission in Liberia, and has called for continued international aid in order to rebuild the country's ravaged economy and infrastructure.^{14e}

5.11. The UN Secretary General has reported that humanitarian assistance is still much needed in Liberia. Although the security situation has remained relatively stable for over a year, the provision of humanitarian aid in rural areas is sporadic, mainly due to the poor condition of roads and the effects of the rainy season (May to October). Basic medical, sanitation and drinking water supplies are well below normal levels, and only approximately 25% of pre-war public and private health facilities are functioning. The UNHCR and other UN organisations and NGOs are in the process of attempting to persuade the externally displaced refugees to return to Liberia, and are establishing welfare and agricultural programmes to assist those who do return.^{10ij} By the end of 1997, approximately 1.5 million people in Liberia were said to be dependent upon humanitarian assistance to survive.^{2b}

5.12. On 9 December 1997 President Taylor appointed Alhaji Kromah of the Coalition Party of All Liberian People as chairman of the National Commission on Reconciliation. However, Kromah who had remained outside Liberia, said that he felt unsafe about returning and was replaced in March 1998. On 1 December opposition politician, Samuel Doike, and several other family members were detained on the orders of Taylor's chief bodyguard. Their deaths were later confirmed and 5 members of the Special Security Service were arrested in connection with the murders. Charges against 3 of these were subsequently dropped so that they could serve as state witnesses. These suspects were later freed by a court for lack of evidence. ^{21d f 23 22c}

5.13. In March 1998 ECOMOG troops surrounded the area around the home of former warlord Roosevelt Johnson after overnight shooting there. Johnson, minister for rural development, accused members of the Special Security Service, of attacking his home and trying to kill him. This was denied by the Information Minister. President Taylor later removed Johnson from his position as rural development minister and named him ambassador to India. ^{21g 22d e}

5.14. The chairman of the National Human Rights Monitor alleged that former generals of dissolved warring factions were holding women and children hostage in south east Liberia. In June 1998 ECOMOG troops withdrew from Monrovia streets alleging harassment from Liberian security services. However, they redeployed at checkpoints across the capital Monrovia in July when a government spokesman said that ECOMOG was working jointly with government security forces to tighten security in the city. Following the improved security situation the curfew in Monrovia which had been in place

since 1992 was lifted. 21h 22f g

5.15. In June 1998 the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) said that its staff had been placed under security surveillance and security officers had been enquiring about its Director Kofi Woods. The Commission referred to a press statement by the Information Minister, Joe Mulbah, in which he termed the Commission and its director as anti-government. The Justice Ministry later denied that the government intends to arrest the Director of the JPC. 22g h

5.16. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Kanneh accused a security agency of misinforming the President and called for the replacement of the police director Joe Tate. Also in July the Deputy Information Minister accused former warlord Roosevelt Johnson of planning subversion to destabilise the country. The Liberian Women Initiative (LWI) complained about disappearances and subsequent murders of individuals which were linked to government security forces. This followed the arrest of a member of the Special Security Service in connection with the abduction and probable murder of a 37 year old woman. The Secretary General of the LWI was later charged with inciting the public. In addition legislators from Montserrado Country also referred to such disappearances and described the criminal justice system as ineffective. 22h i

5.17. The Liberian Council of Churches (LCC) accused the government of doing nothing to halt human rights abuses in the country. In July the Liberian Senate approved amendments to the act creating the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). The amended act empowers the Commission to reach decisions by simple majority and not consensus. The Commission's decision, according to the act, can only be reviewed by the Supreme Court and the Commission's decision is enforceable by the Circuit Court. It also has the right to subpoena witnesses to testify.

22j 21i

5.18. Grand Gedeh superintendent confirmed that national security forces were constantly harassing citizens in the country and this was undermining the resettlement programme in the area. The superintendent lodged a formal complaint about the harassment to Defence ministry authorities and said that joint security operations in the country were dominated by the Armed Forces of Liberia. A member of the NHRC also called for an investigation into the alleged harassment of citizens in Margibi and Rivercess counties. A Grand Kru County senator later described human rights groups as enemies of the State and said that they were painting a bad picture of the country. In July police authorities in Lofa County admitted to continuous security harassment of civilians in the county. However, a police commander in Kolahun District said that the police were not involved and accused soldiers of the AFL of being responsible. He said these soldiers were performing police duties and the police detachment itself was working to restore law and order. 22l k

5.19. In August tension flared again around former warlord Johnson's home following the shooting of one of his bodyguards by ECOMOG troops who were trying to stop a fracas. In September Johnson took

refuge in the US Embassy following clashes between government troops and his supporters. The fighting led to many deaths. Subsequently some prominent religious leaders complained of looting, harassment and intimidation by security forces. The offices of the opposition leader of the Unity Party, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, were also looted

5.20. President Taylor subsequently apologised for these acts and said that some security men had been arrested for their involvement. President Taylor also promised a fair trial for those people charged with sedition. Roosevelt Johnson was also one of those charged with treason and Taylor called upon the US government to hand over Johnson and his supporters. Approximately 1 week after he had sought refuge at the embassy the US authorities flew Johnson and some of his entourage out of the country.^{22l 21j 22m}

5.21. Following these events the JPC issued a statement demanding transparency and accountability. As a result of this 4 JPC members were called to the Ministry of Justice to clarify their statement. Rumours that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of the JPC director were later denied by the authorities. 29 officers and enlisted men of the AFL were subsequently detained and charged with mutiny, sedition and aiding and abetting enemies. An attempt to forcibly free them in October led to the deaths of 11 people after a shootout at the detention centre. In November Ellen Johnson Sirleaf said that she had been named in an indictment which listed those charged with treason. Justice minister Varmah later said that Ms Sirleaf was not one of the 32 indicted. Amnesty International expressed concern at the climate of growing insecurity and said that independent media and human rights defenders had recently been the target of an increasing clamp-down at the hands of the authorities. On 9 November 32 people, mostly ethnic Krahn supporters of former warlord, Roosevelt Johnson, went on trial for treason. Johnson and another former warlord, Alhaji Kromah, were to be tried in absentia. Justice minister Varmah said the trial would be fair and fully transparent and that rights groups and the press would be able to follow the proceedings.^{22n o p q}

5.22. Until mid September the Taylor administration permitted domestic and international human rights groups to operate largely without interference but members of the security forces frequently harassed individual democracy and human rights activists. Although the Government routinely criticised these actions and pledged to investigate them and punish the perpetrators, it did not follow through on these pledges. Harassment increased significantly during the last 3 months of the year as domestic human rights groups and international NGO workers attempted to gather data on the number of persons who were killed, wounded and remain missing as a result of Operation Camp Johnson Road.

5.23. Domestic human rights organisations were underfunded, understaffed and their personnel lacked adequate training. There are 2 coalitions of human rights groups: the National Human Rights Centre of Liberia has 12 member organisations while 4 other groups joined together to form the Liberia Federation of Human Rights Organisations. Both of these organisations sought to further public discussion of human rights problems.

5.24. Some of the human rights groups paid regular visits to detainees at police headquarters and prisoners at the central prison. Several domestic human rights organisations have established branches outside the capital and perform similar monitoring functions there. There was no discernible pattern of government interference with these activities.²⁴ In May 1999 the National Human Rights Commission called for support saying that the lack of funds and logistics have paralysed the Commission. He said the commission is facing difficulties in investigating and monitoring human rights cases in the country.³⁰

5.25. On 14 May President Taylor dismissed 11 cabinet ministers and several heads of public corporations and autonomous agencies after they failed to attend the official programme marking the

end of 3 days of national prayer and fasting. He later re-instated them. ³¹

5.26. In June 1999 an elite security unit known as the Anti-Terrorist Unit was set up and the government called upon all public and private interests, observers and international organisations to feel at liberty to assess the behaviour and operational methods of the ATU. President Taylor said that the unit specialises in the protection of all facilities, both public and private, which have the capacity to accommodate large gatherings. The ATU are experts in the deterrence of sabotage. ³²

5.27. On 26 July some of the weapons used in the civil war were burned at a symbolic ceremony in Monrovia. The weapons were handed over by former warring factions in the civil war in 1997. The rest of the weapons used in the war are to be burned in Bomi County. ³³

5.28. In August 1999 the UN World Food Programme began distributing emergency food aid to thousands of civilians in the Voinjama area of Northern Liberia following fighting between government forces and rebels. ³⁵ The Liberia Refugee Repatriation and Resettlement Commission (LRRRC) said that fighting in the Vahun, Lolahun and Voinjama areas had stalled the operation of most aid agencies and the humanitarian situation was alarming. ³⁶

C: SPECIFIC GROUPS

MINORITIES/ETHNICITY

5.29. In its 1974 census, the Liberian government recognised sixteen indigenous ethnic groups, including the Bassa, Gbandi, Gio, Grebo, Kpelle, Kru, Krahn, Loma, Mandingoes (Malinke), Mano, Vai. These groups are distinguished by linguistic rather than physical characteristics, although there may be as many as six distinct dialects within just one of them, and while most fall into geographical clusters, these areas are not necessarily unified by any common culture, sociology, religion or political loyalty. So in reality, they appear to be more a reflection of the fairly arbitrary system which the old Whig government used to catalogue and organise the indigenous people. They, along with the Americo-Liberians, the Fande (an ethnic group of Ghanaian origin) and a small number of miscellaneous groups, constitute the population of Liberia. ⁴

5.30. It is widely recognised that Liberia has not been traditionally afflicted by inter-ethnic strife, with members of the different ethnic groups living in close proximity and with frequent intermarriage between them. However, while ethnic tensions did increase with the arrival of the Americo-Liberians in the early nineteenth century in a situation that can best be described as a case of "indigenous" versus "outsider", ethnic difference only became a serious problem with Samuel Doe's accession to power, his privileging of his own Krahn group, and his severe mistreatment of the Gio and Mano. [REDACTED]

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against the Gio and Mano.⁸ More recently, some Krahn have claimed systematic discrimination by the Taylor administration, although there are some Krahn holding ministerial positions in the new government.^{2b} No ethnic or regional group was conspicuously over represented in the Government.²⁴

5.31. Although the Liberian constitution prohibits ethnic discrimination, the war involved fighters from all factions torturing and deliberately killing unarmed civilians suspected of opposing them, often solely because of their ethnic origin, as they seized or raided another group's territory, which led civilians to flee the areas of fighting. Even previously aligned ethnic groups were affected by the spiralling violence, as can be seen in the case of the ULIMO faction. In March 1994, this split into ULIMO-J, led by Roosevelt Johnson and dominated by the Krahn, and ULIMO-K, led by Alhaji Kromah and dominated by the Mandingo. Heavy fighting broke out between the two factions, who raided each other's territory, harassing, torturing and killing civilians. Much of the fighting between the two factions was focused on occupation of the town of Tubmanburg, which had served as the ULIMO headquarters before the split. In November 1994, the two factions agreed a ceasefire and peace negotiations began in April 1995, but fighting was resumed in Grand Cape Mount and Bomi counties in May 1995, and clashes continued into late 1996. In January 1996, there were reports that members of the LPC were killing, raping and harassing members of the Grebo ethnic group in south-eastern Liberia.^{7,17ab}

5.32. While the constitution prohibits ethnic discrimination, it also provides that only "persons who are negroes or of negroe descent" may be citizens or own land, thus denying full rights to many persons who were born or lived most of their lives in Liberia including those of Asian descent. Although there has been no government initiative to repeal this provision, there are reports that non-Liberians have acquired Liberian passports. The 1975 economic "Liberianisation" law prohibits foreign ownership of certain businesses, such as travel agencies, retail gasoline stations, and beer and soft-drinks distributors.^{2a} In October 1997, several bills extending the Liberianisation law were passed by the legislature, but by the end of that year they had not yet been signed into law by the president.^{2b}

5.33. A very large but undetermined number of innocent citizens who happened to be of the Krahn ethnic group were victimised during house to house searches following Operation Camp Johnson Road. Government security forces also turned away from hospitals virtually every Krahn who sought treatment for wounds received during the fighting.

5.34. Many members of the predominantly muslim Mandingo minority encountered hostility when they sought to return, after the end of the civil war, to their to their villages in Lofa, Bong and Nimba counties. Many Mandingos were unable to re-occupy their own homes, which had been taken over by squatters. Members of the Lorma, Gio and Mano minorities generally held all Mangingos responsible for atrocities committed by the ULIMO-Mandingo faction during the civil war. The lack of competent security forces and a fully functioning judiciary in these areas prevented many Mandingos from seeking redress.²⁴

5.35. During 1997, there were several instances of mistreatment of foreigners, including citizens of ECOWAS countries, especially Nigerians. Several immigration officers were dismissed for beating and harassing foreign nationals in October 1997.^{2b} In November 1997, there were reports that some Nigerians living in Liberia were fleeing the country because of alleged torture and hostilities at the hands of Liberian security personnel. It is claimed that about 3,000 Nigerians and other Africans have left Monrovia as a result. However, the reports were subsequently denied by the Liberian authorities, which stated that its immigration bureau has at no time launched a crackdown on Nigerians or any other foreign nationals in Liberia. They claimed that the recent departure of hundreds of Nigerians from Liberia was facilitated by the Nigerian Embassy, which recognised that all those repatriated to Nigeria

were without valid travel documents, in contravention of ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of citizens in member states.^{141]}

Women and Children

5.36. Women have been particular victims of violence during the war, suffering a dramatic increase in rape and sexual harassment, in addition to being targeted indiscriminately by the various factions, along with children and the elderly. In June 1995, 652 women were reported to have been raped in Buchanan within the prior six months, mostly by members of the warring factions. In some areas, the rate of teenage pregnancy has doubled, with corresponding effects on the educational level and social status of girls. Even before the war, domestic violence against women was extensive, but never seriously addressed as an issue by governments, the media or women's groups. However, during the war, several women's organisations were established to advance family welfare issues, to help promote political reconciliation and to assist in rehabilitating former combatants as well as civilian victims of war. Meanwhile, several NGOs in Monrovia and Buchanan have developed programmes designed to treat abused women and girls and to increase awareness of their human rights. A related problem is the rapid spread of HIV infection, as a result of rape and forced prostitution in Liberia and among refugees in neighbouring countries.^{6,2a,19}

5.37. The status of women varies according to region, ethnic group and religion. Before the outbreak of the war, women held one-fourth of the professional and technical occupations available in Monrovia, and women currently hold skilled jobs in government, including in the judiciary. In urban areas, women can inherit land and property, but in rural areas, where traditional customs are stronger, a woman is normally considered the property of her husband and his clan, and cannot usually inherit from him.^{2a} or retain custody of her children if her husband dies. There continued to be few programmes to help former combatants re-integrate into society and there were none specifically to benefit former female combatants. However, several women's organisations advanced family welfare issues, helped promote political reconciliation and assisted in rehabilitating both former female combatants and women who were victims of the civil war.²⁴

5.38. Throughout the year, professional women's groups, including lawyers, marketers and businesswomen, remained vocal about their concerns. Government officials often responded negatively to public criticism. There were credible reports of harassment and possible surveillance of outspoken critics. Security officers forcibly brought a prominent women's rights activist to police headquarters for questioning and detained her for several hours after she revealed to the media that there were witnesses to the killing and secret burial of a market woman. The activist was eventually set free but only after thousands of women threatened to march on police headquarters to demand her release.²⁴

5.39. Female genital mutilation is widely condemned by international health experts as damaging to both physical and psychological health. FGM traditionally has been performed on young girls by northern, western and central tribes, particularly in rural areas among traditional societies. Prior to the onset of the civil war in 1989 approximately 50% of women in rural areas between the ages of 8 and 18 were subjected to FGM. In some instances female health professionals in the tribes participated in the practice to the extent of providing post operative care.

5.40. The war totally disrupted traditional village life. Most of the population fled to neighbouring countries or became displaced within the country. Social structures and traditional institutions such as

the secret societies which often performed FGM as an initiation rite were also undermined by the war. While many experts believe the incidence of FGM had dropped to as low as 10% by the end of the war, traditional societies are re-establishing themselves throughout the country and a rise in the incidence of FGM is expected. The most extreme form of FGM, infibulation, is not practised. The Government has taken no action against FGM. ²⁴ Social workers in Liberia estimate that more than 90% of rural women between the ages of 8 and 18 have undergone the practice. UN agencies, in collaboration with the Association of Female Lawyers of Liberia (AFL), said that they will lobby influential female legislators and judges to fight the scourge. Liberia's 5 human rights organisations have assured AFL that they will lobby parliament to pass legislation against the practice. ³⁷

5.41. Due to the poor condition of government schools most children who attended school went to private institutions. Since many private schools had to be refurbished due to wartime damage, school fees were increased greatly, thereby making education unattainable for many school age children. In both public and private schools children were often asked to provide their own books, pencils and paper. No date was known to be available on either school enrolment or government expenditure on education. ²⁴

5.42. Children in Liberia have also been seriously victimised during the civil war. 77% of children are estimated to have lost a close relative. Many became orphaned when their parents were brutally killed in front of them, while others became separated from their families when they were caught in the fighting, and thus accepted the "protection" that it was thought joining a faction would bring. The Liberian war has been characterised by the forcible or voluntary conscription of child soldiers, a practice forbidden under the Protocols of the Geneva Conventions and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, both of which Liberia has signed. Children proved easy prey for the various factions, some of which provided addictive drugs to ensure their compliance and continued participation in warfare. 50,000 children are estimated to have been killed, while many were wounded, or themselves committed atrocities. It has also been estimated that those under the age of 15, including some as young as 8, made up 10% of the 40,000 to 60,000 combatants in Liberia, with an added 20% being under the age of 18. Many youths remain traumatised and some are still addicted to drugs. The reintegration of these children into their communities presents enormous problems, as close relatives may have died or fled, and some have refused to take their children back because of the abuses they have committed. An estimated 1.4 million children experienced violence, hunger and homelessness during the war. The number of street children in Monrovia and the number of abandoned infants increased significantly following disarmament. NGOs and UNICEF continued retraining and rehabilitation programmes for a limited number of former child fighters. A new juvenile court was established in Monrovia in 1997 but it lacked the resources and personnel to function. Children continued to be incarcerated with adults and there were long delays in deciding cases involving minors. ^{24 2ab,6,8,12}

D: OTHER ISSUES

FREEDOM OF POLITICAL OPINION

5.43. The Constitution provides for the right to vote in free and fair elections and citizens exercised this right in 1997 in elections that international observers deemed free and transparent. However, the elections were conducted in an atmosphere of intimidation as most voters believed that the forces loyal to Charles Taylor would resume the civil war if Taylor were to lose the election. Since the legislative election was held on the basis of proportional representation Taylor's National Patriotic Party won control of the legislature by the same 75% majority that Taylor received in the popular vote for the presidency. The 1997 legislative and presidential elections were held under a special election law in accordance with the terms of the Abuja peace process.

5.44. In July the chairman of the Election Commission issued a warning that candidates for public office who engaged in ritualistic killing in the belief that it would enhance their electability would be disqualified and would face criminal prosecution for murder. This appeared to be a response to a genuine social problem rather than an attempt by the Government to create a pretext for restricting political competition.

5.45. The Congress did not exercise genuine independence from the executive branch. Opposition legislators, who controlled only one quarter of the seats in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, were generally more docile than some maverick members of the ruling NPP. Although all representatives and senators had been elected by proportional representation and did not campaign in their individual districts, most demonstrated a strong sense of responsibility towards their constituents. However, Congressional committees failed to develop expertise in their respective areas of responsibility. No major legislation was passed into law during the year.

5.46. The State is highly centralised. The President appoints the governors of the 13 counties. Municipalities and chieftancies elect their own officials. Subnational governments at all levels have no independent revenue base and rely entirely on the central Government for funds. Education, health and public works are provided by central Government civil servants. Local officials serve mainly as lobbyists to the central Government.

5.47. Municipal and chieftaincy elections were to have been held in May. Due to disorganisation, poor planning and financial mismanagement, polls were held in just one county where a by-election was required to fill a vacant senate seat. The election commission spent 480,000 dollars on the Lofa County election in which only 40,000 citizens cast ballots. Disgruntled poll workers who claimed that they did not get paid held a member of the Election Commission hostage for several weeks to dramatise their demands. Polling in the country's 12 other counties was at first put off until October and then postponed until the spring of 1999. ²⁴

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS

5.48. The Liberian constitution provides for freedom of speech and the press, but the government limited and continually challenged these freedoms. In April 1997, the NPFL-appointed Information Minister blocked the publication of six Monrovia newspapers, claiming that they had not paid the required registration fees. After the July 1997 election, the Information Minister repeatedly cautioned members of the press to scrutinise their newspapers, to ensure that they accorded due courtesy and respect for the government and its officials. In November 1997, the Taylor administration also threatened to close the national radio station, which was known for its independence, whereafter its reporting became more favourable towards the government. Government harassment of the press increased towards the end of 1997, including arbitrary arrests, illegal detention, and intimidation of journalists by the security forces. The restrictive media law, instituted during the Doe regime in the 1980s, remained in force and provided the Ministry of Information with wide discretion to regulate journalists.^{2b} The Justice and Peace Commission researched the matter and found that an interim legislature had repealed the decree in August 1993. However, to allay lingering concern President Taylor formally repealed the decree in July.²⁴ On 20 March 1998 the Ministry of Information announced new media guidelines which, if enforced, would have driven most private newspapers and radio stations out of business. The Press Union of Liberia challenged the guidelines as unconstitutional because they restricted freedom of expression. After discussing the issue with the press union, the Ministry agreed to revise the guidelines to the satisfaction of the private media.²⁴

5.49. During the years of civil war, the lack of security and an increasingly difficult economic climate meant that independent newspapers and radio stations were unable to disseminate information widely. In addition, both ECOMOG and the NPFL have been criticised for their attempts to restrict the dissemination of information regarding the war. Several newspapers and radio stations came under attack by various factions throughout the war, especially during fighting in Monrovia in April 1996, which led to the almost total destruction of Liberia's free press. The NPFL have, however, established pro-Taylor radio stations, which were able to broadcast election propaganda in the build-up to the July 1997 elections. The US-controlled Voice of America, and the BBC world service programmes continued to broadcast throughout the war, while the UNOMIL Public Information Unit provided broadcast material to all the functioning radio stations throughout the registration and voting process.^{2a,10j} In February 1998 a daily newspaper accused the police of severely flogging its editor. President Taylor promised to take disciplinary action against the police officer concerned but no action was taken by year's end. The government also forced the private Star radio station to close after accusing it of illegally using two wavelengths. However, the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications allowed the radio to resume normal broadcasting pending the regularisation of the appropriate documentation. In October the Minister for Information stopped Star radio from issuing information on the internet. This prohibition was lifted after the radio station complied with legal requirements to operate.

21a k 22n p 24

5.50. Security forces periodically threatened private print media editors and journalists throughout the year. Several leading private journalists did not sleep in their own homes for extended periods because of frequent night time visits and verbal threats by security officers. The harassment of private journalists intensified greatly following Operation Camp Johnson Road, resulting in a high degree of self censorship, particularly with regard to security issues.

5.51. In April 1999 the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) and the Press Union of Liberia (PUL) renewed their Memorandum of Understanding. The memorandum provides for collaboration between the two organisations in promoting social justice and democracy. The JPC and the PUL will also work together to advocate and protect the rights of journalists.³⁸

5.52. Seven private newspapers were published regularly in the country. Two were dailies and five appeared once or twice weekly. Some of them carried articles that were critical of the Government. However, their editors admitted to practising self censorship by withholding news reports which reflected unfavourably on, and commentary that was highly critical of, the President, the security services and official corruption.

5.53. Due to limited literacy and the relatively high costs of newspapers and television, radio remained the most important medium of mass communication. Six private FM radio stations located in the capital broadcast to the greater Monrovia area and in some cases beyond. The Monrovia Communications Network affiliated with President Taylor's NPP party and reportedly financed by the President personally, operated one of these stations and also maintained a short wave station which broadcasts to the entire country from the town of Totota near the centre of the country. Its programming was not critical of the executive branch of the government. Of the 5 other privately owned domestic FM radio stations, 2 were owned by Liberians, 1 was operated by the Catholic archdiocese, 1 was an evangelical station and 1 was foreign owned. The Catholic Church also operated a weak short wave transmitter. Programming on these private stations, largely domestically produced, was occasionally critical of the Government.

5.54. Two television stations operated in the country both were privately owned. Two private Internet service providers, the country's first, began operations during the year. Several government officials publicly criticised citizens who disseminated damaging information and criticism of the Government to Liberians abroad. However, there have been no known attempts to disrupt or otherwise limit access to the Internet. The government maintained its own website which it used to counter what it considered false allegations propagated on the Internet. ²⁴

5.55. Academic freedom was generally respected at the University of Liberia. In July and August, speakers at a 3 week long national conference on the future of the country were openly critical of the Taylor administration's first year in office. There were no known reprisals. ²⁴ The Liberian constitution provides for the right of peaceful assembly and association, and the government generally respects these rights, but limited them in some instances. ^{2b} Throughout the civil war, political parties, NGOs and civilian groups continued to hold demonstrations and public meetings. These meetings were generally free from disruption by the Liberian authorities and ECOMOG in Monrovia, although ECOMOG continued to discourage large-scale demonstrations organised by civilian groups, mainly on security grounds. Meanwhile, such activities were severely restricted in faction-controlled areas outside Monrovia. ^{2a} During the 1997 election campaign, there were several instances of political harassment and violence against candidates, particularly in Monrovia, although these incidents diminished as the election campaign progressed. ^{2b}

Freedom of Religion

5.56. The Liberian constitution recognises freedom of religion as a fundamental right, and while Liberia has no established state religion, it is at least nominally a Christian country. As many as 40% of the population profess to be Christian, with the many Protestant churches constituting the largest group. The Americo-Liberians, who constitute 5% of the population, are predominantly evangelical Protestants (mainly Methodist or Baptist), and most Liberians who became urbanised, regardless of ethnic group, also became at least nominally Protestant. Roman Catholicism is the religion of around 6% of the population, whose members are concentrated largely in the Kru ethnic group. Islam is the religion of

14% of the population and is believed to be gaining adherents. The majority of both the Vai and the Mandingoes (Malinke) are Muslim (75% and 95% respectively). Most of the remaining ethnic groups, including 80-95% of the Kpelle, Gio, Mano, Loma, Krahn and Gbandi, still adhere to traditional religions.^{1c,2a,3,4}

5.57. Religious divisions have not played a major role in the strife in Liberia, and there is no evidence of systematic violation of religious freedom by the warring factions.⁴ However, while the law prohibits religious discrimination, Islamic leaders have complained that Liberia's secular culture gives preference to Christianity in civic ceremonies and observances, and that discrimination spills over into areas of individual opportunity and employment. Although there are some Muslims in senior government positions, many Muslims believe that they are disregarded for other highly sought government jobs.^{2a} Only one cabinet minister is a muslim.²⁴ Taylor's administration dismissed many Muslims, particularly Mandingoes, from longstanding jobs, and following his public accusation in September 1997 that Muslim Mandingoes were fighting in Sierra Leone, prominent Mandingoes in Monrovia and elsewhere began to receive threats. There were also credible reports that returning Muslim Mandingo refugees were not allowed to resettle in their home villages in Lofa, Bong and Nimba counties.^{2b}

5.58. There are indications of religious involvement in human rights issues during the civil war, which has led to the arrest of at least one prominent Christian leader. In March 1996, Lutheran Bishop, Ronald Diggs, was arrested and charged with hindering law enforcement when the Interfaith Mediation Committee of which he was chairman proposed that a national commission of enquiry be set up to investigate alleged human rights abuses committed by Roosevelt Johnson and others. He was released on bail the day before fighting broke out in Monrovia the following month.^{17b}

5.59. In May 1998 a mosque was burnt down in Nimba County and another in Lofa County where some 27 houses belonging to Muslims were also damaged. Police arrested 5 people in Nimba county in connection with the arson. A delegation from the Inter-Faith Council of Liberia also investigated the incident. Two suspects were later released on bail together with several traditional chiefs of Zoe-Geh and other suspects. Some were bailed whilst others were released because of lack of evidence.^{22g h j}

Freedom of Movement, Exit and Return

5.60. The Liberian constitution recognises the right to freedom of movement throughout the country, as well as the right to leave or enter. However, during the war, the movement of civilians and humanitarian aid workers was severely restricted by factional fighters, and even within Monrovia, ECOMOG was not always successful in ensuring safe passage. Inaccessibility to displaced persons, due to fighting and security concerns, severely limited the amount of relief assistance that could be provided. Late into 1997, access to major parts of the country, particularly in the north and south-east, remained limited owing to the poor conditions of the roads.^{2a,10k} Freedom of movement was further restricted by numerous checkpoints set up by the security forces since the Taylor administration took office in July 1997.^{2b} In June 1998 the Government repealed an exit visa requirement for all residents and no longer required foreign visitors to register with the immigration service within 48 hours of arrival.²⁴

5.61. Since 1990, over 1.2 million citizens, of an estimated pre-war population of 2.8 million, have been internally displaced, while in early 1997, there were estimated to be around 750,000 Liberian refugees in neighbouring West African states: 410,000 in Guinea, 305,000 in Cote d'Ivoire, 15,000 in Ghana, 5,000 in Sierra Leone, and 4,000 in Nigeria.^{1a,2a,19} With the improved security conditions, made possible by ECOMOG, more than 100,000 internally displaced persons and refugees returned to their homes to

register for and vote in the July 1997 elections. Some faced harassment and extortion at newly installed roadblocks, by government officials, including the police, and some former fighters, who also subjected other civilians and humanitarian aid workers to such treatment. By the end of 1997, the number of Liberian refugees in neighbouring West African states was estimated to have fallen to 480,000.^{2b} Meanwhile, the UNHCR has been organising an operational plan for the repatriation and reintegration of Liberian refugees. Several hundred returned from Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire in November 1998. ^{10j 22s}

5.62 At the end of 1997, Liberia was itself host to more than 120,000 Sierra Leonean refugees, who had been fleeing their country since the May 1997 military coup there. Most have taken refuge along the western border in Grand Cape Mount and Lofa counties. Despite Taylor's closure of the border with Sierra Leone in October, refugees continued to cross into Liberia through unmanned border crossing points.^{2b} The UNHCR together with the Liberian government and other NGOs, is monitoring the situation and attempting to cater for the emergency needs of Sierra Leoneans arriving in accessible areas.^{10jk} However, while the new government has co-operated with the UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations in attempting to assist the refugees, inaccessibility to many, due to poor road conditions and the limited capacity of local NGOs, severely limited the amount of relief assistance that could be provided. ^{2b}

ANNEX A - COMMON ABBREVIATIONS/POLITICAL GROUPS

AFL Armed Forces of Liberia

Formerly the national army of Samuel Doe, Krahn-dominated but also with a significant number of Mandingoes. Led by General Hezekiah Bowen until October 1994. Has supported two armed factions: the LPC and ULIMO, and was found responsible for the June 1993 massacre of more than 500 displaced civilians near Harbel.^{7,8}

ALCOP All Liberian Coalition Party

Led by Alhaji G V Kromah, of ULIMO-K, it came third in the 19 July 1997 elections, winning 4% of the vote, with two seats in the Senate and three in the House of Representatives.^{15c}

APP Alliance of Political Parties

Led by Cletus Wotorson of the LAP (Liberia Action Party), and comprising the LAP and the LUP (Liberia Unification Party), it won 3% of the total vote in the 19 July 1997 elections, obtaining two seats in the House of Representatives.^{15c}

BB Black Berets

Created in Guinea by the IGNU in 1992, as a unit of several hundred soldiers from different ethnic groups.^{6,8}

BDF Bong Defence Front

Aligned with ULIMO-K, it operated in NPFL-held territory in Bong county during the civil war.⁶

CRC Central Revolutionary Council

Formed in September 1994 by dissident members of the NPFL, it was engaged in conflict with forces loyal to Taylor. Led by Thomas J Woewiyu.^{1c}

ECOMOG ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group

A peacekeeping multi-national force sent to Monrovia in August 1990 by the ECOWAS. In 1993, it was accused of impeding relief efforts and conducting its own attacks against non-combatant, neutral targets, and has also been criticised for allying itself with the AFL and ULIMO, both of which are known to have perpetrated serious human rights violations.^{7,8}

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

An intergovernmental organisation of 16 West African states, with headquarters in Nigeria, whose aim is to promote economic development and regional co-operation.⁷

EMG Executive Mansion Guard

Presidential guard created by President Samuel Doe, and attached to the AFL during the civil war.⁸

IGNU Interim Government of National Unity

Seated in Monrovia from April 1991 until March 1994, under the protection of ECOMOG troops. In March 1994, it handed over power to the Transitional Government, in accordance with the terms of the Cotonou Agreement.⁷

INPFL Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia

A breakaway faction of the NPFL, led by Prince Yormie Johnson, a former senior NPFL lieutenant. Formed in 1990, Prince Johnson gave himself up to ECOMOG and left the country in October 1992, following which many INPFL fighters rejoined the NPFL.⁷

LDF Lofa Defence Force

Formed in 1993 to counter attacks from the Mandingo faction of ULIMO, it engaged in conflict with ULIMO forces in Lofa county. Aligned to the NPFL and led by Francis Massaquoi.^{1c,6}

LNC Liberian National Conference

Organised by Liberian citizens to discuss aspects of the peace process in August 1994, it continued to discuss and make recommendations to the different parties involved in the conflict and peace negotiations.⁷

LNH Liberia New Horizons

Led by Charles Julu and William Glay, both Krahns, it emerged in May 1994, advocating a strong military-style government. In September 1994, Julu was arrested and charged with treason for his part in an attempted coup by AFL personnel against the transitional government, but was later pardoned.⁶

LNTG Liberian National Transitional Government

The first LNTG (LNTG I) was installed in Monrovia in March 1994, and was presided over by a five-member Council of State, elected by the three groups which signed the Cotonou Agreement (IGNU, NPFL and ULIMO), and led by David Kpomakpor. LNTG II was installed following the Abuja Accord of August 1995, and led by Wilton Sankawulo. LNTG III was installed following the further peace agreement a year later, under the leadership of Ruth Perry. Like its immediate predecessor, its members included the NPFL, LPC and ULIMO-K.^{1abc}

LPC Liberia Peace Council

Formed in 1990, with predominantly Krahn support, it was engaged in conflict with NPFL forces in south-eastern Liberia from 1993, and in 1994 is said to have stepped up attacks against civilians, particularly those suspected of supporting the NPFL. Backed by the AFL and ULIMO, and led by George Boley.^{1c,8}

LPP Liberia People's Party

Led by Togba Nah-Tipoteh, it won 1.6% of the vote in the 19 July 1997 elections, obtaining one seat in the House of Representatives.^{15c}

LUDF Liberian United Democratic Front

Krahn faction of former AFL soldiers, led by Arma Youlu. Formed in Sierra Leone in 1991 and later merged into ULIMO.⁶

NDPL National Democratic Party of Liberia

Led by George Boley and a participant in the 19 July 1997 elections, it failed to gain sufficient votes to obtain any seats in either the House of Representatives or the Senate.^{15c}

NPFL National Patriotic Front of Liberia

Formed in Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire, it began the civil war under the leadership of Charles Taylor in December 1989, with an invasion into Nimba county that led to its control of large parts of Liberia. It acquired largely Gio and Mano membership, and is said to have been responsible for a number of atrocities committed against members of the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups. Between 1990 and 1994, it controlled the bulk of Liberian territory, which it ruled through the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG), based in Gbarnga, Bong county. In 1994, a substantial faction of the NPFL split from Taylor, over doubts about his commitment to the peace process.^{1c,6,7}

NPP National Patriotic Party

Led by Charles Taylor, it won approximately 75% of the total vote, obtaining 21 out of the 26 seats in the Senate and 49 out of 64 in the House of Representatives in the 19 July 1997 elections.^{15c}

NPRAG National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government

Led by Charles Taylor, it was the instrument of NPFL rule over the bulk of Liberian territory between 1990 and 1994, based in Gbarnga, Bong county.^{1c}

NRC Nimba Redemption Council

An anti-NPFL group, formed in 1993, led by Karpeh Dwanyen, based in Nimba county and composed of Gios and Manos. It carried out several attacks against NPFL positions, and did not spare civilians in the process.^{6,8}

OAU Organisation of African Unity

Founded in 1963, to promote unity and solidarity among African states, 52 of which are members, including Liberia.^{1b}

PRC People's Redemption Council

Established by Samuel Doe on his assumption of power in 1980 and largely dominated by his Krahn ethnic group, it lasted until his overthrow in 1990.^{1a}

RRU Rapid Response Unit

Formed in 1995 to combat soaring violent crime in Monrovia, it was infiltrated and corrupted by the NPFL, and committed serious human rights abuses.^{2a}

SATU Special Anti-Terrorist Unit

The AFL's special anti-terrorist unit, believed to have been responsible for massacres carried out in Nimba county at the beginning of 1990, which contributed to the rapid escalation of the conflict. It had reportedly dissolved by 1994.⁸

ULIMO United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia

Formed at Tubmanburg in 1991, by supporters of the late President Samuel Doe and members of the AFL. Split into two ethnic factions in 1994: ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K. The two factions have since effectively functioned as separate organisations.^{1c,6,7}

ULIMO-J United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia-Johnson

Krahn faction of the original ULIMO, led by Roosevelt Johnson. In early 1996, ULIMO-J officials announced Johnson's deposition, resulting in a further split between Johnson's supporters and those loyal to the new leadership. In 1997, he converted the faction into a new pressure movement, called UDEMO (United Democratic Movement in Liberia), not a political party but dedicated to the

principle of democratic rule.^{1c,15d}

ULIMO-K United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia-Kromah

Mandingo faction of the original ULIMO, led by Alhaji G V Kromah since 1994.^{1c}

UNOMIL United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

Established by the UN Security Council in September 1993, to monitor the ceasefire and disarmament process, supervise the demobilisation and reintegration of combatants, and to assist ECOMOG in overseeing the overall implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, UNOMIL was also given the task of assisting in the co-ordination of humanitarian relief and of reporting violations of international humanitarian law to the UN Secretary General. The UNOMIL mandate expired on 30 September 1997.^{7,10k}

UP Unity Party

Led by Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, it was the runner-up in the 19 July 1997 elections, but won only 9.6% of the total vote, thereby obtaining three seats in the Senate and seven in the House of Representatives.^{14d,15c}

UPP United People's Party

Led by Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, it won approximately 3% of the vote in the elections on 19 July 1997, thereby obtaining two seats in the House of Representatives.^{15c}

ANNEX B - PROMINENT PEOPLE

Dr George Boley Founder and leader of Liberia Peace Council. Led the NDPL in the July 1997 elections, but failed to gain sufficient votes to secure any seats in the Senate or House of Representatives.^{15c}

Bishop Ronald Diggs Lutheran Bishop & Representative of the Liberian Council of Churches, appointed to IGNU as Vice-President in August 1990. In March 1996, was charged with hindering law enforcement when he proposed a national commission

of enquiry into human rights abuses.^{1a,17b}

Samuel Kanyon Doe Former Non-Commissioned Officer in the Armed Forces of Liberia. Led coup against Tolbert government in 1980 and assumed power as leader of the People's Redemption Council. Publicly executed in September 1990.^{1a}

Karpeh Dwanyen Leader of the NRC, a Gio and Mano anti-NPFL group, formed in 1993 and based in Nimba county.^{6,8}

William Glay With Charles Julu, founded the LNH party in May 1994, advocating a strong military-style government.⁶

Prince Yormie Johnson Former teacher, who joined Taylor's NPFL at the beginning of the civil war. Split to lead the Independent NPFL in 1990, when he tortured and killed ex-President Doe in September. Fled Liberia in October 1992.⁷

Gen Roosevelt Johnson Commander of Krahn ULIMO-J faction, since it split from the original ULIMO in 1994. In 1997, converted the faction into UDEMO, and following the July elections was appointed Transport Minister in the new government.^{1c,15d}

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf Former Finance Minister during the Doe government. Imprisoned in 1985 for criticising Doe, and fled Liberia in 1986. United Nations Development Programme Director for Africa. Led the UP to second place in the July 1997 elections, but won only 9.6% of the vote.^{15c}

Charles Julu With William Glay, founded the LNH party in May 1994, advocating a strong military-style government. In September 1994, was arrested and charged with treason for his part in an attempted coup by AFL personnel against the transitional government. In July 1995, received a custodial sentence of seven years, but was subsequently pardoned.^{1c,6}

David Kpomakpor President of LNTG I, installed in Monrovia in March 1994 and remaining until August 1995.^{1a}

Alhaji G V Kromah Leader of the Mandingo ULIMO-K, since the original ULIMO split in 1994. In the July 1997 elections, led the ALCOP to third place. In December 1997, was appointed chairman of the national reconciliation commission.^{15c,2b}

Francis Massaquoi Leader of the LDF, which engaged in conflict with ULIMO forces in Lofa county from 1993.^{1c}

Gabriel B Matthews Led the UPP during the July 1997 elections, winning 3% of the vote and obtaining two seats in the House of Representatives.^{15c}

Togba Nah-Tipoteh Led the LPP in the July 1997 elections, winning 1.6% of the vote, with one seat in the House of Representatives.^{15c}

Ruth Sando Perry Senator during the Doe government, was elected chairman of the transitional Council of State in August 1996, becoming President of LNTG III in September 1996.^{1c}

Thomas Quiwonkpa Brigadier-General in the AFL and original member of the PRC. Fled Liberia in 1983, accused of plotting to overthrow Doe. Returned to Liberia in 1985 to lead an unsuccessful coup attempt. Killed in November 1990.^{1a}

Prof Wilton Sankawulo President of LNTG II, installed following the Abuja Accord of August 1995, and remaining for one year thereafter.^{1b}

Dr Amos Sawyer Leader of the LPP, appointed as President of the IGNU in August 1990 and inaugurated in November 1990. In March 1994, handed over power to the first LNTG.^{1c}

Charles Ghankay Taylor President of the Republic of Liberia. Former Ministry of Finance official under Doe. Formed the NPFL and started civil war in 1989. Self-declared President of Liberia in 1990. Survived an assassination attempt in October 1996. Appointed to the transitional Council of State in August 1995. Leader of the National Patriotic Party (NPP), elected President on 19 July 1997 and inaugurated on 2 August 1997.^{1c,6,15c}

Thomas J Woewiyu Led the CRC, formed by dissident members of the NPFL in September 1994.^{1c}

Cletus Wotorson Member of the LAP, led the APP through the July 1997 elections, winning 3% of the total vote.^{15c}

Arma Youlu Leader of the LUDF, the Krahn faction of former AFL soldiers formed in 1991, which later merged into ULIMO.⁶

ANNEX C - CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS, 1847-1997

1847 Liberia, founded by freed African slaves, becomes Africa's first independent republic on 26 July 1847.

1871 Americo-Liberian True Whig Party begin 109 years of uninterrupted political rule.

1980 In April, Master Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe stages a successful coup against President Tolbert. The Krahn-dominated People's Redemption Council (PRC) government becomes Liberia's first administration to be led by members of the indigenous population.

1985 In November, President Doe survives an unsuccessful coup attempt led by former Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) Brigadier-General Thomas Quiwonkpa. The pro-Doe AFL massacre Mano and Gio tribes in Nimba county.

1989 In December, armed insurrection in Nimba county by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) begins the seven year civil war.

1990 The NPFL overcome government troops in Nimba county and go on to control all Liberian territory except Monrovia and its environs by May. The NPFL attacks government troops defending Monrovia and the Independent NPFL (INPFL) emerges. In August, Western diplomatic staff are evacuated from Monrovia. ECOMOG troops arrive in Liberia in late August, and about the same time the AFL and INPFL form an alliance against the NPFL, but armed clashes between the AFL and INPFL begin soon after. Doe is captured and executed by the INPFL, whose leader, Yormie Johnson, declares himself President of Liberia. ECOMOG establishes a protectorate around Monrovia in

October.

The peace process is initiated on 30 August at the ECOWAS Conference in Banjul, where Dr Amos Sawyer is elected President of a new Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU). A further step in 1990 is the **Bamako Ceasefire Agreement**, signed on 28 November, whereby Liberia is effectively partitioned between Taylor's National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG) and the IGNU.

1991 In June, former supporters of Doe who had taken refuge in Sierra Leone form the ULIMO, which declares its opposition to the NPFL. In October, the **Yamassoukro Accord** is signed, whereby all factions were to be encamped and disarmed, and national elections to be held.

1992 ULIMO forces engage NPFL in Lofa county. In October, the NPFL launches Operation Octopus against Monrovia. In November, the UN Security Council imposes an arms embargo, and a special envoy to Liberia is appointed.

1993 In July, the IGNU, NPFL and ULIMO sign the **Cotonou Agreement**, whereby the IGNU is to be replaced with the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), including a five-member Council of State, who are appointed in August. Presidential elections are scheduled for February 1994. UN establishes UNOMIL in September.

1994 In March, ULIMO splits into Krahn and Mandingo factions. In the same month, the LNTG Council of State is inaugurated, with David Kpomakpor as chairman. In September, the **Akosombo Agreement** is signed by the leaders of the major factions (NPFL, AFL and ULIMO-K), providing for an immediate ceasefire, a reconstituted Council of State, elections in October 1995 and the installation of a new government by January 1996, but disputes over power sharing prevent its implementation. In December, **Akosombo II** is signed, immediately following which a ceasefire is implemented, and a commitment to elections in late 1995 is confirmed.

1995 At the ECOWAS summit in August, the **Abuja Accord** is signed by all factions. A ceasefire is confirmed and a reconstituted Council of State (LNTG II) subsequently established in September, including leaders of the major factions (NPFL, LPC and ULIMO-K), with Wilton Sankawulo as Chairman. Elections are scheduled for August 1996, and by December ECOMOG troops begin to deploy.

1996 In April, heavy fighting breaks out in Monrovia after Taylor's troops attempt to arrest Roosevelt Johnson, recently dismissed from the ruling Council on charges of murder. Hundreds of people are killed and the city is virtually destroyed in two months of intense violence. Peace is eventually restored following a further peace agreement signed in August in Abuja (**Abuja II**), whereby a reconstituted Council of State, with Ruth Perry as its chairman (LNTG III), is to be installed in September, armed factions are to be disarmed by the end of January 1997 and elections are to be held by the end of May 1997.

1997 ECOMOG implements disarmament plan. All warring factions order their troops to abide by the Abuja Accord and dismantle their military wings. Elections (originally scheduled for May) take place in July, with overwhelming victory for the NPP. Charles Taylor is declared President in August.

1998 August - tension flares around former warlord Johnson's home following the shooting of one of his bodyguards by ECOMOG troops.

September - Johnson takes refuge in the US Embassy in Monrovia following clashes between government troops and his supporters. Approximately 1 week later the US authorities fly Johnson out of the country.

November - 32 people, mostly ethnic Krahn supporters of Roosevelt Johnson, go on trial for treason. Johnson and another former warlord, Alhaji Kromah, are to be tried in absentia.

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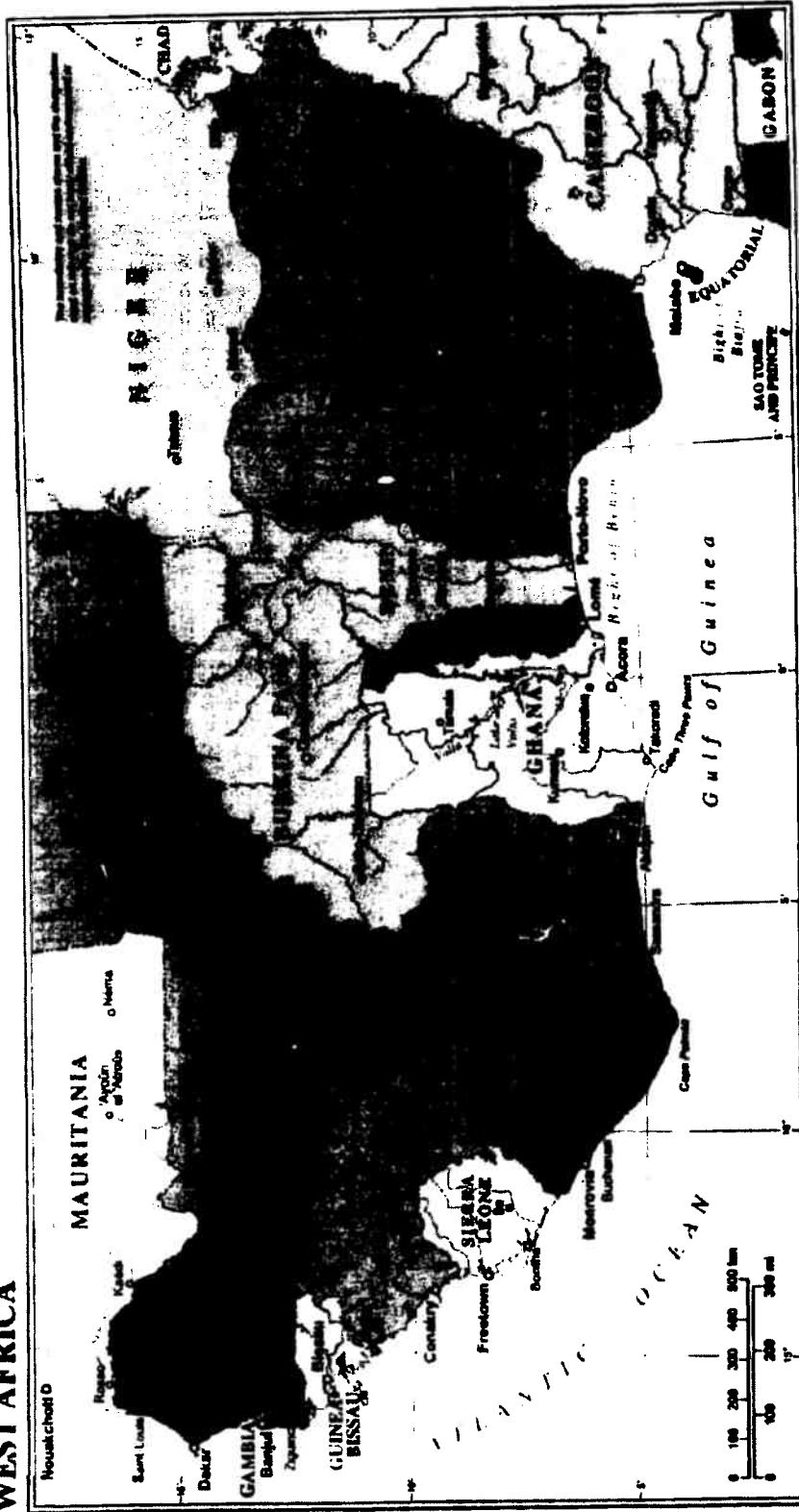
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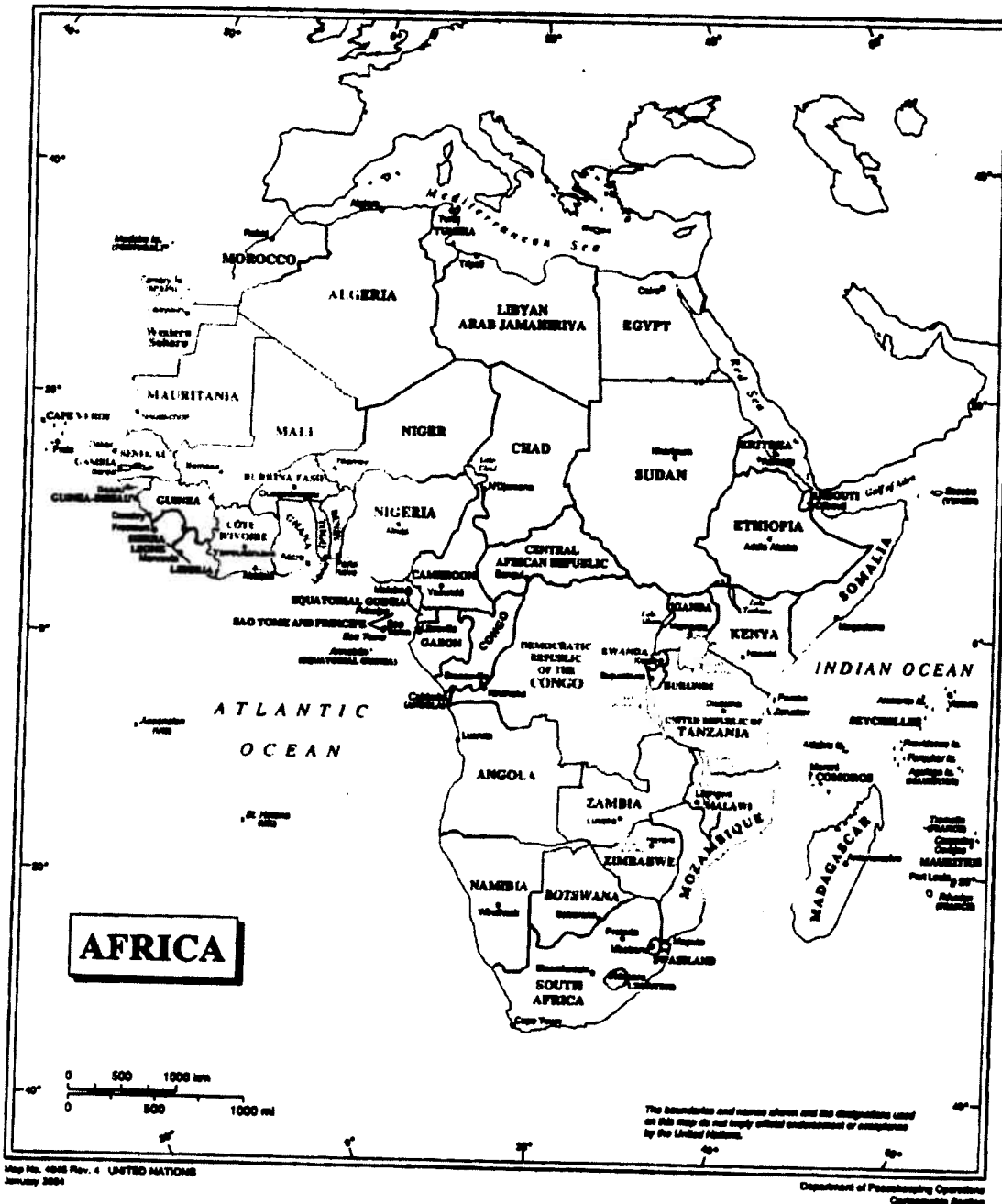
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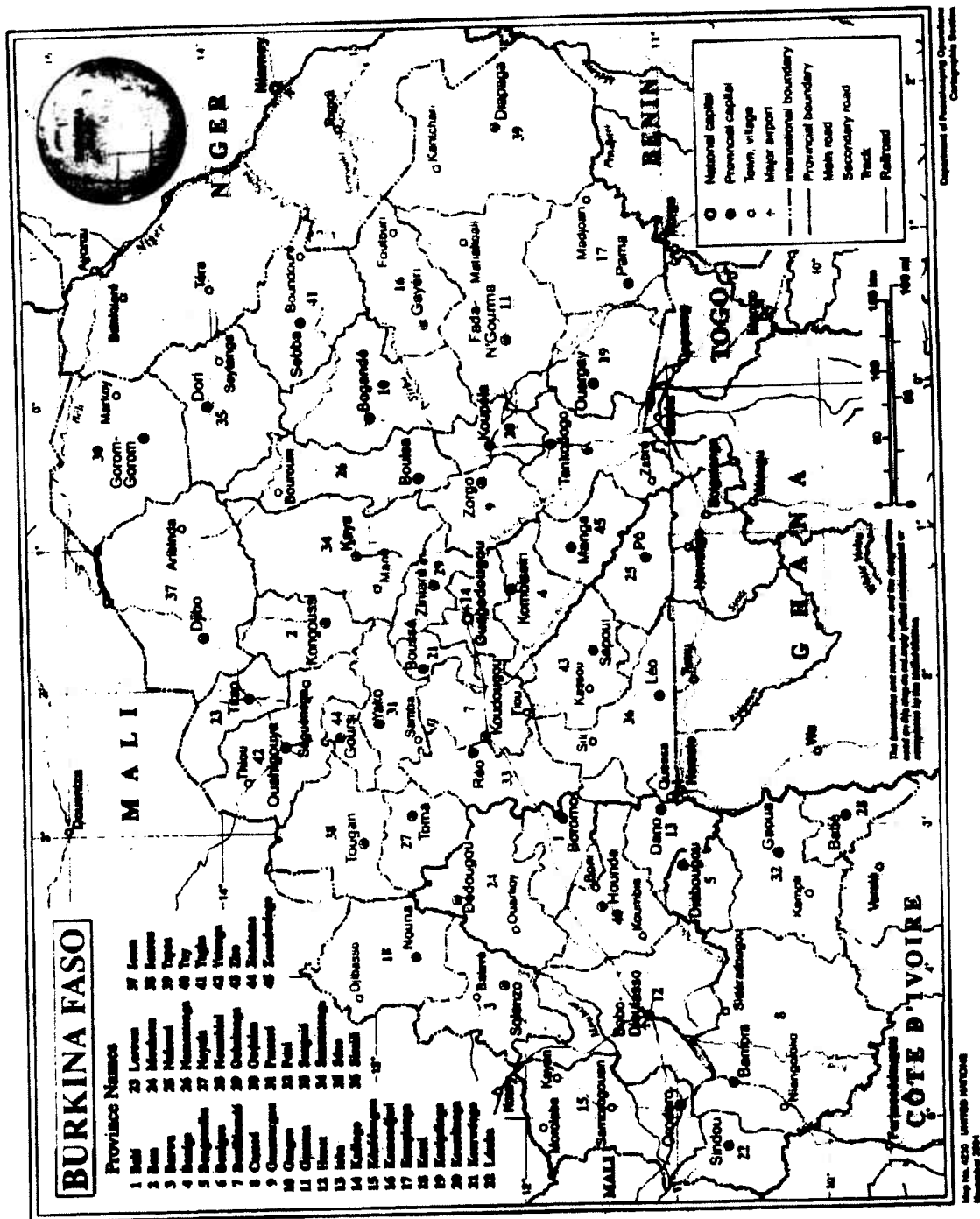
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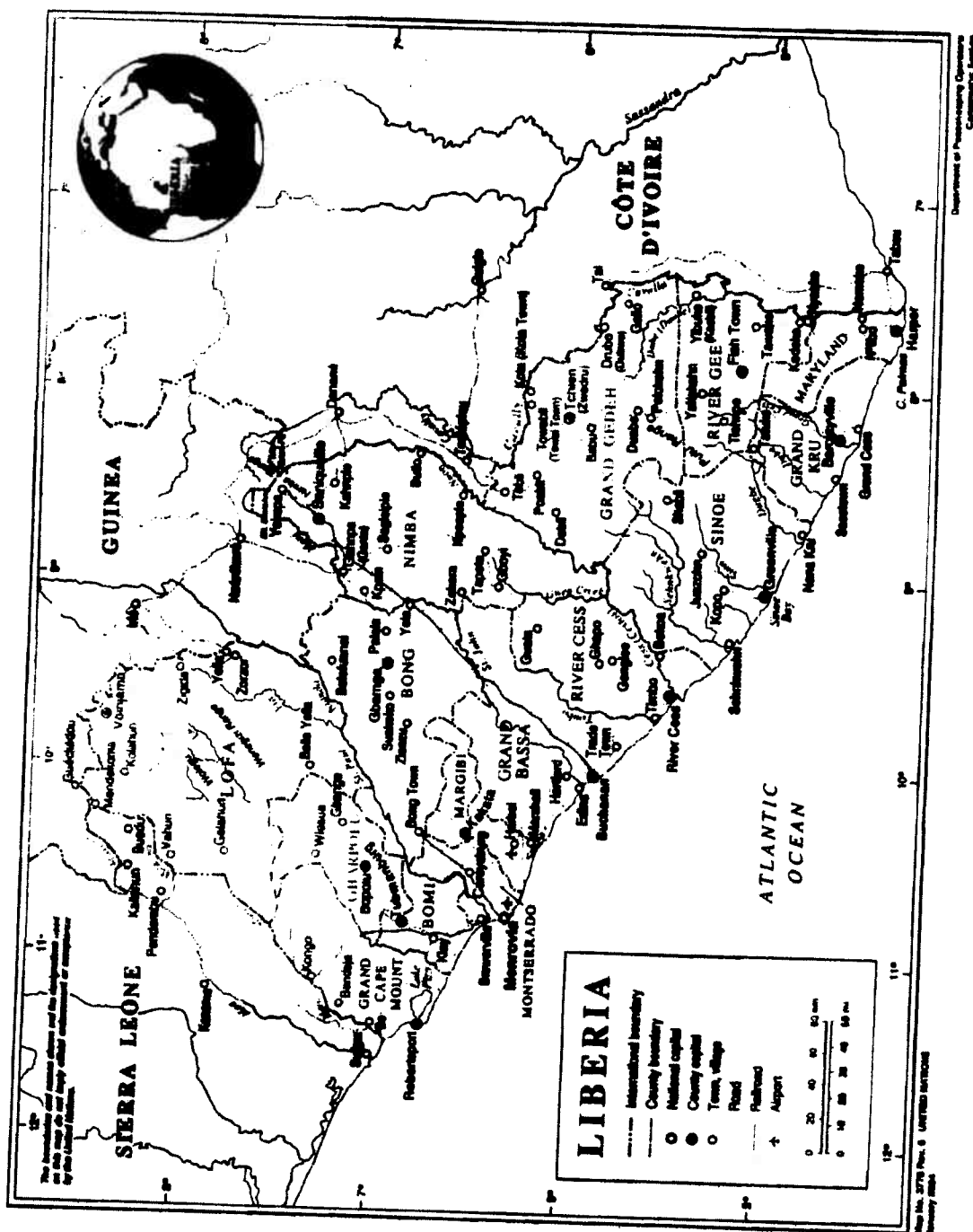
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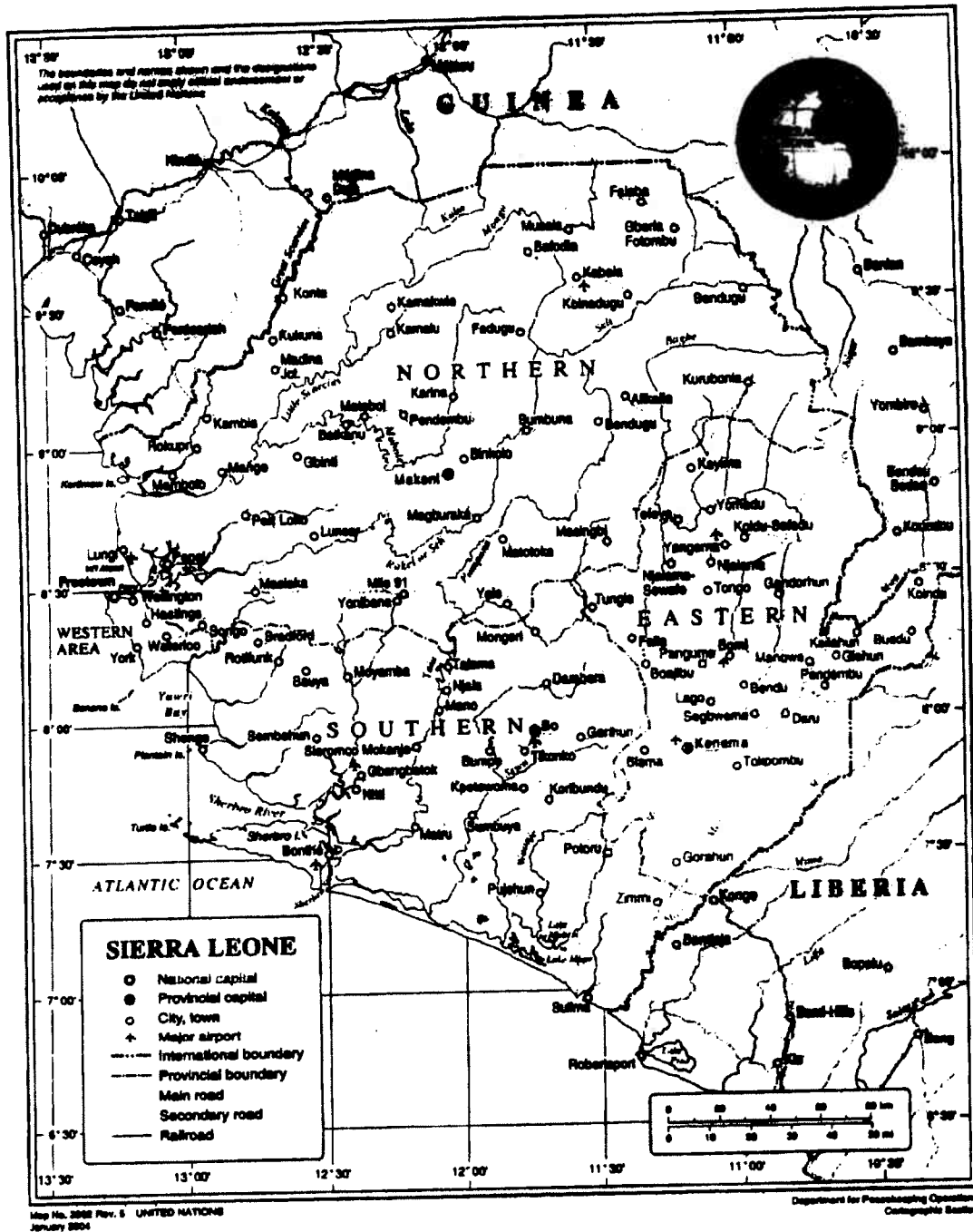
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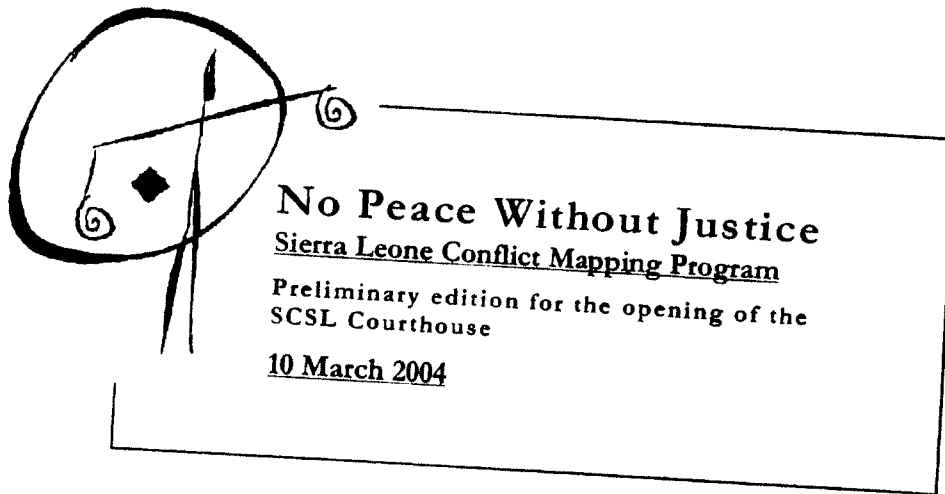


25 December: ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said Friday he could see no reason for the evacuation of foreign nationals from Sierra Leone. He said there had been no significant rebel activity around the city since the rebel raid on Waterloo on Tuesday. "I heard foreign diplomats reported 2,000 rebels around Waterloo and when I asked my commanders on the ground they laughed. There are just local people salvaging their belongings," Shelpidi said. "I cannot speak for foreign governments and if they want their citizens out then very well, but my personal view is that the international community should not abandon Sierra Leone at this crucial time." Shelpidi said AFRC/RUF rebels had attacked near Makeni on Friday. Makeni was under ECOMOG control, he said, but outlying villages were in rebel hands. "ECOMOG cannot be in every settlement everywhere. We don't have the manpower so sometimes there are attacks when these rebels raid villages for food, then we go there as soon as we can and they run away," he said. "We have appealed for the public to cooperate and mostly they are giving us very good cooperation but sometimes they connive with the rebels and give them food and shelter." Shelpidi also said ECOMOG had killed 14 rebels Wednesday in a clash near the Benguema training barracks.

Two British Royal Air Force planes found only one person waiting to be evacuated when they returned to Lungi International Airport on Friday. One businessman who was evacuated on Thursday explained that the lack of interest was probably due to an improving security situation in Freetown. "There is tension in Freetown and the embassy brought in planes to take us out. We did so but I don't think the rebels can take Freetown," he said. Another evacuee said there had been panic in Freetown following rebel attacks on Tuesday, but added: "I don't think the evacuation was necessary." Britain had sent its two aircraft back to Freetown on Friday to evacuate more British and other foreign nationals in the wake of recent rebel activity near the capital. "Two Royal Air Force Hercules aircraft went back to the airport in Freetown to pick up any stragglers," a Foreign Office spokesman said. "They brought out around 80 people last night. The majority were Britons, although there were a fair smattering of European nationals. He said that while the measure was precautionary, Britain was strongly advising its nationals in Sierra Leone to take advantage of this offer to leave. "The situation is very volatile," he said. "I don't say they would be targeted just because they were British, but the rebels have a pretty awful history of atrocity. We don't want any of our nationals put at risk." British High Commissioner Peter Penfold and one staff member would remain in Freetown for now, he said, but they may also have to leave. He added that Britain was still "strongly supporting" the Sierra Leone government. "We are very anxious to make it clear that the fact that we have evacuated as a precautionary measure doesn't diminish our very strong support for President Kabbah's democratically elected government," he said.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie threatened on Friday to attack Freetown on New Year's Day, then moved up the deadline claiming the arrival of ECOMOG reinforcements, unless the government agreed to negotiate with the rebels. "If Kabbah does not agree to respond to our request to open dialogue, then in 48 to 72 hours we will enter Freetown," Bockarie told the Agence France-Presse (AFP). "We are going to march into Freetown on New Year's Day unless the government agrees to our terms," Bockarie said in a separate Reuters interview. "We have the will and the way." Bockarie claimed that AFRC/RUF rebels had captured Makeni and were battling for Kenema. He also claimed to have captured Waterloo, about 20 miles from southeast of Freetown, and nearby Benguema, where he said rebel forces had seized the military training barracks. There has been no independent confirmation of his claims.

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

The Legal Profession Program also worked closely with the Outreach Program on the public lecture series, including selecting an international law expert to provide specialised training for the members of the Sierra Leone Bar Association on the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court.⁴ In July 2003, NPWJ in partnership with the Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales held a week-long "IHL Training Seminar" for members of the Sierra Leone Bar Association and other interested legal practitioners. This training resulted in a set of lecture notes, which was widely distributed in Sierra Leone and abroad. In addition, many of the trainers participated in another NPWJ activity, the Lawyers' Guide to the Special Court, which is a guide to the substantive and procedural law relating to the Special Court.⁵

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

2.(d) Conflict Mapping Program

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Chapter One: Methodology

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

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

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

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

Given these factors, it was considered that the most appropriate method for NPWJ to conduct a Conflict Mapping Program that focused on the whole of the country rather than a limited geographical area was to use information gathered from people in Sierra Leone with a good general overview of the conflict in their area ("key persons"),⁶ supplemented with open source materials. In order to maximise community participation, enhance the quality of the information and overcome potential cultural and linguistic barriers, it was considered that the best people to take records from people with an overview were Sierra Leoneans from the same geographical area as the key persons ("Conflict Mapping Recorders" or "CMRs"). In addition, it was considered that in order to enhance community "ownership" of the accountability mechanisms, the Conflict Mapping and Outreach Programs should as much as possible be conducted together. Marrying the sensitisation and the documentation processes ensures that the perception of the communities reached is not that of being "told" about the accountability process as something that happens elsewhere and is relevant to others, but rather of truly taking part in it.

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

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

4. The analysis

4.(a) District level analysis

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

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

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

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

4.(b) The first draft factual analysis

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

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



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4.(c) The second draft factual analysis

The first draft factual analysis formed the backbone of the work that followed, namely the incorporation of information from open sources and other materials, going back to the records when necessary to iron out inconsistencies and to fill in details. Further, at this time, cross-checking, filling in details and checking dates and other information was undertaken when there was conflicting, contradictory or inadequate data. To facilitate this process, NPWJ incorporated a range of diverse information into a fully searchable open source database, with 8,500 entries comprised of news reports,¹³ UNAMSIL press briefings,¹⁴ situation reports from NGOs and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), United Nations press briefings and documents, press releases from other relevant bodies, such as mining companies, and other relevant information. Other open source materials were also used, including reports from major human rights organisations, particularly Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

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

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

4.(d) The legal analysis

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

The most striking feature of 1996 is the exponential increase in strength of the Kamajor Society throughout the Southern and Eastern Provinces. By early 1996, a Kamajor Society had formed in every chiefdom of Bo District. Initiates in Bo District were first sent to locations in Bo Town and Jima Bongor Chiefdom where they were initiated and given basic military training. In the first half of 1996, initiates from Kenema were sent either to Kenema Town or a location in Bo District for training. In the southern Kenema chiefdoms, Kamajors were initially gathered into two battle groups, one of which was known as the Upper Wanjei Defence Committee. Alongside Nigerian, Guinean and SLA forces and other Kamajor groups from chiefdoms in Bo and Pujehun Districts, the Upper Wanjei Defence Committee successfully destroyed the RUF stronghold of Camp Zogoda. In the north of Kenema District, Kamajor units successfully confronted and eliminated RUF camps, including "Camp Joe Bush", undermining completely the hold over Kenema District that was enjoyed by the RUF throughout 1995. In late 1996, Kamajors attacked another main RUF base known as "Camp Booloko", just north of Bo District. Also in late 1996, Kamajor units in Moyamba District attacked the RUF at Camp Fol Fol, removing one of the RUF's main staging points for attacking Port Loko and Tonkolili Districts. On other occasions, Kamajors from different chiefdoms regrouped in order to engage the RUF more efficiently. Kamajors from Bonthe District

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were also active in Moyamba District, assisting those chiefdom authorities that did not have a Kamajor Society.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



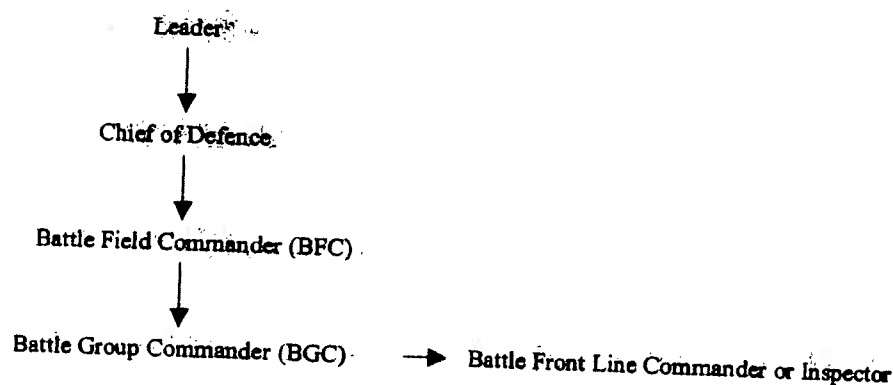
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At first, many civilians joined the RUF voluntarily, seeing it as a solution to corruption and poverty. Nevertheless, the RUF commenced abducting and conscripting civilians shortly after, a practice that continued throughout the conflict. The RUF conscripted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

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

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





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

In the middle of 2000 and at the request of the Sierra Leonean Government, the United Kingdom started providing assistance in the "national restructuring exercise" of the SLA by providing advice and training.¹⁹ UK forces carried out a series of six-week basic training courses for around eight battalions of the SLA.²⁰ The 180-strong team began arriving in Freetown on 10 June 2000,²¹ dovetailing with the withdrawal of the Royal Marines after 15 June 2000.²² On 24 July, nearly 1,000 SLA members graduated from the UK-run training course,²³ the first group of a total of around 8,000 who would eventually be trained this way. SLA forces again began to participate in combat actions against the RUF/AFRC in mid 2000.

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

b. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF)

The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) commenced attacks inside Sierra Leone on 23 March 1991, at which time little information about the RUF was available to the public. The RUF finds its origins in a movement to overthrow the regime of the All People's Congress (APC). In an internal RUF document written in the early stage of the conflict and entitled "Reasons Why We Took Up Arms to Fight", it is stated that, "We are fighting against corruption, because the past and present government seized political, economic and social justice in this country".²⁵ In 1991, the RUF was composed of around 230 members. These included former Fourah Bay College students, political opponents of the APC, former members of the SLA and other public figures that considered themselves victims of the APC regime. The majority were trained in Liberia at Camp Namma, although eight of the original members – referred to as "vanguards" – were trained in warfare and the "ideology"²⁶ in Libya. RUF numbers swelled rapidly following their entry into Sierra Leone.

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

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

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

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

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

²² IRIN West Africa, 14 June 2000.

²³ IRIN West Africa, 24 July 2000.

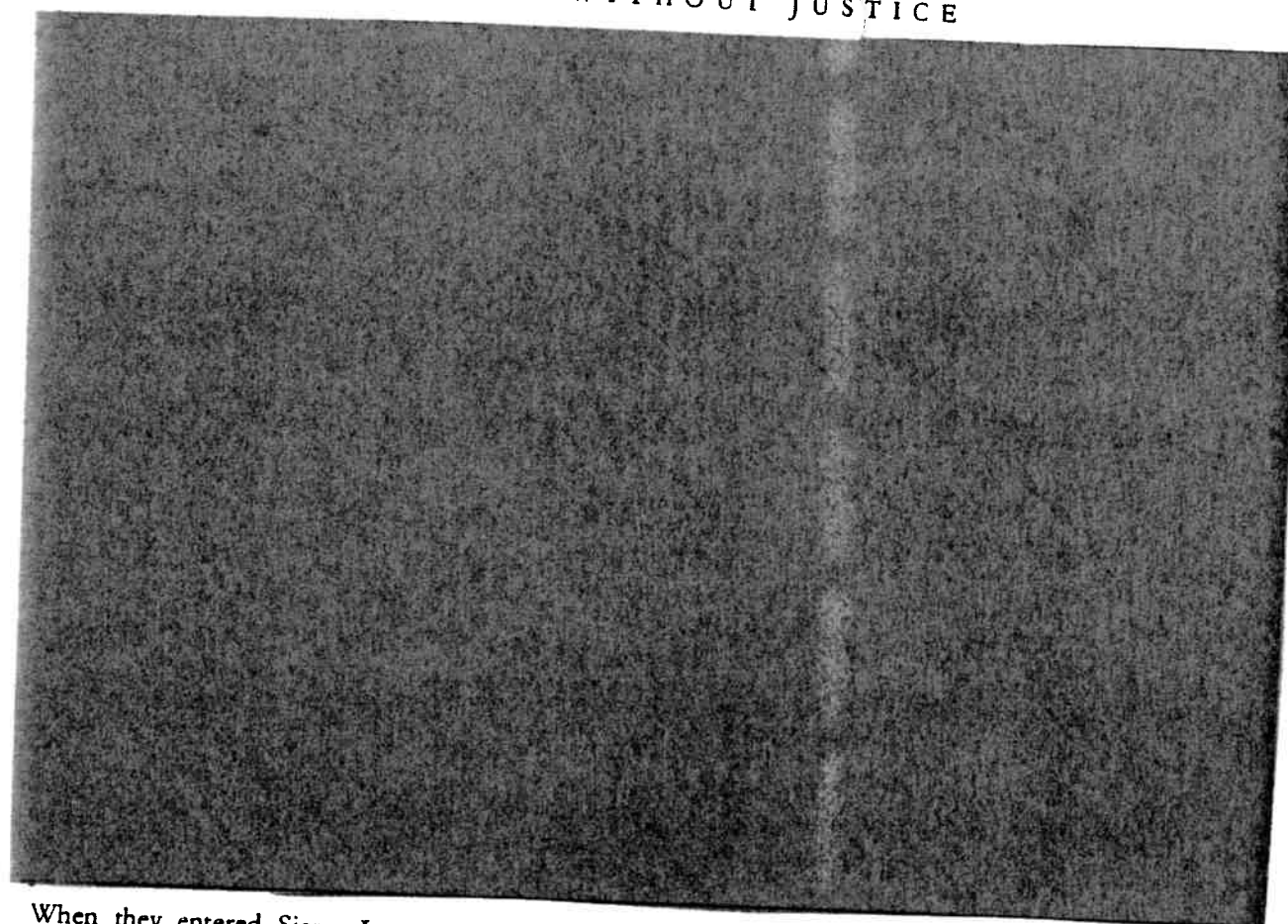
²⁴ IRIN West Africa, 22 January 2002. See also the speech of the Sierra Leone President at the Opening of the New Defence Ministry Building, Tower Hill, Freetown, 21 January 2002.

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

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



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When they entered Sierra Leone in 1991, the RUF established a headquarters in Pendembu (Kailahun District), where they remained until 1993 when SLA forces retook the town. From 1994 until they joined the AFRC in Freetown, the RUF leader was not settled in one place but was generally mobile.²⁷ When the RUF joined with the AFRC in Freetown, the high command established headquarters in Freetown in the Defence Headquarter at Cockerill. Following the retreat from Freetown in February 1998, a War Office was opened in Buedu (Kailahun District, on the border with Liberia). This was the administrative headquarter, the permanent radio base and the base for one of the most senior RUF officers. Important meetings involving the senior RUF command took place in Buedu until disarmament in 2001. The RUF defensive headquarter was moved as RUF forces captured towns, but remained in Makeni (Bombali District) from 1999. As the RUF's positions stabilised following the general retreat from Freetown in 1999, the territory under their control was subdivided further and a number of brigade headquarters were established.

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

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



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The appointments of the most senior officers within the movement were approved personally by the RUF leader. [REDACTED]

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

c. National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL)

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

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

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

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

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

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reconciliation accord signed in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, between the President of the IGNU and the NPFL leader in October 1991, fighting continued in Liberia. In March 1991, the NPFL assisted the RUF in launching its "revolution"³³ in Sierra Leone. NPFL members started fighting alongside the small RUF force. The strength and involvement of NPFL forces in Sierra Leone would decline over the subsequent years owing to the emergence of the United Liberian Movement for Democracy (ULIMO), a counter-revolutionary force comprised of supporters of the late President. The NPFL's physical withdrawal from Sierra Leone did not, however, lead to the withdrawal of the NPFL's active support for the RUF.

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

d. **United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)**

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

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

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

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

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

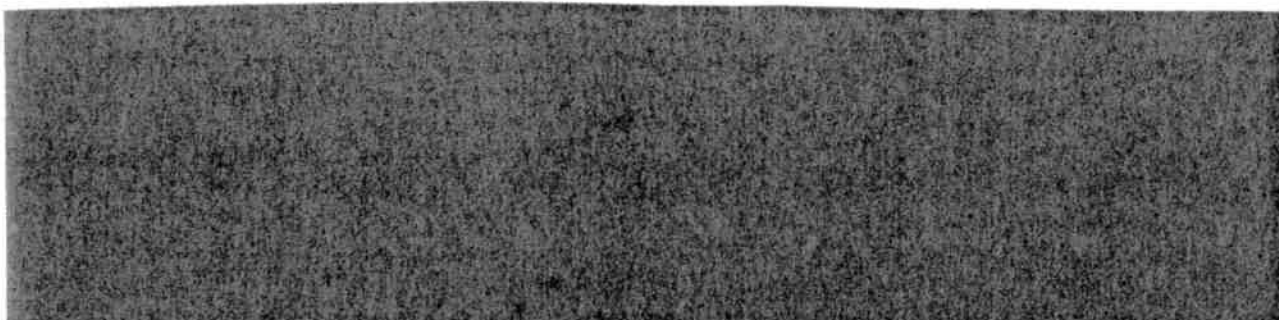


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Because the Special Court only has jurisdiction over those crimes specifically included in the Statute, the answer to this question does not have a practical effect on the work of the Court. Nevertheless, it is useful from the perspective of contextualising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

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

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



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

4.b.iii Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

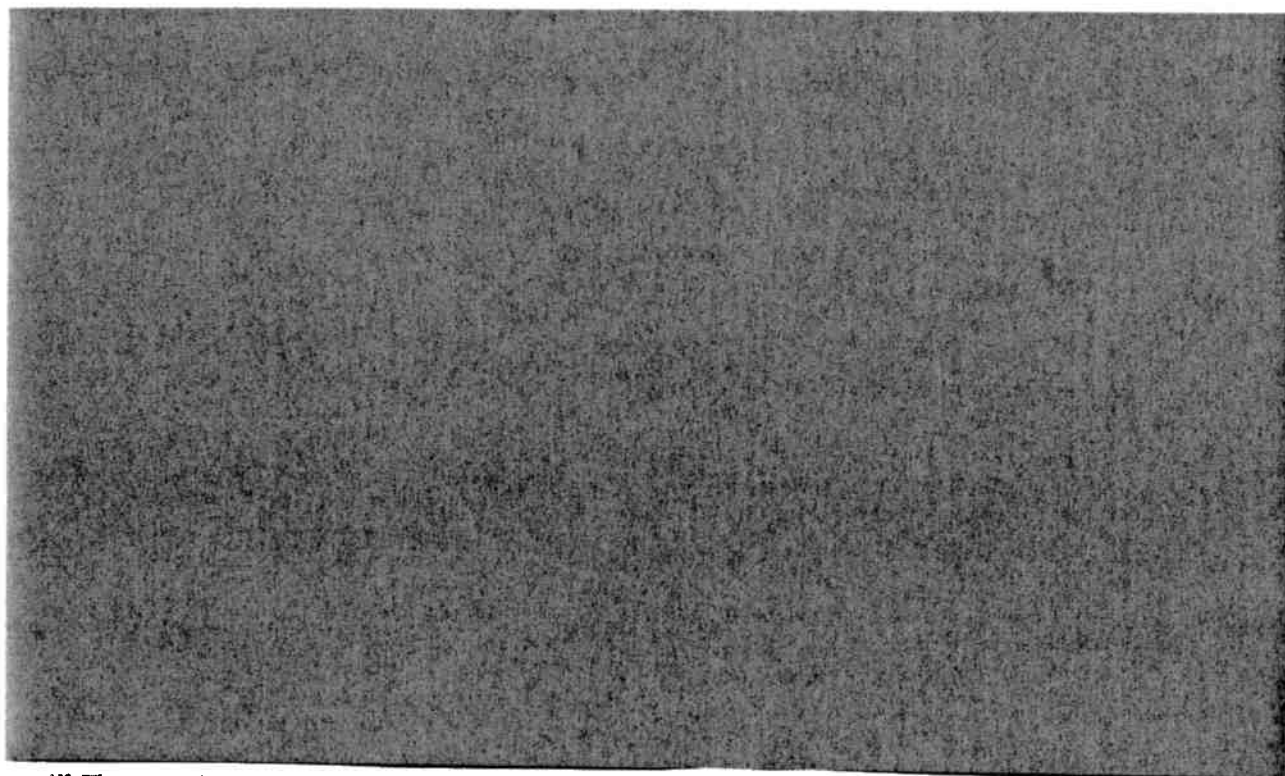
²³⁸ The crime of enslavement requires that the perpetrator exercise any or all of the powers of ownership over the abducted person. As such, this report does not characterise as enslavement the thousands of incidences where civilians were abducted but the purpose is not revealed; in addition, it does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



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villages and forcing civilians to sing and dance at gunpoint in celebration of the actions of the RUF [REDACTED] the RUF and the RUF/AFRC.

Within that general attack, there were a series of specific attacks committed against the civilian population. Of the 21 identified attacks committed against the civilian population,²³⁹ six will be discussed below as being representative of the types of actions carried out by the RUF [REDACTED] the RUF and the RUF/AFRC throughout the conflict. It should, however, be emphasised that the selection of these attacks is in no way intended to reflect any judgment about the relative importance of the attacks not selected for further exploration.



²³⁹ Those attacks that are not discussed in detail in this report are: the RUF/NPFL attack in Kailahun, Kenema and Pujehun Districts from January to June 1992; the RUF/NPFL attack from May 1992 to early 1993, primarily the movement from Kailahun to Kono District; the RUF/NPFL attack in Pujehun District from December 1992 to the end of January 1993; the RUF attack across several Districts from December 1993 to September 1994; the RUF attack on Bo from January 1995 to April 1996; the RUF attack from May to June 1995 in Port Loko, Bombali and Koinadugu Districts following the failure to take Freetown; the RUF attack in Kono District from April to September 1995; the RUF attack in Moyamba District from August 1995; the RUF attack in the northern Districts in the lead up to elections from January to February 1996; the RUF/AFRC attack from May to December 1997 in Freetown, during which journalists and civil society were particularly targeted; the RUF/AFRC attack from July to January 1998 in District Headquarter towns in Bonthe, Kailahun, Kenema, Tonkolili, Bo and Pujehun Districts; the RUF/AFRC attack from February to November 1998, during which there named policies to commit certain acts, including "Operation No Living Thing" and "Operation Pay Yourself"; the RUF/AFRC attack in the Northern Province from February 1999 to February 2000; the RUF/AFRC attack in Kono District for the purposes of mining from 1999 to March 2001; and the RUF/AFRC attack on the Northern Province from May to November 2000.

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

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

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

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

c) RUF attack between December 1994 and May 1995

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

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



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

d). RUF attack on Bonthe District: 1995

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

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

e). RUF/AFRC Attack in May and June 1997

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The West Side Boys committed an attack against the civilian population in Port Loko District lasting from October 1998 to April 1999 across Koya and Maforki Chiefdoms.²⁴⁰ This attack was both widespread, in that it took place on a large scale and with a multiplicity of victims, *and* systematic, in that it was an organised pattern of conduct. The facts clearly demonstrate that there was a policy to commit such an attack, with civilians being targeted for a variety of reasons. During this period, in addition to the war crimes and other crimes within the jurisdiction of the Court that were committed, members of the West Side Boys committed the following crimes against humanity:

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

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



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C. Northern Province

a. Bombali District

1. Introduction

Bombali District is in the centre-north of Sierra Leone. The town of Makeni is both the district headquarters of Bombalia, and the administrative centre of the Northern Province. The northern boundary of Bombali District is formed by the Republic of Guinea. Koinadugu District is found to the east and north east of Bombali District, and Tonkalili District is located to the south and south east. Kambia and Port Loko Districts border Bombali District to the west.

There are 13 chiefdoms in Bombali District:

Chiefdom	Headquarter Town
Biriwa	Kamabai
Bombali Sebor	Makeni
Gbanti Kamaranka	Kamaranka
Gbendembu Ndowahun	Kalangba
Libeisyagahun	Batkanu
Magbaiamba Ndowahun	Hunduwa
Makari Gbanti	Masongbon
Paki Masabong	Mapaki
Safroko Limba	Binkolo
Sanda Loko	Kamalo
Sanda Tendaren	Mataboi
Sella Limba	Kamakwie
Tambakha	Fintonia

A main highway runs from the Western Area through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni (Bombali Sebor). At Makeni, the highway splits. The southern fork runs to Magburaka, the headquarter town of Tonkalili District. The northern fork runs through the towns of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) and Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) to Kabala, the headquarter town of Koinadugu District. Makeni and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) are linked by a poor quality secondary road that runs north-south through the towns of Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) and Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). Running north from Kamakwie, the road continues to a ferry point over the Little Scaries River into Tambakha Chiefdom. A route running north through Tambakha Chiefdom leads directly to the international border with Guinea and the Guinean town of Madina Oula. From Kamakwie, a road runs west over the Little Scaries River into Kambia District, and the town of Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District) and Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District). A route runs east from the main Makeni-Kabala highway nearby Karina, through Gbendembu, Mataboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom) to Batkanu (Libeisyagahun Chiefdom). From Batkanu, the road continues west into the northern chiefdoms of Port Loko District, ending at Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District).

The Little Scaries River runs latitudinally through the north of Bombali District, forming the boundary between Sella Limba and Tambakha Chiefdoms. It also forms the boundary between

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In early February, ECOMOG forces attacked Freetown, dislodging the combined RUF/AFRC forces and forcing their retreat into provincial Sierra Leone. On 14 February, heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces retreating from the Western Area began concentrating in Makeni (Bombali Sebori Chiefdom), commencing a 17 day spree of looting and violence known as "Operation Pay Yourself". RUF/AFRC forces performed house to house searches, stealing valuable items and food from civilians. In early March, ECOMOG commenced provincial operations and moved from Port Loko (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni, establishing a base at Makeni's Teko Barracks. CDF forces deployed in the town, and a hunt for "collaborators" began. ECOMOG also occupied the northern towns of Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

Following ECOMOG's arrival in Makeni (Bombali Sebori Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces dispersed throughout Bombali District, staging hit-and-run attacks on settlement on the Makeni-Kamalo axis, and attacking towns in the northern Tambakha Chiefdom. In the chiefdom headquarter of Fintonia (Tambakha Chiefdom), RUF forces executed 11 civilians and burned down large numbers of houses. Civilians from the town were abducted to assist RUF/AFRC forces in navigating the dense jungle terrain. In late April, RUF/AFRC forces amputated the arms from over ten civilians in Komoyah (Tambakha Chiefdom). They erected a rudimentary checkpoint, a rope across the road and tied the amputated arms along the length of the rope, leaving the amputees for dead nearby. Mid-year, towns on the Batkanu-Karina axis, and throughout the north of Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom came under attack from RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces strengthened their positions in Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) and commenced frequent food-finding missions or "Jar Jar" throughout the west of the Chiefdom. By August, RUF/AFRC forces were again active in Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom). ECOMOG artillery shelled the base from Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom) for seven days continuously, leaving the base littered with the corpses of RUF/AFRC forces.

At the end of October 1998, RUF/AFRC forces concentrated around Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) in preparation for an attack of the town. Villages to the east of Kamalo were raided by RUF/AFRC squads. This forced many civilians to seek safety behind ECOMOG lines in Kamalo. During these preliminary attacks, RUF/AFRC forces cut a man in half from head to groin. Despite reinforcing in advance of the RUF/AFRC attack, ECOMOG withdrew north from Kamalo to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), taking casualties. From Kamalo, RUF/AFRC forces moved south attacking Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). During both attacks, large number of houses were burnt down, and civilians killed. ECOMOG forces, and SLA and CDF forces that had been infused into ECOMOG took up positions at Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), Kamaranka and Kamakwie on the northern axis running from Makeni (Bombali Sebori Chiefdom). The CDF began initiating local youths around Gbendembu, "washing" them spiritually to render them bullet-proof.

In early December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked SLA and ECOMOG forces in Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), killing over 20 SLA soldiers and amputating the limbs of six civilians. In the closing weeks of late December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces cleared ECOMOG forces from within a corridor from Koidu (CHIEFDOM, Kono District) through Magburaka (Kholifa



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were raped. Following the attack on Rogboreh, RUF forces chanted slogans about the leader of the RUF. Rogboreh was occupied for 2 weeks, during which no houses were burned. An RUF Commander was identified as killing three people in Makalan, taking their property. In Mateboi, RUF forces burned down an unknown number of homes.

On 3 April 1994, 200 SLA soldiers in Makali (Konike Barina Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) were also under the command of the Resident Minister for the Northern Province. On 11 April, SLA forces deployed from Makeni (Bombali Seboria Chiefdom) and recaptured the town of Makali from RUF forces.

In Makeni (Bombali Seboria Chiefdom), on 18 April 1994, there was a public demonstration by civilians in response to a strongly-held belief that those SLA forces had been responsible for earlier attacks on the villages of Masanga and Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and on Magburaka town (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). SLA forces fired on civilian demonstrators, killing at least two people.

In the late morning of 1 November 1994, a large RUF force attacked the town of Bungbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), southwest of Makeni (Bombali Seboria Chiefdom). One hundred and ninety-three houses were burned during the attack. Civilians displaced from Bungbuna moved westwards to Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom). On 2 November 1994, SLA forces moved from Teko Army Barracks in Makeni and repelled the RUF forces from Bungbuna. Over the following week, these forces eastwards towards the town of Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom, Koinadugu District).

b) Events in 1995 and 1996

RUF activity in 1995 was concentrated on attacking the Western Area, through major assaults on town like Port Loko (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). Although the RUF established two camps in Bombali District – at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom) and Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) – the RUF forward operating bases in 1995 were in the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara, Tonkolili) and later at Camp Fol-Fol in the south of Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili. The bases in Bombali would take on a greater significance in 1996, as the RUF suffered a series of military defeats and failed to move into Freetown or hold territory in the Western Area.

Between 1 and 5 January 1995, RUF forces attacked the town of Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom, Port Loko District) from the direction of Makeni (Bombali Seboria Chiefdom) and Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom).

In May 1995, RUF forces entered the Bombali District from Kambia or Port Loko, neighbouring districts to the west. Between 14 and 18 May 1995, RUF moved eastwards from Romeni (BKM Chiefdom, Port Loko District) towards Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District) crossing into Bombali District and establishing a base on an island between two river at Ro-Source (Sanda

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Tendaren Chiefdom)³⁴⁸. RUF forces operated from Ro-Source until at least September 1997. RUF forces again attacked the village of Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), southeast of Ro-Source along the primary route between Batkanu and Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) in May 1995. RUF forces raped five women and burnt down 10 homes. Civilians were abducted and forced to carry stolen property to an unknown destination. In the same year, RUF forces also established a base at Masonkorie, a village in Sanda Loko Chiefdom, 15km east of the town of Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

Sometime in February 1996, before the Presidential and Parliamentary elections on 26 February, RUF troops left their camp in the Kangari Hills, (Malal Mara Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) crossed the Makeni-Freetown highway and headed in the direction of Batkanu (Libeisaygahun Chiefdom, Bombali District). From this point, RUF forces took an alternative route towards the town of Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), avoiding the main Batkanu-Gbendembu road, and attacked Makundu village (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom). At least four civilian men were killed during the attack. Subsequently, 200 RUF forces moved in the direction of Gbendembu, attacking the town early in the morning on 22 or 23 February 2003 having camped the previous night in dense forest to the west of the town.

It is likely that RUF forces were active around the Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) area from 1 February, since they had control over Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District). On or around 23 February 1996, civilians in Kamakwie learned of the RUF attack on Gbendembu (Gbendembu-Ndowahun Chiefdom) prior to the subsequent attack on their town. Attacking Gbendembu, RUF forces were armed with AK47s, G3s, RPGs and hand grenades. Properties were looted and the doors of homes were destroyed. Civilian traffic travelling northwards from Gbendembu towards Kamakwie was targeted by RUF forces. The driver and passenger of a passing car were shot and wounded, and their car looted. RUF forces burned the car with the dying occupants trapped inside.

Between 23 and 26 February 1996, an RUF of between 150 and 200 personnel attacked Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) to the north of Makeni, north east of their base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), and 15 Km west of the RUF base at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom). The attack came from the south of the town, through the village of Kathumpeh (Sella Limba Chiefdom). The main north-south road through Kamakwie passes through Gbendembu. The attack commenced in the morning, when a member of the RUF entered the town on a motorbike and began firing indiscriminately, possibly with an RPG. In addition to the burning down of 67 houses, RUF forces also burned offices of several international NGOs operating in the town. At least two people were abducted during this attack and taken to an RUF base at Masonkorie (Sanda Loko chiefdom). In the same period, in the village of Kagberi (Sella Limba Chiefdom), about 4 km west of Kamakwie, RUF forces captured and killed a farmer. They cut open his stomach and for an unspecified reason placed some "gari"³⁴⁹ inside it. Although no location was specified, it is likely that these same RUF forces also shot a deaf and mute man in Kagberi for not responding to their orders

³⁴⁸ Given the attacks in the north eastern chiefdoms of Port Loko in early January 1995, and accounts in the records detailing attacks on locations in these chiefdoms as coming from the direction of Mateboi (Sanda Tenderen, Bombali), it is likely that the RUF had a presence around Ro-Source well before June 1995.

³⁴⁹ Dried, cracked cassava root.

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animals. In May 1997, it had a very high degree of agricultural productivity, including a large cattle stock, making it a valuable location for the RUF to control.

In the early hours of 27 May 1997, the town of Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom) was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces carrying guns and other weapons. Soldiers surrounded the central mosque and killed 10 civilians celebrating the Muslim feast of "Jonbedeh", including the Section Chief. Of those escaping this attack on the mosque, an unknown number were injured. The majority of residents of the town heard gunfire and fled into the surrounding bush. RUF/AFRC forces raped an unknown number of women, and abducted 30 young civilian men and women. During the attack, numerous houses were burned down including those belonging to the town chief and the section chief. RUF/AFRC forces stole property. On the same day, RUF/AFRC forces moved west towards the village of Mandaha towards Gbendembu town (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), taking with them the 30 abductees. Some of the abductees were given military training and forced to join the RUF/AFRC, and some were forced into sexual slavery. The next day, the residents of Karina returned to the town and buried ten corpses in a mass grave. Given that Karina was on a regular patrol route from the RUF/AFRC camp at Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom), the burial was performed quickly, as residents feared the return of RUF/AFRC forces.

Also on 27 May 1997, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Malongbo (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), nearby Karina. A father and son were killed when RUF/AFRC forces set their house on fire. An old man was killed when RUF/AFRC forces set fire to his grass house. RUF/AFRC forces amputated the hand of a civilian man, before shooting him dead in response to his complaints that he was now useless to his community.

From May 1997 to October 1997, Guinean forces were stationed at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District). During August and September 1997, the RUF/AFRC base at Ro-Source came under pressure from long-range rockets fired by Guinean forces at Madina. RUF/AFRC forces moved from their camp at Ro-Source (Ro-source) and established a new camp at Bankoro (between Dibia and Sanda Magbolontho Chiefdoms, Port Loko).

On 16 December, ECOMOG jets bombed RUF/AFRC positions outside of Makeni (Bombali Sebori Chiefdom), claiming that the RUF/AFRC was constructing a runway to allow arms supplies to enter the country more freely in violation of ECOWAS and UN sanctions.³⁵²

c) Events in 1998

Between 6 and 14 February 1998, ECOMOG forces attacked Freetown, dislodging the combined RUF/AFRC forces and forcing their retreat into provincial Sierra Leone. This general retreat moved northwards, along the Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) - Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) - Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) axis.³⁵³ After 14 February, RUF/AFRC forces were stationed in Lunsar, to the west along the highway from Makeni Town (Bombali Sebori). RUF/AFRC forces also attacked key locations in Kambia District, including the economic centres of Kambia Town and Rokupr (both Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District).

³⁵² AFP, 16 December 1997.

³⁵³ See factual analysis for Western Area and Port Loko District in 1998 for further information.



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On 13 February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered the village of Masongbo (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom), 3 km west of Makeni along the main Freetown-Makeni highway. They were identified as RUF/AFRC because of their half military, half civilian attire. One member of the RUF/AFRC fired a single round between the legs of a civilian man in order to extort money from him; another civilian was robbed. On 14 February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces regrouped in Makeni (Bombali Sebor Chiefdom) following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown. On the same day, ECOMOG Alpha Jets attacked Teko Barracks in Makeni. In addition, ECOMOG targeted the Makeni Police barracks, believing them to be the RUF/AFRC brigade headquarters. At least five civilians were killed during this attack.

RUF/AFRC commenced "Operation Pay Yourself", which lasted 17 days in Makeni (Bombali Sebor Chiefdom), from 14 February 1998 until 3 March 1998. "Operation Pay Yourself" was executed in response to the failure of the AFRC to resist attacks on Freetown by ECOMOG forces between 8 and 14 February 1998.³⁵⁴ A similar operation was launched between the same dates in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District). RUF forces were reported as entering Makeni from the Magburaka (Kholifa Rhowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) highway with Toyota Hi-Lux and Mazda pick-up trucks. They were armed with AK-47s and G3s. At night, RUF/AFRC forces fired upon the exterior of houses before entering and performing searches. During these searches, mattresses, watches, foodstuffs, and personal and saleable items were taken. RUF/AFRC forces retreated from Makeni in the wake of ECOMOG forces.

In the early evening of 1 March 1998, troops from the ECOMOG 24th Infantry Brigade entered Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) from Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District). They engaged RUF/AFRC snipers en route at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and exchanged fire with RUF/AFRC forces for about an hour as they entered Lunsar.³⁵⁵ Apart from that, ECOMOG met no further resistance from RUF/AFRC forces in Lunsar.³⁵⁵

On 2 March 1998, ECOMOG forces moved from Lunsar and arrived at the village of Magbema, 2km west of Makeni (both Bombali Sebor Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces retreated northwards from Makeni in the direction of Kamaboi (Biriwa Chiefdom), to the east of Makeni, which had been under RUF control since May 1997. Some forces moved further towards Kabala Town (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District), settling in the town of Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). On 2 or 3 March 1998, ECOMOG arrived in Makeni and established a base at Teko Barracks, taking control of Makeni. At some point after ECOMOG entered the town, forces from the CDF 9th Battalion were deployed to assist in patrolling the Makeni area.³⁵⁶ An ECOMOG major stated that any civilian who is caught and found to have been an RUF/AFRC collaborator "will be treated as if they are not human" and commenced house to house searches, screening civilians and searching for possible RUF/AFRC infiltrators.

³⁵⁴ Clarification is required from the records about the date, as the starting date of "Operation Pay Yourself" is reported at different times across different Districts, the earliest being in the Western Area in 1997.

³⁵⁵ R.A. Adeshina, pp 36-38.

³⁵⁶ All Africa News, 11 December 1998 taken from Concord Times



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Around midday on 22 March 1998, the RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Kambia Mapulen (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). They were driven to Kambia Mapulen through the town of Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) on the main northern road to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), in a big truck with a civilian driver. Some of the RUF/AFRC forces were dressed in full military attire and others were dressed in civilian clothes. All were well armed with G3 and AK-47 rifles, and support weapons including RPGs. The RUF Commander first called a village meeting and informed the assembled civilians that they were being "liberated from their struggle". As the meeting progressed, RUF/AFRC forces surrounded the village. In the afternoon, the RUF/AFRC forces began firing on civilians, who fled the village. One girl did not escape the attack, was captured and raped by five members of the RUF/AFRC. The RUF/AFRC forces left the village along the same road they entered in the direction of Kamaranka. Villagers returned to find their valuables and livestock looted by the RUF/AFRC forces.

At this point, ECOMOG forces had taken control of Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) and Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom). ECOMOG met little resistance and easily took control of Kamakwie. During this time, RUF/AFRC forces were based at Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom, Kambia District) at the other end of a highway leading directly to Kamakwie. In April and May 1998, ECOMOG informed representatives of the village of Laya (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) that they had insufficient logistical capacity to patrol the road between Kamalo and Laya.

In April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces entered the northern Tambakha Chiefdom, passed through the Northern Jungle from Wara Wara Bafodia Chiefdom (Koinadugu District) on their way to the chiefdom headquarter town of Fintonia. Duguta (Tambakha Chiefdom), a village along their route, was the first town to be attacked in the chiefdom. Reports indicate that the RUF/AFRC did not fire a shot as they entered, although RUF/AFRC forces aged between 13 and 16 years were given orders to shoot should anyone try and escape. Fifty residents were held under armed guard for the duration of the attack. Twenty-five homes were burned down and 30 people were abducted and forced to carry stolen property, including livestock and poultry. Nobody was killed, although threats were made to abductees by RUF/AFRC forces that anyone caught resting would be killed.

In the early hours of one Wednesday in April 1998, over 100 RUF/AFRC forces eventually arrived at and attacked Fitonia (Tambakha Chiefdom). They were armed with AK-47 rifles, RPGs and bladed weapons. The town was surrounded within 30 minutes of their arrival. Over 20 people were caught trying to escape the town. They were rounded up and placed into groups. During the RUF/AFRC attack, eleven people were killed. sixty-eight houses were looted and burned. At least 17 civilians were abducted to carry stolen property. Those abducted were ordered by RUF/AFRC forces to assist them in avoiding "Government positions", because of their familiarity with the terrain.

On the same day the same RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Kottoh (Tambakha Chiefdom) in the Outanma Kilimi National Park, three miles west of Fintonia. At this village, they amputated the hand of an old civilian man, who died from loss of blood whilst heading south to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) to seek medical attention. Following this assault, the same RUF/AFRC forces proceeded towards Komoyah (Tambakha Chiefdom), which is about sixteen miles south west of Fintonia. RUF/AFRC forces killed 10 civilian men one after the other in this attack and



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amputated the arms of a further 11 civilian men. An unknown number of houses were also looted by RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG forces visiting Komoyah following the attack reported that RUF/AFRC forces had erected a checkpoint, a rope across the road. They had tied the amputated arms along the length of the rope and left the amputees dying nearby. ECOMOG forces took the amputees to their base at Kamakwie, where they received medical attention. From here, RUF/AFRC forces continued westwards to Sarakuda (Tambakha Chiefdom) where they killed an old woman.

Overnight between 10 and 11 May 1998, RUF/AFRC force attacked Mateboi (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), a town on the road to Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom, Port Loko District) that sits upon the Batkanu-Gbendembu route. During the attack, the Chiefdom Speaker and another prominent elder were killed. Seven other civilians were also killed. Many of the brick houses in the town had been burnt down, and much of the property stolen by RUF/AFRC forces.

In late June 1998, Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) once again came under attack by RUF/AFRC forces. The town was surrounded before the RUF/AFRC forces announced their presence with a single signature shot. Further sporadic firing by RUF/AFRC forces caused many of the residents to flee the town. An hour after RUF/AFRC forces first entered the village, a large group of RUF/AFRC forces in full combat fatigues passed through the village in a westerly direction, heading towards Batkanu (Libeisyagahun Chiefdom). Following these military forces were between 1000 and 1500 people in civilian dress carrying looted property. In Mayainku village (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom), on the road to Batkanu, RUF/AFRC forces abducted a man, who was later found dead, his body containing many bullet holes. In Mamaya (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom), also on the road to Batkanu from Gbendembu, RUF/AFRC forces raped a 10-year old girl, who later died of blood loss.

In July 1998, villagers in Gbendembu heard from displaced persons that the village of Loihindi (both Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), east of Gbendembu on the route to Kabala, had been attacked by RUF/AFRC forces. During the attack, RUF/AFRC forces had mutilated a young boy and an old man.

In July 1998, the village of Masiba (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces from the direction of Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces went from house to house searching for civilians. Those captured were first tied up as the search continued, and were then taken to the village of Kortulay (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and forced to take the rice of the Section Chief. The captives then transported the rice in the direction of Biriwa Chiefdom. Two days after the initial attack, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Masiba again, to recapture a number of abducted civilians who had escaped and returned to Masiba. The second RUF/AFRC attack on Masiba came from the village of Hundowa, to the north. A trader was shot dead in the centre of town. RUF/AFRC forces broke into all the houses in Masiba, looting what could be carried. At least 10 houses were burnt down. The escapees were recaptured by RUF/AFRC forces. Following this attack, the RUF/AFRC forces immediately moved to the nearby village of Wanworowah (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), where they captured 20 civilians. The men were hung beneath trees and set on fire. The women were cut with blades on their chests and backs.



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which had been held by ECOMOG forces since early March 1998. Following the attack, RUF forces departed westwards for Bankabie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), a village immediately south of Kamalo and joined with other RUF/AFRC units. RUF/AFRC units that participated in this attack re-established Camp Ro-Source (Sanda Tenderen Chiefdom), which had previously been abandoned in September 1997.

About fifteen miles south of Kamalo (Sella Limba Chiefdom), on 8 October, two groups of RUF/AFRC forces joined at a camp outside Masomba (Sella Limba Chiefdom), where some 500 RUF/AFRC forces were already deployed. RUF/AFRC forces abducted a man rumoured to have mystical powers, and forced him to perform religious rites for the unit. These including creating talisman to guarantee RUF forces would not suffer injuries, in addition to offerings of kola-nuts, sacrifices of goats and sheep for military success. The RUF/AFRC were certain that that another group of RUF/AFRC forces would arrive at the camp on 20 October. Once that unit arrived, all RUF/AFRC forces stationed at the camp would prepare for an attack on Kamalo. In the northern part of Magbaiamba Ndowahun Chiefdom, RUF forces attacked the village of Gbendebu on 27 October. RUF forces captured one civilian and divided him into two sections by splitting his body in two from head to groin. On 31 October, the group of RUF/AFRC forces who had been expected entered the RUF camp outside Masomba (Sella Limba Chiefdom).

By the end of October 1998, around 500 "loyal" SLA troops had been deployed to Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), south of where the RUF/AFRC were concentrating for the attack on Kamalo. The CDF deployed at Kalangba frequently patrolled Gbendembu. Parents were encouraged by the CDF commander to send their children to be initiated into the CDF, or "washed", so they could become bulletproof. A number of people died when trainers shot them at during the final stages of initiation.

As RUF forces prepared to attack Kamalo (Sella Limba Chiefdom) from the south, ECOMOG reinforced their positions in the town on 13 November 1998 with troops from Kamakwie. On 14 November, RUF forces attacked Kamalo. During this assault, RUF/AFRC forces killed an unknown number of ECOMOG forces, who were buried by civilians two days later, on 16 November. In addition, 80 homes were burnt and an unknown number of civilians were killed. Five RUF/AFRC wounded were returned to the camp outside Masomba (Sella Limba Chiefdom). ECOMOG and SLA forces were driven out of Kamalo and retreated north to the town of Kamakwie (Sanda Loko Chiefdom), still at this stage held by ECOMOG.

On 21 November RUF/AFRC forces headed south from Kamalo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) along the main highway and on 21 November they attacked Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). RUF/AFRC forces abducted seven men and two women, burnt down homes, and took property. The village clinic was also destroyed. They then established a base there that was still in operation in December 1998. On 22 November, ECOMOG deployed to Kamaranka, but did not engage forces at a nearby RUF/AFRC camp identified by two youths who had escaped from the camp the night before. ECOMOG troops remained in Kamaranka. It is reported in general terms that ECOMOG forces treated civilians accused to being "rebel collaborators" with extreme brutality. On 23 November 1998 in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom), ECOMOG forces tied-up and beat to death

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a well known and popular businessman accused of being a "rebel collaborator" by a woman in the town.

CDF forces established a checkpoint Ferrah Loko village, on the main Makeni-Kamkwie highway south of Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom). On 27 November 1998, CDF forces detained two civilians at the checkpoint and accused them of being "rebel collaborators". The civilians were led to a nearby river and shot dead with AK-47s. On 28 November, at the same checkpoint, CDF confiscated a quantity of prescription drugs to be used in the treatment of an outbreak of cholera in Kamaranka from a pharmacist travelling from Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) to Kamaranka.

In December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked many villages in Sella Limba Chiefdom, around the headquarter town of Kamakwie. Six miles from Kamakwie, at the crossing point over the Mongo River at Kabbah Ferry, RUF/AFRC forces burnt several houses and looted property in their attack on the village. Then, seven miles from Kamakwie, the town of Kamaportho (Sella Limba Chiefdom) was also attacked. RUF/AFRC forces killed an unknown number of civilians, burnt homes and looted properties.

Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) was attacked on 9 December by RUF/AFRC forces again entering the town from the west along the Batkanu-Gbendembu Highway. ECOMOG and SLA forces stationed in the town were driven out by RUF/AFRC forces. During the engagement, RUF/AFRC forces lined up eleven civilians and shot them one after the other. RUF/AFRC forces set fire to two machine guns located in the vacated ECOMOG position. ECOMOG and "loyal" SLA forces regrouped to the south of Gbendembu and launched a counter attack. During the attack RUF/AFRC forces killed 23 SLA forces and amputated the limbs of six civilians. Nevertheless, RUF/AFRC forces were successfully dislodged from Gbendembu. Residents buried the dead civilians in mass grave near the Wesleyan Church. The 25 dead SLA soldiers were taken to Makeni (Bombali Sembora). Civilians buried an unknown number of RUF/AFRC dead in the bush surrounding Gbendembu.

On Monday 20 December, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Binkolo town (the headquarter town of Safroko Limba Chiefdom), near Makeni (Bombali Sebora Chiefdom) on the main road to Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). On 21 December, RUF forces took property, including food items, and burnt down 133 homes. Five people were shot dead in the attack. RUF/AFRC forces established and manned checkpoints in Binkolo between 30 December 1998 and 4 January 1999.

On 23 December, RUF/AFRC forces took control of Magburaka Town (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District). Later that day RUF/AFRC forces commenced a major assault on Makeni from three directions. The nearby towns of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom), Karina and Kamabai (both Biriwara Chiefdom) to the northeast were already under RUF/AFRC control. Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom) and Kamolo (Sanda Loko Chiefdom) to the northwest were both under pressure from RUF/AFRC forces. From the south, RUF/AFRC forces entered Bombali district through Magburaka town (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) and continued towards Makeni, whilst another RUF/AFRC force launched their attack on the town

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from the north. RUF/AFRC forces also moved from Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District), attacking Makeni from the west.

On 24 December at 1200 RUF/AFRC forces succeeding in dislodging ECOMOG forces from the Teko Barracks in Makeni. ECOMOG forces retreated north to Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom). Teko Barracks was home to the brigade headquarters of the ECOMOG 24th Infantry Brigade. ECOMOG forces ran short of ammunition and were overpowered by the attacking RUF/AFRC force. During the attack, RUF/AFRC forces inflicted heavy casualties on ECOMOG, and managed to capture the ECOMOG brigade intelligence officer and much of the brigade documentation.³⁵⁸ By 26 December, ECOMOG had withdrawn from Makeni.

In late December, RUF/AFRC forces Fintonia (Tambakah Chiefdom) was attacked. Many people were abducted some of whom were made to carry looted goods. Eleven civilians were killed and at least one woman was sexually assaulted and forced to be a sex slave for RUF/AFRC forces. RUF/AFRC forces abducted over 40 people, 11 were killed. 68 houses were burned down. Civilians were forced to carry looted items for the RUF/AFRC forces.

On 24 December 1998, SLA forces retreating from Makeni towards Koinadugu District arrived in the village of Bombali Bana (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom), 3km west of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom), to the north of Makeni. Bombali Bana was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces after 24 December 1998. In this attack, 25 houses were burned down. Throughout the night of 25-26 December report hearing the movement of convoys of vehicles moved towards Makeni through Binkolo on the Kabala-Makeni highway. Between 30 December 1998 and 1 January 1999, convoys of civilians carrying sacks of rice on their heads, and livestock over their shoulders, were being escorted by armed RUF/AFRC forces through Binkolo towards Makeni.

After 26 December, ECOMOG forces retreated from the town of Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) through the village of Konba towards Kambia District, and eventually to Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District). On 30 December, RUF/AFRC forces entered the town immediately, without engaging ECOMOG. RUF/AFRC forces quickly set up an administration, and started recruiting young men and women from throughout Sella Limba Chiefdom. RUF/AFRC forces also crossed into Kamakwie from Tambakha Chiefdom, stealing much of the kerosene and food waiting to be ferried across the Little Scarcies River to Kamakwie. Soon after arriving in Kamakwie, RUF/AFRC forces sought to extend their authority over the Mongo River north towards the border with Guinea. Also on 30 December, RUF/AFRC forces advanced into Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and engaged ECOMOG positions.

d) Events in 1999

Through December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces cleared ECOMOG forces from within a corridor from Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District) through Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom, Tonkalili District) and Makeni (Bombali Seborra Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District, Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area). RUF/AFRC forces assaulted Freetown between 6 and 20 January. Following an intense battle for

³⁵⁸ Detail only. R.A. Adeshina, p.133

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headquarter town of Fintonia, on the northerly Kamakwie-Madina Oula³⁶¹ (Guinea) route on 11 January. RUF/AFRC forces were also based seen in border villages such as Sanya and Symbecki (both Tambakha Chiefdom), where they regularly sold items stolen during attacks to intermediaries who would sell them at the weekly market in the Guinean border towns of Madina Oula, Sekusoria and Lakantha. In Kambia District, RUF/AFRC forces used the Great Scaries River to access trade fairs in towns just over the Guinean border.³⁶² The Guinean authorities tightened border security checks on traders. In relation to the Guinean operations, RUF forces in Kamabai (Biriwa Chiefdom) attempted to conscript civilians.

By March 1999, RUF/AFRC forces had effective control over the surrounding area of Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) and proceeded to take food from its inhabitants. In Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom, food-finding missions were conducted in Kamaranka and Kambia Mapalun in April. At a meeting that occurred sometime between before peace negotiations commenced, a G5 committee of RUF/AFRC forces and civilians met to discuss food contributions to the RUF/AFRC war effort. An order was passed requiring civilians to contribute food to RUF/AFRC forces on a daily basis. The RUF commander officially ordered the beginning of food-finding missions around Binkolo in middle to late 1999.

Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May in the Togolese capital, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (Lomé Peace Agreement). On the same day the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed, RUF/AFRC forces in Thama Village (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) tied up, beat and executed four young boys. Residents of the village buried their corpses in a mass grave in Thama.

After the Lomé Peace Agreement was signed, the RUF/AFRC established a large training camp in Gbendembu (Gbendembu Ndowahun Chiefdom), on the Guinea-Makeni road. The Gbendembu camp replaced a camp located previously located in Kailahun District. It was set up both to bolster the RUF/AFRC ground force in Sierra Leone, and to train forces for attacks on towns in Guinea. Many civilians in Gbendembu were forced to work in the training camp preparing food for trainees. Conditions in the camp were harsh, and food was scarce. To ensure they did not escape, trainees were monitored continually by RUF/AFRC security forces. RUF/AFRC "Food Finding Missions" became commonplace in villages surrounding Gbendembu, and a specific group of RUF/AFRC "Night Combatants" carried out frequent looting raids in the area overnight. This contributed to a sense of heightened terror amongst civilians in and around the town.

In August 1999, "Operation Pay Yourself" began in Magbema. This was an ongoing RUF/AFRC slogan targeting towns and villages with a looting spree, the stolen property from which served as pay for the forces. This operation lasted for 72 hours. If any civilians refused to provide RUF/AFRC forces with food or with whatever goods they sought, they were either beaten or killed. Also in August, RUF/AFRC established "G5" civilian-military liaison committees throughout

³⁶¹ In late January 1999, UNHCR established a refugee camp in Madina Oula, although Sierra Leonean refugees had been seeking safety there since 1997. AFP, 28 January 1999.

³⁶² See the factual analysis for Kambia District for 1999 for further information.



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Safroko Limba Chiefdom. Like in other places, the G5 committee was tasked with administering the collection of daily contributions of foodstuff from the civilian population to the RUF/AFRC. Shortly after its establishment, RUF/AFRC forces were ordered to search the bush surrounding settlement to collect food for themselves.

In the southern headquarter tension was beginning to exhibit itself between RUF and AFRC commanders and ranks in Makeni (Bombali Sembora). In August, a senior RUF commander was captured and detained in Port Loko District by an AFRC splinter called the West Side Boys.³⁶³ The West Side Boys, based in the Okra Hill Area of lower Maforki Chiefdom and Koya Chiefdom in Port Loko District eventually released the senior RUF commander, who commandeered a number of vehicles in Lunsar (Port Loko District) and Magbema and returned to Makeni. In August 1999, in Makeni's Independence Square, one of the RUF commanders shot an AFRC commander at point blank range, killing him immediately. RUF and AFRC members fought for control of Makeni. Following this battle, the AFRC forces left Makeni and moved into Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) led by a different commander³⁶⁴. During their withdrawal from Makeni, AFRC forces abducted civilians en route to Lunsar to carry wounded AFRC personnel.

On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone, to replace the previous observer mission and assist with the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement.³⁶⁵ The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) commenced deployment with the arrival of advance teams on 29 and 30 November,³⁶⁶ 4,500 UNAMSIL were troops were present in Sierra Leone by 10 January 2000.³⁶⁷

e) Events in 2000

On 5 January, a contingent of 450 Kenyan UNAMSIL peacekeepers and military observers (MILOBS) tried to enter Makeni (Bombali Seboria Chiefdom) but was denied entry by RUF/AFRC forces on the grounds that they had not been authorised by the RUF/AFRC high command to deploy in the town. By 6 January, companies of Kenyan UNAMSIL peacekeepers had set up camp in Makeni. In January 2000, RUF/AFRC forces in Binkolo (Safroko Limba Chiefdom) stoned a civilian to death after accusing him of killing an RUF/AFRC member. The civilian's body was left unburied and dragged along the road to the nearby village of Mongoreh (Safroko Limba).

In February or March 2000, diamonds were found in Kambia Makuhun (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) by residents of the village. A member of RUF/AFRC senior command oversaw the mining operation, in which abducted civilians were forced to work as miners. Those accused of stealing were given 200 lashes. Within the month, RUF/AFRC forces moved from Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) and Makeni to reinforce Kamaranka (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom), a village at the intersection of a route that leads to Kambia Makuhun and the Gbundema-Kamakwie highway. On 24 February, the RUF/AFRC commander in Kamakwie captured the Paramount Chief of

³⁶³ See factual analysis for Port Loko District for further information.

³⁶⁴ This information will require further clarification, since it is also mentioned in the factual analysis for Tonkolili District.

³⁶⁵ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999)

³⁶⁶ BBC, 29 November 1999

³⁶⁷ IRIN West Africa, 11 January 1999

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In late September, RUF/AFRC forces raided Thama (Gbanti Kamaranka Chiefdom) and went house-to-house looking for valuable items. Seventeen civilians were abducted and forced to carry the stolen items to Makeni, a journey of over 40 miles.

f) Events in 2001

On 3 January, the RUF high command met with the UNAMSIL force commander in Magburaka.³⁷⁶ In January, the RUF/AFRC agreed with UNAMSIL to open the stretch of highway connecting Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and Foreduku (Buya Romende Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni Town. On 31 January and 13 February, the UNAMSIL Core Contact Group met with the RUF/AFRC command in Makeni Town. At the latter meeting the RUF/AFRC returned 56 weapons, some communications equipment, and nine vehicles seized from UNAMSIL since deployment.³⁷⁷ On 16 February, a Bangladeshi UNAMSIL unit conducted a long-range patrol to Makeni from Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District), passing through 16 RUF/AFRC checkpoints en route. The patrol met with the RUF brigadier in Makeni.³⁷⁸ Patrols continued throughout February, also moving from Ro-Gberray (Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District) through Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, Port Loko District) to Makeni. On 14 March, around 240 Nigerian UNAMSIL soldier commenced deployment to Lunsar,³⁷⁹ increasing to 776 by 23 March 2001.³⁸⁰ On 17 April, Nigerian UNAMSIL soldiers moved from Lunsar and commenced deployment to Makeni.³⁸¹ On 25 May, RUF/AFRC forces released 591 child combatants to UNAMSIL in Makeni.³⁸²

On 24 September, disarmament commenced in Bombali District. UNAMSIL established reception centres in Batkanu (Libeisyagahun Chiefdom), Makeni (Bombali Seboru Chiefdom)³⁸³ and in Kamakwie (Sella Limba Chiefdom) in late October.³⁸⁴ On 15 November, 150 Sierra Leone Police deployed to Makeni.³⁸⁵

3. Conclusion

** TO BE DRAFTED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE **

b. Kambia District

1. Introduction

Kambia District is located in the north-west of Sierra Leone. The Republic of Guinea runs along the entire northern boundary of Kambia District, with the Atlantic Ocean lying to the west. Port Loko District is to the south of Kambia District and Bombali District is found to the east.

³⁷⁶ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 3 January 2001

³⁷⁷ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 13 February 2001

³⁷⁸ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 16 February 2001

³⁷⁹ UNAMSIL Press Release, 14 March 2001 and IRINWA, 16 March 2001

³⁸⁰ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 23 March 2001

³⁸¹ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 17 April 2001.

³⁸² UNASMIL Press Briefing, 29 May 2001.

³⁸³ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 25 September 2001.

³⁸⁴ OCHA, Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 16 Oct - 05 Nov 2001

³⁸⁵ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 16 November 2001.



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RUF/AFRC forces entering Kassiré. ECOMOG forces killed at least three members of the RUF/AFRC and captured a number of others. RUF/AFRC forces retaliated in the following days and burnt down over 100 houses in Kassiré.

Following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement, the RUF/AFRC began requiring the inhabitants of villages throughout Tonka Limba Chiefdom to pay money and feed the RUF/AFRC forces. On market day in Madina (Tonka Limba Chiefdom), which occurs every Friday, RUF/AFRC forces levied Le 500 and three cups of rice or oil from each house; those who defaulted were ill-treated. For example, at Kasuroh village, just north of Madina, RUF/AFRC forces broke the leg of an old man who refused to let them take his livestock. In Mapotolon (Samu Chiefdom), local youths responded to this ill-treatment by killing a number of RUF/AFRC members in the village. The RUF/AFRC forces in Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) launched a heavy attack on Mapotolon in retaliation, surrounding the village and burning down every residence.

On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone, to replace the previous observer mission and assist with the implementation of the Lomé Peace Agreement.⁴¹⁷ The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) commenced deployment with the arrival of advance teams on 29 and 30 November;⁴¹⁸ 4,500 UNAMSIL were troops were present in Sierra Leone by 10 January 2000.⁴¹⁹

6) Events in 2000

In late April, UNAMSIL commenced long-range patrols in Kambia District, particularly around the border areas. UNAMSIL plans to continue deployments into Kambia District were interrupted when the RUF/AFRC disarmed and detained around 300 UNAMSIL peacekeepers in different locations across Sierra Leone. In early May 2000, RUF/AFRC forces disarmed a 100 strong Nigerian UNAMSIL contingent near Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom). They were released in Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom) a few days later.

The RUF/AFRC moved the Kambia Brigade headquarters to Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom) at some point in early 2000. On 26 May 2000, a Sierra Leone Government helicopter gunship bombarded Rokupr (Magbema Chiefdom), killing three people and wounding two others. Shortly before this, around late March or early April 2000, the same gunship had dropped leaflets telling the RUF to surrender and disarm to UNAMSIL, warning that the next time it would be bombs,⁴²⁰ not leaflets. This practice was also carried out in Bombali and Tonkolili Districts. RUF/AFRC forces would shoot at civilians attempting to take one of the leaflets. After 26 May 2000, the helicopter gunship came regularly, which resulted in civilian deaths in Rokupr, Kambia Town (both Magbema Chiefdom) and Madina (Tonko Limba Chiefdom). This continued until June 2000, when the Guinean forces bombarded Rokupr on numerous occasions, killing up to 17 civilians.

⁴¹⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999).

⁴¹⁸ BBC Online News, 29 November 1999.

⁴¹⁹ IRIN West Africa, 11 January 1999.

⁴²⁰ The leaflets refer specifically to Gatling machine guns, 57mm rockets, 23mm guns and 30mm grenades, accompanied by a picture of a Mi-24 "Hind" helicopter gunship.

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3. Conclusion

**** TO BE DRAFTED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE****

c. Koinadugu District

1. Introduction

Koinadugu District is located in the northwest of Sierra Leone. It shares a border with Guinea to the north and east, with Kono and Tonkolili Districts to the south and with Bombali District to the west. The town of Kabala is the Headquarter Town of Koinadugu District. There are eleven Chiefdoms in Koinadugu District:

Chiefdom	Headquarter Town
Dembelia Sinkunia	Sinkunia
Diang	Kondembaia
Follosaba Dembelia	Musaia
Mambolo (Kasunko)	Fadugu
Mongo	Mongo Bendugu
Neini	Yiffin
Neya	Krubola
Sengbe	Yogomaia
Sulima	Falaba
Wara Wara Bafodia	Bafodia
Wara Wara Yagala	Gbawuria

[geographical overview and summary of factual analysis to be drafted pending incorporation of comments from resource persons]

2. Factual Analysis

a) Events in 1992

On 29 April 1992, the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), led by Valentine Strasser and elements of the SLA, overthrew the government of the All Party Congress.

In the first half of 1992, Fadugu town (Mambolo) experienced an influx of civilians from Makeni town (Makari Gbanti, Bombali) and Kono District. On 2 May 1992 a local civilian militia was formed in Fadugu town (Mambolo). For this militia, local blacksmiths manufactured single-barrel shotguns known as "Chaka Bulla." Others were armed with sticks through which nails were driven, metal bars, axes and cutlasses. Reports indicate that the Government of Sierra Leone was setting up and recruiting for a civilian militia called the "Donsos," the headquarter of which was Koidu town (Gbense, Kono District). An unknown number of civilian militia from Mambolo chiefdom joined the Donsos.

In mid 1992 the SLA started reinforcing their positions in the eastern Chiefdoms of Neya and Mongo in the towns of Kumba Wullen Balia and Tumonia.⁴³³ In July 1992, in Mongo Bendugu

⁴³³ This town could be Tomania, Sengbe Chiefdom.



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because it was the Saturday market day (called "Lumor" locally). SLA troops were ultimately dislodged from the bridge.

Early on 6 November 1994 RUF forces departed Badala, and moved across the Seli river northwards towards Kabala, bypassing the town of Kondembaia, to where the SLA had retreated. They attacked a number of villages within a 10km area to the immediate south of Kabala. Surkurela (Dieng Chiefdom) and Kamadugu Sokurela (Neini Chiefdom) were attacked. RUF forces arrived in Fasowaya (or Fasawaia, Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom) early on 7 November and cooked a large amount of food. RUF forces were in three groups around the Fasowaya area. The first group was on a patch of farmland called Maworona, the second on the farm of Madam Fatmata Roko, and the third at a location called Centre Bolt's Garden.

In the afternoon of 7 November 1994, RUF forces moved from their Fasowaya encampment and attacked Kabala. Shortly before the attack, residents of Kabala recall hearing an announcement over the radio informing them that the SLA were about to test their AK47 rifles, and therefore nobody should worry. There was limited resistance from the small SLA contingent stationed in the town. Reports indicate that Guinean and Nigerian troops were also present. They would be reinforced on 11 November by SLA forces retreating from Kono District. During the attack, RUF forces killed a prominent former Tamaboro leader, beating him severely with metal bars before cutting his throat. At least four other civilians were killed by RUF forces. In addition to burning over 100 residences, RUF forces looted and destroyed public buildings, including the Police Barracks, the District Office, the District Council Hall and the hospital. Twenty civilians were abducted to carry stolen property. RUF forces also destroyed the businesses of many civilians thought to have been Tamaboros. Fleeing the battle much of the Kabala people fled the town of Kabala heading northeast towards Fadugu and Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) and also towards the town of Tomania (Mongu Chiefdom).

Following the attack, RUF forces left Kabala in the morning of 8 November 1994, moving directly southwards through the villages of Yisimaia (Sengbe Chiefdom), Fasowaya (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom) and Kamadugu Sokurela (Neini Chiefdom). In Fasowaya, 18 civilians were abducted to carry looted property. They continued southwards off the main motorable road, moving through Singbini (Neini Chiefdom) before veering westwards towards the town of Foria (Diang Chiefdom). A further 18 civilians were abducted in Singbina. Reports indicate that this RUF group, active in Diang chiefdom prior to the 7 November attack on Kabala, abducted over 3000 civilians.

By 10 November 1994, the RUF forces responsible for the attack on Kabala on 7 November reached Dondoya (Diang Chiefdom). Instead of taking the main motorable road from Foria (which continued south towards Alikalia and Yiffin) RUF forces headed to Darakuru (Diang). Darakuru is one of the main gold mining areas in Sierra Leone. RUF forces camped in Darakuru until 13 November 1994, during which time they received 300 ounces of gold from the residents of the village in return for not attacking Darakuru. This group of RUF moved into Tonkolili District.

RUF forces departed Mansofinia (Neya Chiefdom) on 8 November, moving to Yiffin on 9 November 1994. Before entering Alikalia on 9 November, RUF forces overpowered armed significant resistance from local militia. Eleven civilians and four local militia were killed by RUF

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Around midday on 12 January, RUF forces used a machete to cut off four fingers from the right hand of the Section Chief. An unknown number of civilians in the town were whipped and beaten by RUF forces, who looted extensively. Twenty-six men and 15 women, all civilians, were forced to carry the looted property. RUF forces burned down four houses before departing Yarawadugu.

Between 12 and 13 January 1998, this RUF unit returned to Kurubonla from Yarawadugu passing through the villages of Tilikoro, Fasombnuya, Sandia, Tenkeya, Toroya and Marliya. In Tilikoro, two men were caught and their property taken away. In Fasombnuya, three men were caught, and property including radios, cassette tapes and a gun was taken. Five houses were also burned down. Many houses in other towns were also burnt down, including 10 in Sandia, two in Tenkeya, 10 in Toraya and 6 in Marliya. On 13 January, the unit arrived in Kurubonla, whereupon the people who had been abducted to carry stolen property on the patrol were released. A truck from the RUF base at Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom) was provided to carry the 50 man unit back to Koidu (Gbense Chiefdom, Kono District).

On 15 January 1998, RUF forces burned a total of 11 houses in the villages of Dunamara, Fandala and Henekuma (all Neya Chiefdom) en route from Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District) to Mansofenia (Neya Chiefdom). In Mansofenia, RUF forces began to burn houses. Villagers report begin surprised, having been informed earlier by one of the RUF commanders that Mansofenia was an RUF base. That RUF commander shot dead another RUF commander with a pistol.¹⁵⁰

In February 1998, the combined forces of the ARFC and the RUF were driven out of Freetown by the Nigerian-led ECOMOG intervention force.

After 14 February 1998, a 1000-man RUF/AFRC unit known as "Junta One" arrived in Fadugu (Mambolo HQ town) and proceeded to attack many surrounding villages as part of "Operation Pay Yourself". Attacks were made upon Kagbasia, Kafogo, Kassasie, Thankorosidia, Madina, Kasandakoro, Kakayo and Kamanda.¹⁵¹

On 15 February 1998, ECOMOG forces entered Fadugu town forcing ARFC/RUF forces to retreat towards Kabala. Fadugu town became the focus point for surrenders by RUF/AFRC forces present in the surrounding villages, as a result of which ECOMOG set up a screening process.¹⁵² At least two killings of surrendered RUF/AFRC forces by ECOMOG soldiers are recorded. ECOMOG cooperated with the CDF to set up a town defence plan that included civilians.

CDF forces had made the main route between Magburaka and Koidu impassable to retreating RUF/AFRC forces, so the main route used was through Bumbuna (Kalansogoia, Tonkolili) and Bendugu (Sambaia Bendugu, Tonkolili) into Neini chiefdom. After 14 February 1998, a large convoy of RUF/AFRC vehicles moved through the towns of Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) and Yiffin (Neini Chiefdom) through towards Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom, Kono District). In both Alikalia and Yiffin,

¹⁵⁰ More detail is required from the records on this.

¹⁵¹ More detail is required from the records on these attacks.

¹⁵² More detail is required from the records on the screening process.



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until early March 1998, there are reports of continual harassment of civilians and their property being taken by RUF/AFRC forces as part of "Operation Pay Yourself".

Throughout March and April 1998 in Sebeneh chiefdom, the number of RUF/AFRC forces present grew. There are also reports of continual looting of civilian property and expropriation of dwellings to house RUF/AFRC forces and their families. Civilians in Kalkoia (Sengbeh Chiefdom) report seeing small ECOMOG patrols shortly after the arrival of the main ECOMOG 2nd Battalion reached Kabala in early March. Shortly after ECOMOG arrived in Kabala, RUF/AFRC forces occupied the town of Serekolia (Mongo Chiefdom).

After 13 March 1998, ECOMOG forces commanded by entered the town of Alikalia from the north. A company of ECOMOG forces remained in Alikalia, whilst a platoon was dispatched to Yiffin town (Neini Chiefdom), in pursuit of RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG met little resistance on entering Yiffin. In both Yiffin and Alikalia, ECOMOG forces and Section Chiefs accepted the surrender of unknown numbers of RUF/AFRC forces, who were issued with documents identifying them and then sent to Kabala or Makeni for further questioning by ECOMOG.

Immediately after entering both Yiffin and Alikalia, ECOMOG met with the Section Chiefs and requested that hunters be gathered together to assist ECOMOG troops. In Alikalia, 50 hunters were rapidly assembled and registered at the ECOMOG base. ECOMOG firstly provided training to those who registered in how to use an AK-47 rifle, and secondly ordered those trained to search the bush around Alikalia town for RUF/AFRC forces.

By 14 March 1998, ECOMOG troops had deployed to the northern town of Sinkunia (Dembelia Sinkunia Chiefdom) to the North of Kabala. Civilians in nearby Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) report arresting and tying up a local ARFC leader and handing him over to ECOMOG forces in Sinkunia. After 14 March 1998, ECOMOG forces arrived in Falaba town.

On 26 March 1998, an RUF/AFRC unit attacked the town of Kosaba in the Republic of Guinea, bordering Mondo chiefdom. The previous day this unit abducted 40 civilian men in Kamaron and Kiridu (both in Mongo Chiefdom) to guide them through to Kosaba. Two civilians were killed during the attack. RUF/AFRC forces took items like foam mattresses, guns, radios and foodstuffs from Kosaba. The abductees were forced to carry the looted property back to the RUF/AFRC base in Mansofenia.

On 28 March 1998, ECOMOG forces stationed in Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) received reports of an RUF/AFRC buildup to the south of the town. A young boy reported that RUF/AFRC forces had captured his friend and killed him as a ritual sacrifice. An ECOMOG armoured car fired from Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) in the direction of Alia (Alieya Chiefdom) village. In the early hours of the morning on 29 March, RUF/AFRC forces responded and attacked Falaba town with heavy machine guns and RPGs, killing 18 civilians, looting and burning down over 50 houses. ECOMOG withdrew to their pre-existing position in Sinkunia. Falaba was attacked by RUF/AFRC forces again on 3 April, thereby securing RUF/AFRC control of Falaba until the arrival of Guinean troops in late May 1998. The Guinean contingent remained until late November 1998.

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RUF/AFRC forces on the road into Firawa. After 2 hours, CDF retreated into the town, informing residents that they should hide in the bush. RUF/AFRC forces entered the empty town, burning down 20 houses and killing one civilian. They remained in Firawa until 28 July, until they moved westwards towards the town of Foria (Diang Chiefdom)

In the evening of 27 or 28 July 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked and occupied Kabala town from the direction of Makeni. They were armed with AA guns, RPGs, mortars and other weapons and arrived in about 30 vehicles including Toyota land cruisers, Land Rovers and Mercedes Benz cars. While RUF/AFRC forces looted private property, there are no reports of violent incidents or burning of houses. Nigerian and Guinean ECOMOG troops stationed in Kabala secured their defensive positions and remained in town until they were reinforced. The occupation lasted until the evening of either 1 or 2 August, when RUF/AFRC forces were driven from Kabala by ECOMOG forces and the SLA 2nd Battalion.⁴⁵⁵

Retreating from Kabala, RUF/AFRC forces settled in towns and villages on the arterial road leading eastwards from Kabala through Sebeneh chiefdom. These included Yamadugu, Koinadugu and Kalkoia (Sebeneh Chiefdom). Another unit moved further south, arriving in the town of Gberefefeh (Sebeneh Chiefdom).

In the early hours of 11 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Fadugu (Mangolo Chiefdom) in an operation called "Operation Die." They were armed with RPGs, AK-58s and AK-47 machine guns. RUF/AFRC forces came through the Madingotown area of Fadugu, avoiding the ECOMOG checkpoint on the road from Kafogo and Kabala. ECOMOG forces engaged the RUF/AFRC forces but were unable to repel the attack. The Paramount Chief of Mambolo was shot dead at his home by RUF forces, who afterwards set fire to his corpse. Sixty-eight houses were burned down and eight civilians were killed, two of them being set on fire. The RUF/AFRC forces moved from the town later in the day on 12 September. The attack was primarily to loot ECOMOG ammunition dumps in the town.

On 18 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the village of Karia (Diang Chiefdom) from the direction of Darakaru, in gold-rich area of Diang chiefdom. RUF/AFRC forces burned 36 houses and abducted 10 civilians. One hundred SLA soldiers were deployed to Karia at the request of the chiefdom elders.

On 23 September 1998, RUF/AFRC forces left Kuronbonla (Neya Chiefdom) for the town of Kamaron (Mongo Chiefdom), arriving in the early evening. Twenty-five men and 15 women were detained by RUF forces in a church in the town. RUF/AFRC forces entered every house in the town and took property, including food items, livestock and domestic goods. The stolen property was loaded onto trucks and driven to Kuronbonla. Fifteen houses were burnt when the RUF/AFRC forces left Kamaron the next day.

On 8 October 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom) from Firawa (Neini Chiefdom) in the north. Although CDF and ECOMOG resisted the attack, RUF/AFRC burned

⁴⁵⁵ Clarification is required from the records about the exact dates these incidents took place.
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On 18 July 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces attacked the gold-rich mining area of Binkokoh (Diang Chiefdom). In Foraya, the RUF forces killed 3 people, looted the whole village, demanded gold and abducted some young boys and girls to carry the stolen property.⁴⁶⁷ On 3 August, the RUF/AFRC forces moved from Binkokoh to attack Barakan and Dalakuru (Diang Chiefdom), which are also gold-mining areas. While in Dalakuru, the RUF/AFRC forces raped a woman.

In September 1999 the CDF attacked the RUF/AFRC position in Dondoya (Diang Chiefdom). In the southern Neya chiefdom, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the towns of Dalawullay-feh, Bendu III and Yarawadu.

On 3 September RUF/AFRC forces attacked Kafogo and Fadugu, (Mambolo), where they, given their great number, overwhelmed the ECOMOG, CDF, SSD and SLA checkpoints and entered Fadugu carrying sophisticated weapons like RPG, AK47, AK58, G3 and AA guns. In Fadugu, the RUF forces burnt 80 houses, took all the property they could find, abducted some girls and boys to use them as forced labour and killed some people.

On 17 September 1999 in Diang chiefdom there were several attacks by RUF/AFRC forces, based in Alikalia (Neini Chiefdom). The RUF forces attacked Kombonkalia and Nyawulunya (both in Diang Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC forces were resisted by an organised group of youth⁴⁶⁸ in Nyawulenai (Diang chiefdom), therefore the town was totally burnt down while Kombonkalia (Diang Chiefdom) was spared because did not put up any resistance. The same day the CDF, based in Faraya, attacked RUF/AFRC positions in Dondonya (Diang Chiefdom).

In October 1999, CDF-Kamajors coming from Kono district attacked Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom), an important RUF/AFRC base. The CDF took property and burnt down the town, but the RUF commander was not captured. Consequently, RUF/AFRC forces attacked the nearby town of Henekuma (Diang Chiefdom), where 27 civilians were killed, property was taken and the town was described as being completely destroyed.

On 16 and 19 October 1999, RUF/AFRC forces planned an attack on Kabala. They entered Fadugu (Mambolo Chiefdom) and looted all the surrounding villages in Mambolo chiefdom. Following this, they moved on to Kabala, but failed to occupy the town. The group was reorganized in Fadugu and moved towards Freetown. In the following days many locations in the chiefdom were looted by RUF/AFRC forces.⁴⁶⁹

In November 1999, in Bafodia (Wara Wara Bafodia Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces engaged SLA forces. The RUF/AFRC forces were driven from the town and SLA forces subsequently left for Kabala. On 3 November 1999, one senior AFRC commander, coming through Folasaba Dembeia

⁴⁶⁷ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

⁴⁶⁸ More information is required from the records on this group, including who they were organised by and how old they were.

⁴⁶⁹ More detail is required from the records on these incidents.

(G.P.)

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Also in June 2000, RUF forces attacked several towns in Neya chiefdom, including Porpon, where they killed 25 people and burnt down 70 houses, taking property such as rice, corn, groundnut, guns, which were later transported to Yiraia. The RUF forces then attacked Tenkeya, killing four people, burning 15 houses and taking property. This unit also attacked Maraliya, killing two people, burning down 12 houses and taking all the property in the town. They then attacked Yarandor, Kekowafeh, Bondofeh, Bunbania and Terero II, in all of which houses were burnt down and all the property was taken away. Many villages in Sandoh chiefdom were burnt down like Farandala, Dunamaro, Waldu, Kayima and Teleya.⁴⁷²

In July CDF-Kamajors attacked the RIUF/AFRC base at Yiraia (Neya Chiefdom) and Sumbaraya. The RUF commander managed to escape capture, but the Kamajors killed his mother, sister and nephew. The body of the RUF commander's mother was left hung on a stick above the road entering in the town. The town was completely burnt down, all fruit-trees were cut down and also the old zinc from the houses were punctured with nails to prevent their use as roofing. All the stolen property gathered from other villages were taken away by the Kamajors.⁴⁷³

In Firawa (Nieni Chiefdom) RUF/AFRC forces captured about 400 young civilian men to be taken to Kono district for mining.

In August 2000, RUF/AFRC forces left Alikalia to surrender either to UNAMSIL or to ECOMOG troops in Kabala.⁴⁷⁴ On 14 August a group of RUF/AFRC forces from Kono and Kailahun district passed through Alikalia on their way to attack Kabala. The town of Kabala was attacked on 17 August 2000, where they fought a battle against the SLA and CDF based in the town.

During this month, RUF forces regularly tried to attack Kabala, but were repelled by SLA forces. After the attack on Kabala, at the end of the month, RUF forces stormed Wara Wara Bafodia chiefdom attacking towns and villages such as Kapongo, Kassaye and Gbentu.

On 26 September 2000 Sinkunia (Dembelia Sinkuria Chiefdom) and Falaba (Sulima Chiefdom) were attacked by CDF, who beat people and took most of people's belongings.⁴⁷⁵ In retaliation for these attacks, on 3 October 2000, RUF forces mobilized their troops and launched an attack on Falaba and Sinkunia and took over the towns and burnt them down and left, abducting 50 civilians including women and children.

In October 2000, RUF/AFRC forces entered Fadugu town (Mambolo Chiefdom), where a fight without casualties took place. Two days later, another group reached them.

⁴⁷² It is possible that these events took place in 1998. Further clarification is required from the records on when these events took place.

⁴⁷³ Clarification is required from the records on who took the property initially, the RUF or the CDF, and what happened to it after the CDF took it away.

⁴⁷⁴ More information is required from the records about the surrender, including how it came about and to whom they surrendered.

⁴⁷⁵ It is not clear from the records whether the people being beaten were RUF or civilians. Clarification is required from the records on this.



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In March 2001, RUF/AFRC forces came from Kono district to Nieni chiefdom in search of food and they looted every house, then the RUF forces conveyed the looted properties to Kayima (Kono District). A similar incident took place in May 2001 in Firawa (Neini Chiefdom), with RUF forces coming from Sinkunia (Dembelia Sinkuria Chiefdom).

RUF/AFRC forces returned to Sinkunia on 15 June 2001, while another group, on the same day, went to Alikalia and held a meeting with G5 and the village chiefs announcing the end of the war and the beginning of disarmament and asking for people's political support to the RUF, soon to be transformed into a political party.

On 24 August 2001 RUF/AFRC went from Falaba, Sulima chiefdom to Kabala to submit to disarmament. This was the last group of RUF/AFRC forces to disarm in the District.

In November, CDF from the whole district went to Alikalia for disarmament. In December 2001, Kamajors led by Mohamed Mansaray fought a battle against RUF forces, shortly after UNAMSIL troops arrived, prompting disarmament.

This was the final episode of the decade long war in Koinadugu District.

3. Conclusion

[to be drafted pending incorporation of comments from resource persons]

d. Port Loko District

1. Introduction

Port Loko District is located in the north-west of Sierra Leone. It is bordered by the Western Area, Moyamba District and Tonkolili District to the south, Bombali District to the east and Kambia District to the north. To the west lies the Atlantic Ocean.

There are 11 chiefdoms in Port Loko District:

Chiefdom	Headquarter Town
Bureh Kasseh Makonte (BKM)	Mange
Buya Romende	Foredugu
Dibia	Gbinti
Loko Massama	Petifu
Kaffu Bullom	Mahera
Koya	Songo
Maforki	Port Loko
Marampa	Lunsar
Masimera	Masimera
Sanda Magbolontor	Sendugu
Tinkatupa Makama Safroko (TMS)	Malekuray

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2. **Factual analysis**

a) **Events in 1995**

RUF activity in Port Loko District in 1995 began in early January in Buya Romende Chiefdom. Between 1 and 5 January 1995, RUF forces moved from their base in the Kaitkant Hills (Malal Mara Chiefdom, Tonkolili District on the boundary with Marampa Chiefdom to the south of Buya Romende Chiefdom) and attacked the villages of Mabettor and Royana, where they burnt down an unknown number of houses.

RUF forces numbering around 500 attacked the headquarter town of Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) early in the morning of 2 January 1995. Foredugu is located on the main highway leading east to Makeni and south-west to Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom). Residents fled into the nearby bush on hearing heavy machine gun fire. SLA forces stationed in Foredugu were unable to repel the RUF attack. The surrounding villages of Robis Junction, Romende, Makinkiba, Handalai, Paiteful Junction and Gbomru (all Buya Romende Chiefdom) were also attacked. During these attacks RUF forces burnt down eight houses in Mabettor, five in Royana and 42 in Foredugu. RUF forces also killed nine people, mostly with guns, amputated a man's hand with an axe and abducted an unknown number of people.

From then until 5 January 1995, RUF forces moved north from Foredugu and attacked Rogberen Gberen, a settlement in the far north of Buya Romende Chiefdom. Hundreds of civilians were killed during this attack. The RUF forces established a camp at Rogberen Gberen and used abducted civilians to dig trenches. From Rogberen Gberen, RUF forces staged an attack on Mabureh village (Buya Romende Chiefdom), where they decapitated the Section Chief and a prominent businessman. Before returning to their camp, RUF forces burnt down at least 50 houses and stole a lot of civilian property.

On 15 January 1995, around 45 RUF members moved towards the headquarter town of Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom, in the north-west on the boundary with Masimera Chiefdom). They came from the south of the chiefdom through the villages of Rokatic and Robom Limba. Before reaching Lunsar, they were repelled by SLA forces stationed in the town.⁴⁷⁸ The RUF exerted continuous pressure on Lunsar, staging numerous attacks on unknown dates between January and July 1995. On 16 February, the NPRC announced that it had commenced heavy bombardment of a medium-sized "rebel base" in the Lunsar area.⁴⁷⁹

The RUF delivered a letter⁴⁸⁰ to the residents of Kantia (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) towards the end of January 1995, announcing their intention to use the road passing through Kantia as a route to attack Kambia, the District headquarter town of Kambia District. The people of the town resolved to attack the RUF forces if they pursued this course of action. Consequently, male members of the Gbamgbani traditional society formed a local militia and established a checkpoint on the roads entering the village. A day after delivering the letter, RUF forces attacked Kantia. A local man confronted the RUF as they tried to pass the checkpoint; the RUF members tortured and killed him.

⁴⁷⁸ This detail is reported by the key person as occurring on 1 January 1994, but cross checking during analysis makes it clear that this refers to an RUF attack on Lunsar on or around 15 January 1995.

⁴⁷⁹ Xinhua, 16 February 1995.

⁴⁸⁰ There are many reports of the RUF leaving letters on the road for villagers to find.



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with his own cutlass. On entering the village, RUF forces sought out the Local Court Chairman at his home and beat him to death with pestles⁴⁸¹ and sticks. The RUF forces remained in Kantia for at least a day before moving south to Kanokie village (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom), arriving there in the late evening. At Kanokie, the RUF forces divided and entered the village in two groups, taking palm wine from civilians and shooting dead a 12-year-old boy who was carrying a cutlass. The RUF commanding officer issued an order to the villagers stressing that anyone caught fleeing the village would also be shot. The RUF forces stayed overnight in Kanokie, leaving for Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District) before dawn the following morning. RUF forces looped southwest from Kanokie arriving in Barmoi (Masungbala Chiefdom, Kambia District) on 23 January 1991, before moving north to attack Kambia Town (Magbema Chiefdom, Kambia District) on 25 January 1995.

Around 21 January 1995, RUF forces coming from Bombali District passed through Dibia Chiefdom on the way to Safroko Section in the north of TMS Chiefdom. From Safroko Section (TMS Chiefdom), RUF forces moved through Rogbakai (six miles south-east of Maron), Rotombo, Maron and Roctolan along the road north towards the headquarter town of Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom). At this time, around 20 members of the SLA were stationed in Gbinti. In Gbinti, between 21 and 23 January 1995, RUF forces killed a number of people, burnt down at least 70 houses with petrol bombs, stole property and abducted civilians, including around 23 school children. After about four hours in Gbinti, during which there was fighting between the SLA and RUF forces, the RUF forces left with the people they had abducted and moved south to Roctolan (TMS Chiefdom).

RUF forces again attacked Foredugu (Buya Romende Chiefdom) between 3 and 5 March 1995, killing 12 SLA members in an ambush on the outskirts of the town.⁴⁸² In response to this attack, the Government of Sierra Leone closed sections of the Makeni-Freetown highway to traffic as SLA forces combed the bush for RUF forces.⁴⁸³

Through intense activity in Ribbi, Bumpe and Kaiyanga Chiefdoms (Moyamba District)⁴⁸⁴ immediately south of Port Loko District, the RUF were able to attack the town of Songo (Koya Chiefdom) by 7 April 1995. Songo is located on the boundary between Port Loko District and the Western Area, just south of the main asphalt highway leading to Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) and the ring road around the Freetown peninsular into Freetown itself.

In the morning of 7 April 1995, about 100 RUF members, some in full military fatigues and others in casual dress, launched an attack with artillery and heavy machine gun fire on Songo. The attack came from the west end of the town, near the Roman Catholic Primary School, and was met with no

⁴⁸¹ Club-shaped implements used for fine-pounding wheat and other granular foods in mortars.

⁴⁸² AP, 6 March 1995.

⁴⁸³ Xinhua, 7 March 1995.

⁴⁸⁴ On 15 March 1995, RUF forces attacked Bradford (Ribbi Chiefdom, Moyamba District). On 17 March, RUF forces took control of Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom, Moyamba District) and Moyamba (Kaiyamba Chiefdom, Moyamba District). On 18 March, RUF forces clashed with SLA forces for control of the strategic Mabang Bridge over the Ribbi River. On 20 March, SLA forces counter-attacked the RUF at Bradford, but this did not halt the RUF westward movement and their crossing the Ribbi River to access Songo (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District).

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officer by radio informing him that the RUF had already bypassed the town and had arrived in Robat (TMS Chiefdom), to the west of Malekuray. The SLA moved from Malekuray and engaged the RUF near Robat, as a result of which three SLA members were killed and the remaining group were forced to retreat into the bush. The RUF forces then moved west from Robat over the road bridge to Romaka, through the villages of Ropolon, Rotombo, Tawa, Rolal I and II and then into Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom) by the late evening.

During their attack on Port Loko Town, RUF forces killed an unknown number of people, burnt down around 30 houses and abducted up to 200 people, predominantly children. RUF forces ceased their attack in the early hours of 9 May, retreating in two directions when the SLA was reinforced.

One group of RUF retreated to Kamalo (BKM Chiefdom), on the boundary with Maforki Chiefdom, where they established a temporary base, killing a number of people and burning down some houses. Two days later, on 11 June 1995, SLA forces held a meeting in Port Loko with the Town Chief and some senior military officers who had come from Freetown. On 14 June 1995, Guinean forces deployed under the Mano River Union arrived in Port Loko Town. Using heavy artillery, they shelled the RUF base at Kamalo, forcing their withdrawal north towards Romeni (BKM Chiefdom), where the RUF forces put around 16 people abducted in Port Loko Town into a house and set fire to it. The following day, they made a ritual sacrifice and left Romeni northward along the main road. Three days later, on 18 June 1995, the RUF forces attacked Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom). After burning houses and stealing property in Gbinti, RUF forces moved to their base at Ro-Source (Sanda Tendaren Chiefdom, Bombali District).

Another group of RUF forces retreated from Port Loko Town towards Rokatimpi (TMS Chiefdom) on 9 June, avoiding the main highways as they moved south towards Moyamba District. On 10 June, they went to Rosent (TMS Chiefdom), close to the boundary with Maforki Chiefdom. They stayed in Rosent for around 12 days, raiding the surrounding villages. From 16 to 20 June, Guinean forces based in Port Loko Town also fired long-range weapons towards Rosent. At the end of this period of heavy bombing, RUF forces moved in two groups from Rosent, dispersing throughout Tinkatupu Section (TMS Chiefdom) to avoid artillery barrages. One group fanned out through Romaka and the other group fanned out around Masangban and Worreh (all TMS Chiefdom). The two groups rejoined in Robat, near Rosent (but closer to the boundary with Maforki Chiefdom), where they abducted an unknown number of men and women. They then moved to Maranka, where they abducted more people before moving to Malekuray by 20 June. Here, RUF forces carried out a house-to-house search, destroying what private property they could find, defecating in houses and ruining food items like rice and palm oil. On the night of 20 June, RUF forces danced and fired into the air before leaving on 21 June, abducting at least six people. They moved south through Marforay and Mafira, resting close to Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) before attacking and driving the SLA forces out of the town. On the same day, RUF forces crossed the Rokel River south of Lunsar and continued to Masimera (Marampa Chiefdom). The RUF continued south into Yoni Chiefdom (Tonkolili District), before moving to Rotifunk (Bumpe Chiefdom, Moyamba District) by 23 June.

RUF activity near the junction town of Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) continued as their forces retreated from Port Loko. On 16 June 1995, the RUF forces again attacked Masiaka and were repelled by the

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SLA forces stationed there. This pattern was repeated on 18 June 1995 and again at other times during 1995.

Between 10 and 16 June 1995, RUF forces coming from the north-eastern part of Masiaka went to Mansumana, where they attacked the town and surrounding villages, including Masherry-Potho, which is nine miles from Mile 38 (all Koya Chiefdom). At this time, the RUF forces were searching for food. In the following days, there were more RUF attacks on Mile 38, after which they were driven out of the area by SLA forces coming from the western part of Mile 38 along the Freetown Highway.

RUF forces attacked both Masiaka and Mile 38 (both Koya Chiefdom) on 18 June, but were repelled by SLA forces. Fifteen civilians were killed in Mile 38. On 20 June, RUF forces ambushed SLA forces near Mile 38. On 22 June, RUF forces cut off the main highway near Mile 38 at two points by setting fire to large trailers and setting up a defensive position around their skeletons. On or around 28 June 1995, SLA forces again attacked Mile 38 with support from a Sierra Leone Armed Forces Alpha Jet, which bombarded the town. During this attack, a large number of civilians and members of the SLA were killed, houses burnt down and vehicles destroyed.

At this time, ambushes and fighting along this road were common, as a result of which the SLA forces mounted checkpoints along the road. In July 1995, the SLA set up a checkpoint at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom), controlling traffic moving north along the arterial road from Masiaka and Mile 38 towards Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom), Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and other inland northern towns such as Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and Kabala (Wara Wara Yagala Chiefdom, Koinadugu District). Harassment of civilians by SLA and other government security personnel intensified at this checkpoint following the RUF assault on Port Loko Town. On 9 September 1995, RUF forces ambushed SLA forces on the highway at Karrfay (Buya Romende Chiefdom) killing two; one of whom was buried in Foredugu and the other was left on the highway. RUF forces took the property that was in the SLA truck and forced civilians to carry it for them. On 11 September 1995, seven Guinean soldiers travelling to Makeni in a military vehicle were killed in an RUF ambush on the east-west road between Foredugu and Madina (Buya Romende Chiefdom).⁴⁸⁷ RUF forces took the weapons and ammunition from the military vehicle before setting fire to it.⁴⁸⁸

Towards the end of 1995, the RUF launched numerous attacks on Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom), but were again repelled by the SLA forces based there. At this time, there were no fatalities in Lunsar, but RUF forces killed people in surrounding villages in Marampa and Buya Romende Chiefdoms, including Pan House, Marampa, Rogbele and Foredugu. In December 1995, the RUF forces were successful in dislodging the SLA forces. The RUF forces entered Lunsar and killed four people, raped an unknown number of women, abducted 10 people and burnt down 55 houses, although they did not occupy Lunsar at this time and left soon afterwards.

b) Events in 1996

⁴⁸⁷ AP, 15 September 1995.

⁴⁸⁸ Xinhua 15 September 1995.



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In March 1998, RUF/AFRC activities resumed in TMS Chiefdom, although the three sections were concerned at different times: Tinkatupa and Safroko Sections as early as April and May and Makama Section in December. Tinkatupa Section is sandwiched between Safroko Section to the north and Makama Section to the south. In early March, Gbethis (CDF) deployed at Masangban, Rogbanneh, Romamboi and Robaka, all in Tinkatupa Section. Shortly after their arrival, Gbethi members started harassing civilians for contributions of money and food. It is also reported in general terms that during this period, Gbethis raped women and flogged men.

After Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) and Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) had come under the control of ECOMOG from around 1 March, RUF/AFRC forces were dispersed throughout Buya Romende Chiefdom. They settled in numerous locations including Buya, Ro-Sint Buya, Foredugu, Gbonsama and Massenebe (all Buya Romende Chiefdom). At this time, RUF/AFRC activity in the chiefdom focussed on Jar-Jar operations, which involved the formation of squads dedicated to the widespread robbery of civilian property, both for subsistence and enrichment. Squads of around 150 RUF/AFRC members roved around villages in the chiefdom on a daily basis taking food and valuables, flogging people and forcing civilians to carry stolen property to RUF/AFRC camps.

Between 17 and 19 April, around 300 RUF/AFRC forces moved from a camp called "Kenema"⁵⁰¹ in Libeisyagahun Chiefdom (Bombali District) to TMS Chiefdom. They established a base at Maboko in the Safroko Section (TMS Chiefdom), from where they raided surrounding villages between 19 April and 5 May. It is reported in general terms that during these raids, RUF/AFRC force regularly killed civilians and abducted others to carry stolen property. On 25 April, an ECOMOG platoon and an unknown number of Gbethis deployed from Lunsar to Sendugu (TMS Chiefdom), close to the RUF position at Maboko. An ECOMOG soldier on a motorbike driven by a civilian sped through Maboko and then called for air support. An ECOMOG jet bombed this location and another location in Maron (TMS Chiefdom); this second bombardment killed four civilians. Another civilian was killed during a subsequent ECOMOG air bombardment of a nearby village called Petifu. ECOMOG deployed to Maron and Sendugu but despite this, the RUF/AFRC continued to operate from Maboko.

On a Friday⁵⁰² in April 1998, a series of killings took place in the village of Rosint (Masimera Chiefdom). In the late afternoon, sporadic gunshots were heard all over the village. Three different groups of RUF/AFRC forces entered the village from different directions. The group from Masimera Town (Marampa Chiefdom) were a "Born Naked" unit, because they only wore underwear and sandals. The Mile 91 group – self-styled "Death Squad", commanded by a Liberian – were dressed in mixed civilian-military attire. The Royeben group dressed in full military fatigues.⁵⁰³ The groups had apparently decided to determine who stayed in Rosint by gambling on the sex of an

⁵⁰¹ Most likely on the road from the Batkanu/Ro-Source area. In April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces, driven by ECOMOG from Makeni and Kamakwie started targeting and occupying towns situated on the east-west road from Karina (Biriwa Chiefdom, Bombali District) to Batkanu (Lebeisyagahun Chiefdom, Bombali District). Westwards movement into TMS, Dibia and Buya Romende Chiefdoms (Port Loko District) logically extends this pattern of attacks.

⁵⁰² Dating this incident at either 3, 10, 17 or 24 April 1998.

⁵⁰³ This unit may have been comprised primarily of ex-SLA.



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unborn baby. Therefore, RUF/AFRC forces gathered 18 civilians under a tree close to the entrance of the village. These RUF/AFRC forces executed a pregnant woman by cutting through her lower abdomen and removing the foetus from her uterus. As the baby was female, the Royeben group withdrew from the village into the nearby bush; they had earlier gambled that the baby was a boy.

The remaining RUF/AFRC forces made preparations to amputate limbs from village residents, bringing a cutlass and an axe over to a log near the village mosque. RUF/AFRC members forced a woman to lay her hand across the log and, after a count of three, amputated her hands. RUF/AFRC personnel attacked her daughter with a machete and a female RUF/AFRC member cut her granddaughter in half. The left foot of an 8-month old baby was amputated and her mother was decapitated with a cutlass. RUF/AFRC members put the severed head on a pole near the village primary school. Another man was also decapitated with a long cutlass for being unable to provide the RUF/AFRC with five sheep. The RUF/AFRC forces punctuated the killing and amputation with song and dance. Thirteen civilians were detained overnight in a house under the threat of death.

Very early the following morning, RUF/AFRC members forced the detainees to pray at the mosque and then cook for them. The RUF/AFRC forces then resumed amputations, cutting the wrist of a woman six times before succeeding in amputating her hand, then shooting her dead after she managed to escape; they forced the other abductees to laugh loudly. Following this, RUF/AFRC forces amputated the left hand of a woman. Her nephew was held down by four RUF/AFRC members and decapitated. The woman managed to escape into the bush, arriving three days later at Mabesseneh Hospital in Lunsar (Marampa Chiefdom) where she received emergency treatment. Staff at the hospital reported that at least seven others from Masimera Chiefdom had arrived in Lunsar with amputated limbs.

In March or April 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Makaytay (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom). The RUF/AFRC commander announced his intention to establish a permanent base in their chiefdom. RUF/AFRC members used a sharp knife to amputate the left ear of a pregnant woman, before sending her to Sendugu. Residents of Gbaneloko (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom) gave her assistance in getting to the Sendugu Health Centre, where she related her story to residents. In mid March, RUF/AFRC forces entered Sendugu (Sanda Magbolontor Chiefdom), firing machine guns for around two hours. A large number of civilians were abducted; one of the captives, a pregnant woman, was killed later on the roadside. Gbinti (Dibia Chiefdom), a few miles south of Sendugu, subsequently came under attack by the RUF/AFRC forces. ECOMOG forces deployed in Dibia Chiefdom retreated to Kagbantama (BKM Chiefdom), on the road between Barmoi Junction (BKM Chiefdom) and Port Loko Town (Maforki Chiefdom). Many civilians displaced due to the RUF/AFRC attack on Sendugu fled to Kabantama. ECOMOG advanced on Gbinti a week later, following reinforcements arriving from Port Loko Town.

Between 3 and 5 May, RUF/AFRC forces resumed activity in TMS Chiefdom, killing the Regent Chief of Makasi (TMS Chiefdom) by machete blows to the head and an elder of the village. Around 12 houses were also burned during the attack. At Rogbanthi and Ro-Gberray (both Maforki Chiefdom), houses were burnt and people were abducted. At Masengeh, where many civilians had sought safety from RUF/AFRC attacks in the area, two civilians were killed and all 30 houses in the village were burnt down. ECOMOG strengthened their Maboko position in Safroko Section (TMS

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RUF/AFRC forces invaded Freetown between 6 and 20 January. As noted, there were preliminary attacks in late December on the towns of Port Loko, Ro-Gberray, Lunsar, Masiaka, Songo, Newton and Waterloo in preparation for the 6 January invasion. ECOMOG forces pushed the RUF/AFRC back to Waterloo, where they remained in force until at least 25 February 1999. RUF/AFRC forces retained control over the arterial routes from Western Area running through Port Loko District throughout this time.

RUF/AFRC forces occupied Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom) following ECOMOG's retreat on 26 December. Following the general retreat of RUF/AFRC forces from Greater Freetown (Western Area) towards Waterloo (Waterloo RD, Western Area) after 20 January, RUF/AFRC forces began building up in Masiaka. During the occupation of Masiaka, CDF forces surrounded the town and exerted constant pressure on the RUF/AFRC. Between 18 and 24 January there was a tense standoff between the two forces, resulting in a stalemate. After 24 January, RUF/AFRC units began occupying villages near Masiaka to increase the security of their Masiaka position and to break the deadlock with the CDF. Between 24 January and 15 February, at Ma-Kanry village (Koya Chiefdom), RUF/AFRC forces killed an unknown number of civilians, alleged to be hostile "collaborators". On 15 March, a RUF/AFRC splinter group called the West Side Boys⁵¹⁴ exchanged gunfire with regular RUF/AFRC forces based in Masiaka. This skirmish was reportedly caused by disputes about the division of stolen property. On 3 April, ECOMOG Alfa Jets commenced fly-passes over Masiaka and nearby villages. RUF/AFRC forces reportedly rounded up civilians, placed them on the town streets and started using bladed weapons to carve the initials "RUF" on the civilian captives. On 17 April, Nigerian forces backed up by air support advanced on Masiaka, capturing the town on or around 29 April 1999. Withdrawing RUF/AFRC forces burnt down around 300 residences.

RUF/AFRC forces also occupied the town of Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom, Tonkolili District) between 14 January and 22 April 1999. Mile 91 is about 30 miles east of Masiaka along the main highway on the first main road junction leading south to Bo and Kenema. As at Masiaka, RUF/AFRC forces were beaten back by a heavy ECOMOG assault. RUF forces established a sub-office responsible for monitoring military activities in the Maforki area at Ro-Gberray Junction (Maforki Chiefdom). In March 1999, RUF/AFRC activities resumed at Konta (Maforki Chiefdom), where an old woman, a man and a young girl pounding cassava leaves were given 100 lashes each by RUF/AFRC personnel. In April, three women from Masubah (Maforki Chiefdom) were taken away and raped by 15 men.

The Gbethis (CDF) strengthened their positions in Port Loko District during early 1999, particularly in the areas bordering Dibia Chiefdom and the RUF/AFRC base at Bainkoro (BKM Chiefdom). These positions would present an obstacle to activity spreading from RUF/AFRC-held territory in Sanda Tendaren and Libeisyagahun Chiefdoms (both Bombali District) bordering Dibia Chiefdom. Following appeals from the Regent Chief to the Paramount Chief of Port Loko Town, members of the Gbethi Society were sent to secure Kasseh Section (BKM Chiefdom) in February 1999. At first, these men had only shotguns, machetes and sticks. During a patrol on 3 February near Romeni, just north-east of Port Loko Town (both Maforki Chiefdom), the Gbethis captured an ex-SLA soldier suspected of being an RUF commander. They decapitated him and danced his severed head around

⁵¹⁴ For more information about the West Side Boys, see below.



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At dawn on 25 September, UK Special Forces and Paratroops executed "Operation Barrass". Arriving by helicopter gunships and transport, they attacked the West Side Boys' camps at Gberibana (Maforki Chiefdom) and Magbeni, on either side of the Rokel Creek, rescuing the remaining hostages, killing 25 West Side Boys and incurring one fatality.⁵⁶⁴ The UK forces captured 18 West Side Boys, including the majority of the group's leadership. Over 30 West Side Boys who had abducted around 15 civilians to use as human shields were captured by Jordanian UNAMSIL.⁵⁶⁵ The town of Magbeni was deserted for three weeks because of the smell of human remains found in the surrounding bush.

Following "Operation Barrass" the total number and rate of entry of West Side Boys into the DDR program increased. By 15 September, UNAMSIL had registered 294 members of the West Side Boys at the DDR camp in Lungi. By 20 September, this figure had reached 371.

During 2001, attacks in the Okra Hills area were primarily made by demobilised former members of every faction looking for items to sell. Between 10 February and 11 June 2001, demobilised West Side Boys stole the corrugated zinc roofing from civilian residences in numerous villages.⁵⁶⁶ No further attacks by the West Side Boy are reported.

3. Conclusion

** TO BE DRAFTED ON COMPLETION OF ANALYSIS FOR THE NORTHERN PROVINCE**

c. Tonkolili District

1. Introduction

Tonkolili is one of the five Districts of the Northern Province, together with Bombali, Koinadugu, Port Loko and Kambia Districts. It is bordered on the north and east by Koinadugu District and on the south-east by Kono District. Kenema, Bo and Moyamba Districts compose its southern border, from east to west. To the north-west is Port Loko District and to the north is Bombali District. Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) is its headquarter town.

There are 11 chiefdoms in Tonkolili District:

Chiefdom	Headquarter
Gbokolenken	Yele
Kafe Simira	Mabonto
Kalansogoia	Bumbuna
Kholifa Mabang	Mabang
Kholifa Rowalla	Magburaka
Konike Barina	Makali
Konike Sanda	Masingbi
Malal Mara	Rochin

⁵⁶⁴ BBC Online News, 10 September 2000 (20:51 GMT 21:51 UK)

⁵⁶⁵ UNAMSIL Press Briefing, 11 September 2000

⁵⁶⁶ In sequence, these are: Rogbath, Robis, Masokor, Mathera, Rothhdekum, Makambisa, Babara, Taindenkum, Rokureh, Roforoad, Roseitn, Masawuri, Robala, Roscint, Gbpothoyama, Mapolie, Thekeyeh, Makoyeh, Matikor, Laminaya, Roboulouh, Mayefura and Mamiekanuh.

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provide security for the chiefdom. An unknown number of Tamaboros settled in the headquarter town on 3 May 1994, provided with machine guns and Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs) from the Ministry of Defence.

After 20 May 1994, 175 civilians from Mamurie and Makong villages gathered at Rowaka (Konike Barina Chiefdom). They intended to hunt for food at Rosimbec,⁵⁷³ in the Mamure Section of Konike Barina Chiefdom, in the forested area 5 km south-west of Makali. The SLA commander at Makali had warned them that civilians should avoid this forest area, since RUF forces were suspected to be there; the earlier attack on Makali had come from this direction. As they approached Rosimbec, the civilians, some of whom were armed with cutlasses, met men in uniform whom they believed to be SLA forces. Although the armed men told the civilians they were SLA forces here to escort the group to Rosimbec, they turned out to be members of the RUF. They told the civilians to drop their cutlasses and go into some houses, which they then locked. The RUF forces killed all 170 captured civilians one after the other, stacking some of the bodies like bundles of wood and dumping others in a ditch. The bodies were later discovered by an SLA patrol sent to look for the missing civilians.

Makali was attacked for the second time in May 1994. After an intense gun battle, SLA forces drove away the RUF forces, with no reported casualties. On 3 June 1994, RUF forces attacked Mapakie, which is located near Matotoka. Tamaboros moved there to engage RUF forces. In the bush, they encountered men in military uniforms but did not attack them, believing them to be SLA personnel. On 11 July, an unknown number of RUF forces in full military dress attacked Matotoka (Tane Chiefdom). SLA and Tamaboro forces drove the RUF from the town, killing a female RUF member during the attack. After a short time and a quarrel with SLA forces about the weapons that the Government had provided them, the Tamaboros left the chiefdom.

The highway linking Koidu (Kono District) to Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom), passing through Konike Sanda, Konike Barina, Tane and Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdoms, was the scene of many ambushes during the conflict. For example, in mid-June 1994, a convoy of about 125 trucks left Magburaka and took the highway through Makaku to Kono. They were escorted by an SLA armoured vehicle and an unknown number of SLA members dispersed through the vehicles comprising the convoy. After 5:30 pm, as the convoy passed through Mamuri (Tane Chiefdom) and approached Rowaka (Konike Barina Chiefdom), it fell into an ambush, with RUF forces firing heavily on the convoy. The trucks attempted to turn back, but instead crashed into each other. Some people jumped out from the trucks. Many people were killed during that ambush, including the driver of a truck and two female passengers. The RUF forces ordered them out of the truck; two boys who tried to escape were shot and died. Passengers were asked to form a line and were searched for anything of value. Ten trucks were destroyed, although most were simply searched and luggage and other items were taken. A one month-old baby was taken from its mother and thrown into the bush because an RUF member said he was making too much noise. One man who had been wounded in the attack started crying for help. One of the RUF members offered assistance, but instead shot him three times. Passengers were then captured and told to carry the load the RUF forces had gathered from the vehicles back to Rosimbec, where 170 civilians had been killed one month earlier.

⁵⁷³ Also called Simbeck.



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During the final days of October 1994, RUF forces⁵⁷⁵ attacked the headquarter town of Mabonto (Kafe Simira Chiefdom, to the north of the District). During this attack many houses were destroyed, property was stolen and one member of a CDU was killed. They spent the night in the town before heading north-east to the headquarter town of Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom). Bumbuna was attacked in the late morning on 1 November 1994 by hundreds of armed men. As civilians escaped into the surrounding bush, the RUF spent the whole day burning and looting the town. Returning from the bush, civilians counted 193 houses burnt and found the bodies of four civilians.

On 2 November 1994, SLA forces deployed from Teko Barracks in Makeni (Makani Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) and repelled the RUF forces from Bumbuna. RUF forces moved east towards Sambaia Bendugu Chiefdom, abducting civilians to carry the property looted from the town. The following day, RUF forces entered Sangonie, a village located four and a half miles from Bumbuna, with 15 people they had abducted from Bumbuna. They then passed by Kegbema Junction, where they captured more civilians. This large RUF force headed to Koinadugu District and attacked towns along the route to the District headquarter town of Kabala on 7 November 1994.

The RUF launched another wave of attacks in Yoni, Kholifa Mabang and Malal Mara Chiefdoms,⁵⁷⁶ to the west of the District in December 1994. Mile 91 (Yoni Chiefdom) is a strategic location on an intersection between the roads going to Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District), Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) and Taiama (Kori Chiefdom, Moyamba District).

On 22 December 1994, rumours reached civilians in Yoni Chiefdom that RUF forces had crossed the Yele River.⁵⁷⁷ Early in the morning of the following day, 23 December, armed men in military camouflage uniforms and others in black t-shirts with red headbands entered Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom, near the boundary with Yoni Chiefdom). The armed men gathered the inhabitants in the Court Barrie, introduced themselves as "freedom fighters" and said that they were on their way to attack Mile 91. The commander of the groups also said that if they were to encounter resistance in Mile 91, they would return to Mafolatha.

In the morning of 23 December 1994, this RUF group attacked Mile 91 along the main roads from Magburaka (Kholifa Rowalla Chiefdom) and Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District). RUF forces killed three civilians and burnt down eight houses during the attack on Mile 91; they initially captured the town, but were displaced shortly afterwards when SLA forces regrouped and counter-attacked. Driven from Mile 91, RUF forces left the town in a northerly direction towards Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom, which is to the north-east of Yoni Chiefdom. SLA forces also moved out of the town, after kicking in the doors of many civilian residences and stealing civilian property. Shortly after this attack, other SLA forces coming from Bo Town⁵⁷⁸ were deployed at Mile 91.

⁵⁷⁵ These forces were dressed mainly in mixed casual attire, although some wore full military uniforms.

⁵⁷⁶ Yoni and Malal Mara Chiefdoms share a boundary with Port Loko District.

⁵⁷⁷ Yele River is probably the name given to the river that flows south of Yele Town, in the south of Gbokolenken Chiefdom, which shares a boundary with Moyamba and Bo Districts.

⁵⁷⁸ An SLA Brigade was deployed in Bo Town.

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In the evening of 27 December, RUF forces reached the headquarter town of Rochin (Malal Mara Chiefdom). After gathering inhabitants at the Court Barrie, RUF forces killed an unknown number of them with bladed weapons. On 29 December 1994, seven civilians from Rokimbie (located in the northwest of the chiefdom, within the Kaitkant Hills), including a pregnant woman, were taken to Rochin and locked in a room. While in the room, the captured civilians could hear the forces debating on whether they should be killed. They opened the room and asked the captives to go out one after another, attacking them with cutlasses; only one person survived. RUF forces visited Ropollon village again on 30 December 1994 and 2 and 4 January 1995, burning houses on each visit. During their final visit, on 4 January 1995, RUF forces told people to vacate the chiefdom, as the RUF were now "the owners" of it. On hearing this, many people left the area.

c) Events in 1995

In the first months of 1995, Malal Mara Chiefdom, especially Matanka Section in the west of the chiefdom within the Kaitkant Hills area, continued to suffer attacks from RUF forces coming from their base at Kaitkant Hills. This base was said to be the 3rd Brigade camp of the RUF and was used to control the Freetown-Bo highway, to cut off the supply of food and other items to the routes leading to the three Provinces and to spread into Port Loko District. The hills were also used to store the property that RUF forces took from villages and during ambushes.

In January 1995, RUF forces attacked many villages in Matanka Section, killing many people and unroofing houses for the zinc before burning them down. At Robina, RUF forces killed many civilians, who were then buried in a mass grave in the backyard of a civilian's house. Because many civilians decided to reside permanently in the bush, rather than return to their villages, RUF forces started trailing them in the bush. Those captured were used as forced labour, either to construct houses or as porters.

In February 1995 RUF forces based at the Kaitkant Hills again assaulted Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom. On 2 February 1995, in the late evening, RUF forces entered Mafolatha. The RUF commander told the gathered inhabitants that they had come to conscript young people to the "armed struggle". The following day, multiple RUF members raped two young mothers and a member of a Small Boy Unit raped another girl under 18. Thirty people were abducted and conscripted into the RUF. Inscriptions were carved onto their bodies with razor blades, or they were branded with hot irons.

Relations were deteriorating between the SLA forces and the residents of Mile 91 and Yonibana. SLA members, who had been deployed to Mile 91 in January 1995 to replace those who were moved to Ma-Sesay village on the main Freetown-Mile 91 highway, were operating the checkpoints; these checkpoints were opened to traffic entering and leaving the town only once a day, at 8:00 am. Civilians were used by the SLA forces to find food in the surrounding villages. During the night, it was common practice for SLA forces to break into civilian houses to find food. Civilians were also sometimes used to carry the food to Mile 91 for the SLA forces. This harassment was concentrated across February and March, which is the main harvest time for rice, groundnuts and maize.

Another RUF unit entered Ghagbai, near Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom) on 2 February 1995. RUF forces shot one man in the head and two people had two of their fingers amputated.

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had fled during the attack. At that time, some women were raped, some civilians were beaten, property was taken and captured Kamajors were executed and thrown into water wells and latrine pits. In the afternoon of the same day, the same AFRC member launched "Operation Pay Yourself", according to which the RUF/AFRC forces were free to take property belonging to civilians.⁶⁰⁷

One event that took place in Malal Mara Chiefdom after RUF forces had established a base at Makeni (Makari Gbanti Chiefdom, Bombali District) in June 1997 highlights the structures that RUF forces put in place to obtain food. Malal Mara Chiefdom is a strategic position, as it is the starting point of the road that links up with the road from Magburaka to Makeni through Bombali District. RUF forces were sent to Manewa Section, in the north of Malal Mara Chiefdom, to open a Task Force office to raise funds for their base at Makeni. To achieve this, civilians were required to pay taxes. Furthermore, whenever the base at Makeni needed something, this would be communicated to the Task Force units, who would contact their local administrative heads, who in turn would demand contributions from civilians. The collection of money and property was accompanied by harassment in an attempt to get the items quickly. This process lasted until 1999.

Despite the Peace Plan signed between the AFRC leader and the Government of Sierra Leone in Conakry, Guinea on October 1997,⁶⁰⁸ RUF/AFRC violations were still reported in the District and RUF/AFRC forces embarked on upgrading the airstrip at Magburaka into a "fully-fledged airport for the illegal importation of arms and other supplies."⁶⁰⁹

In December 1997, RUF/AFRC forces from Yoni Chiefdom realised that civilians were hiding their properties in the bush. An announcement was made that any civilian caught concealing property would be punished and the property would be taken.

That same month, Kamajors⁶¹⁰ unsuccessfully attacked Mafolatha (Kholifa Mabang Chiefdom). This attack aimed at dislodging the RUF/AFRC forces from the town, considered as a springboard for Mile 91 and its environs. There were no reported casualties.⁶¹¹

Events in 1998

In early 1998, stealing carried out by RUF/AFRC forces continued in the District. In February, retreating RUF/AFRC forces from Freetown en route to Kono District using the Freetown-Kono highway passed by different chiefdoms in the District. On their way to Kono District, they launched the "Operation Pay Yourself", according to which RUF/AFRC forces would take food and other items from civilians to last them through their retreat. In addition, in February 1998, RUF/AFRC forces coming from different areas arrived in Mile 91. "Operation Pay Yourself" was also launched there and villages and towns in the chiefdom were looted, mainly for food although there were two secondary school girls were raped at this time. RUF/AFRC forces, however, avoided the lower part

⁶⁰⁷ This kind of operation, namely, massive stealing would be widely carried out in 1998 by RUF/AFRC forces retreating from Freetown and would reach unprecedented levels during that period.

⁶⁰⁸ During this meeting, it was agreed that RUF/AFRC forces would hand over power to the Sierra Leonean President on 22 April 1998.

⁶⁰⁹ Sierra Leone Situation Report (OCHA), 20 December 1997 - 20 January 1998.

⁶¹⁰ They were described as a faction of the CDF speaking Mende.

⁶¹¹ No more information was available on this attack.

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of Yoni Chiefdom since it was a CDF stronghold. While they were advancing to Kono, some RUF/AFRC forces were attacked by Kamajors in Tane Chiefdom. However, the RUF/AFRC forces managed to repel the attack, killing eight Kamajors and wounding many others. Nevertheless, during this time, it appeared to civilians that there was no command structure within the forces and the RUF commander who was familiar to everyone was not around.

RUF/AFRC forces arriving in Magburaka by truck, Honda motorbikes and cars in late February also carried out "Operation Pay Yourself" in the town,⁶¹² which had a lot of traders and many vehicles. In the early evening, some RUF/AFRC members saw a girl in the street and called to her, but she ran away. They followed her to her house. Her father came out and the RUF/AFRC members threatened to kill him if he did not give them his daughter. After begging them, the father told them to do what they had to do, for he had no alternative. One of the RUF/AFRC members then shot him in his left foot, cut off two of his toes and left. In another incident, RUF/AFRC forces met a man in the street, asked him about his money and followed him to his house. When the forces asked him why he did not have any money, he replied that the war had put him "back to square one". The RUF/AFRC forces shot at his house with an RPG, killing the man, who was inside at the time. The family of the dead man reported the case to one of the commanders, who later identified and shot the member who had killed the man. During the night, many girls were raped and some were taken to Kono District. RUF/AFRC forces burnt 50 houses in the town and executed Kamajors they had captured; their bodies were thrown in water wells or latrine pits.

On 5 March, ECOMOG forces entered Magburaka and its environs. Youths were asked to point out any RUF/AFRC member or collaborator and those suspected were detained at Magburaka's Local Prison. As ECOMOG left for Makeni,⁶¹³ RUF/AFRC forces attacked the town before dawn on the following day, 6 March 1998, from the western part of the chiefdom. The RUF/AFRC forces burnt down 25 houses; some civilians were in their houses when they were set on fire and were burnt alive. Many others were killed and many women were raped and some were taken to be used for sexual purposes. Young people were forced to carry the property the RUF/AFRC forces had stolen as they left the town before daybreak towards the south of the chiefdom. ECOMOG then returned to Magburaka and threatened the civilians, accusing them of allowing RUF/AFRC forces to stay in their chiefdom. Property was taken by ECOMOG forces and it is also reported that civilians' wives were forced to have sexual relations with some ECOMOG members.⁶¹⁴ At this time, ECOMOG forces also deployed at many checkpoints along the Magburaka-Kono highway.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² From February to June, the number of civilians wounded or mutilated and arriving in Magburaka hospital increased considerably: Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report (UNOCHA), 1 - 22 May 1998 and 9 June - 6 July 1998.

⁶¹³ Following the intervention in Freetown in February 1998, a new ECOMOG Brigade - 24 Infantry Brigade - was designed for the expansion of its activities in the Provinces. After they had recaptured Lunsar (Port Loko District), ECOMOG forces headed for Makeni, where it was reported ousted RUF/AFRC forces had established their new base: Brig. Gen. R. A. Adeshina: *The Reversed Victory: Story of Nigerian Military Intervention in Sierra Leone*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc, pp 29 and 39. That could explain why ECOMOG forces did not stay in Magburaka that day. Accordingly, these ECOMOG forces did not belong to the same group who deployed in Bo and Mile 91.

⁶¹⁴ No more information was available on this incident.

⁶¹⁵ They notably deployed in Masingbi (Konike Sanda Chiefdom) on 6 April: Adeshina, op. cit., p 70.
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them before returning to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, where they set up more checkpoints. People coming from Magburaka and crossing the border to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom were often arrested, tied with ropes called "FM"⁶²⁵ or detained in a cage where cattle slept, suspected of being a "rebel" collaborator. People who were found to be collaborators were killed, allegedly in the forest between Tane and Gbonkolenken Chiefdoms, near a stream called Nasi.

In late December, an important movement of troops were to be seen in different chiefdoms of the District. One group of armed men and women, around 300 in number, dressed in mixed military uniforms entered Mabonto (Kafe Simira Chiefdom) in December 1998. They came in a big green military truck with a foreign military plate, which was identified as belonging to ECOMOG forces deployed in Teko Barracks (Bombali District). The troops identified themselves as "Government troops" coming to protect civilians from the advancing "rebels". They then asked the inhabitants to cook for them and civilians realised that these troops were actually RUF/AFRC forces in disguise; most of them were speaking Liberian dialects and Mende.⁶²⁶ After one week, the whole town was controlled with checkpoints and civilians were required to have a pass if they wanted to leave the town. The next day, some of the RUF forces moved towards Bumbuna (Kalansogoia Chiefdom). During their stay in Mabonto, the RUF forces instituted a Court and the most common crimes prosecuted in that court were rape and stealing. Three RUF/AFRC members were executed for these crimes.⁶²⁷

Kalansogoia Chiefdom was the scene of many ambushes and attacks carried out by RUF/AFRC forces. The Hydro Compound at Bumbuna was under construction and was therefore of interest, because there were lorries, fuel and other similar items. Thus six attacks were led by RUF/AFRC forces on the town. On 14 December, two ECOMOG members on patrol along the Bumbuna-Bendugu (Sambaia Chiefdom) road fell in an ambush staged by RUF/AFRC forces and were killed.

On 21 December 1998, a large number of armed men in dirty uniforms came from Kono District to Tane Chiefdom, telling people they were tired of fighting and they were no longer going to the bush.⁶²⁸ Some of these troops went towards Magburaka and Makeni while others stayed in Tane Chiefdom, following civilians into the bush in search of food or what was called Jar Jar, which means taking things from civilians by force. Small girls were taken as their "wives" and young men were abducted to carry their loads. They sent messages to civilians to come out of the bush as they said they were no longer fighting civilians or Kamajors, only ECOMOG forces. Following this, some Kamajors started to surrender. Twenty of them came and as nothing happened, more and more Kamajors came out, up to 80 in number. Those Kamajors who did not surrender went to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom. Many civilians went also to Gbonkolenken Chiefdom, at this time a Kamajor stronghold, after the armed men had taken half of their property at gunpoint.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁵ FM means "frequency modulation", for it was believed that once tied with this rope, which had two sticks on its edges used to tighten the rope around people's limbs, people began to speak.

⁶²⁶ Around this time, it was believed that combatants from Liberia, allegedly supported by the Liberian President, were taking part in the hostilities in Sierra Leone.

⁶²⁷ No more information was available on these incidents.

⁶²⁸ RUF/AFRC forces retook control of Koidu (Kono District headquarter) on 20 December.

⁶²⁹ No more information was available on these incidents.



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D. Eastern Province

a. Kailahun District

1. Introduction

Kailahun District is one of the three Districts in the Eastern Province of the Republic of Sierra Leone. It has a strategic position due to the fact that it shares borders with the Republics of Liberia on the east and Guinea on the northeast. It is also bordered by Kono District on the northwest and Kenema District on the west. Its headquarter town, Kailahun Town, is located in Luawa Chiefdom, in the north of the District a few miles from the Parrot Beak, the Guinean area that advances into Sierra Leone. This area would be greatly affected by the conflict, originally because it hosted thousands of refugees and later as it became the theatre of RUF cross-border attacks.

There are fourteen chiefdoms in the District:

<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarter</u>
Dia	Baiwala
Jawie	Daru
Kissi Kama	Dea
Kissi Teng	Kangama
Kissi Tongi	Buedu
Luawa	Kailahun
Malema	Jojoima
Mandu	Mobai
Njaluahun	Segbwema
Peje Bongre	Manowa
Peje West	Bunumbu
Penguia	Sandaru
Upper Bambara	Pendembu
Yawei	Bandajuma

The geographical position of Kailahun District made it a strategic location for the entry of RUF/NPFL forces from Liberia into Sierra Leone. The District occupies about half of the border area between the two countries and is connected with the diamond-rich District of Kono. This made it possible for the forces to access funds easily through the sale of produce, diamonds and gold, with which they procured weapons and other logistics for the forces. It is therefore not surprising that the District was at least partially occupied throughout the whole period of the conflict. Two main roads allow penetration into the District from Liberia: in the north of the District through Kissi Teng Chiefdom and in the centre through Upper Bambara Chiefdom.

Kailahun District, particularly in the north and east, is composed of dense jungle, which affected the fighting in the District. Furthermore, the road that links Kenema Town to Kailahun Town, through the main towns of Segbwema, Daru and Pendembu, is virtually impassable during the peak of the rainy season from July to August. The Moa River, which finds its source in the ocean in Pujehun District, flows in Kailahun District from the southwest to the north. The control of the few bridges spanning this river would be of the utmost importance, as is illustrated by the case of Daru (Jawei Chiefdom), where the town is separated from the SLA Moa Barracks by a bridge.

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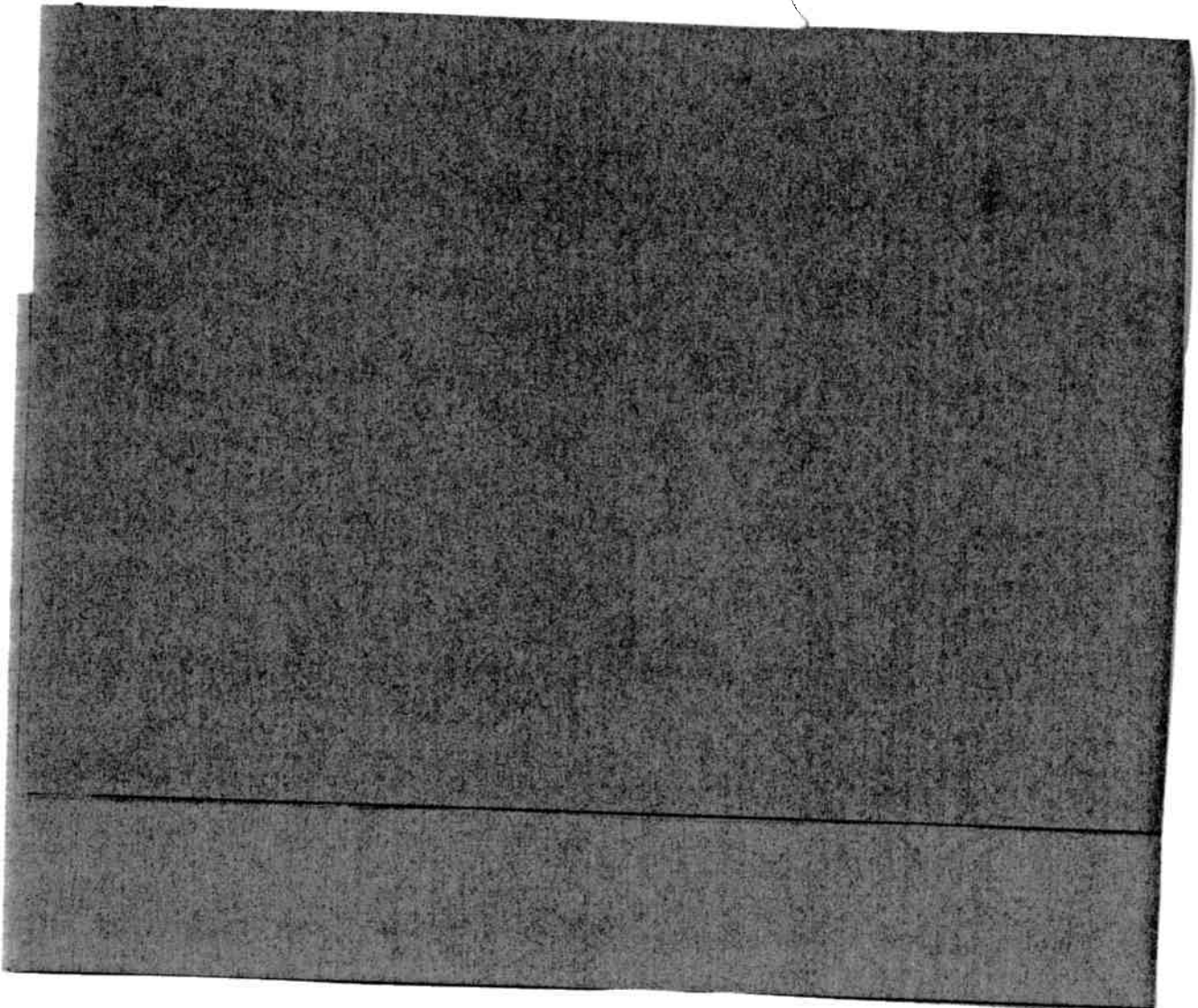
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this time, more men were initiated into the Kamajor society. ECOMOG forces deployed in the District and engaged the forces on land and by air. Assisted by Kamajors, they obtained victories over RUF/AFRC positions but were unable to take over their main strongholds. RUF/AFRC forces continued attacking villages and ECOMOG positions; following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999, disagreement between senior RUF members emerged over the disarmament process. RUF opposition to this process reached its peak in May 2000 with the abduction of UN peacekeepers. Throughout 2000 and early 2001, RUF/AFRC forces were still active in the District and engaged in cross-border raids into Guinea.

It should be borne in mind that unlike other Districts, the information available for Kailahun District was often chaotic and incomplete, especially for the period following 1994, partly due to the massive displacement of the population. Indeed, from the start of the conflict, a lot of inhabitants of this District fled to neighbouring countries (Guinea, Liberia) and did not come back for years, while others, although they stayed in the District, regularly moved from one chiefdom to another, fleeing attacks. The figures of the rate of internally displaced people in the District throughout the conflict was very high; indeed, OCHA reports show that Kailahun District was one of the most affected Districts in terms of internally displaced people (IDP).⁶⁸¹ Furthermore, as Kailahun District was the only District to have always been controlled to varying degrees by RUF/NPFL, RUF and, later, RUF/AFRC forces, people who stayed were forced to live with them for such a long time that single events are often blurred in more general information.

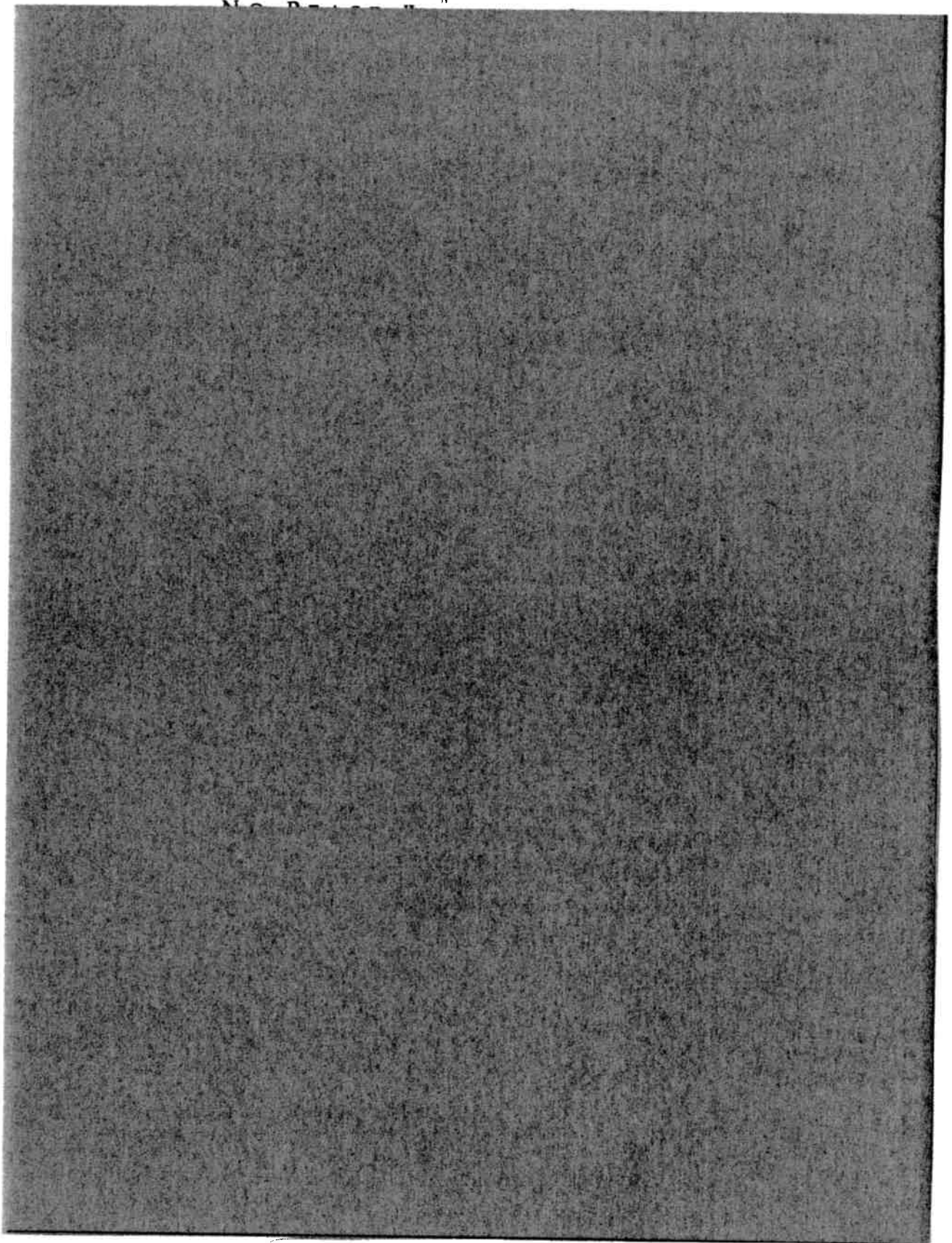


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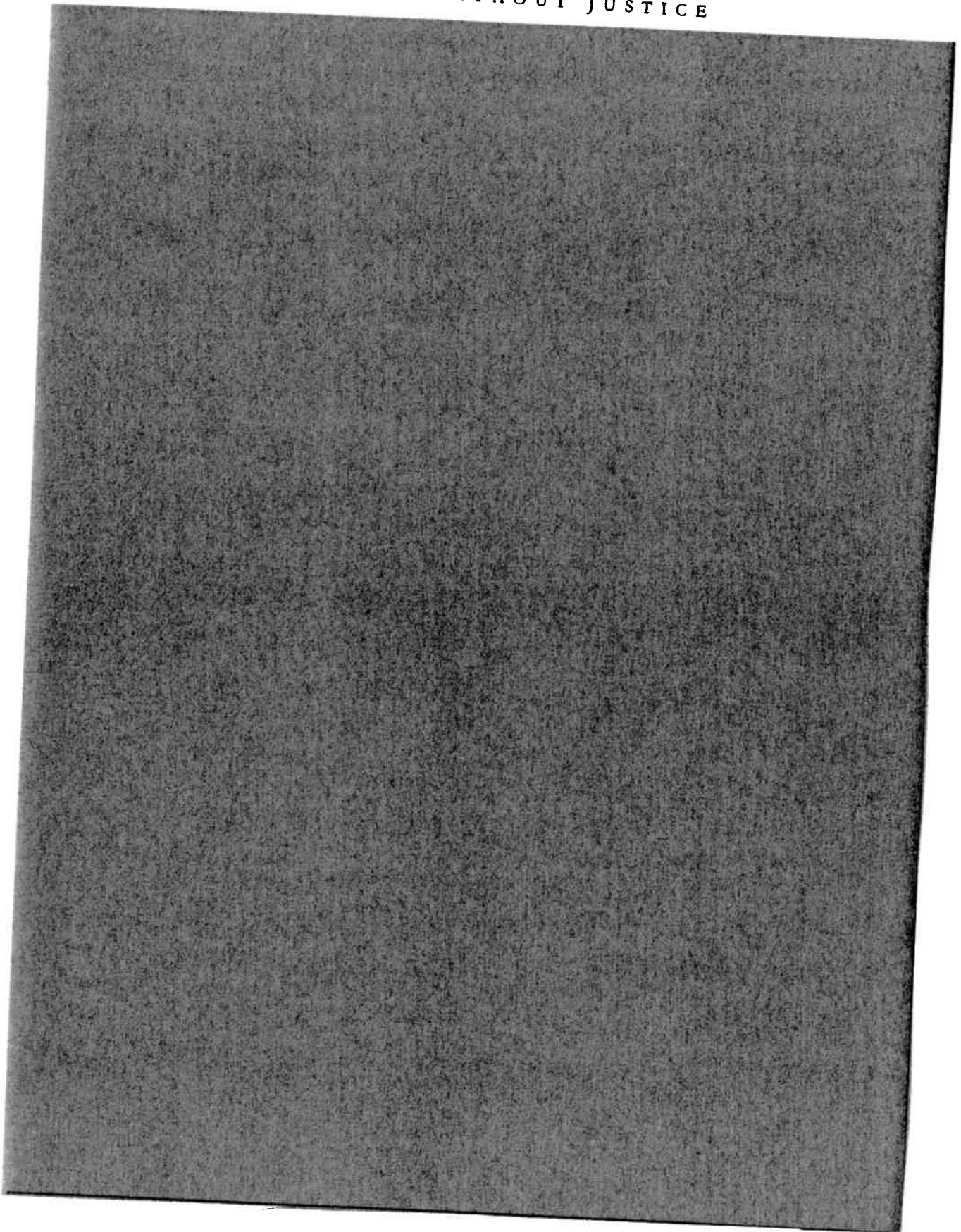


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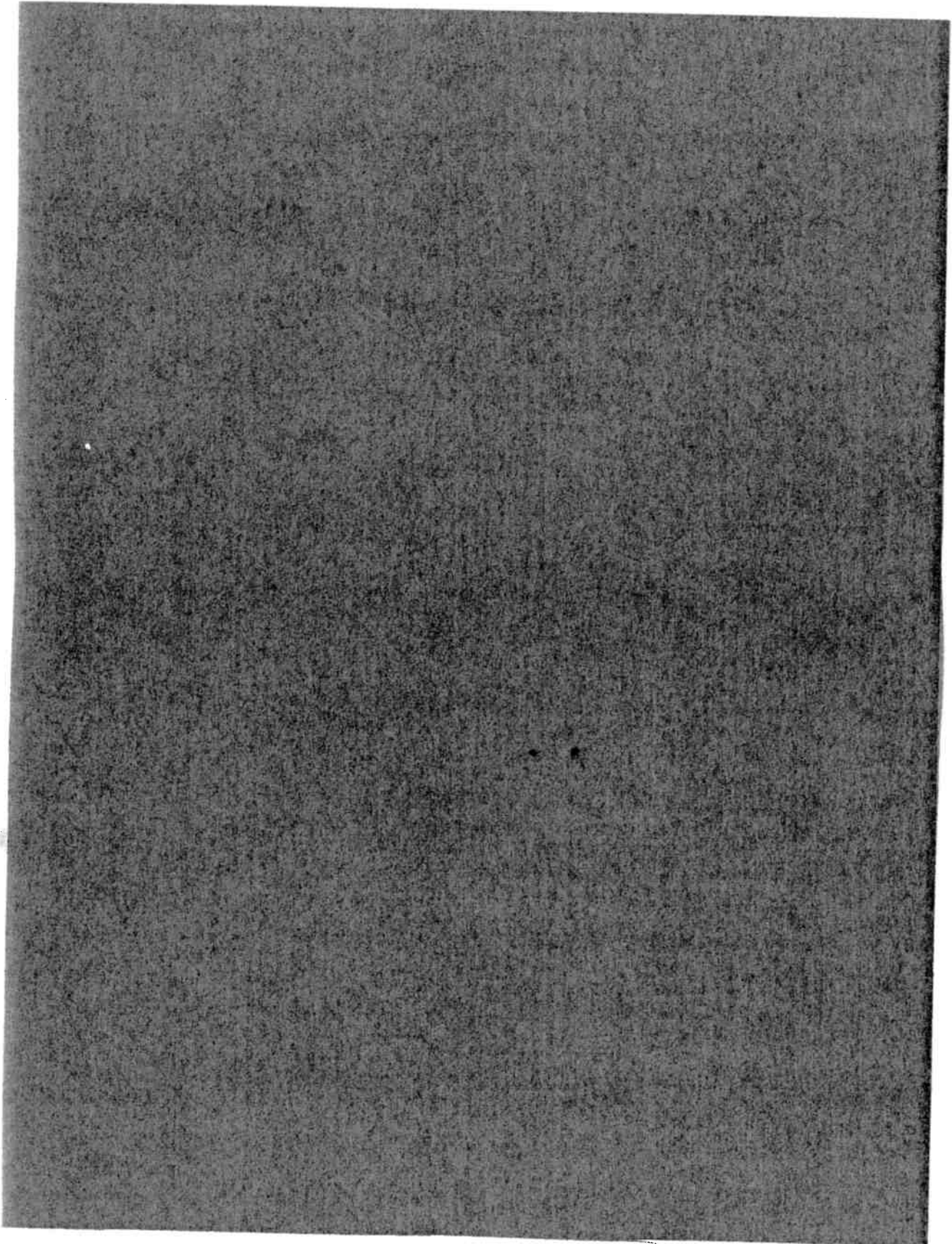


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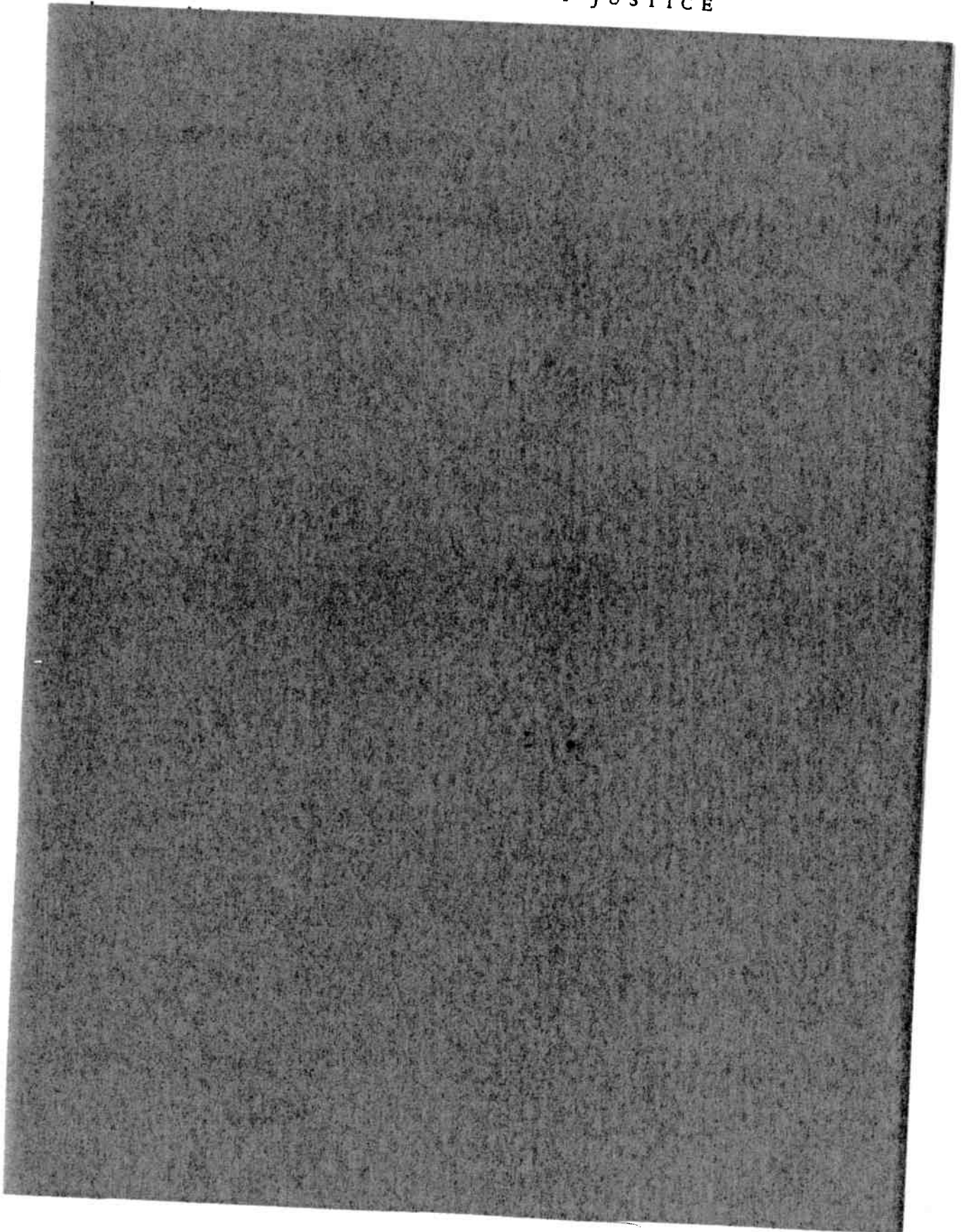


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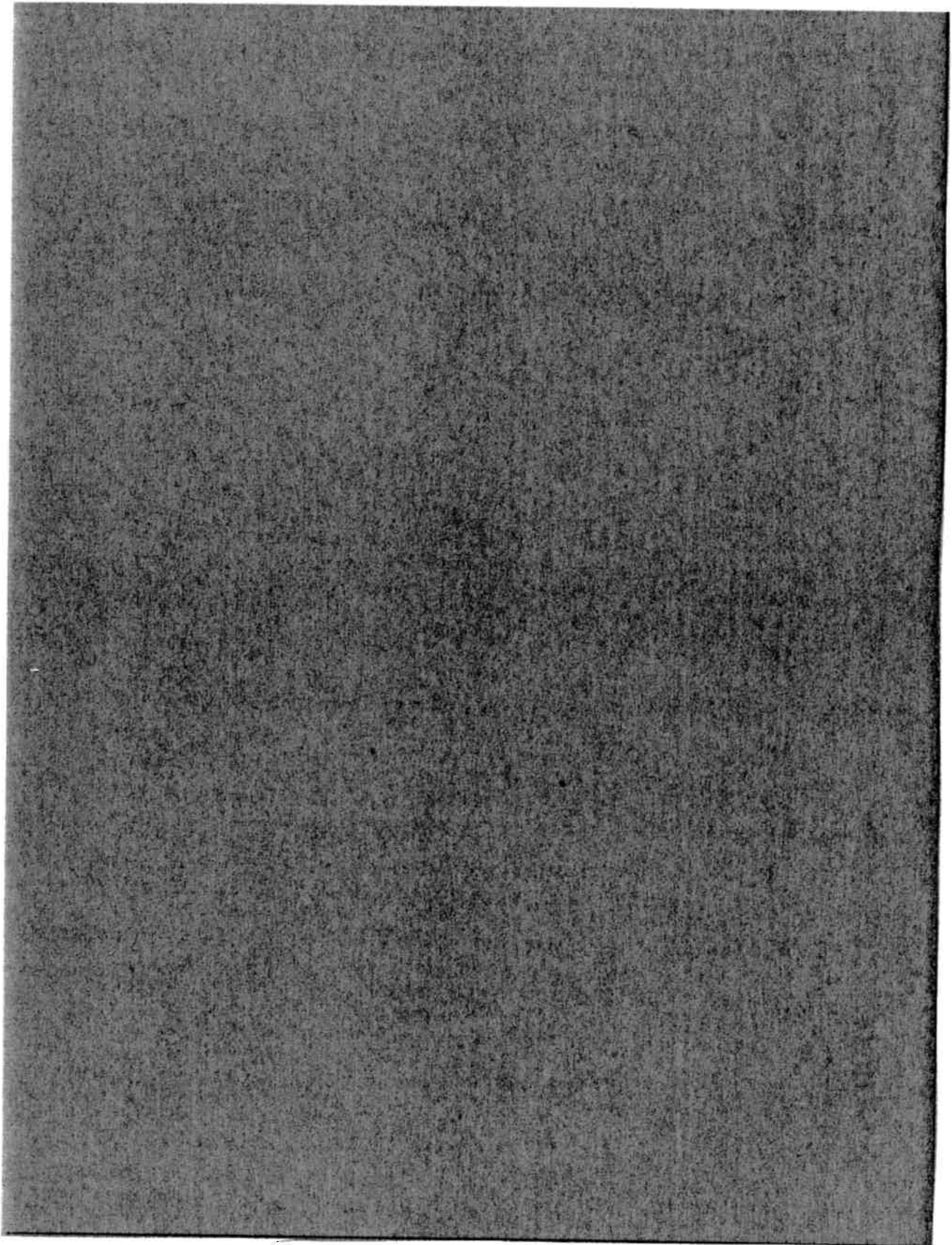
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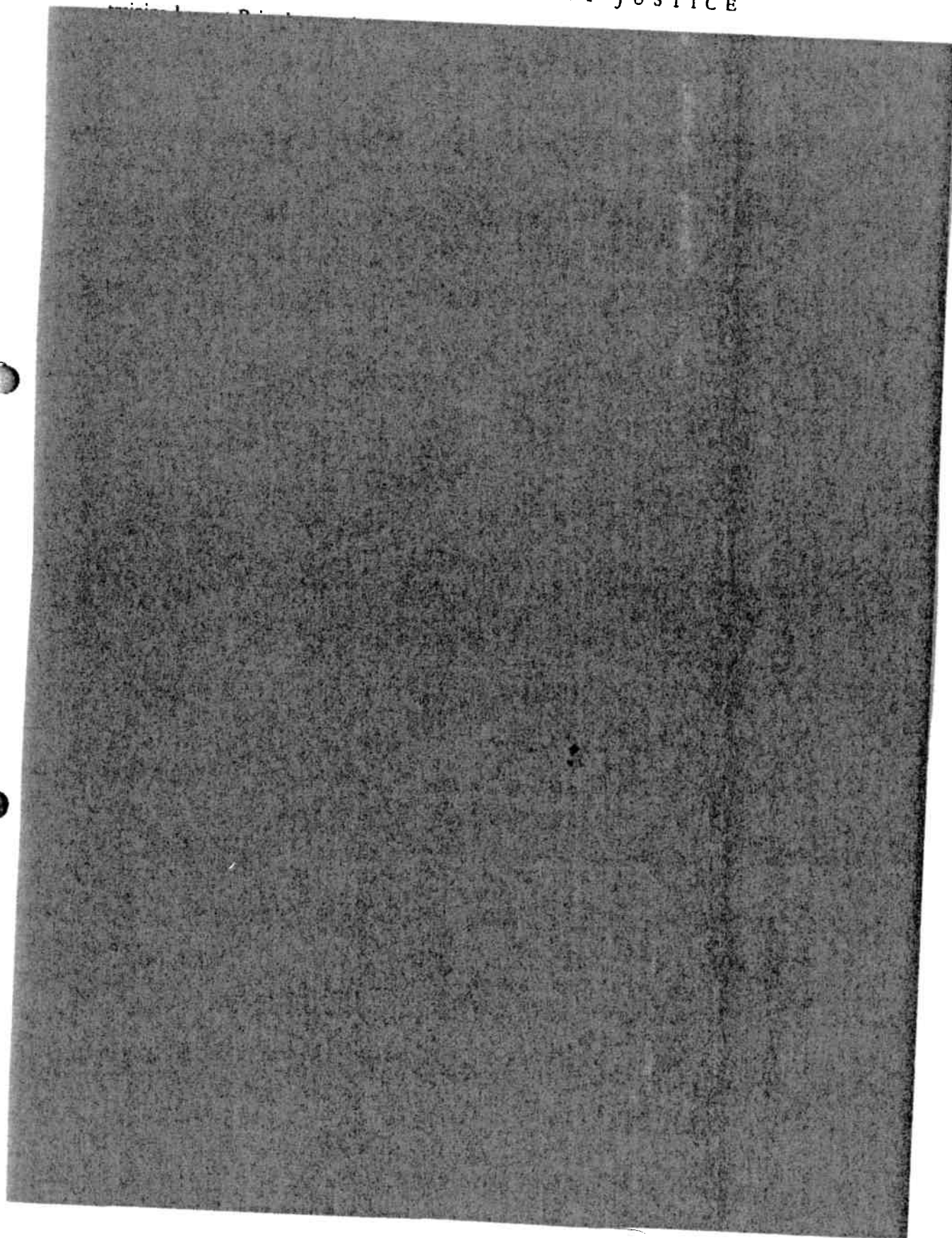


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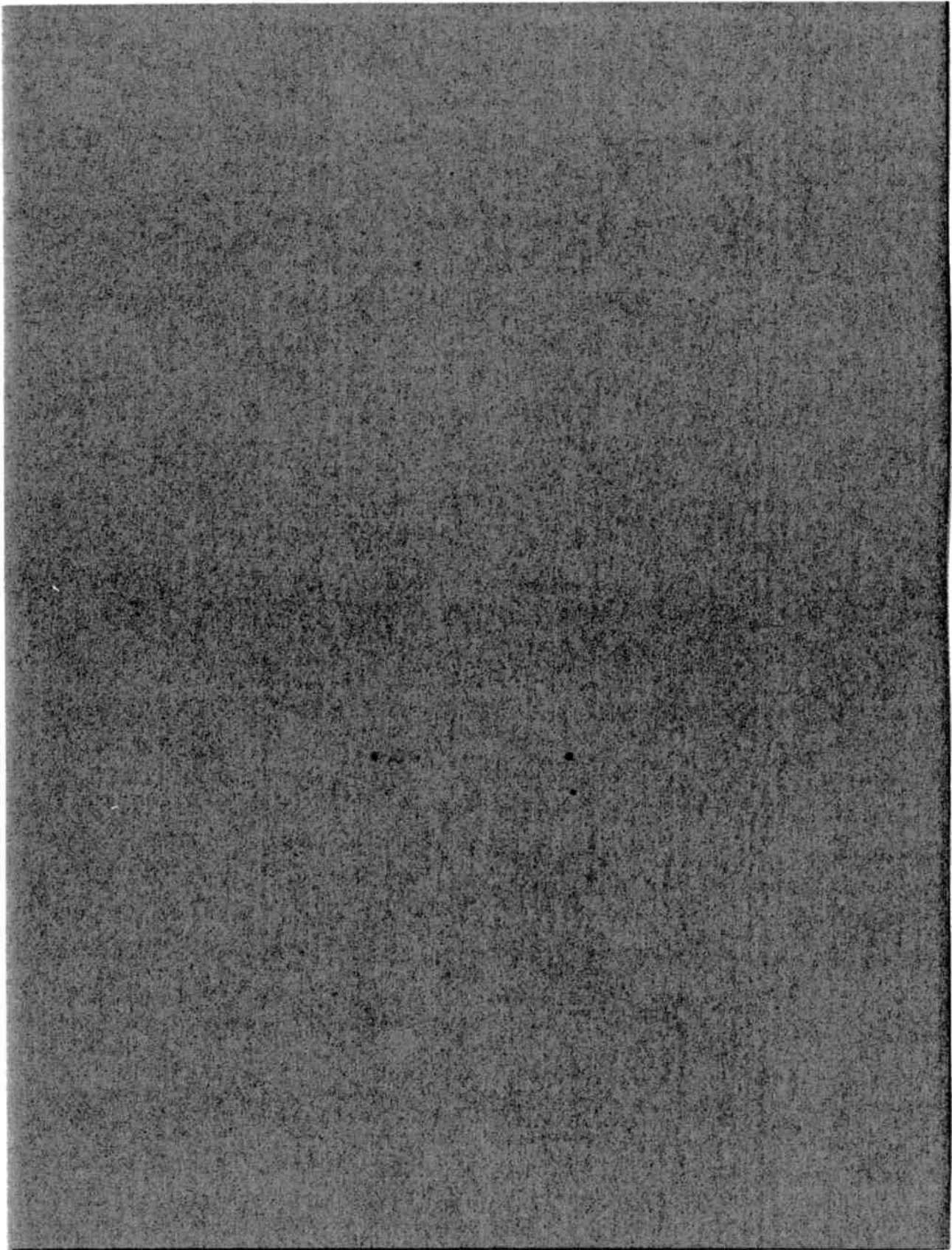
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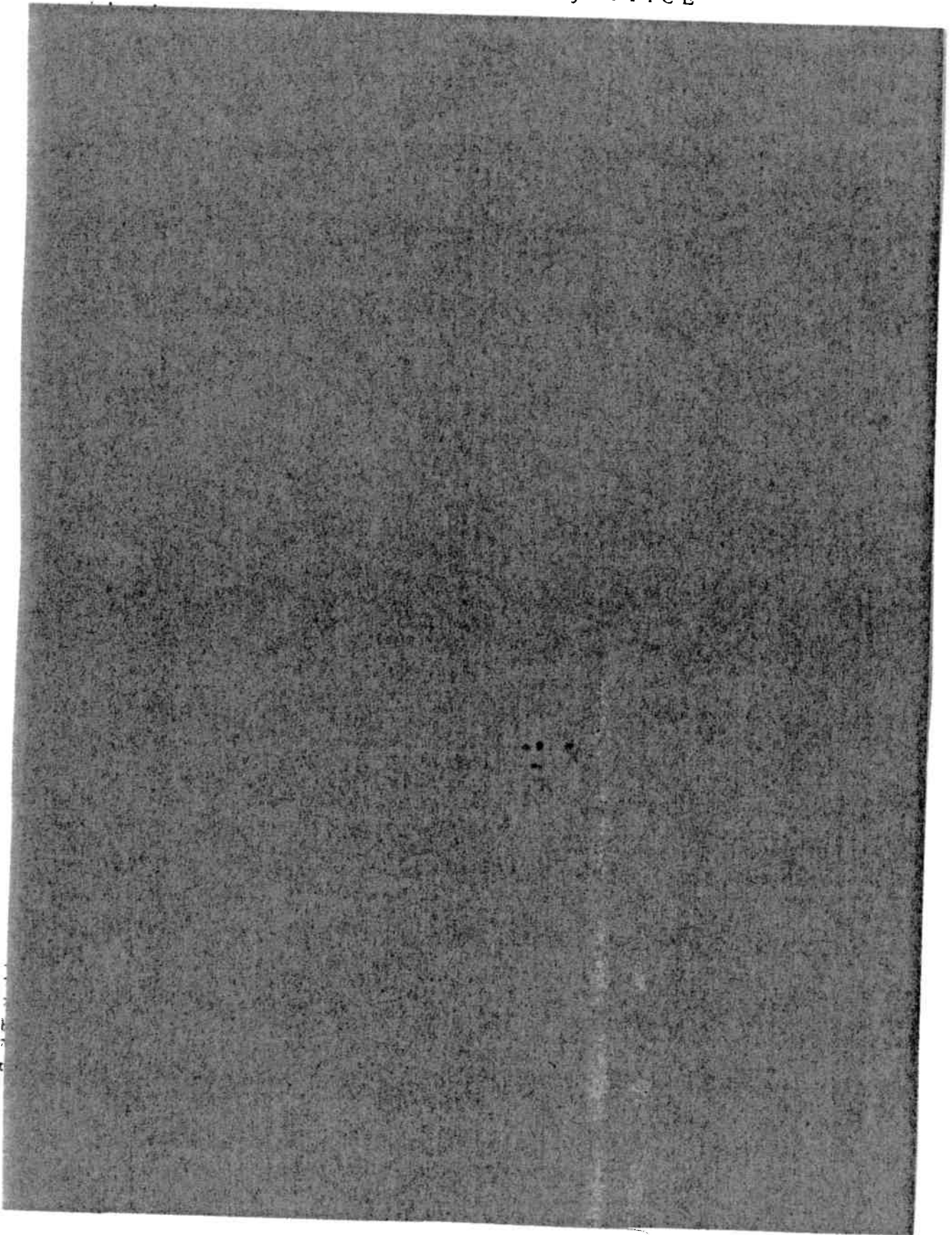
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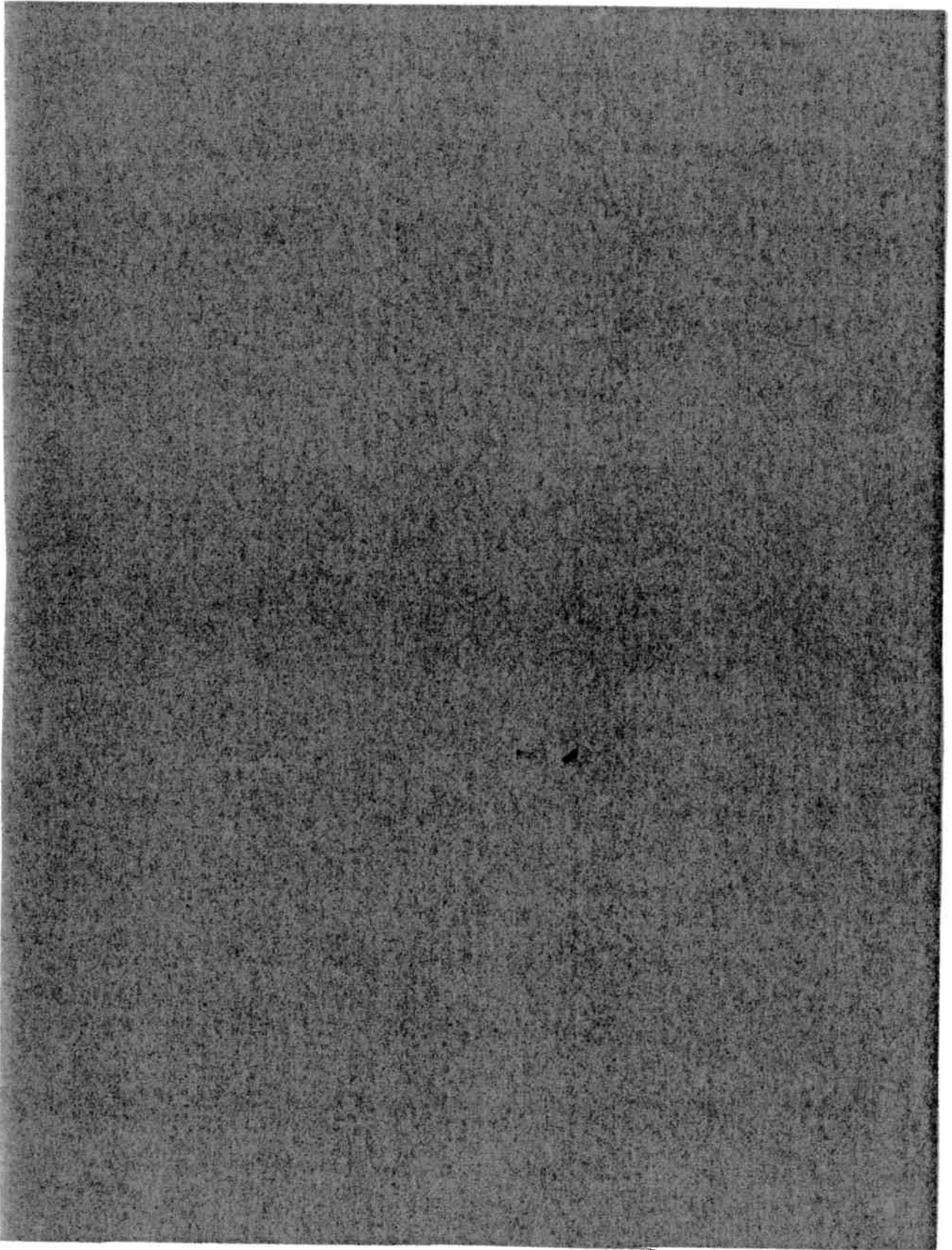
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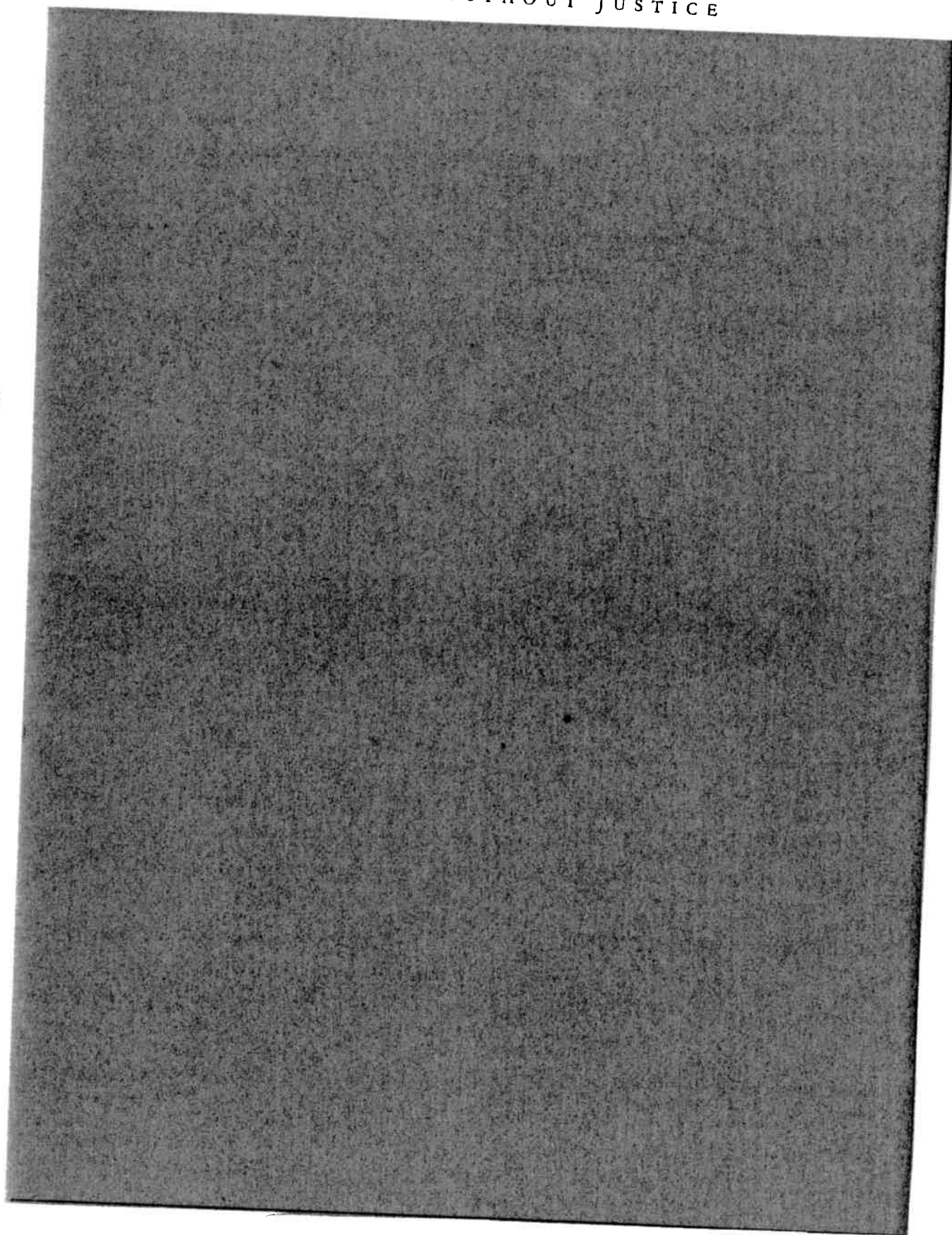
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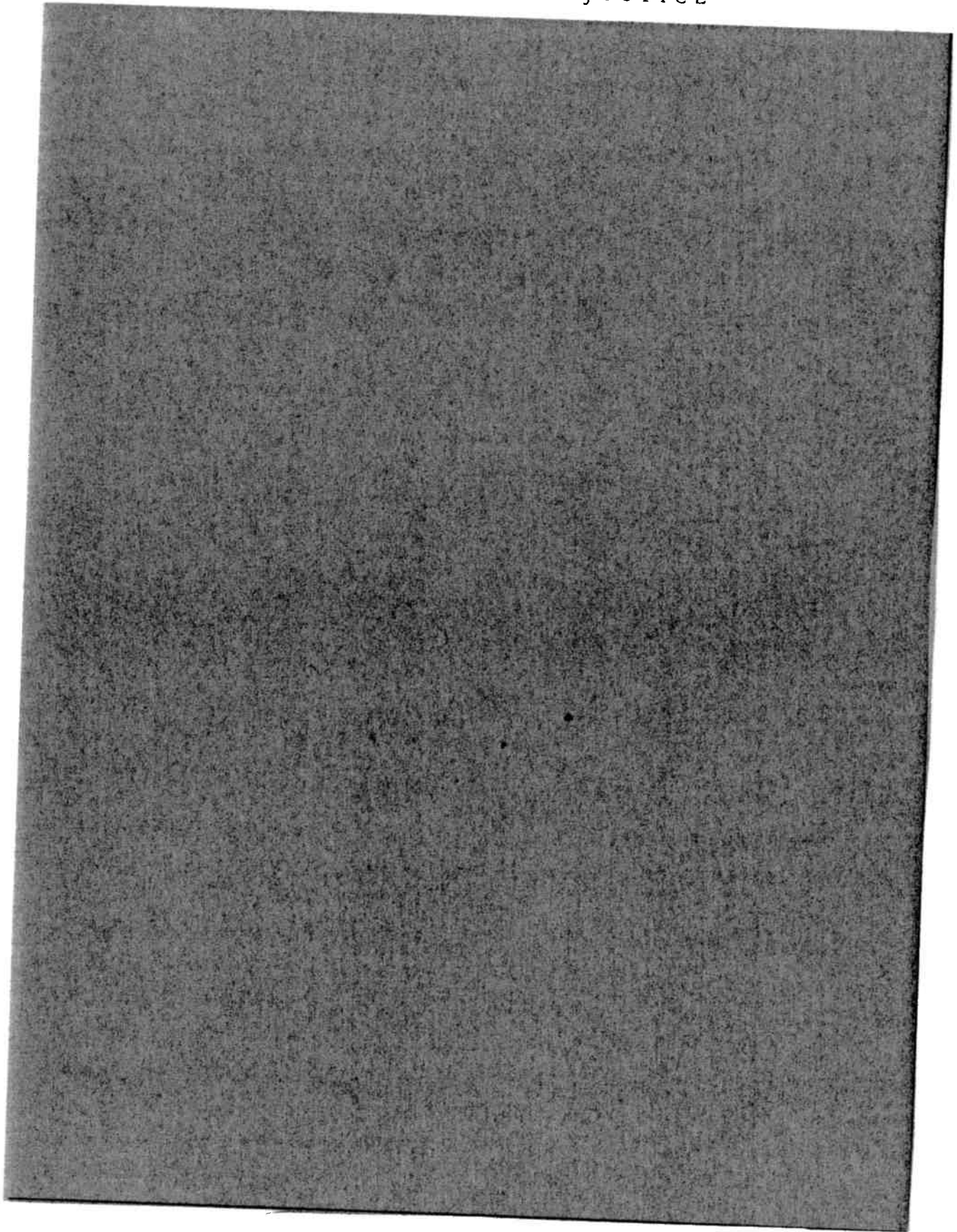
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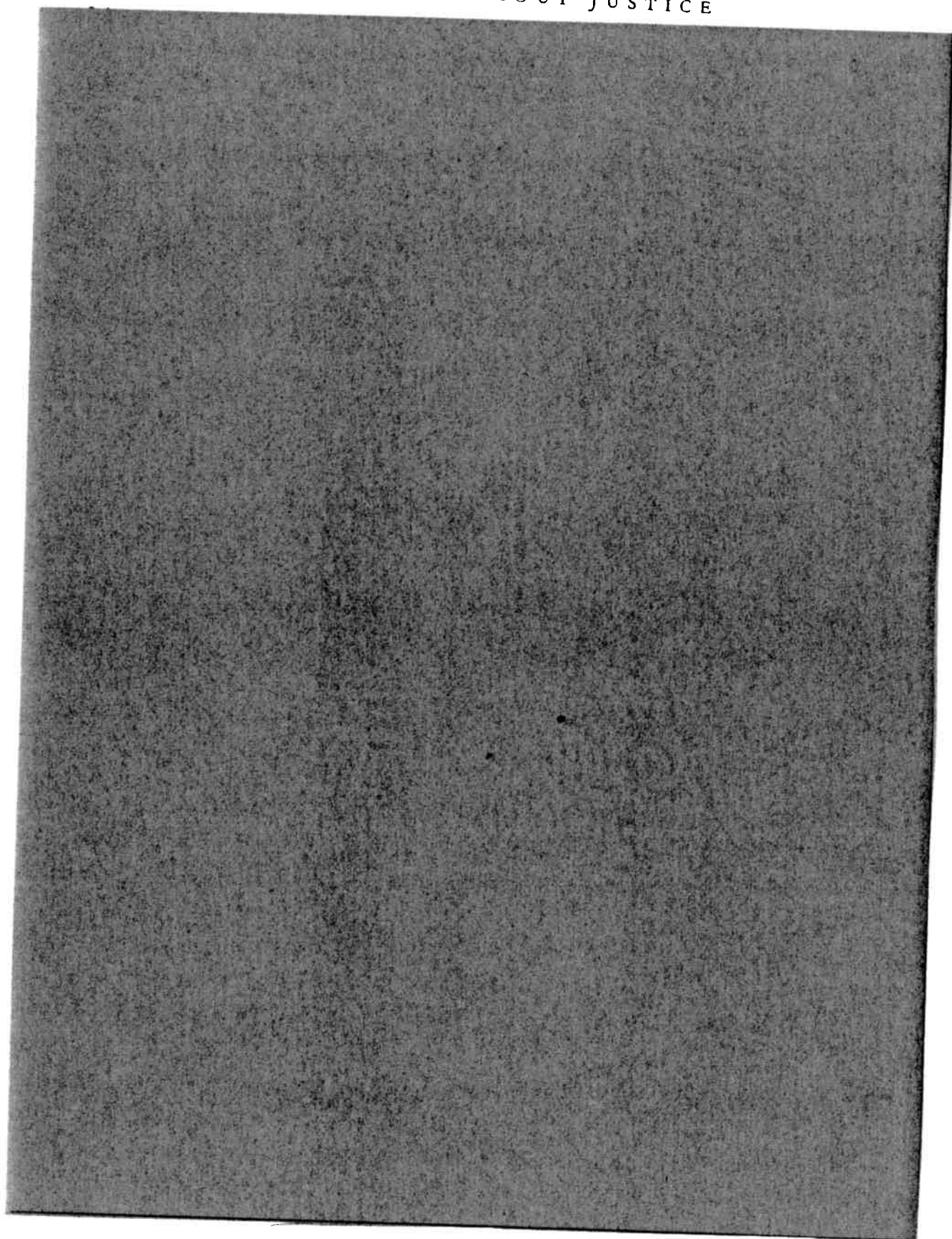


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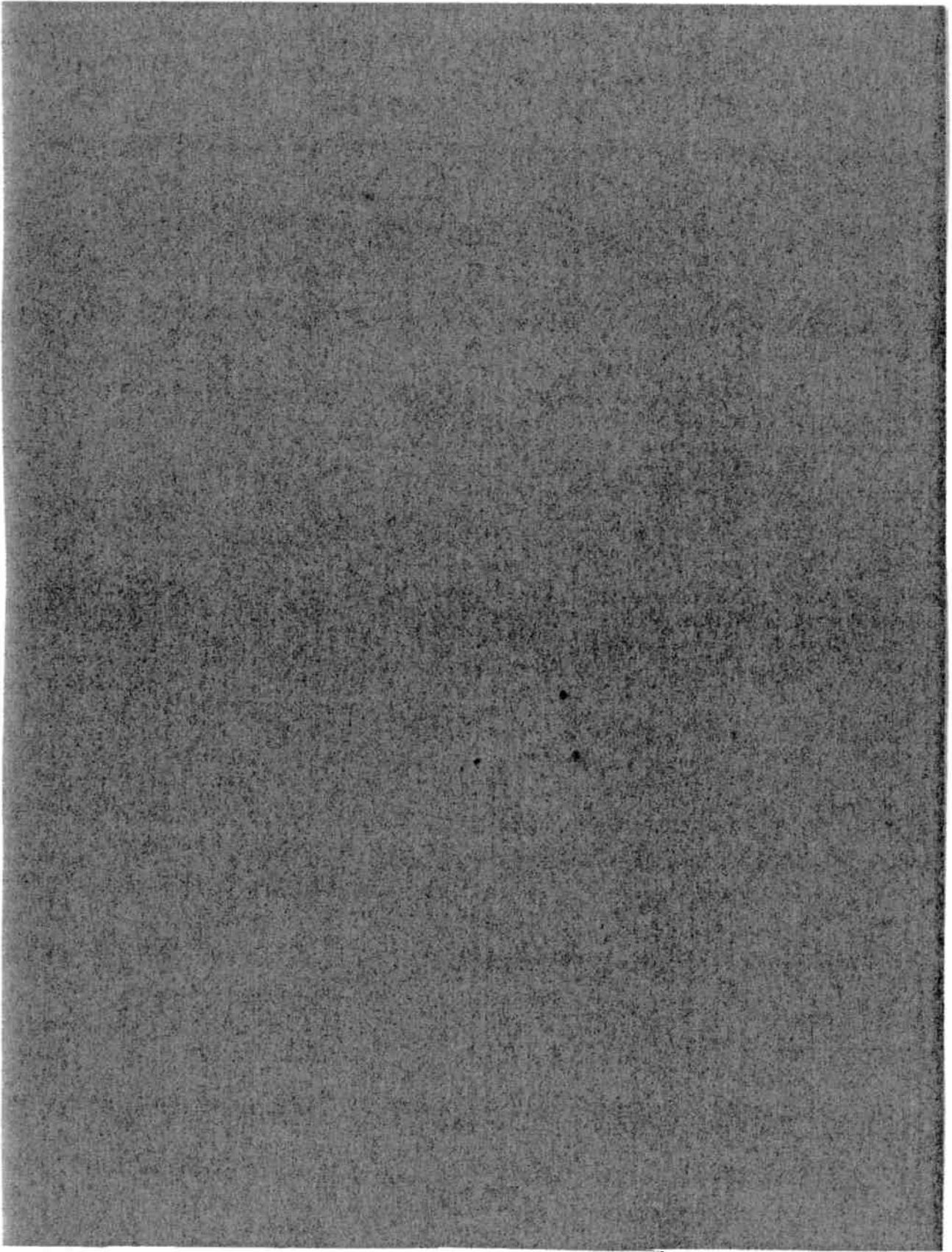
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On 8 February 1998, the President of Liberia reportedly visited RUF/AFRC forces in Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom) to meet with the field commanders. A meeting was held at the Court Barrie, where he told the forces that produce from the District, particularly cocoa and coffee, must be transported to Liberia immediately to be sold for the procurement of weapons and other logistics for the fighting forces. He also spoke about disarmament and further warned all combatants not to disarm until they heard from him in Liberia. The supply routes for arms and ammunition coming from Liberia ran through Koindu (Kissi Teng Chiefdom) and Foya (Liberia) or Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) and Vaahun (Liberia). When they needed ammunition, RUF forces would send a large vehicle with a top senior commander carrying some diamonds to the Liberian President. On their way back to Sierra Leone, they were escorted by Liberian security officers and had documents similar to clearance papers that would allow them to reach Kailahun District without encountering any problems. From Kailahun District, the arms and ammunition were distributed and dispatched to other places. The construction of an airfield at Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom) was also begun, made feasible due to the increased numbers of the RUF forces, particularly the civilians they had taken with them when they retreated from Freetown. However, due to persistent air raids conducted by ECOMOG, the construction stopped.

After being pulled out from Freetown, a lot of AFRC members went to Vaahun in Liberia through Bomaru (Upper Bambara Chiefdom) while the majority of the RUF forces took back the bush, which they were used to due to having conducted warfare there from 1994 to 1997, unlike the AFRC forces. When they left Freetown, the retreating forces could not take many things with them, which led to their searching civilians in Kailahun District and taking their property. "Operation Pay Yourself", meaning take what you need from civilians, was declared in the whole country but there is little direct information on its implementation in Kailahun District. Nevertheless, when they came back from Freetown, RUF and AFRC forces engaged in killing, raping and, above all, looting actions, which prompted a lot of civilians and especially those in Upper Bambara Chiefdom to leave their farms and to go to Liberia. However, RUF/AFRC forces captured civilians whom they forced to work, to go in search for food and to dig holes on the main road of the chiefdom to prevent ECOMOG forces from advancing with their armoured tanks.

In Kailahun Town (Luawa Chiefdom), the then Chief Security Officer (CSO) of the RUF invited all returnees to a meeting in which he encouraged the CDF to identify themselves so they might broker peaceful co-existence with the RUF/AFRC forces in the township. Seventy-six Kamajors identified themselves to the RUF/AFRC forces in response to the appeal and the CSO told them that they were "brothers" and that they would work together to rebuild Luawa Chiefdom. However, the CSO then ordered his forces to arrest and detain the Kamajors. The CSO set up a court in which the Kamajors appeared, summary investigations were carried out by the RUF commander appointed as chairman of the court and his verdict was that they should all be released and handed over to their family who would sign for them. While this verdict appeared to be accepted, the CSO nevertheless ordered that those Kamajors should be kept in jail and their families authorised to come and visit them. This continued for few days, until two senior RUF commanders and other RUF members arrived in town. One of the senior RUF officers killed ten of the Kamajors and ordered his men to kill the other Kamajors still being held captive. Three days later, the CSO gathered people in the town and stated that those Kamajors were Government spies and had been preparing to launch an attack on the chiefdom. He ordered the burial of the bodies in two holes behind the police station.

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this intense fighting, thousands of civilians fled the area and found refuge in Liberia (Lofa County) and Guinea (Gueckedou region, Parrot Beak).⁷⁷⁰

After the reinstatement of the President of Sierra Leone in March 1998, more men from the District, many of whom had found refuge in Guinea, were initiated in the Kamajor society. Some from Penguia Chiefdom went to Bo Town (Kakua Chiefdom, Bo District) for the initiation. Kamajors from Penguia Chiefdom were successful in repelling the RUF/AFRC forces from some sections of the chiefdom as far as the Moa River (south-east of the chiefdom) but the RUF/AFRC forces regrouped and retook control of some areas previously held by Kamajors, including Sengema, Kumantandu, Sandaru, Lalehun and Bagibu. The RUF/AFRC established themselves in particular in the Nimmi Hills, an area rich in gold mines. Sengema became their base in the chiefdom, as it is located on a hill. Raping, looting and the unroofing of houses was common in 1998 and the commander in charge of the area was ordered by the Battle Field Commander not to have mercy for civilians who did not support them. On one occasion and following a meeting organised at Woroma by the RUF/AFRC commander in the chiefdom, eight men and four women accused of being supporters of the Government of Sierra Leone were killed and burnt by the RUF/AFRC forces, which led civilians once again to flee to Guinea. However, shortly afterwards in June, the commander ordered to his men to kill any civilian caught attempting to cross the Moa River or the Menni River to go to Guinea. Some civilians were therefore killed and some of them drowned in the rivers, which were swollen due to the rainy season. Furthermore, another order passed by this commander was for his men to check for tattoos on the men's bodies, as this would be proof of belonging to the Kamajor society. Besides pursuing RUF/AFRC positions, the Kamajors in Penguia Chiefdom chased and killed those they suspected of being "rebel" collaborators.⁷⁷¹ Kamajors from Peje West and Peje Bongre Chiefdoms were also attacking RUF/AFRC forces in their chiefdoms.

The town of Neama (south of Jawie Chiefdom, near the border with Kenema District) was considered a safe place where many civilians from the surrounding chiefdoms were seeking refuge. The town was under the command of the CDF and was an important ECOMOG and CDF base. RUF forces attacked the town and over 300 civilians were killed; it took three days to bury them in mass graves.

When the chairman of the AFRC and his government were driven out of Freetown by the ECOMOG forces, he sought temporarily refuge in Kangama town⁷⁷² (Kissi Teng Chiefdom), four miles from Buedu (Kissi Tongi Chiefdom), the headquarter of RUF/AFRC. Indeed, Buedu in 1998 became the War Office⁷⁷³ and a very important centre for supply routes, smuggling of produce and diamonds and for training. All these activities became rampant throughout the year and enabled the

⁷⁷⁰ Between March and June, 237,000 Sierra Leoneans fled the country to Liberia and Guinea and over 50,000 IDPs were living in camps: UN News Archive, 26 June 1998. Since the ECOMOG intervention in February, it was believed that 27,000 IDPs were leaving in the Eastern Province (Kailahun, Kenema and Kono Districts) and 113,000 in the Northern Province while there were no new displacements in the Southern Province. Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report, 9 June – 6 July 1998. REG. NO. 98/0068.

⁷⁷¹ No specific incident was recalled on this information.

⁷⁷² He was seen during the same period in Kono District, en route to Kailahun District.

⁷⁷³ Although ECOMOG forces claimed to have recaptured Buedu in 1998, it is clear from the records and other open source materials that the war office was open in Buedu at the latest in April 1998. Accordingly, either ECOMOG forces attacked but did not capture the town or captured the town only for a short period of time.

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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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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, Laehun, Kpandebu, Lowoma, Fowaru, Ngeleima, most of them diamond mining villages or towns. Coming from Kenema Town, these heavily armed

⁸⁶⁹ This movement of civilians was indeed perceived by RUF/AFRC forces as indicating that civilians had received information of imminent attacks from Kamajors and accordingly civilians were considered as fleeing the area.

⁸⁷⁰ It could not be ascertained in which village those 10 civilians were killed.

⁸⁷¹ The acting Paramount Chief subsequently managed to escape into the bush.

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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 Konja 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 Jiama Bongor Chiefdom (Bo District) on the other hand started operations to dislodge RUF/AFRC forces from Small Bo Chiefdom. On 31 January 1998, Kamajors from Dodo Chiefdom advanced towards Small Bo and on their way, launched a successful attack on RUF/AFRC forces based at Levuma (Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom). Kamajors from Dodo Chiefdom, with those from Kandu Leppeama Chiefdom, advanced on Blama, entering the town on 15 February 1998. However, no RUF/AFRC forces were to be found in the town as they had left earlier.

In February 1998, ECOMOG troops based in Liberia entered the District and on 18 February, together with Kamajors, reached Kenema Town. They then deployed at SS Camp, Gofor, Giema and Joru (in Dama and Gaura Chiefdoms). Indeed, after the intervention in Freetown, ECOMOG forces had positions all over the country and were working with the Kamajors. In Malegohun Chiefdom, for example, ECOMOG came to Kamajor positions with arms and ammunitions. In addition, ECOMOG requested the intervention of the Kamajors from Punduru (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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Chieftdom) to be an auxiliary force to liberate Kono District, providing them also with small arms and bullets.

Once in Blama (Small Bo Chieftdom), 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 Chieftdom) for the purpose of issuing passes to monitor the movement of people. Kamajors initially based in Small Bo Chieftdom but coming from the neighbouring Niawa and Langrama Chieftdoms went back to their chieftdoms. In March, civilians started returning to their villages.

However, unlike what happened in most of the chieftdoms, especially in the south of the District, the situation prevailing in Lower Bambara Chieftdom 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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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	Bajama
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, Nimiya, 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.

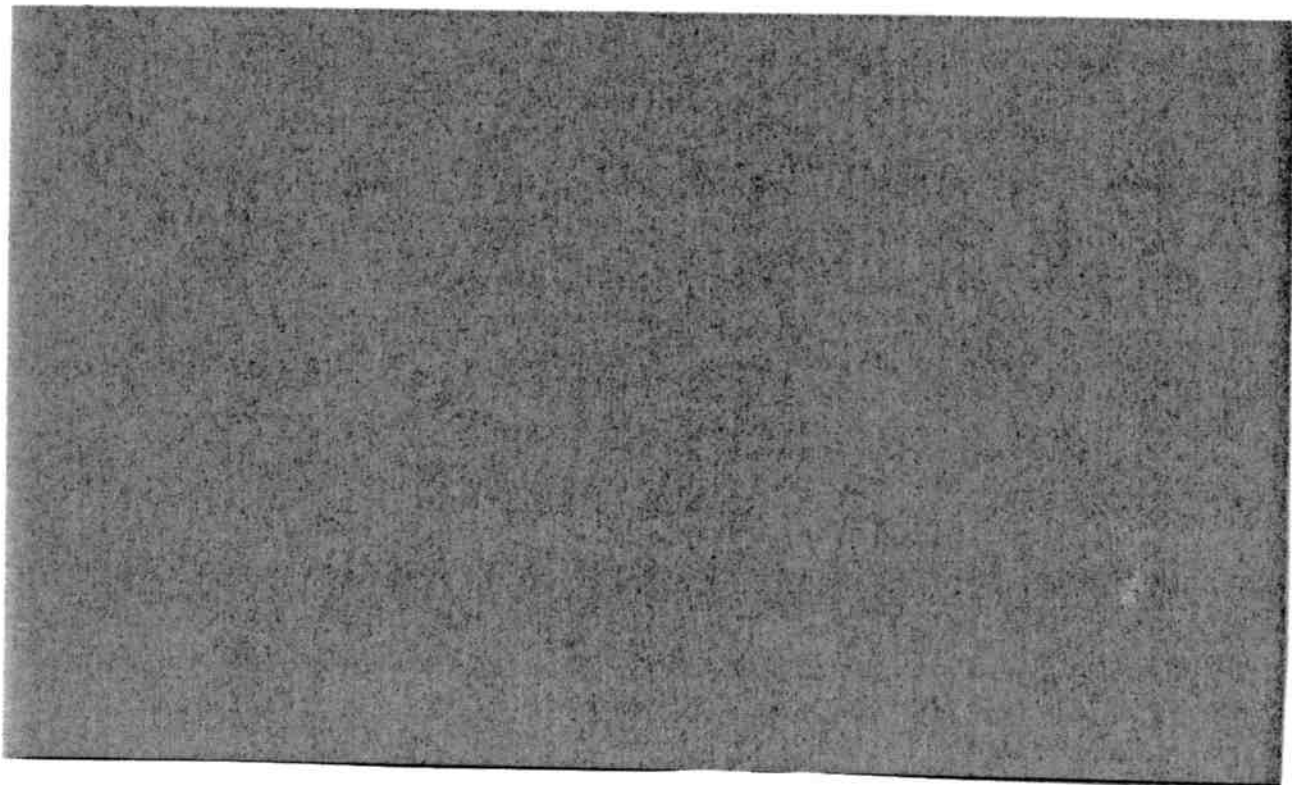
⁹¹² Besides diamonds, kimberlite mineral and gold are also mined.

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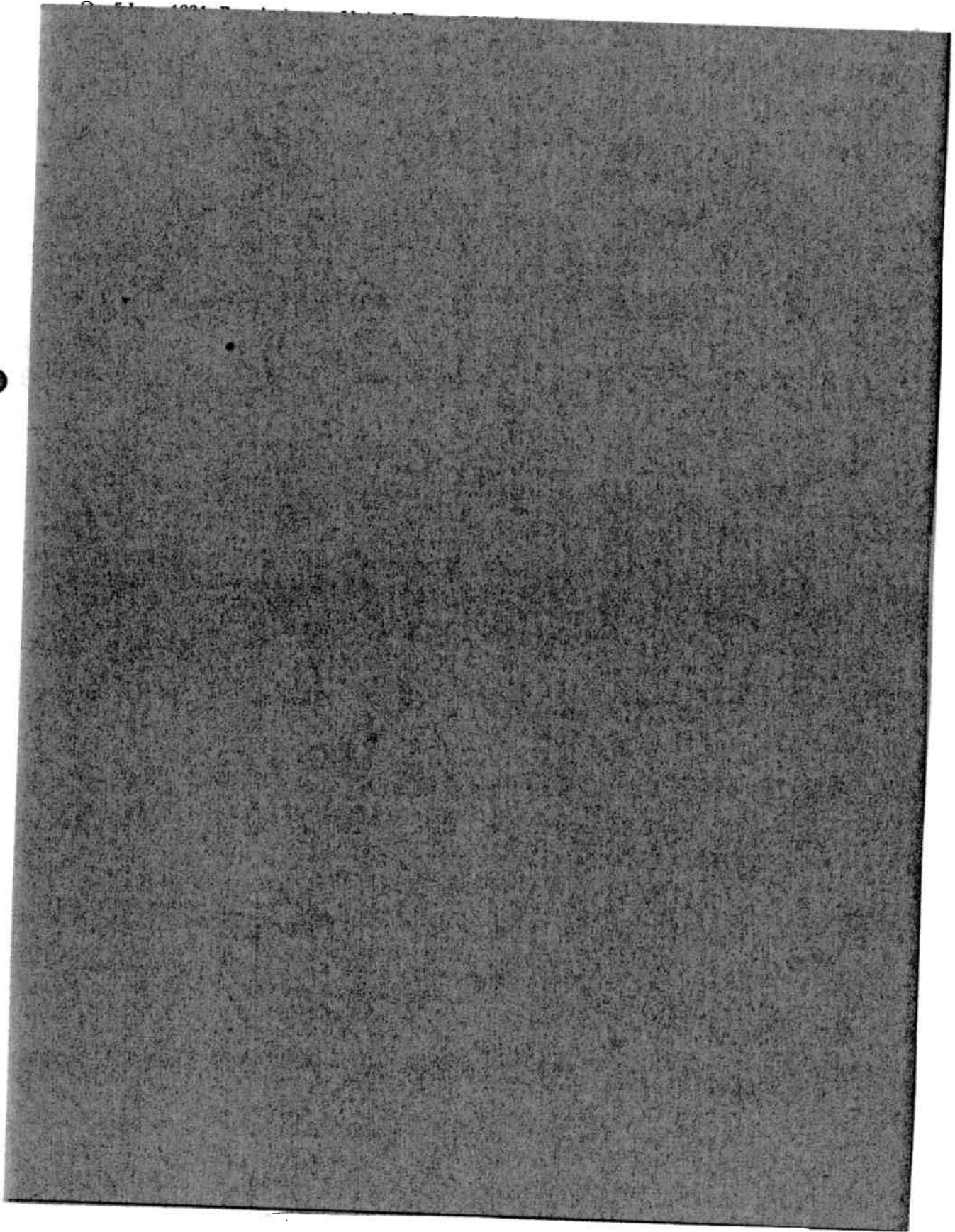
The third and final phase began in early 1998, following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown and the retreat of RUF/AFRC forces and concluded in August 2001, when the disarmament was declared complete in the District. This period is characterised by a substantial increase of violations committed by RUF/AFRC 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.



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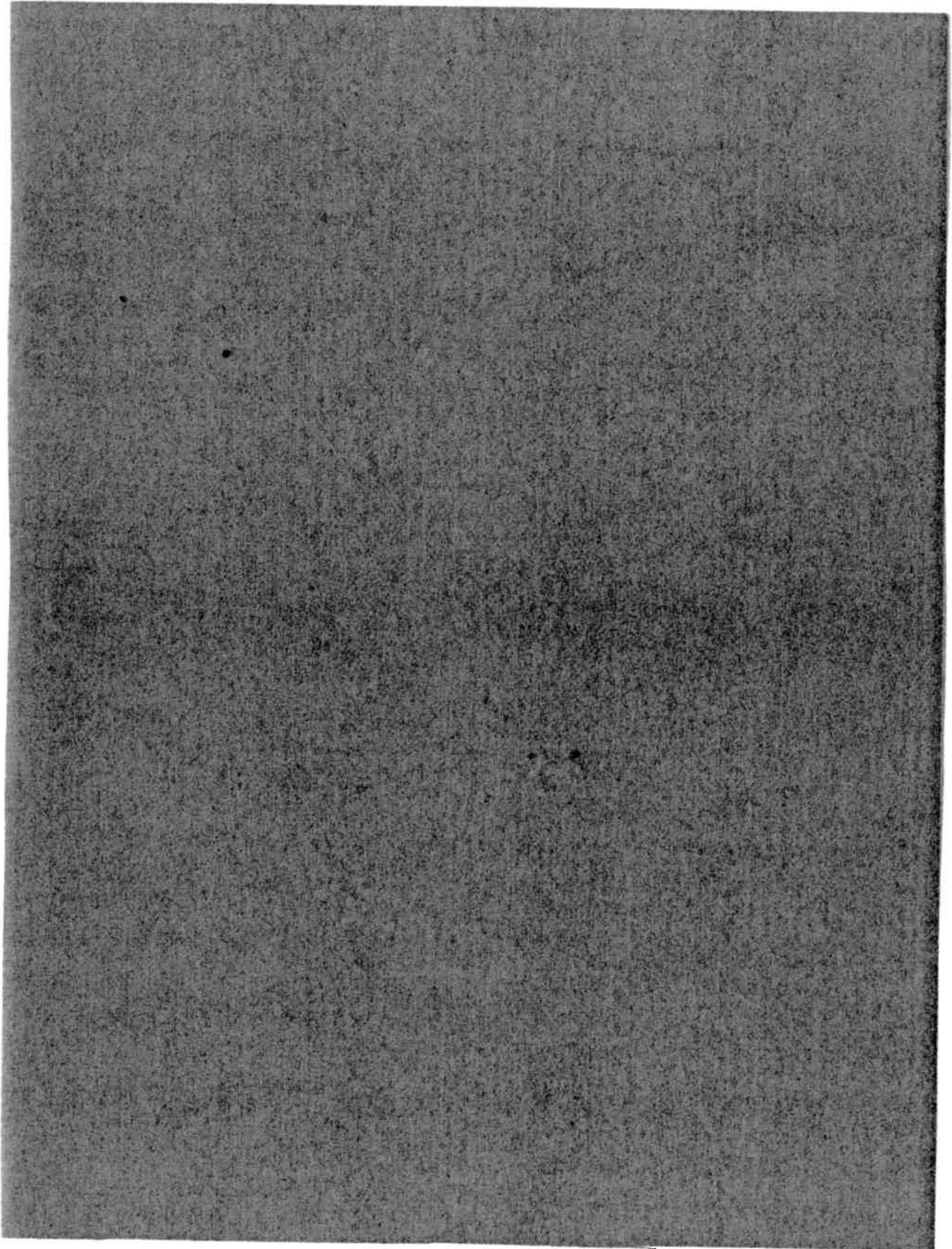
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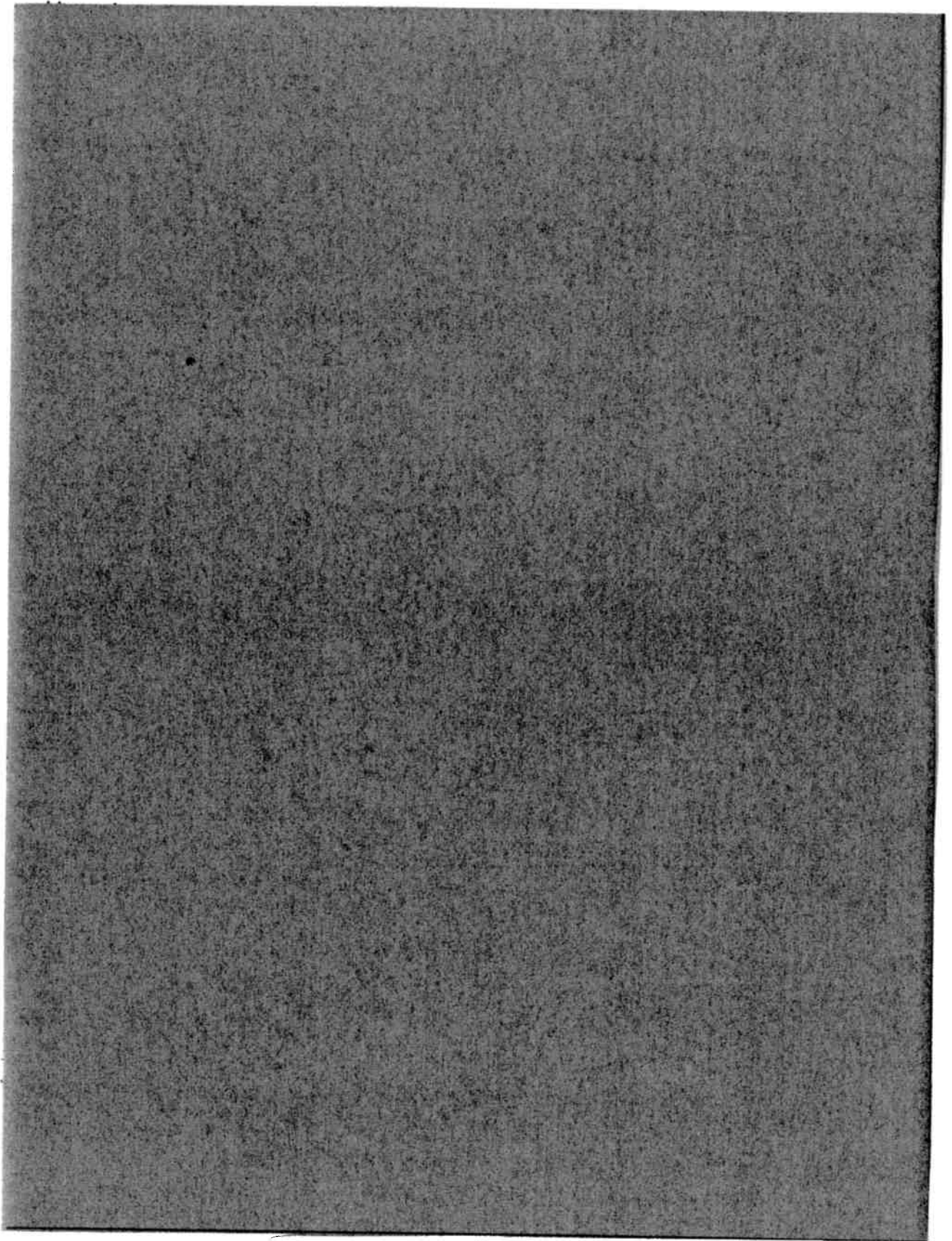
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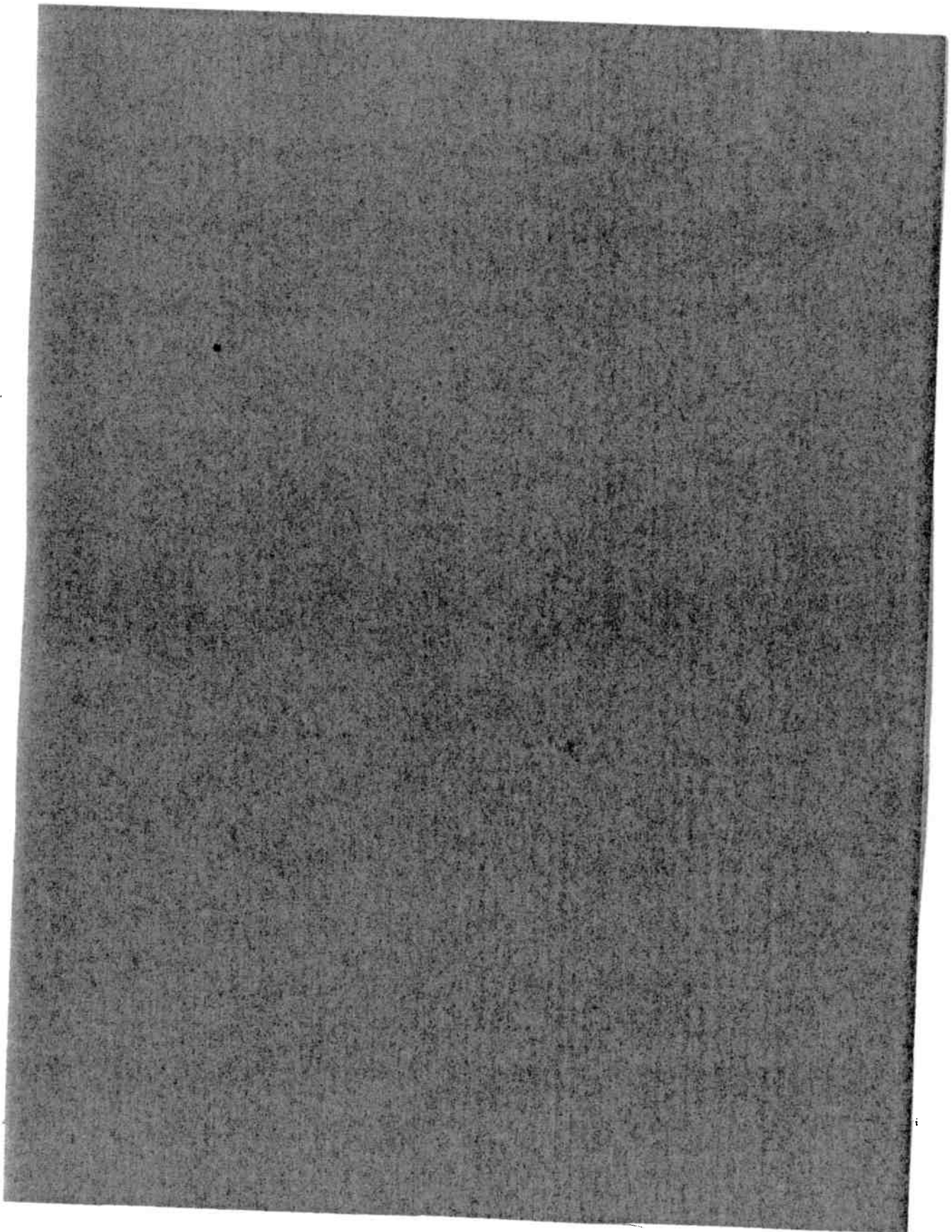


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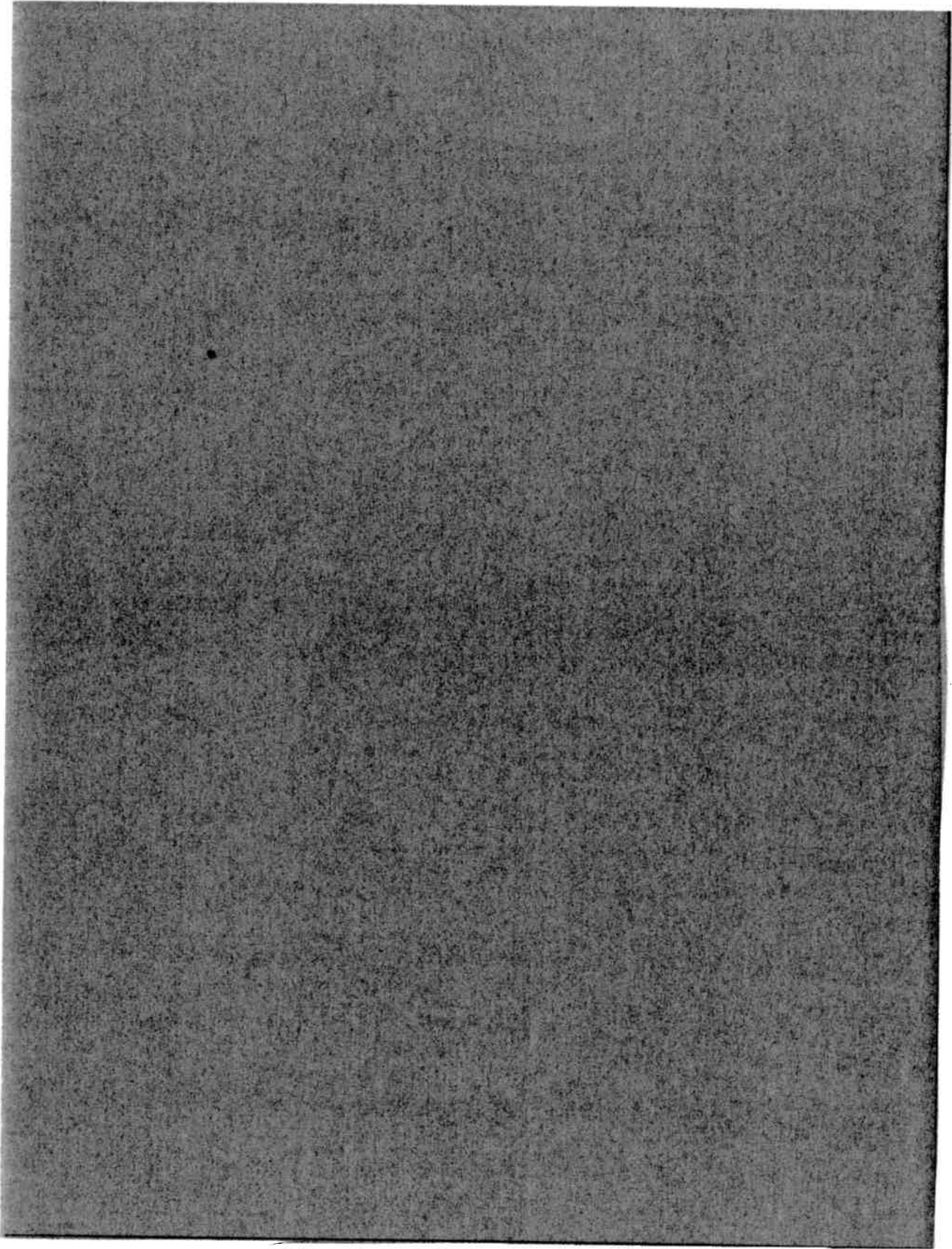
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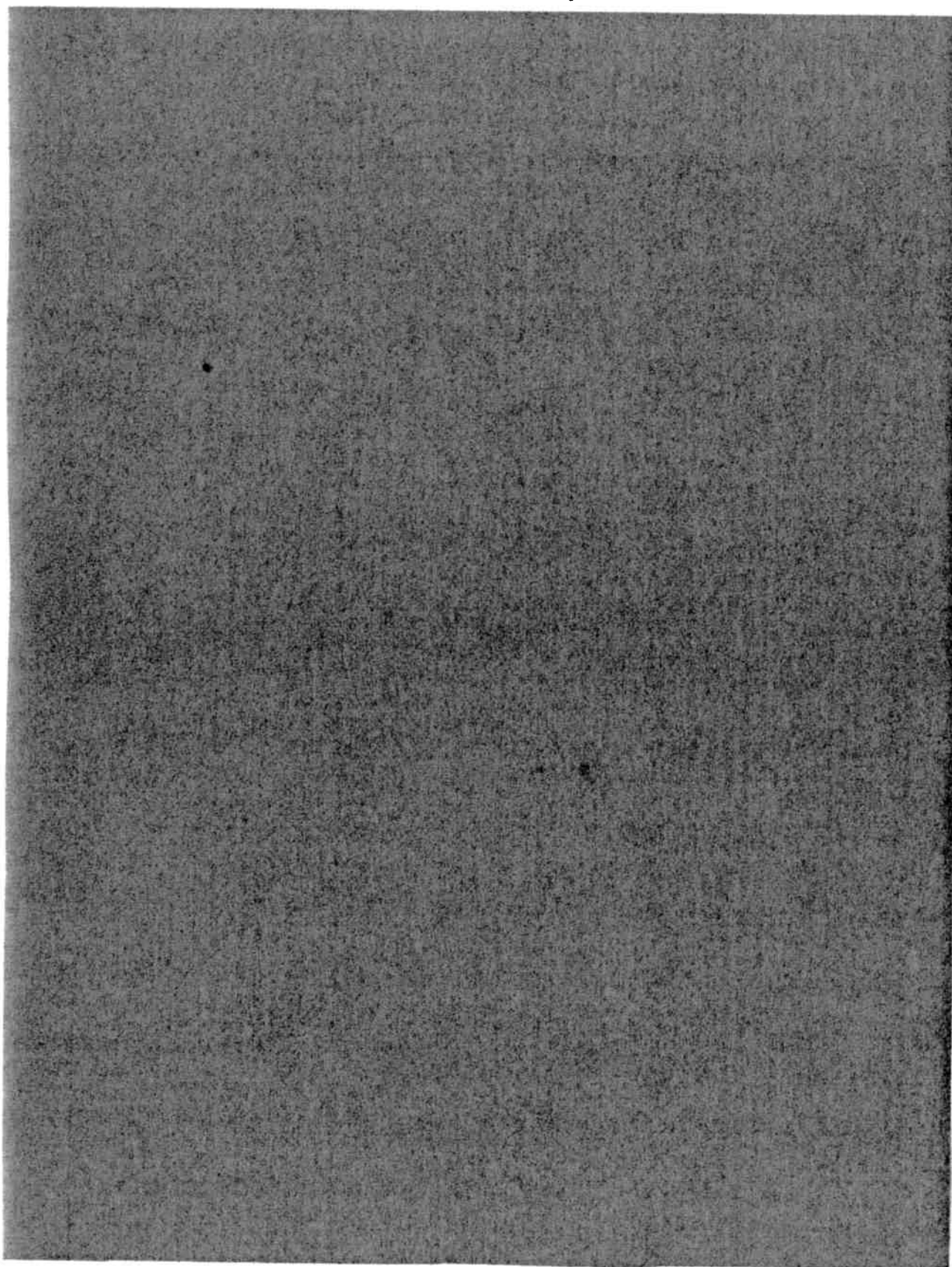
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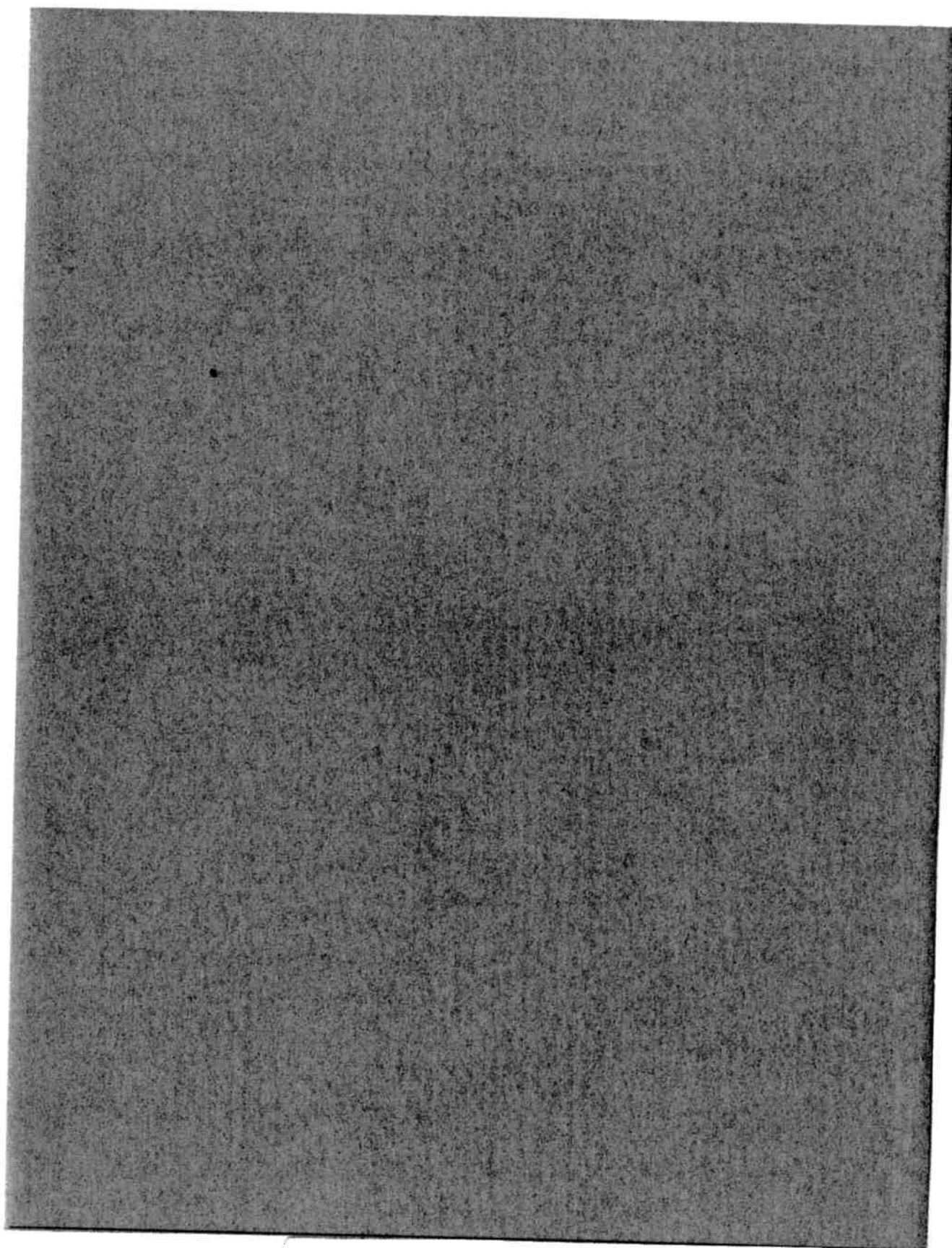
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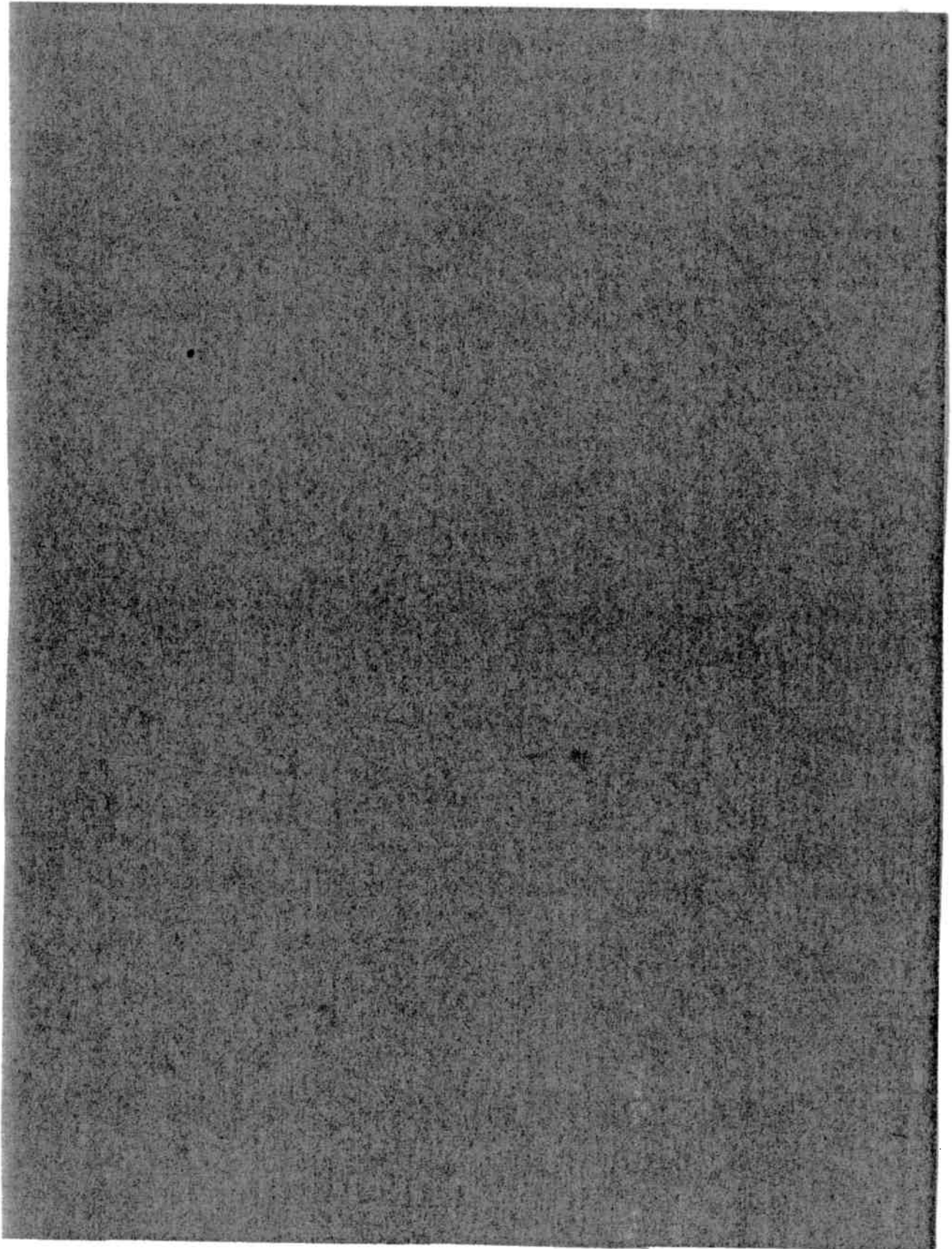
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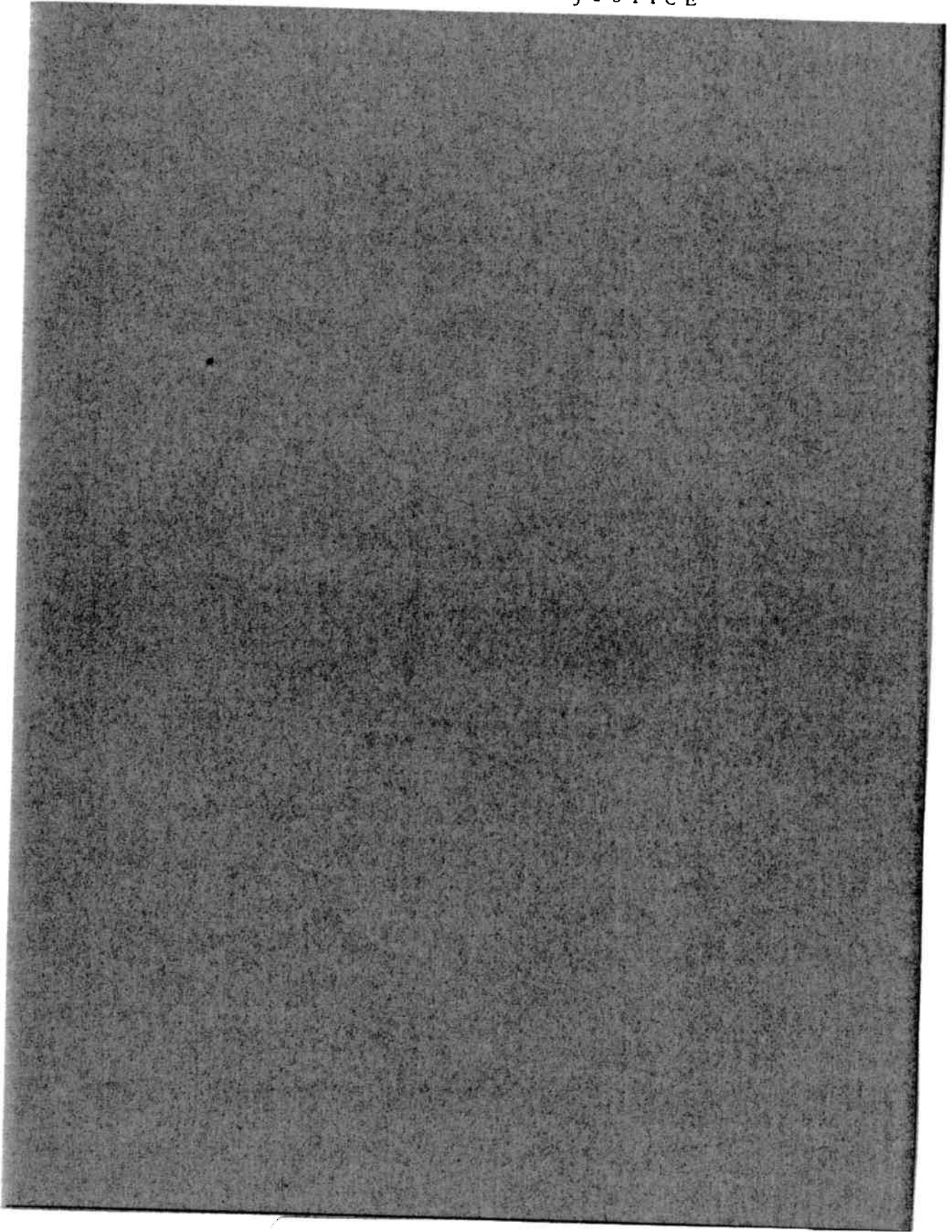


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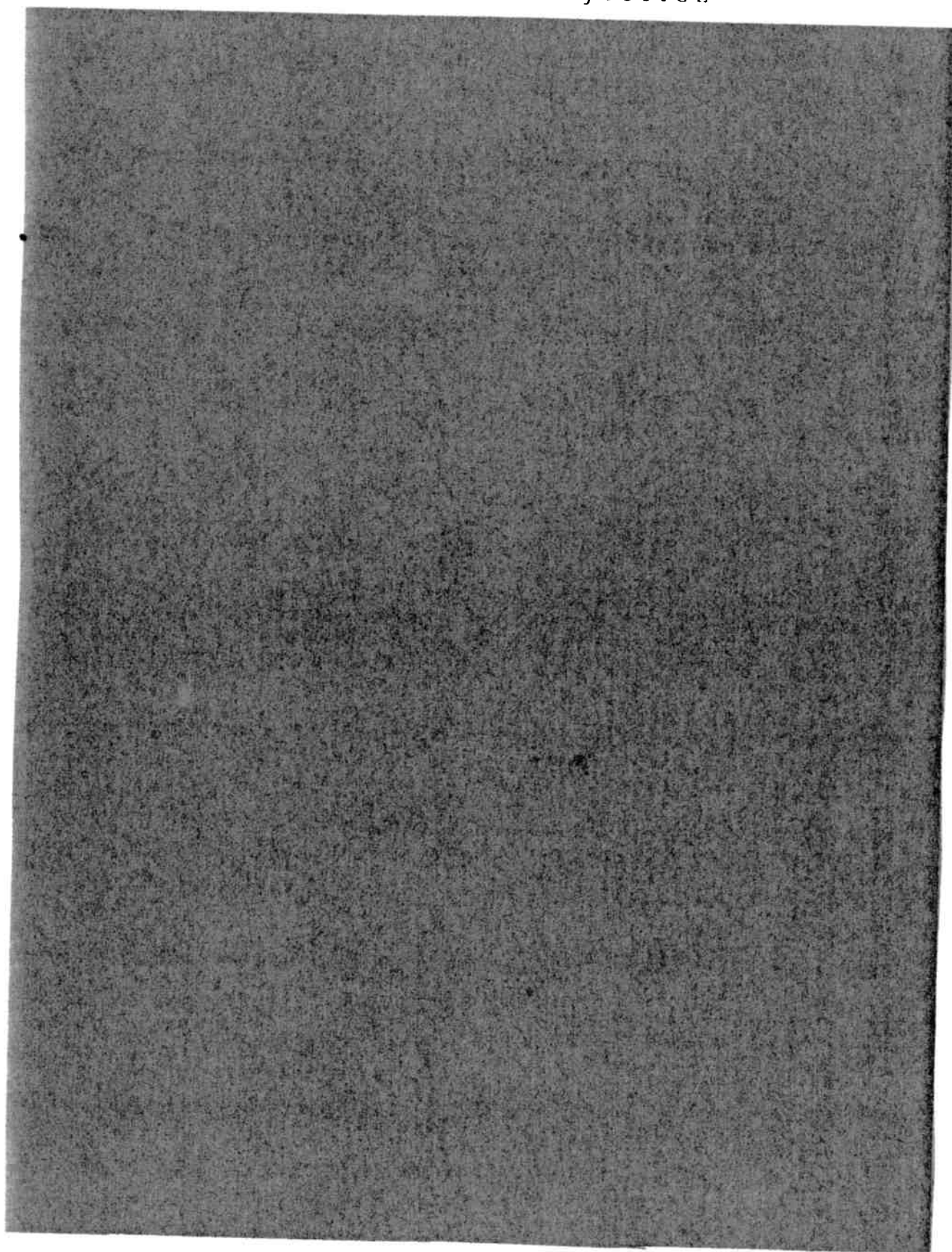


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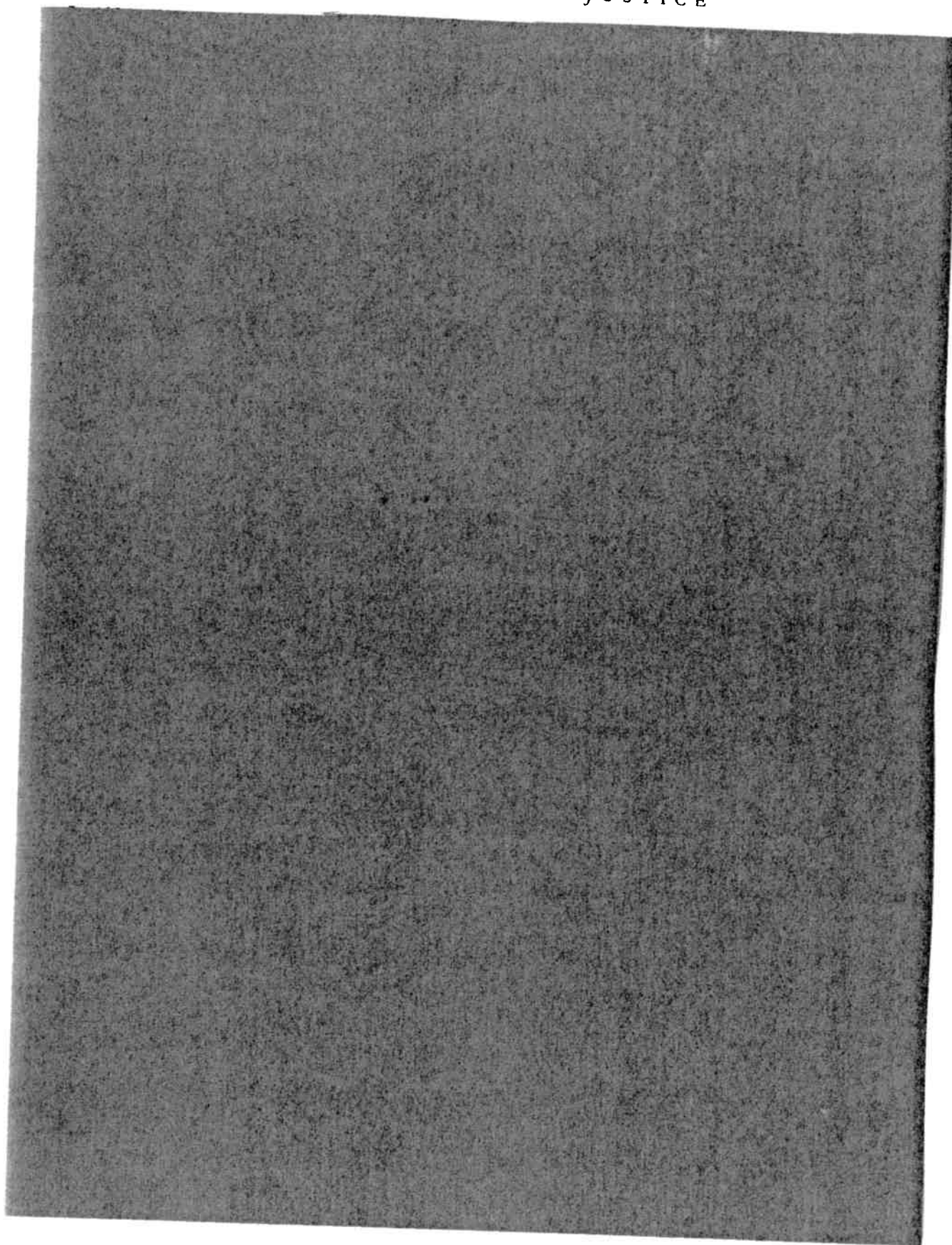


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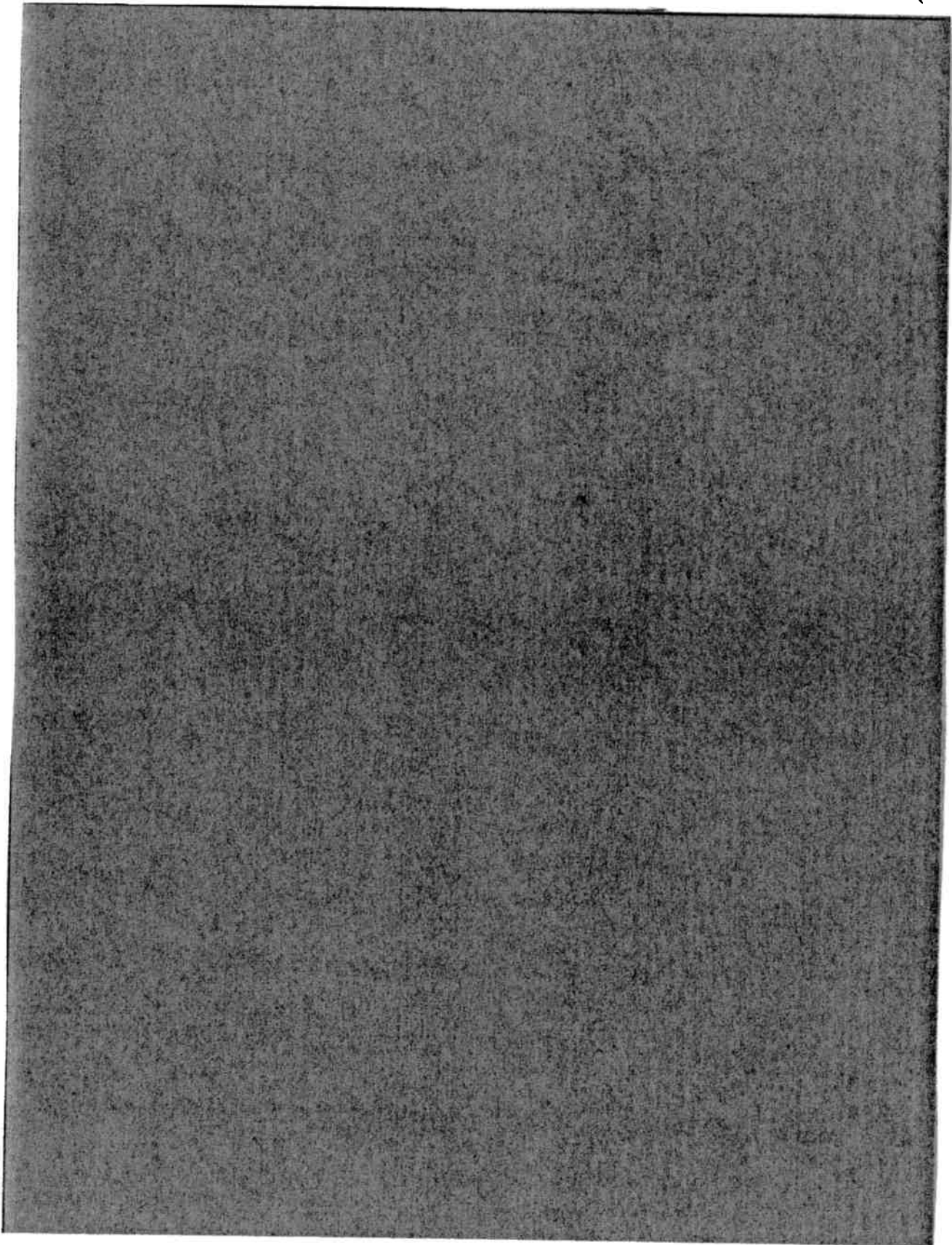


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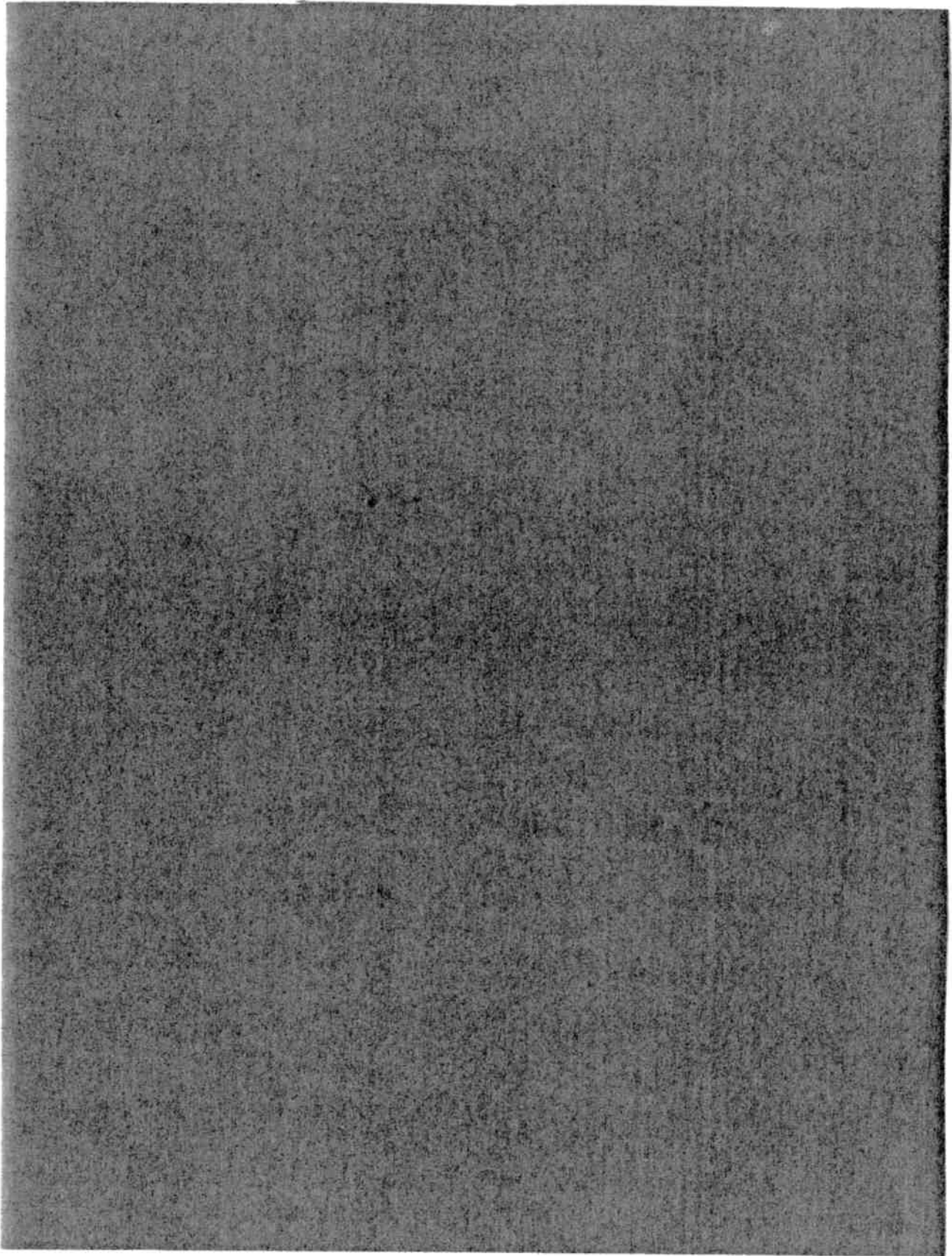


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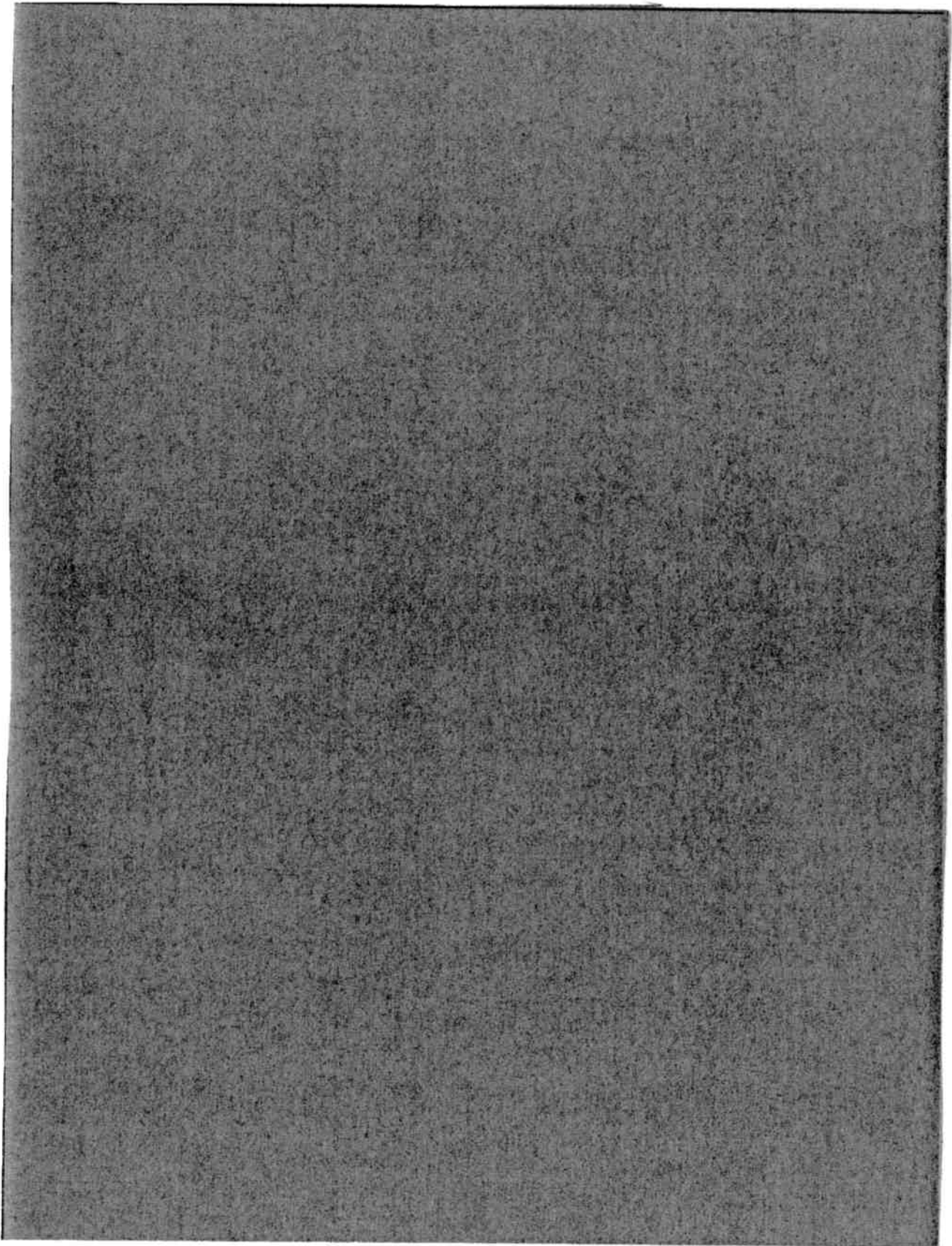


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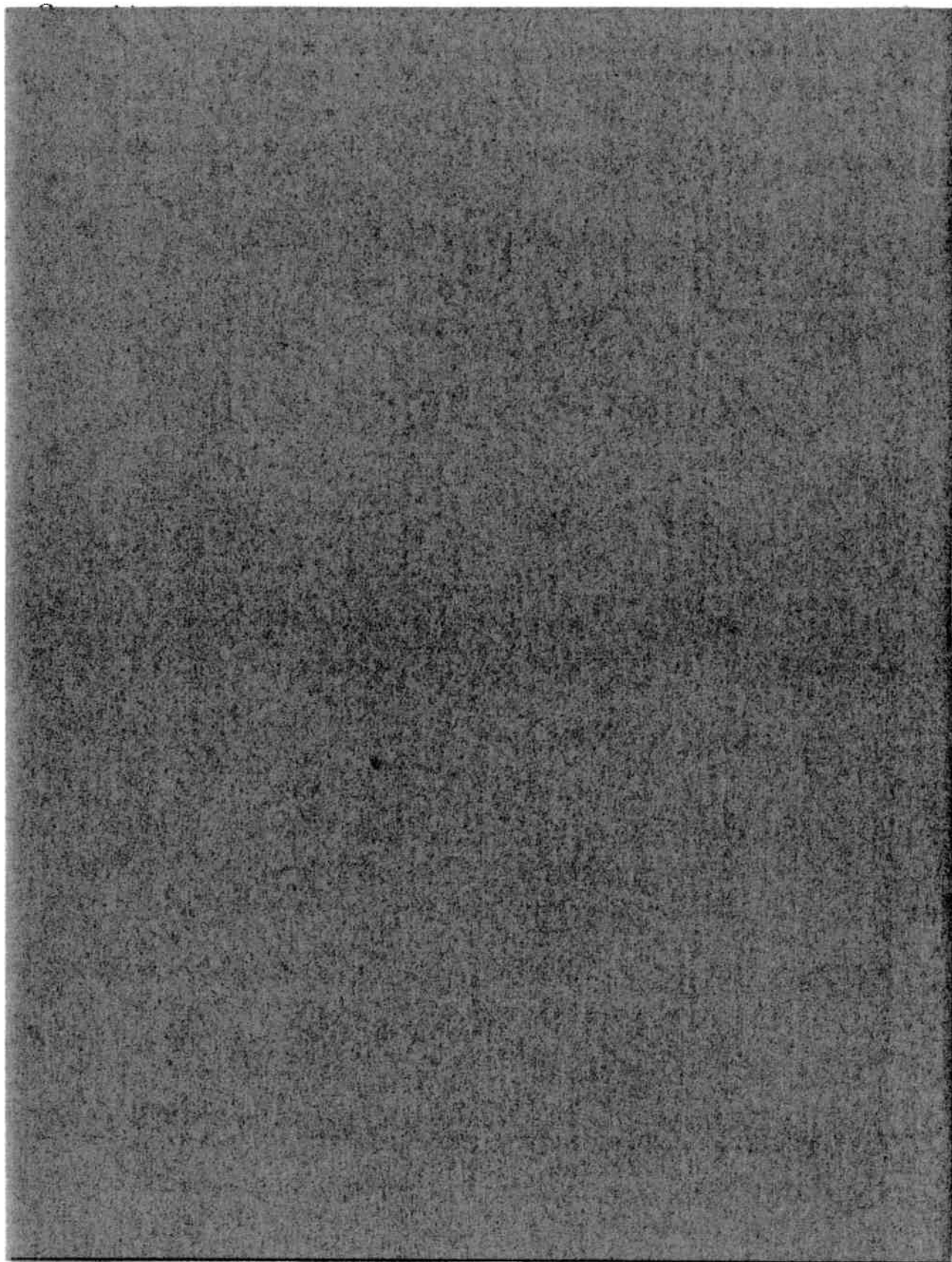


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f) Events in 1996

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 Senehun, located on the highway going to the chiefdom headquarters of Saiama, to mourn the death of the town chief. Some SLA members asked some of them for a goat and as they explained that they had already given their only goat to some other SLA forces the day before, they were told that they should replace the goat with a woman. The civilians explained that there was no unmarried woman in the town. However, the SLA forces came across a young woman who had also 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 came from Sukudu on hearing the sounds of gunfire. Before retreating, RUF forces abducted some civilians and brought them to Kailahun District. Stolen property was also transported to Liberia by boat, crossing the river bordering Sierra Leone and Liberia. While a

⁹⁷⁰ By the end of the year, Gbanc 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 Fiama Section. SLA forces retreated to Yigbeda but later, still in December, they came back to Sukudu and warned civilians that they were planting mini-landmines along the road RUF forces were using to attack Soa Chiefdom, which caused the death of some of the RUF forces and allegedly led to the ceasing of attacks on villages in the chiefdom.

The Abidjan Peace Accord, signed on 30 November 1996, stated that the war was ended with immediate effect. It required that Executive Outcomes leave the country by early 1997, which they did,⁹⁷² and also required the disarmament of the fighting forces.⁹⁷³ However, Kono people made a very strong appeal to the Government not to stop their contract with Executive Outcomes, as they ensured security for Kono District.

In the aftermath of the Abidjan Accord, the then Vice President conducted a confidence building tour in the provinces to disband the CDF. In late December,⁹⁷⁴ the Vice President of Sierra Leone visited Kono District and held a meeting in Koidu with Kono stakeholders, where he officially disbanded the CDF and required the Donsos to lay down their arms and return to their farming activities, as the Government had entered into a ceasefire agreement with the RUF. Any Donsos who failed to disarm would be detained. Many people who attended the meeting left the hall before the closure of the meeting to show their disapproval with the Vice President's statement. On the evening of that same day, the Deputy Defence Minister came to Koidu and organised a meeting at the Donsos office to encourage the Donsos to stay intact as RUF forces could not be trusted, including giving money as his own contribution for the Christmas celebration. Nevertheless, the Vice President's visit had, to all intents and purposes, paralysed further Donsos' activities.

g) Events in 1997⁹⁷⁵

In March 1997 in Gorama Kono Chiefdom, RUF forces attacked Kangama, a CDF stronghold located at the border with Tankoro Chiefdom, but were repelled. The RUF apparently wanted to capture Kangama as a transit point to block the Kamajors in Tongo Field (Lower Bambara Chiefdom, Kenema District),⁹⁷⁶ who had strong links with the Kamajors in Kangama.

In May 1997, news of the Coup reached Kono on its very first day through the BBC's "Focus on Africa" Program. After the Coup, the RUF came out of the bush, often looking malnourished, and together with AFRC mainly spent the year taking people's property, in particular making constant

⁹⁷² AFP, 30 January 1997.

⁹⁷³ Article 12 of the Agreement stated that the Government shall use all its endeavours, consistent with its treaty obligations, to repatriate other foreign troops (i.e., the Nigerians and the Guineans) no later than three months after the deployment of the Neutral Monitoring Group or six months after the signing of the Peace Agreement, whichever is earlier. Article 12 also stated that Executive Outcomes shall be withdrawn within five weeks of the deployment of the NMG: Sierra Leone Bi-Monthly Information Report No.11, 19 November - 16 December 1996.

⁹⁷⁴ This visit could have taken place early January 1997.

⁹⁷⁵ Little information was reported for 1997, as most of the RUF/AFRC activities were concentrated in Freetown and RUF activities now together with AFRC resumed progressively and were mainly focused on the mining areas.

⁹⁷⁶ It has to be remembered that the control of Tongo Field was of the utmost importance for RUF forces as it is the most important diamond area in Kenema District.

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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 Kador 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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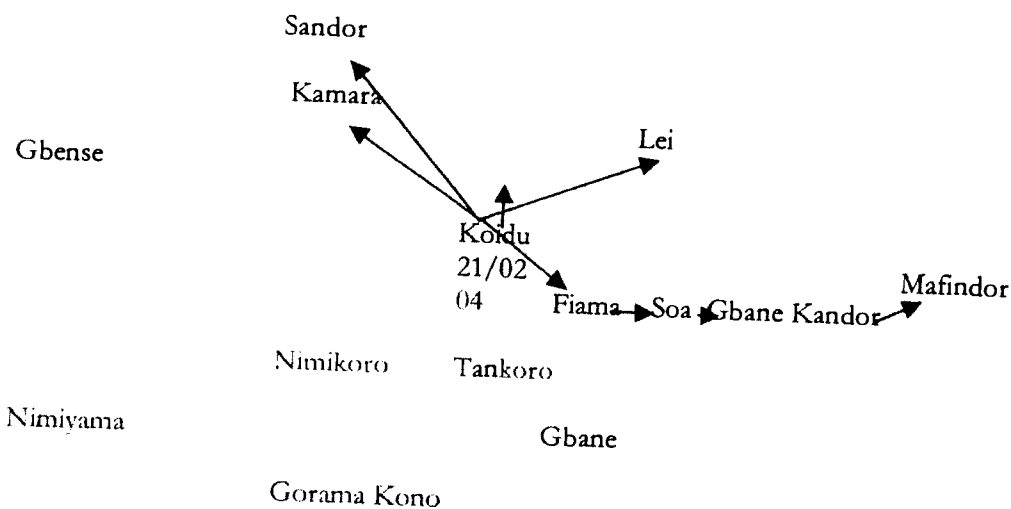
Kandor Chiefdoms, where Koardu Town (Gbane Kandor Chiefdom) was visited many times, mainly for livestock.

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 to take with them the girls who were among the civilians. The commander apparently gave permission, as the two girls, aged 13 and 14, were taken away by these forces. On 21 March, the National Chairman of the SLPP who was considered as a father for the whole District, relocated to a hiding place outside Wordu village a few miles from Koidu. He was later discovered, stripped, beaten and tied up before being shot dead by six men belonging to the RUF/AFRC forces. A young girl who was under his guardianship was raped and taken to be the "wife" of their commander. Before leaving, the six men took one boy to carry the property they had just stolen. In Wordu, four young

⁹⁸¹ It is not totally clear when RUF/AFRC entered Koidu, as the attack may have taken place in early March 1998 (Chicago Tribune, 17 March 1998). Furthermore, information from Koinadugu District tends to suggest that RUF/AFRC forces reached Koidu from Koinadugu District. The poor conditions of the road network in Koinadugu District, compared to the good quality of the highway, which leads Makeni (Bombali District) to Koidu, through Magburaka (Tonkolili District), however suggest that the bulk of the RUF/AFRC forces reached Koidu from Makeni.

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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 Torgbumbu, 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 Torgbumbu, 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 Fiama Chiefdom), the other group came from Pendembu, Kailahun District.

¹⁰⁰⁶ It is reported that the rumour also said that Johnny Paul Koroma was among those forces. Other reports mention that as early as February, RUF/AFRC forces passed through Soa to reach Kailahun. Furthermore, this information has to be read in conjunction with the developments of Lei Chiefdom, where it was reported that Johnny Paul Koroma arrived in March and then left the Chiefdom, leaving behind him some troops.

¹⁰⁰⁷ It is not specified who these Donsos bought their cartridges from in Guinea.

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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 Siama, the headquarter town, were also set on fire. At Kombayende, five people were killed and two were amputated. On the same day, the RUF/AFRC forces proceeded further north to Kundundu in the north of the chiefdom, where eight people were shot dead and two had their legs amputated with an axe. Among the eight people who died, one had his tongue cut out with a knife. Another man was hit to death with a bayonet.

On 10 March, RUF/AFRC forces came back to Senehun, set fire to the houses that had not been burnt earlier and captured six people, one of them suspected of being a Kamajor commander. Three of those captives were killed with an AK47, one was beaten to death while another one had a blue rope tied around his neck and was dragged along the ground until he died. The sixth captive, who was suspected of being a Kamajor commander, was told by the RUF/AFRC commander that he was not yet dead because they did not know yet the kind of punishment they would give him. From Senehun, they went to Kenema, where they shot dead seven people before entering the town and

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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 Chiefdom was criticising their action, the proof being that people had fled to the bush. The commander called on one of his members, who had recently been promoted to Captain because he "knew how to kill people", to kill those who had been brought to the commaflag site. On that day, 10 of the captured people were shot before the operation was halted because it was getting dark. The remaining people were locked up in a room and brought back to the site the next morning. One of the captured men was given an AK47 and told to fire at one of the other captives. He did so and after one shot, the man died. Then, the commander gave the gun to another captive, but he needed three shots to kill another of the captives, so the commander told him that he had "failed the exam" and shot him. This operation continued until only eight of the captives had survived by "passing the test". They were then recognised as Junta II¹⁰¹¹ and were forced to kill people at the commaflag points. In another killing that took place at a commaflag point, three out of eight people who had been abducted and sent to the Superman Camp at Kissitown for training were arrested as they were trying to escape. The abductees were brought to Kombayende and killed at the Mambo Bridge commaflag, after which their bodies were thrown under the bridge.

When the commander in charge of Kombayende sent some of his men in search of food, those RUF/AFRC forces found nine people themselves were looking for food for their families. As the nine people did not answer the question of the commander of the group who asked them where he could find other civilians, the commander took the G3 rifle that was on his back and fired at two of the civilians, breaking their legs. As the people still refused to say anything, the commander killed the two wounded civilians. As the remaining seven civilians still refused to reveal where other people could be found, the commander amputated their hands with a rusty cutlass that the RUF/AFRC

¹⁰⁰⁸ It is highly likely that this event is related to the one described above when RUF/AFRC forces came to Kenema after people welcomed back the President.

¹⁰⁰⁹ On the way back, an unidentified fighting faction opened fire on them, which allowed the captive to escape.

¹⁰¹⁰ Although the date was not specified, it can be inferred from the record that this event happened between March and June.

¹⁰¹¹ Junta II refers to these people who were enrolled in the RUF/AFRC forces following the retreat from Freetown.

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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

i) Events in 1999

On 1 January 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces that had killed four captives at Gbenekoro proceeded towards Kayima (Sandor Chiefdom), together with their remaining captives. On their way, the captives saw the body of somebody they knew and they learnt he was killed because he answered rudely to the RUF/AFRC forces. The captives were told to take orders from a child commander and were reminded that their lives were of no value for them. When they arrived at the RUF/AFRC forces' commander's compound, they saw one 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 Gborddu, 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 Fiamia Chiefdom. From Kamiendor, the group heading to Kombayende dislodged RUF/AFRC forces from Sindudu, which is located on the border between Gbane Kandor and Mafiendor Chiefdoms. As the commander in charge of the RUF forces in Kombayende noticed the advance of the CDF, he sent for reinforcements to Koidu, which was still under RUF/AFRC control. The reinforcement was composed of senior RUF commanders, who moved to Kombayende armed with anti-aircraft machine guns, RPGs, automatic rifles and other weapons seized from the UN peacekeepers. When they entered the town, the CDF forces opened fire and killed 32 of them. After a fierce battle, the RUF/AFRC retreated back to Koidu, as most of their senior commanders had been killed. The CDF chased them up to Jagbwema (Niama Chiefdom), where a battle took place. The RUF/AFRC then retreated to Maiyor, which is on the highway linking Jagbwema to Koidu.

In late April, the Acting Force Commander of UNAMSIL made a visit to Koidu to assess the situation on the ground, following RUF complaints about attacks carried out by CDF members backed up by Guineans.¹⁰⁴⁷ The CDF prepared themselves to go to Koidu, but in the meanwhile,¹⁰⁴⁸ in May, trucks full of UN peacekeepers came to the CDF deployment to advise them not to make any further assault on RUF/AFRC positions and to observe the cease-fire.¹⁰⁴⁹ The CDF told the peacekeepers that they would only observe the cease-fire after they had seen their Paramount Chiefs. About one week later, Paramount Chiefs and senior UN officials came by helicopter to meet the CDF and the Paramount Chiefs told the CDF that they did not want the Government to accuse the people of Kono of destroying the peace process. This meeting caused the CDF to desist from launching any more attacks and to stay in Maiyor until disarmament¹⁰⁵⁰ took place.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Reports mention that these CDF forces had heavy artillery like tanks and that a ferry was built across the Meli River that separates Mafiendor Chiefdom and Guinea to facilitate the movement of the CDF.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Gbangbokoro is on the border with Guinea.

¹⁰⁴⁷ UNAMSIL press briefing, 26 April 2001.

¹⁰⁴⁸ It is alleged that a member of the RUF General Staff went to Makeni to find the UN Bangladeshi contingent to ask them to come to Kono to resolve the situation.

¹⁰⁴⁹ UN peacekeepers from Tonkolili and Kailahun Districts carried out two-day patrol missions in early May prior to the establishment of a permanent patrol presence patrol in Koidu in late May: UNAMSIL press briefings, 6 May 2001, 11 May 2001 and 22 May 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The other CDF group that entered Kono District through Soa Chiefdom met this group at Jagbwema.

On 4 May 2001, a meeting was convened between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone¹⁰⁵¹ to review the ceasefire signed in Abuja in November 2000 and which was violated, mainly in Kono District.¹⁰⁵² Further to this meeting, it was decided to introduce phases of disarmament, in order to accelerate its process.

Also in May, UNAMSIL Force Commander and Deputy Force Commander visited the RUF forces at Koidu and the CDF members at Kombayende (Lei Chiefdom) and Jagbwema (Fiama Chiefdom), to witness the implementation of the cessation of hostilities agreement, signed by the RUF and the CDF on 15 May.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
Jama 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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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 Jiama Bongor Chiefdom) were deployed to Niagorihun to prevent the RUF/NPFL forces from taking control of the town, which was successful. The RUF/NPFL forces made approximately four other attempts to take the town, returning each time to Jimi and passing through Limba on the way to Niagorihun, but each time they were repelled by the combined SLA and ULIMO forces. During the successive battles, both sides suffered heavy fatalities, including one

¹⁰⁶⁸ The Fullah are one of the ethnic groups from Sierra Leone and were a particular target, as its members were known to be wealthy businessmen.

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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, it 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

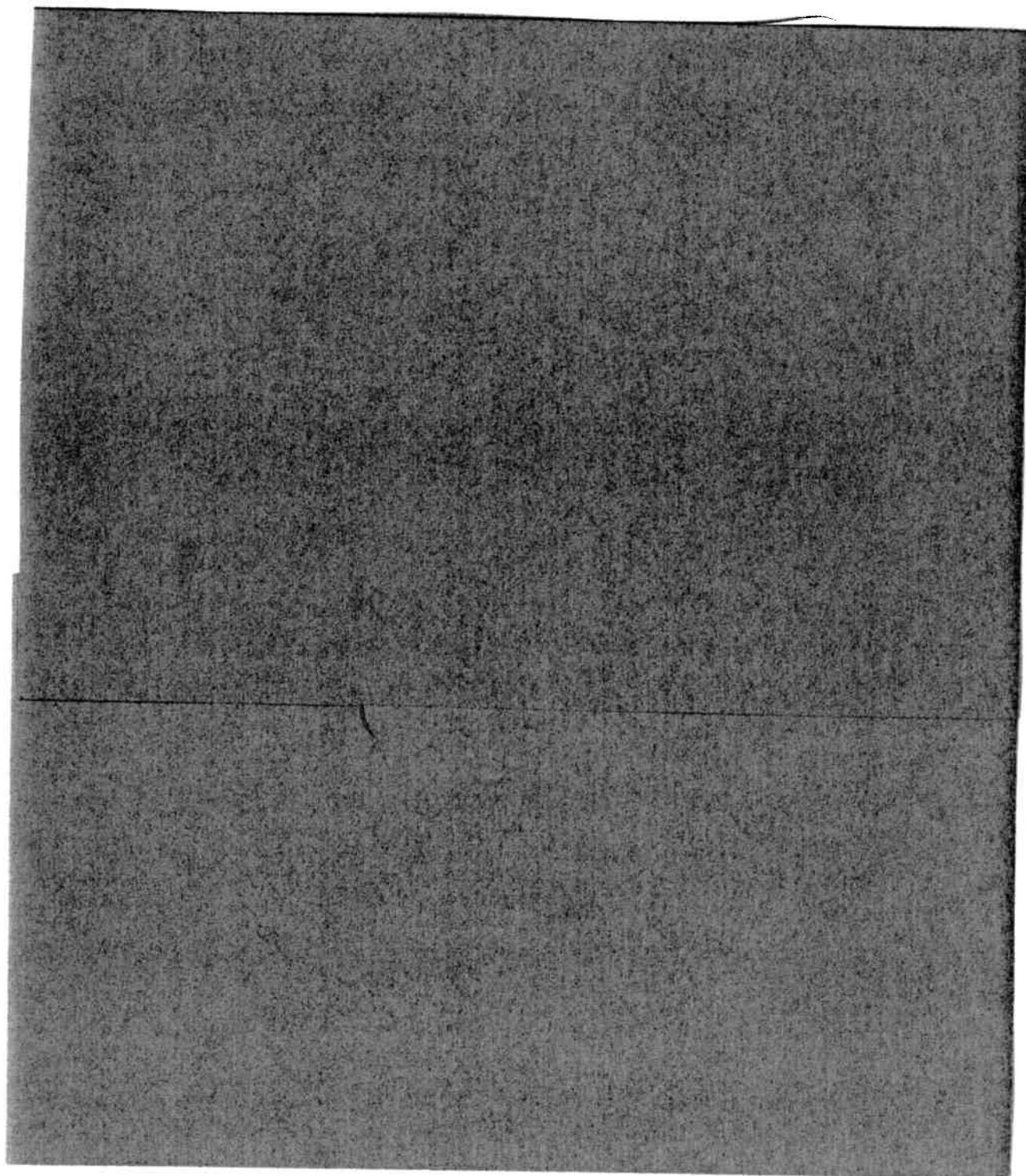
¹¹⁵⁷ This island is commonly known as "Bonthe Island".

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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.

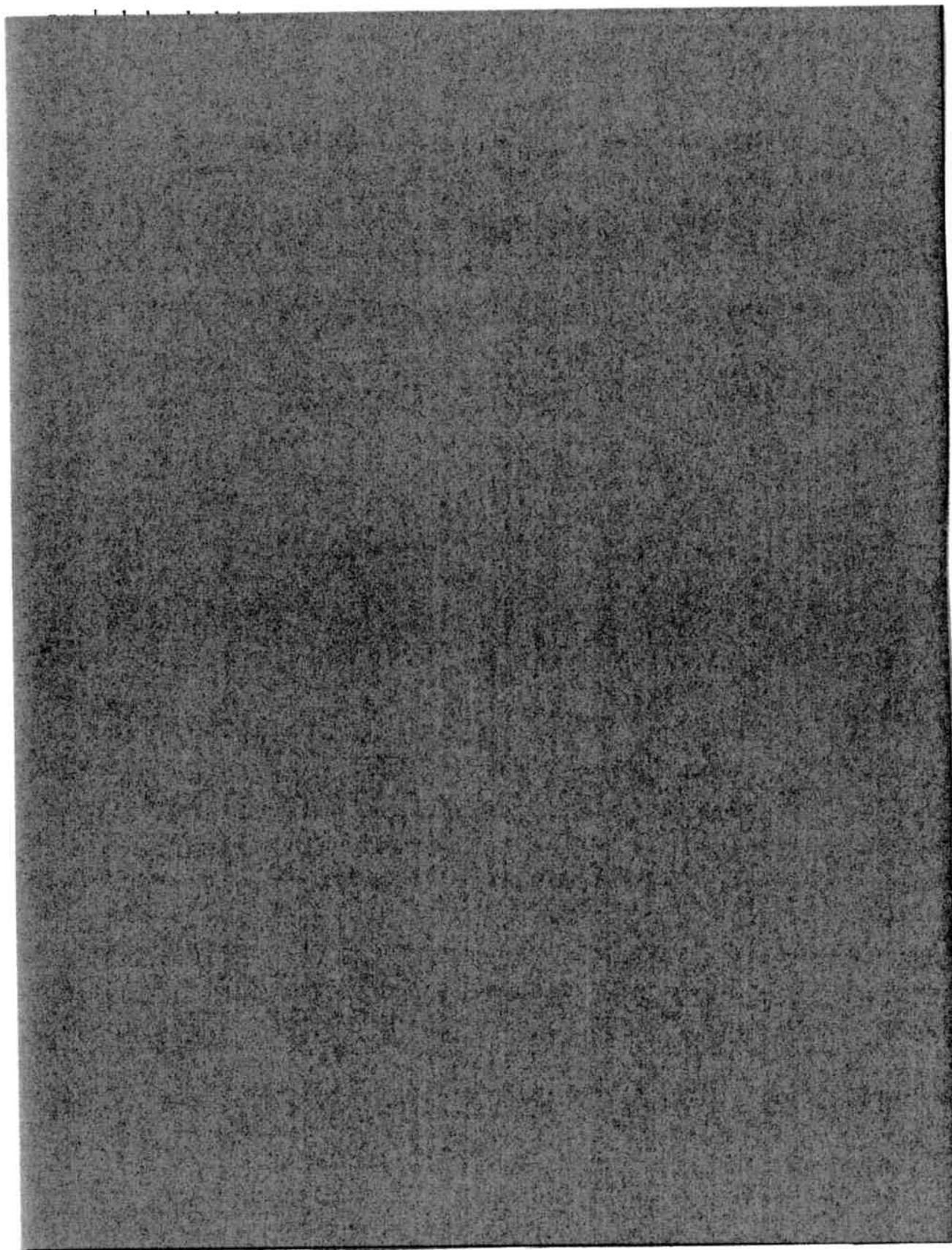


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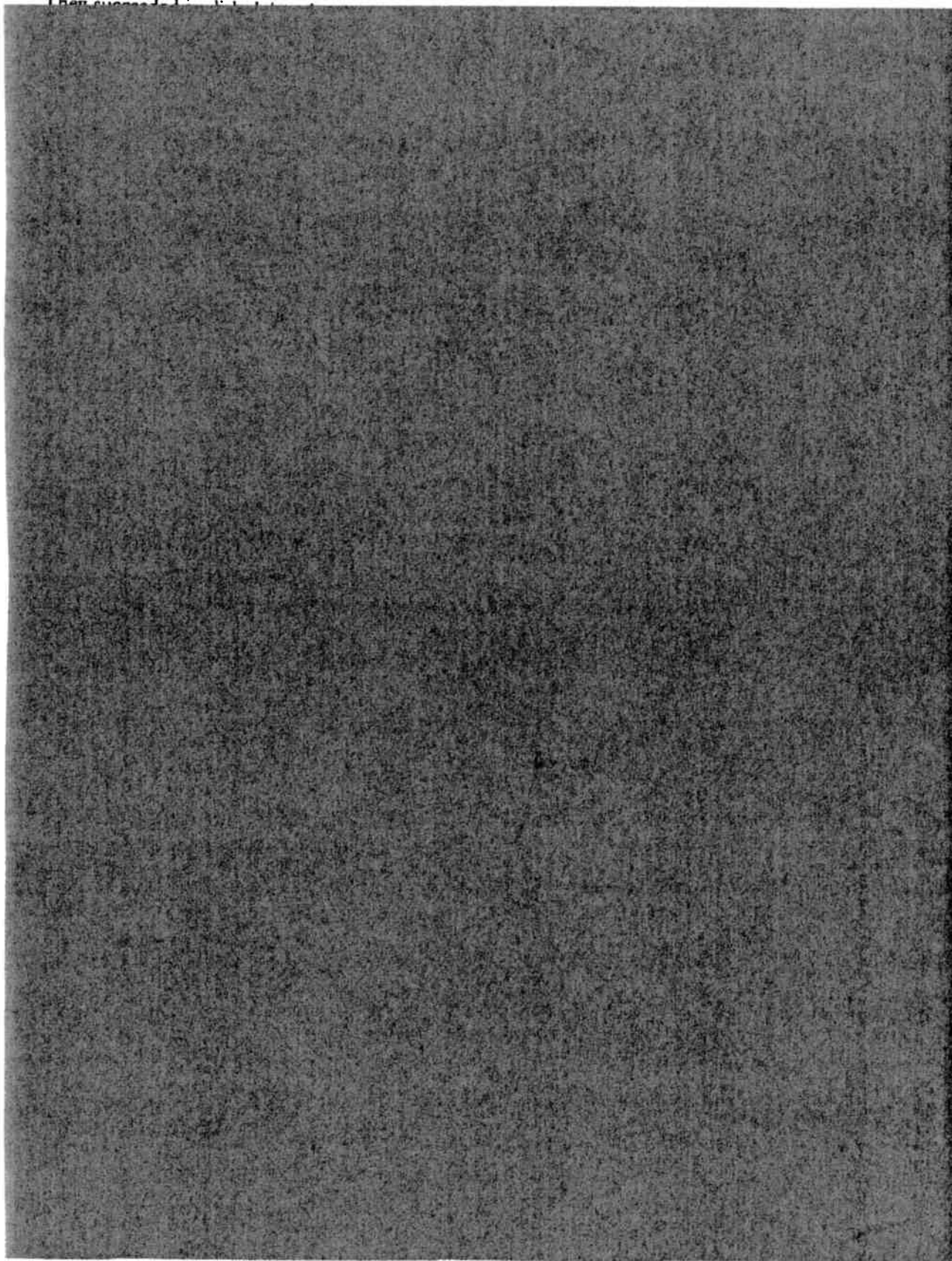


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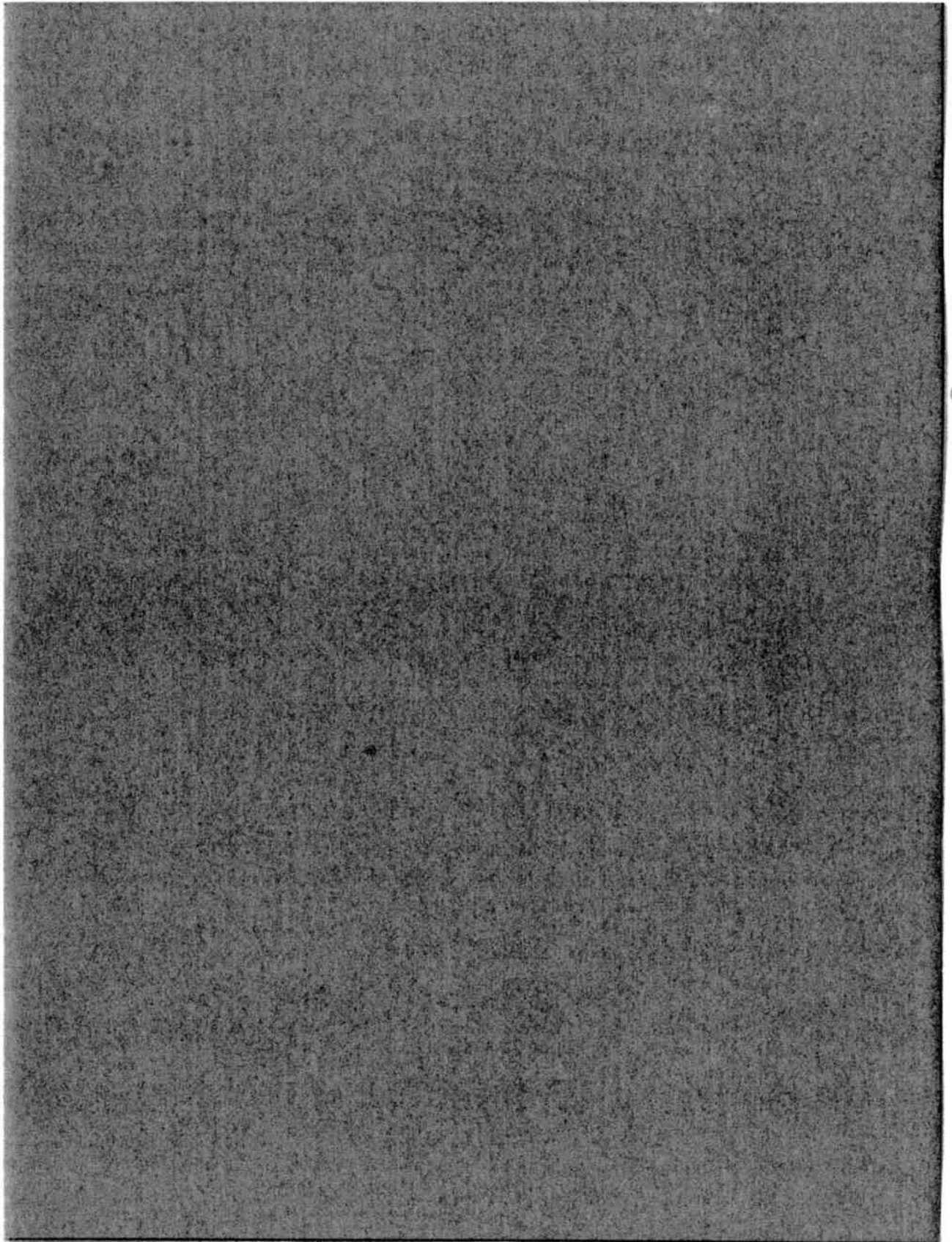
They succeeded in it, but



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The chiefdoms in the south of the District were under Kamajor control earlier than the chiefdoms in the north. By late 1996, Kamajors had taken control of the southern chiefdoms and no more RUF attack was reported in those areas. This was probably also due to the fact that around this period, Kamajors had already dislodged RUF forces from Bonthe District. The situation for the chiefdoms in the north of the District was far different. Although their main base, Camp Fol Fol was destroyed in late 1996 by Kamajors, the RUF forces and, shortly after, RUF/AFRC forces were present in many of the chiefdoms in the north, wreaking a lot of havoc on civilians. At this time, both Port Loko and Tonkolili Districts, which adjoin Moyamba District to the north, were also infiltrated by RUF and RUF/AFRC forces.

Following the ECOMOG intervention in Freetown in early 1998, the actions of the RUF/AFRC forces were concentrated in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Free from RUF/AFRC incursions, the Kamajors affirmed their control of the security of Moyamba District and expanded this control to civilians and local authorities. In this regard, the pattern of actions in Moyamba District at this time would converge with what happened in the other Districts of the Southern Province.

d. Pujehun District

1. **Introduction**

Pujehun District, with its headquarter of Pujehun Town, is one of the four Districts of the Southern Province, the other three being Bonthe, Bo and Moyamba Districts. It is bordered on the east by Liberia, on the northeast by Kenema District (Eastern Province), on the northwest by Bo District and on the west by Bonthe District. At its southern edge is the Atlantic Ocean.

There are 12 chiefdoms in the District:

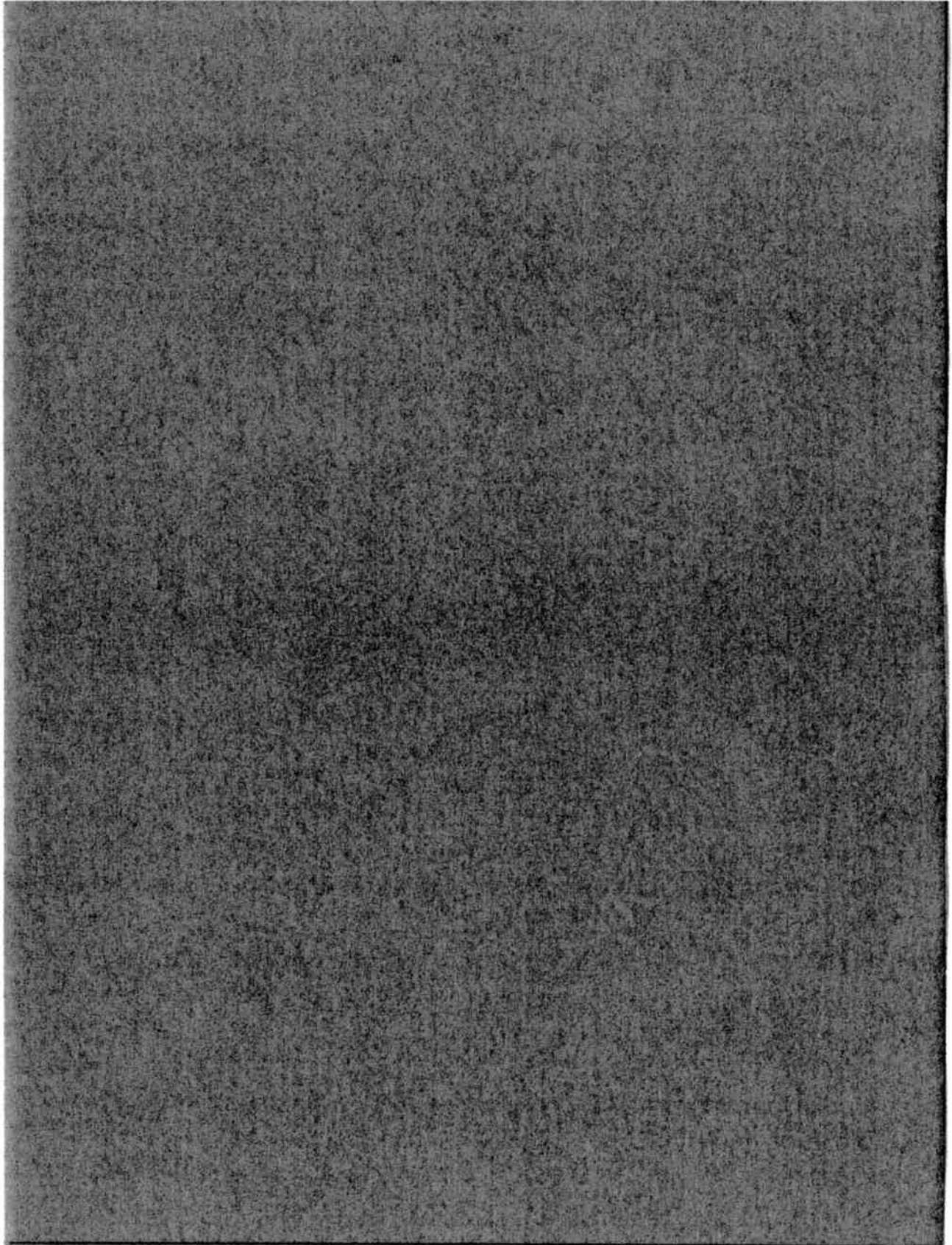
<u>Chiefdom</u>	<u>Headquarters</u>
Barri	Potoru
Gallinas Peri	Blama
Kpaka	Massam
Makpele	Zimmi
Malen	Sahn
Mano Sakrim	Gbonjema
Panga Kabonde	Pujehun
Panga Krim	Gobaru
Peje	Futa
Soro Gbema	Fairo
Sowa	Bandajuma
Yekomo Kpukumu Krim	Karlu

The main rivers flowing through the District would prove to be of strategic importance during the conflict. The Mano River that flows on the eastern edge of Makpele and Soro Gbema Chiefdoms constitutes the natural border between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The entry point to the District is

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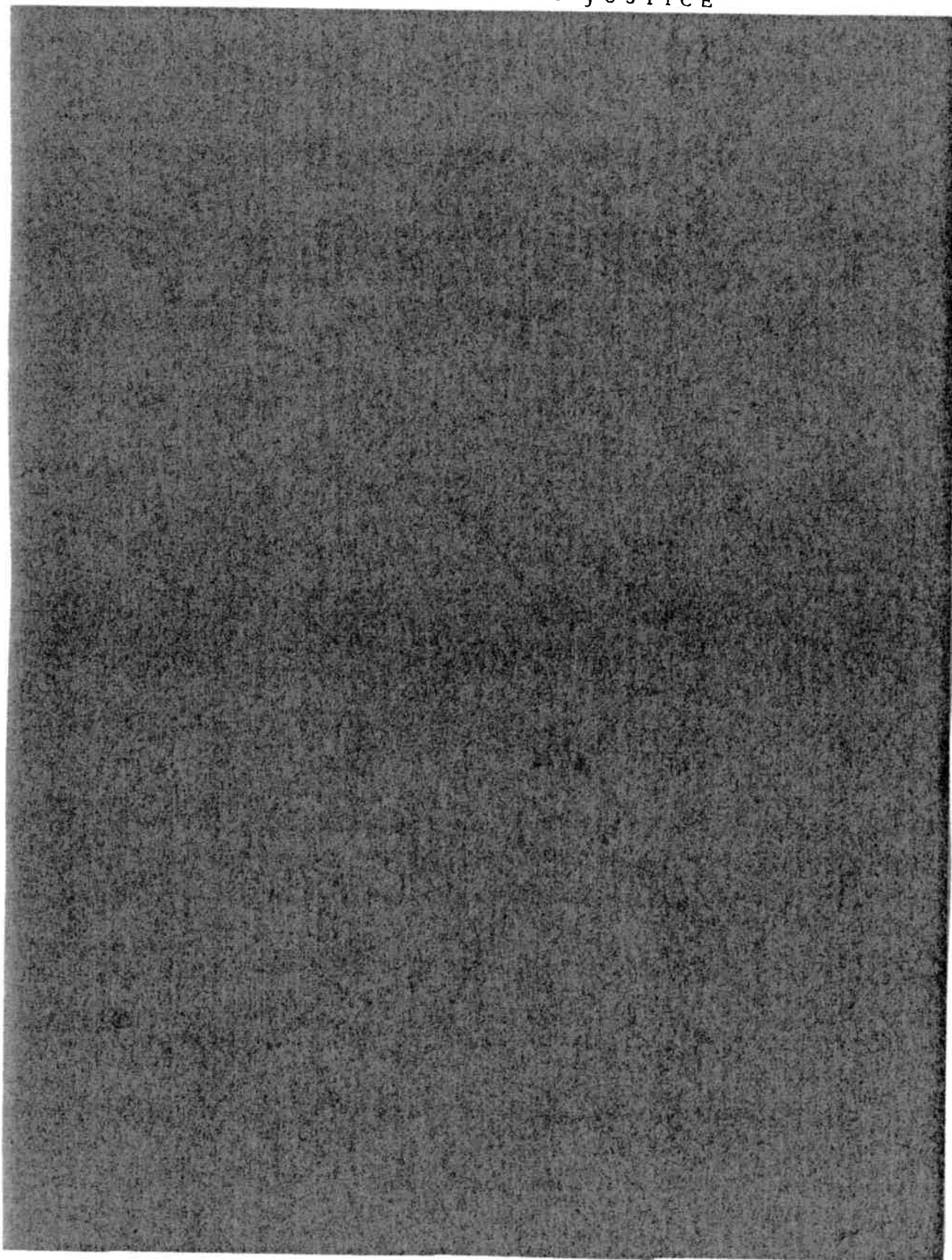
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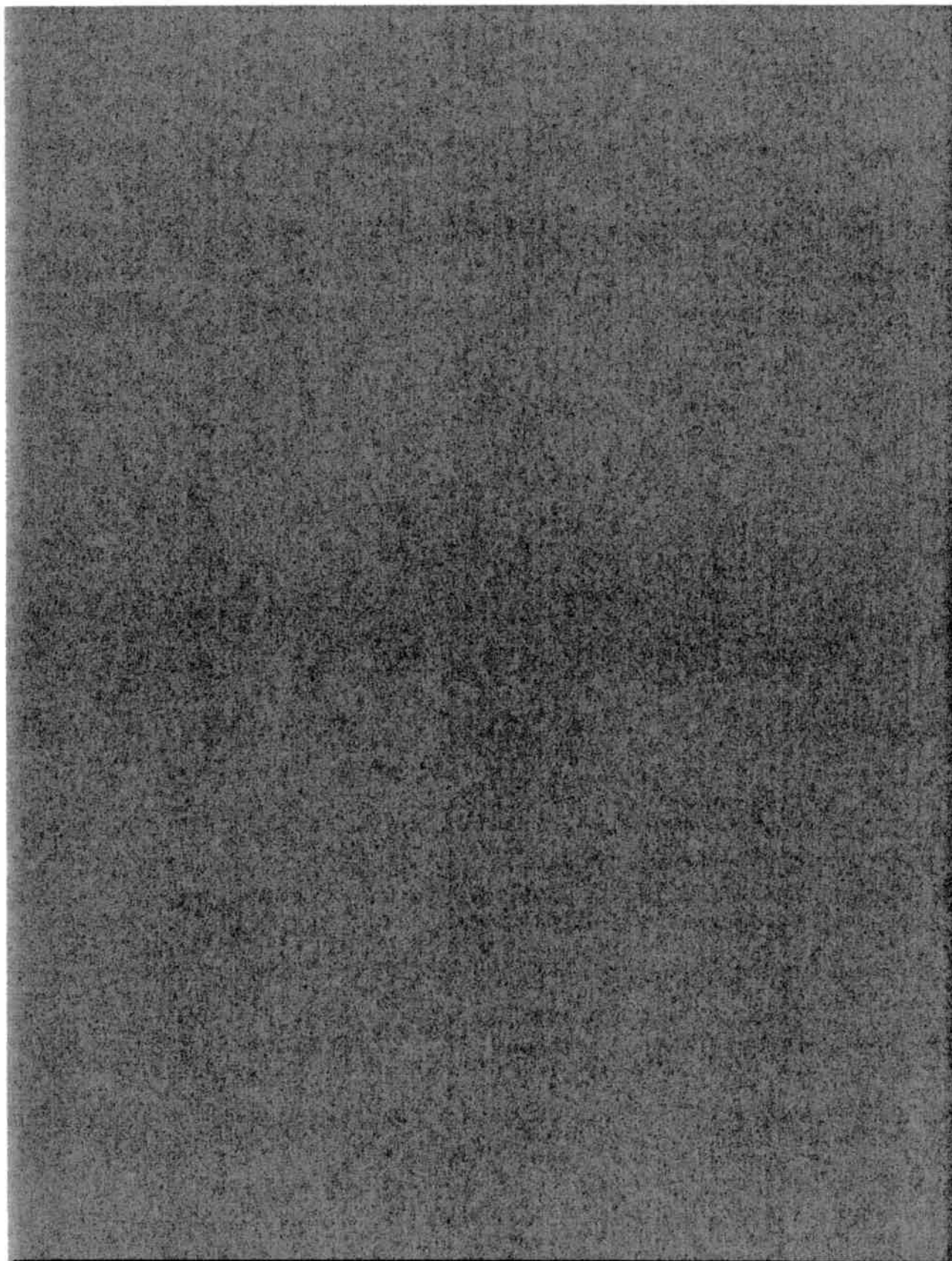
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Kamajors obtained arms and ammunition that were more sophisticated than the ones they had so far.

However, the Kamajors in Makpele Chiefdom, in particular the 23 Kamajors based at Manjama, engaged in massive mining activities, the junior members undertaking mining for the most senior ones. Mining equipment was taken away from civilians, who were forced to feed the Kamajors, go hunting and fetch wood and water. No respect was paid to the chiefdom authorities and the Regent Paramount Chief had no control over the Kamajors. The movement of civilians was restricted and harassment of civilians was frequent; their houses were searched, property was confiscated and farms were harvested by the Kamajors for their own purposes. Civilians from this village went into hiding, as they could no longer withstand this situation. At Vaama in 1996, Kamajors argued with SLA forces, allegedly because both groups wanted to have access to the resources of the villages, namely food, money and women. The two groups fought, the Kamajors being equipped with single barrels guns and the SLA with automatic rifles and RPGs, as a result of which the Kamajors left town. SLA forces from Zimmi visited Ngombu, close to Zimmi, as they heard Kamajors had gathered there to fight them. As they arrived in the town, they started shooting, thus preventing people from giving explanations, as a result of which seven civilians were killed. Before leaving, those SLA forces took some furniture for Zimmi.

Kamajors based at Madina (Makpele Chiefdom) also engaged in the same behaviour towards civilians, who were forced to contribute to the Kamajor's activities by providing money, bulgur, rice and palm oil. Toobu (three miles from Zimmi) was also visited by Kamajors and in April 1997, they took away bicycles, bailing machines, a power saw, Le 1,000,000 and other property.¹³⁹⁶ Civilians made a report to the head Kamajor at Zimmi but no action was taken. Until the May Coup, more initiations took place for youth of the chiefdom and almost all the villages suffered similar kinds of harassment.

In late December 1996 following the signing of the Abidjan Peace Agreement, more than 8,000 people who had been captured two years earlier by RUF forces were released in Soro Gbema Chiefdom, allegedly on the directive of RUF High Command.¹³⁹⁷ During this period, it appeared that RUF forces were ordered by their High Command to regroup and encamp at Camp Libya, located in a dense rainforest on the Moa River, which was practically their only remaining stronghold in the District after the Mano River Union Bridge and Sulima (both in Soro Gbema Chiefdom) had been recaptured.

In Soro Gbema Chiefdom, before the May Coup in late 1996 or early 1997, Kamajors drove many RUF forces out of the chiefdom. At Felo Mano and other places in the chiefdom, the Kamajors discovered arms stores and an airstrip was also found at Felo Mano. This information was transmitted to the Sierra Leone Government through the SLA and SLP based at Zimmi (Makpele Chiefdom) and the arms and ammunition were airlifted to Freetown in 1997.¹³⁹⁸ The Kamajors

¹³⁹⁶ Those Kamajors "dressed carefully" and "behaved like RUF or SLA forces".

¹³⁹⁷ BBC, 28 December 1996.

¹³⁹⁸ According to the records, ECOMOG from Freetown and Kenema would have come to the site of these discoveries and air lifted the ammunition to Freetown. However, no ECOMOG forces as such were to be found in these towns. The key person probably referred to foreign troops such as Guinean or Nigerian who have been

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F. Western Area

1. Introduction

The Western Area is located in the far central west of Sierra Leone and adjoins Port Loko and Moyamba Districts on its eastern side; its western side is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean. Roughly two-thirds of the Western Area is a mountainous peninsula, along the north of which is located Freetown, the capital city of Sierra Leone. Freetown has been a major international port for merchant and military shipping for the best part of 150 years.

Unlike the rest of the country, the Western Area is not composed of chiefdoms, but is divided into four Rural Districts (RD) and a metropolitan area known as Greater Freetown.¹⁴²⁴

Western Area	Main Settlements
Koya Rural District	Newton, Songo
Waterloo Rural District	Fogbo, Hastings, Kossuh Town, Newton, Tombo, Waterloo
Greater Freetown	Freetown and suburban areas
York Rural District	Goderich, Lakka, York
Mountain Rural District	Regent

Koya RD is in the far east of the Western Area and is bordered to the north by Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District). Across the River Ribbi, which delimits the southern boundary of Koya RD, lies Ribbi Chiefdom (Moyamba District). The main motorable crossing point over the River Ribbi is located at Mabang, connecting the towns of Moyamba, Rotifunk and Bradford (all Moyamba District) to Songo, in the far east of Koya RD. This Moyamba route rejoins the main highway at Tiama Junction, giving travellers access to all major locations in the Southern Province. The RUF would use this route to enter the Western Area in 1995.

From Songo, moving inland, the main hard-surface arterial route from provincial Sierra Leone passes through the north of Koya RD and its main town, Newton. From Newton, the villages of Bath Comp and Fogbo are accessible by a road running south. Fogbo is a main transit point for goods and people westward across the swamp areas of the Calmont Creek and eastward to Shenge (Kagboro Chiefdom, Moyamba District) and to other locations up the Ribbi River. A large number of small settlements can be reached from the Newton-Fogbo road. Moving east from Newton, the main arterial route leads to Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) and on to all other major towns in Sierra Leone. Control of the stretch of road between Newton and Masiaka was a major strategic aim of all factions in the conflict.

Moving westward from Newton, the main highway leads to the town of Waterloo, and the Waterloo RD. The area between Newton and Waterloo is flat, highly fertile agricultural land. There is a large palm oil plantation at Banga Farm, also on the main highway. Waterloo is on the foothills of the

¹⁴²⁴ Along with the SUDC area of Sherbro Island (Bonthe District), the Western Area is administered directly by the Government of Sierra Leone without the traditional structures found throughout Sierra Leone. This is a result of the early British administration, which did not extend its control over the provincial areas of Sierra Leone until the late 1800s, at which time it exercised authority mainly through the traditional structures already in place: see General Overview.

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long prison terms. Some 300 SLA members under investigation for their suspected involvement with the AFRC were released from government custody on or around 3 September. A final set of treason charges were brought against 22 civilians on 14 December.

The RUF leader was repatriated to Sierra Leone from Nigeria on 25 July and charged with treason on 4 September. Despite efforts to locate counsel for him, he represented himself throughout the trial, which began on 4 October. A jury found him guilty and the court sentenced him to death on 23 October; the RUF leader appealed the sentence and remained in custody until he was pardoned as part of the Lomé Peace Agreement. In September, ECOMOG formally moved its headquarters from Monrovia, Liberia to Freetown.

On 21 December 1998, RUF/AFRC forces attacked Songo and Six-Mile (Koya RD) and, by the early afternoon, had arrived at Newton Village (Koya RD), resulting in a mass movement of civilians to Waterloo (Waterloo RD). The swell of people into Waterloo caused widespread panic-buying of food and palm wine. Later that same day, residents of Waterloo heard small arms fire coming from Banga Farm, on the main highway between Waterloo and Newton. Late that night, ECOMOG forces based at the Waterloo Post Office and Peninsular Secondary School launched several mortars towards Banga Farm, followed by an aerial bombardment by the Alpha Jet at the same location.

Heavily armed RUF/AFRC forces attacked Waterloo (Waterloo RD) before dawn on 22 December 1998. During this attack, they killed between 15 and 19 civilians, looted extensively and burnt down at least 53 houses. AFRC forces identified as being comprised predominantly of ex-SLA members marched down Calmont Road with powerful flashlights, targeting the houses of prominent people in Waterloo. A large RUF Small Boy Unit accompanied them, sprinkling petrol on doorframes and around houses. The AFRC forces ignited the petrol with gunfire, setting fire to the houses. A Guinean ECOMOG unit entered Waterloo and commenced shelling the RUF/AFRC forces from an armoured car, resulting in their onwads advance to the Benguema Training Centre (Waterloo RD). The RUF/AFRC forces captured a large cache of arms and ammunition before destroying the base's main ammunition dump. A prominent AFRC commander was killed in the explosion and buried nearby Koba, a few kilometres south of Benguema.

RUF/AFRC forces continued advancing southward along the peninsular road, moving from the Benguema Training Centre through Koba, During Town, Boyah Village and Russell (all Waterloo RD). At Russell, RUF/AFRC forces dislodged the small ECOMOG contingent stationed there. Not long after midnight on 24 December, RUF/AFRC forces entered Tombo through Worlai Village (both Waterloo RD), to the immediate east of Tombo. The day before, the village authorities of Tombo had received warning of the coming RUF/AFRC attack from an SLA soldier who escaped the attack on Benguema Training Centre.

alleging that their right to appeal, guaranteed in article 14(5), had been violated: Communication Nos. 839/1998 & 840/1998 & 841/1998. Despite the Committee requesting a stay of execution, they were executed a week after they had lodged their complaint. The Committee subsequently found that their rights had in fact been violated, as there was no right of appeal from a court martial: *Anthony B Munsaraj et al; Mr Gborie Tamba et al; Mr Abdul Karim Sesay et al v Sierra Leone*, decision of 16 July 2001.

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At that time, the RUF were accompanied by a large number of civilians, some carrying ammunition and other supplies and some banging drums and chanting about celebrating Ramadan in Tombo (Waterloo RD). To help identify each other in night attacks, RUF/AFRC forces stuck the transparent cellophane wrapping from popular boiled sweets called "Diamonds" over their torch lenses, giving the beams a red tint. The Nigerian ECOMOG contingent was outnumbered and immediately retreated towards Freetown along the peninsula road through Kassi to Kissy Town (Waterloo RD), together with thousands of civilians. Many civilians escaped by boats to Shenge (Kagboro Chiefdom, Moyamba District), Banana Island¹⁵⁰⁶ and villages inland along the Ribbi River, while others moved to Lakka Village (York RD). RUF/AFRC forces left Tombo, having taken the contents of many abandoned homes, and burned down at least 20 others without attempting to occupy the township.

Between 22 and 25 December 1998, Nigerian ECOMOG reinforced Waterloo. On 24 December, Hastings was reinforced by around 500 Kamajors, who immediately imposed a curfew between the hours of 18.00 and 07.00. Two days later, Kamajor members arrested two suspected RUF/AFRC collaborators, who were tied up, their heads forced into a large white plastic bowl and their throats cut; civilians were forced to bury the corpses. Kamajors also killed four other civilians at Jui Junction, near Kossoh Town (Waterloo RD), leaving a severed head on a pole at their checkpoint.

Waterloo Town was bombarded by ECOMOG on 26 December 1998, causing further civilian flight from the town. A Guinean ECOMOG contingent from Masiaka (Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District) reinforced ECOMOG stationed at Waterloo (Waterloo RD) and set up a base at the SDA School compound, moving later to the PSS School compound. Guinean ECOMOG provided limited security around the market area of Waterloo, where traders remained at work until the RUF/AFRC raided Lumpa (Waterloo RD). Members of the Guinean ECOMOG contingent mistakenly killed eight traders who were running towards the PSS Compound to escape an RUF/AFRC ambush at Lumpa. The RUF/AFRC occupied Lumpa and other parts of Waterloo, effectively dividing the town in two. RUF/AFRC forces stole medical supplies from the Waterloo Health Centre. The RUF/AFRC stayed in Lumpa throughout January, forcing civilians to perform domestic services for them; they would not allow civilians to close their doors and performed frequent house-to-house searches for food. The RUF commanding officer in Lumpa personally executed at least three civilians, dumping the body of one victim in a pit latrine and cutting out and eating the heart of another. At this time, the RUF and AFRC forces were not lodging together.

Between 25 and 28 December, RUF/AFRC advance units continued from Tombo around the peninsula towards Freetown. The villages of Black Johnson and Big Water (both York RD), on the approach road to York, were infiltrated by small numbers of RUF/AFRC. RUF/AFRC forces exchanged heavy machine gun fire with Nigerian ECOMOG forces at the York Grass Field area of York town. ECOMOG gunners killed three members of the RUF/AFRC. Following these attacks around the peninsula road, Nigerian ECOMOG redeployed at Tombo (Waterloo RD) in greater force. A Kamajor detachment was sent to guard the bridge at MacDonald (Waterloo RD). Nigerian ECOMOG imposed a strict security regime around the York Town area, organising local youth into groups to accompany them on a continuous day-and-night patrol routine. ECOMOG also began collecting and, in collaboration with locals, screening for RUF/AFRC infiltrators displaced by the

¹⁵⁰⁶ Also called Plantain Island.

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fighting on the peninsular at locations. These screening centres included the Cotton Club and St. Michaels Lodge in Lakka and the Hamilton Community Centre (all York RD). After 6 January, villagers in Tombo burnt alive an RUF/AFRC member at the Tombo Grass Field area. An unknown number of other suspected RUF/AFRC members were killed with bladed weapons by the Tombo youth.

g) Events in 1999

Between 30 December and 5 January 1999, RUF/AFRC forces staged attacks on Hastings and Kossoh Town (both Waterloo RD). Using bush tracks through the hills from Waterloo (Waterloo RD), RUF/AFRC forces staged major attacks on Hastings, Allen Town and Jui on 5 January. They encountered sporadic resistance from ECOMOG forces who, considerably reduced in number, progressively retreated towards Freetown. On 4 and 5 January, RUF/AFRC forces, hardware and vehicles were moving continuously through Newtown and Four Mile (Koya RD) towards Waterloo, gathering in the Ibo Town area (Waterloo RD).

Just after midnight on 6 January, RUF/AFRC forces began their assault on Freetown. An advance RUF/AFRC unit, numbering around 300, moved quickly to engage ECOMOG at their Kissy Roundabout security point. Meanwhile, RUF/AFRC forces in Waterloo started round the clock attacks on the Guinean ECOMOG contingent at PSS in Waterloo. On 9 January, the RUF/AFRC granted the Guineans safe passage from the town only in return for their remaining stock of ammunition.¹⁵⁰⁷ From Ibo Town, the RUF also began sending out units to Yams Farm (Waterloo RD), from where throughout the night they laid down heavy machine gun fire on ECOMOG positions at Hastings. Civilians were often used in these attacks.

The advancing RUF/AFRC forces were reinforced by thousands of others, who entered the Wellington and Calaba Town areas of eastern Freetown. On 7 January, RUF/AFRC forces occupied a petrol station near Kissy Road roundabout and started burning every solid structure in its immediate vicinity. The exact chronology of the movement of RUF/AFRC forces through east Freetown is not completely clear. One of their first successes, on either 6 or 7 January, was a raid on Pademba Road Prison, releasing many RUF/AFRC members captured by ECOMOG and pro-government forces over the previous year. Pademba Road Prison is to the west of central Freetown in Brookfields at the end of Pademba Road, which is also an access route through to the New England and Wilberforce areas of western Freetown. That RUF/AFRC forces made it to Pademba Road so quickly suggests that they had free movement through both the centre of Freetown, through the "PZ" junction and also through the Mountain Cut route from Kissy through to New England.

However, the brunt of the RUF/AFRC assault was in east Freetown. RUF/AFRC forces quickly occupied the Clay Factory IDP camp in Kissy, killing at least 20 people. ECOMOG commenced shelling into the hills behind the Clay Factory. By the early afternoon of 6 January, RUF/AFRC forces had occupied the main Kissy Terminal, killing eight ECOMOG soldiers in the Terminal's security office. The Kissy Police Station and the Kissy Mental Hospital were set on fire and a number of churches including the Holy Trinity and the Trascott Church were burned down.

¹⁵⁰⁷ The Guineans actually handed the RUF/AFRC a haul of blank ammunition.

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Behind their line of advance, RUF forces made every civilian in the Eastern part of Freetown hoist white pieces of cloth in front of their houses and tie white ribbons on their heads and wrists to signify their support for peace. Each night, civilians were forced to burn old tyres in order to light up the city and to sing peace songs. Some beat drums while others clapped their hands or banged empty tins together. Some were even forced to dance, especially old people. Those who failed to obey these orders were shot and killed or had their houses set on fire; many civilians were burnt alive in their houses.

At irregular intervals, ECOMOG Alpha Jets bombed various locations in Freetown including "PZ", a busy business district centre, killing an unknown number of civilians who had been forced onto the streets by the RUF/AFRC.

Between 8 and 9 January 1999, the RUF/AFRC forces advanced into the west end of Freetown and were prevented from crossing the Congo Cross Road Bridge by the combined forces of ECOMOG, "loyal" SLA and CDF. The Congo Cross Road Bridge carries a dual carriageway (dubbed "main motor road") from Brookfields through to Congo Cross, Wilkinson Road, Murray Town, Lumley and Juba. It is the only way of quickly moving a large force from central to western Freetown; alternative routes into west Freetown are longer and far easier to secure. One route moves from New England to Hill Station up a steep winding mountain road in full sight of ECOMOG's main base at Wilberforce. Other routes to Congo Cross move from King Harmon Road up the winding Old Railway Line through Tembah Town and also through Congo Town along a poor quality road and a decrepit old bailey bridge. Combined with artillery from Wilberforce and the defence of the Hill Station route into west Freetown, RUF/AFRC movement westwards was halted at Congo Cross Road Bridge, from where the RUF/AFRC forces launched missiles into Congo Cross.

ECOMOG forces fought with RUF/AFRC forces for control of a key roundabout called Eastern Police between 8 and 9 January. By 10 January, ECOMOG were putting pressure RUF/AFRC forces stationed at Waterloo Town. By 11 January, the RUF/AFRC had begun their retreat east from the civic centre of Freetown, burning down the Law Courts, the telephone exchange and many government buildings.

Behind ECOMOG lines, a curfew was imposed from 15.00 to 06.00. Ahead of ECOMOG lines, a 24-hour curfew was then announced by the Government on Radio Democracy 98.1 FM. Anyone caught violating the curfew would be perceived as hostile and would be executed on the spot by the ECOMOG forces. By 13 January, ECOMOG had pushed the RUF/AFRC forces back from the Congo Cross Road Bridge and had taken control over the densely populated, central-west Brookfields area. The RUF/AFRC forces started burning houses as they retreated eastwards. ECOMOG advised civilians to move into the National Stadium,¹⁵⁰⁸ where ECOMOG in collaboration with the Kamajors and OHBS screened civilians. An unknown number of suspected RUF/AFRC members were lined up against the walls of the National Stadium and shot dead by ECOMOG. Other collection points for displaced persons included the National Workshop by Pademba Road Prison and the Parade Group on Fourah Bay Road. ECOMOG also began

¹⁵⁰⁸ At the highpoint of the invasion, UN World Food Program estimated that around 40,000 civilians sought security in the National Stadium by 21 January 1999.

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confiscating satellite telephones and radio communications equipment from international NGOs, reportedly to prevent them falling into the possession of the RUF/AFRC.

On 18 January, the HMS Norfolk arrived in Freetown carrying medical supplies and a 200-strong liaison and reconnaissance group. The UK denied that it was taking any military part in the conflict, but had earlier in January released over \$1.6 million for humanitarian supplies and logistic support for ECOMOG.

RUF/AFRC forces started mutilating civilians on 19 January 1999 at Black Hall Road in Freetown, as ECOMOG forces steadily forced them out of the city. At that time, ECOMOG forces had control over the Ferry Junction at Kissy eastward to Waterloo (Waterloo RD). Civilian volunteers used carts to transport the corpses of those killed in the conflict to the Kissy Road cemetery. On 16 January, RUF/AFRC forces they had befriended warned civilians remaining in Waterloo that an order had been given to amputate the arms of any non-RUF/AFRC found in the town. The ECOMOG Alpha Jet bombing of numerous RUF/AFRC positions in the east end of Freetown and Waterloo pushed RUF/AFRC forces eastwards to the outskirts of the city. As they retreated via the hills, avoiding the ECOMOG checkpoint at Kossoh Town, RUF/AFRC forces abducted hundreds of civilians, many of whom were given narcotics to make them compliant.

Although most of Greater Freetown area had come under ECOMOG control by 20 January, RUF/AFRC forces continued to stage attacks and attempt to infiltrate locations in the east of the town. ECOMOG reported having trouble with large numbers of snipers remaining in hillside locations overlooking their positions following the main RUF/AFRC retreat. Across February and March, RUF/AFRC occupied Waterloo (Waterloo RD), evading ECOMOG Alpha Jet bombardments by using bush paths and moving mainly during the nighttime from Waterloo to attack surrounding villages. For example, one night they attacked Susu Town near Devil Hole (Waterloo RD) at a location called Compound, where they raped and killed a policewoman. Many civilians escaped across the Madonke creek to villages in Koya Chiefdom (Port Loko District). In addition, RUF/AFRC patrols rounded up civilians hiding in the Waterloo area and returned them to the town.

At the end of January, Nigeria announced that it wished to remove its troops from Sierra Leone by May 1999.¹⁵⁰⁹ On 2 February, ECOMOG continued to reinforce with the arrival of over 400 Malian troops¹⁵¹⁰ and around 1,000 Ghanaian troops by 8 February.¹⁵¹¹ A general mobilisation of ECOMOG throughout Freetown was announced on 5 February 1999.¹⁵¹² The Chief of Staff of the SLA reportedly announced that ECOMOG would not hesitate in firing on civilians should the RUF/AFRC use them as human shields.¹⁵¹³ The ECOMOG general mobilisation was followed by an intensification of cordon and search operations throughout the city.¹⁵¹⁴ ECOMOG restructured its operations to include a specific garrison and force for the Freetown area. The UK Government

¹⁵⁰⁹ BBC, 28 January 1999.

¹⁵¹⁰ IRIN West Africa, 2 February 1999.

¹⁵¹¹ IRIN West Africa, 8 February 1999.

¹⁵¹² AFP, 4 February 1999.

¹⁵¹³ IRIN West Africa, 5 February 1999.

¹⁵¹⁴ BBC, 6 February 1999.

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stated that it would be providing a package of comprehensive logistic and other support to ECOMOG,¹⁵¹⁵ followed soon after by the announcement that it would be providing around \$16 million in military and training support for Sierra Leone and ECOMOG.¹⁵¹⁶

Between 20 and 25 February, ECOMOG launched an attack on Waterloo by continuously shelling the town. Some of the shells landed at the creek at the Christian cemetery. The remnants of RUF/AFRC forces, who were mainly ex-SLA, pulled out of Waterloo and Campbell Town along the Prince Alfred Road towards Cole Town (all Waterloo RD) and proceeding along bush tracks to the Waterloo Displaced Camp. By nightfall, all of them had left and headed towards Newton (Koya RD). In Waterloo, around 700 houses had been burnt down during the RUF/AFRC occupation. ECOMOG and Kamajor forces secured the town, with approximately 50 Kamajors deploying to Waterloo. They were shown around town by a local man who identified suspected RUF/AFRC collaborators, of whom at least two were tortured and executed by the Kamajors. The Kamajors also deployed at Bath-Comp (Koya RD), where they looted and burnt down an unknown number of civilian residences. At Kissy Town, near the IDP camp, combined "loyal" SLA and CDF on the one hand and ECOMOG on the other, erected checkpoints.

Responding to demands made by the RUF/AFRC, on 15 April the Court of Appeal of Sierra Leone temporarily released the RUF leader from prison,¹⁵¹⁷ where he had been awaiting appeal from his treason conviction, allowing him to meet with the High Command of the RUF/AFRC and engage in peace talks in Togo, Lomé.¹⁵¹⁸ Preliminary discussions between representatives of the RUF/AFRC and the Government of Sierra Leone yielded a ceasefire, which entered into force on 24 May. Full talks commenced on 25 May, leading to the signing of the Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone on 7 July 1999 (the Lomé Peace Agreement).¹⁵¹⁹ The Lomé Peace Agreement provided for a number of joint RUF-GOSL processes for the provision of humanitarian assistance, return of displaced persons, demobilisation, management of natural resources and other matters related to the consolidation of the peace process. Additionally, it contains provisions for a governmental power-sharing arrangement between the RUF and the Government. The Lomé Peace Agreement also pardoned the RUF leader and others and granted a blanket amnesty to all combatants and collaborators for acts done in fulfilment of their objectives.

The RUF and AFRC leaders arrived back in Freetown on 3 October 1999 from Liberia, where they had gone following the conclusion of the peace talks.¹⁵²⁰ On 22 October, the United Nations Security Council authorised the deployment of a 6,000-strong peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone to replace the previous observer mission.¹⁵²¹

¹⁵¹⁵ IRIN West Africa, 22 February 1999.

¹⁵¹⁶ IRIN West Africa, 3 March 1999. The UK starting exporting ammunition and military equipment to Sierra Leone after 7 October 1999.

¹⁵¹⁷ The RUF leader was reportedly taken from Pademba Road prison into protective custody in the Republic of Guinea prior to the RUF/AFRC 6 January 1999 assault on Freetown.

¹⁵¹⁸ BBC, 15 April 1999.

¹⁵¹⁹ The full text is available at http://www.usip.org/library/pa/sl/sierra_leone_07071999_toc.html.

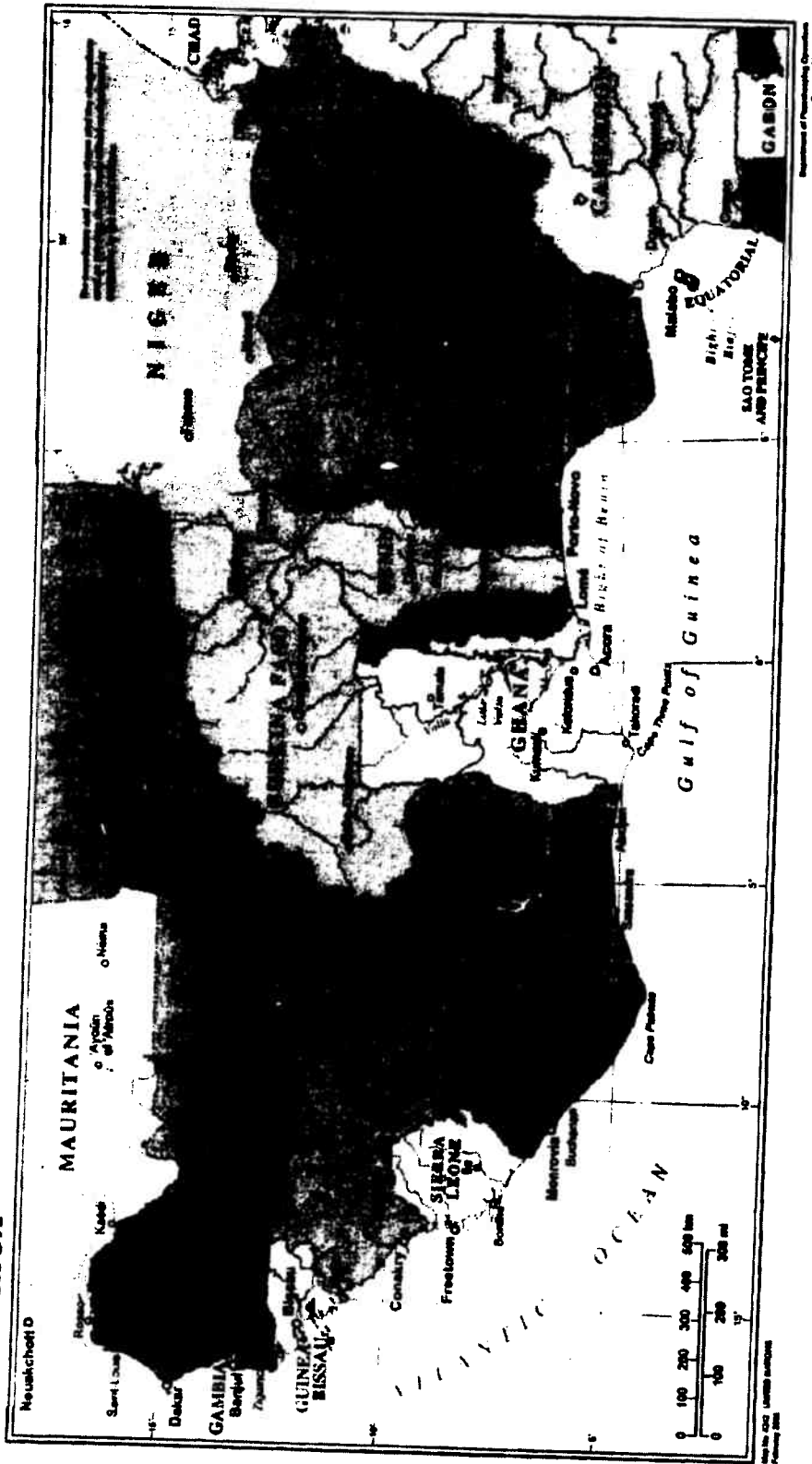
¹⁵²⁰ Both reportedly held talks with the Liberian President in Monrovia during this time: <http://www.sierra-leone.org/slnews0999.html>.

¹⁵²¹ UN Security Council Resolution 1270 (1999).

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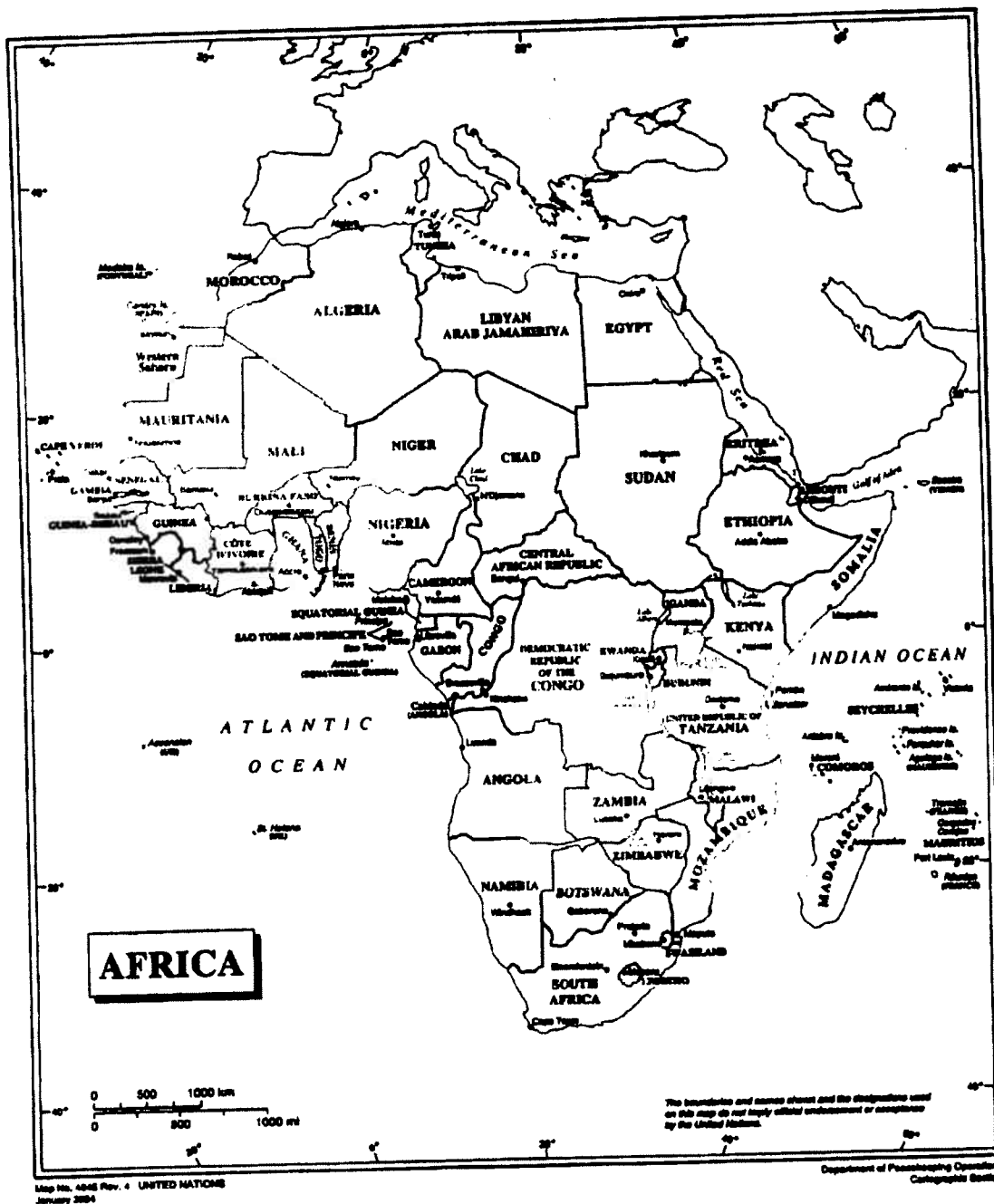
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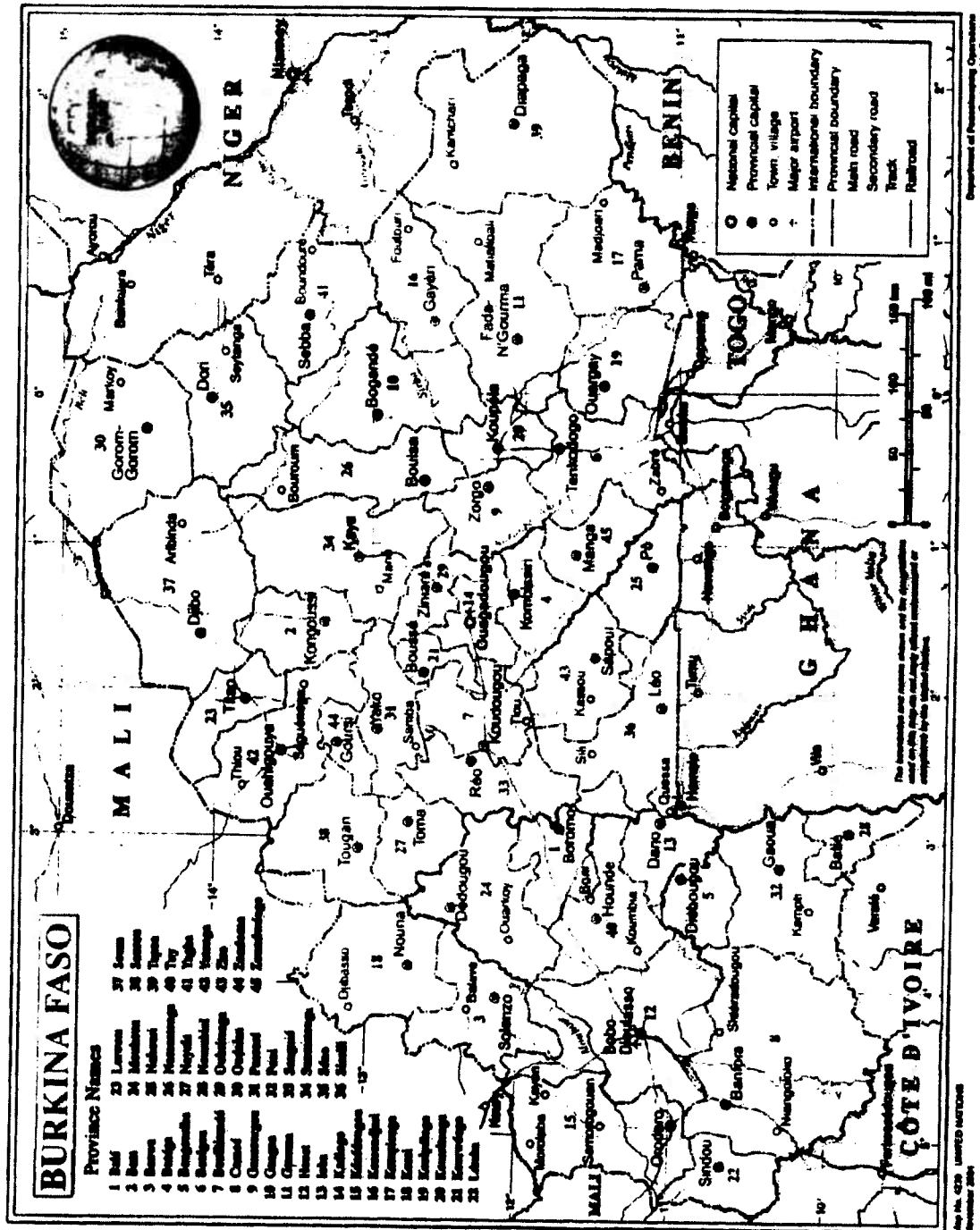


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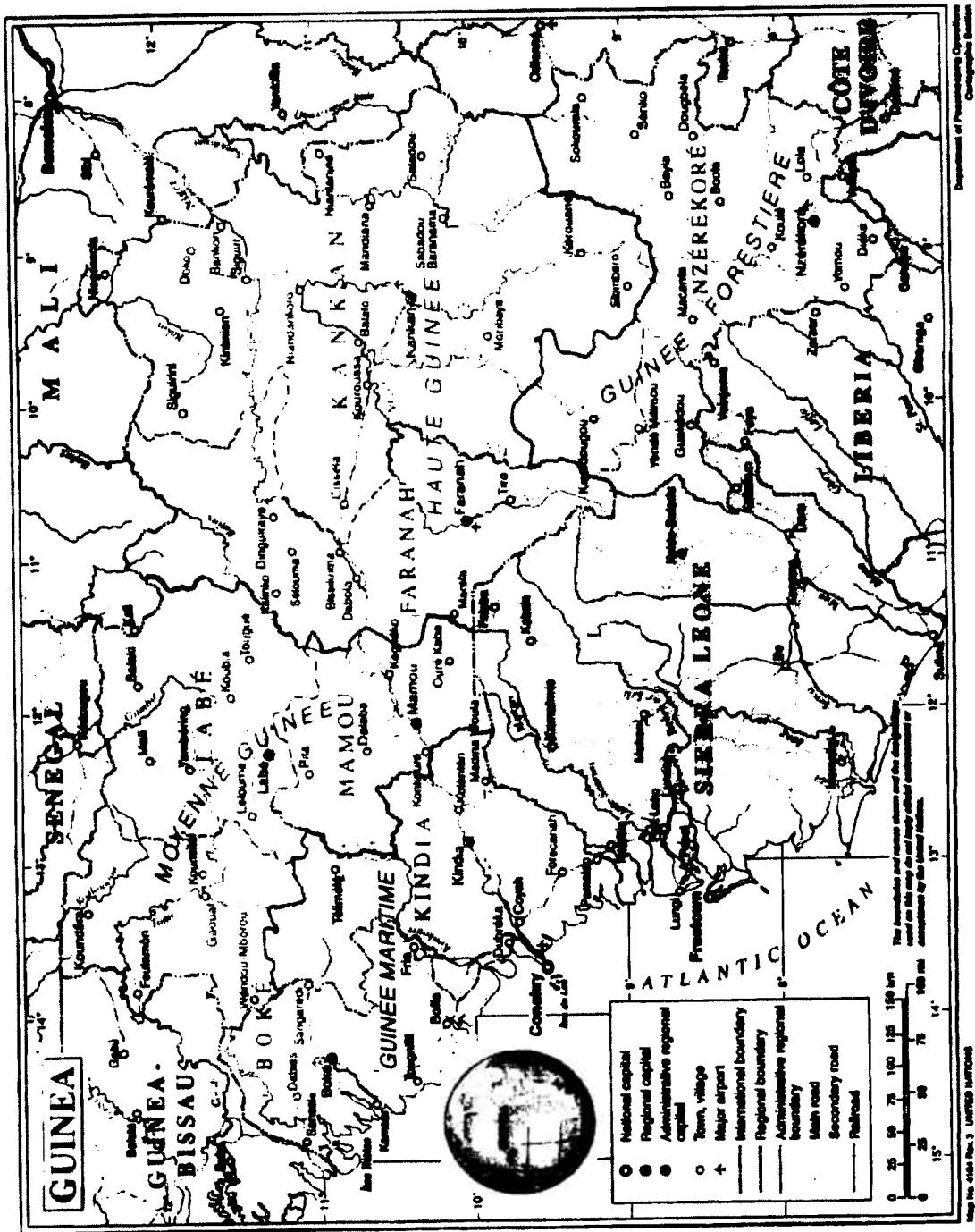


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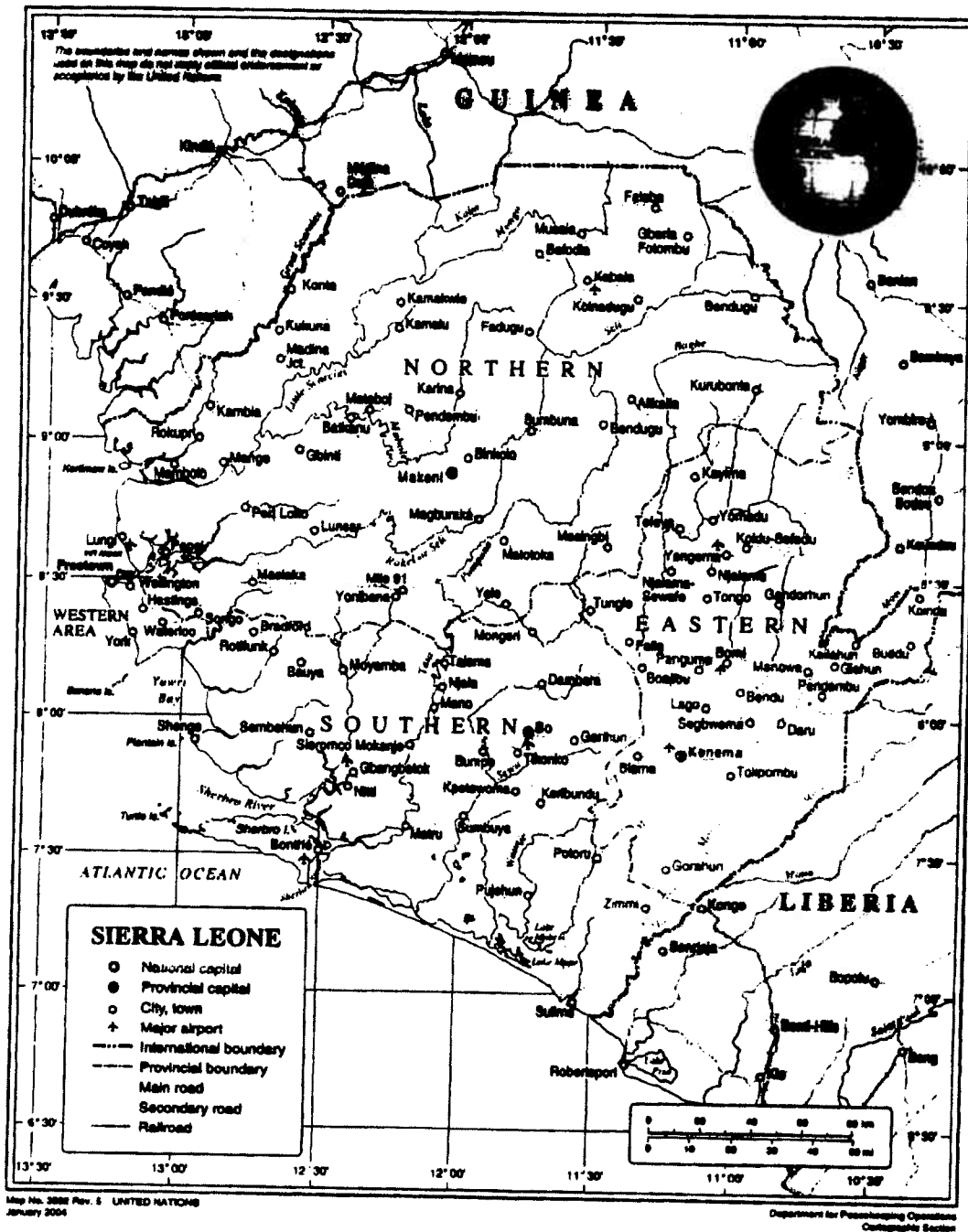
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25 December: ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said Friday he could see no reason for the evacuation of foreign nationals from Sierra Leone. He said there had been no significant rebel activity around the city since the rebel raid on Waterloo on Tuesday. "I heard foreign diplomats reported 2,000 rebels around Waterloo and when I asked my commanders on the ground they laughed. There are just local people salvaging their belongings," Shelpidi said. "I cannot speak for foreign governments and if they want their citizens out then very well, but my personal view is that the international community should not abandon Sierra Leone at this crucial time." Shelpidi said AFRC/RUF rebels had attacked near Makeni on Friday. Makeni was under ECOMOG control, he said, but outlying villages were in rebel hands. "ECOMOG cannot be in every settlement everywhere. We don't have the manpower so sometimes there are attacks when these rebels raid villages for food, then we go there as soon as we can and they run away," he said. "We have appealed for the public to cooperate and mostly they are giving us very good cooperation but sometimes they connive with the rebels and give them food and shelter." Shelpidi also said ECOMOG had killed 14 rebels Wednesday in a clash near the Benguema training barracks.

Two British Royal Air Force planes found only one person waiting to be evacuated when they returned to Lungi International Airport on Friday. One businessman who was evacuated on Thursday explained that the lack of interest was probably due to an improving security situation in Freetown. "There is tension in Freetown and the embassy brought in planes to take us out. We did so but I don't think the rebels can take Freetown," he said. Another evacuee said there had been panic in Freetown following rebel attacks on Tuesday, but added: "I don't think the evacuation was necessary." Britain had sent its two aircraft back to Freetown on Friday to evacuate more British and other foreign nationals in the wake of recent rebel activity near the capital. "Two Royal Air Force Hercules aircraft went back to the airport in Freetown to pick up any stragglers," a Foreign Office spokesman said. "They brought out around 80 people last night. The majority were Britons, although there were a fair smattering of European nationals. He said that while the measure was precautionary, Britain was strongly advising its nationals in Sierra Leone to take advantage of this offer to leave. "The situation is very volatile," he said. "I don't say they would be targeted just because they were British, but the rebels have a pretty awful history of atrocity. We don't want any of our nationals put at risk." British High Commissioner Peter Penfold and one staff member would remain in Freetown for now, he said, but they may also have to leave. He added that Britain was still "strongly supporting" the Sierra Leone government. "We are very anxious to make it clear that the fact that we have evacuated as a precautionary measure doesn't diminish our very strong support for President Kabbah's democratically elected government," he said.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie threatened on Friday to attack Freetown on New Year's Day, then moved up the deadline claiming the arrival of ECOMOG reinforcements, unless the government agreed to negotiate with the rebels. "If Kabbah does not agree to respond to our request to open dialogue, then in 48 to 72 hours we will enter Freetown," Bockarie told the Agence France-Presse (AFP). "We are going to march into Freetown on New Year's Day unless the government agrees to our terms," Bockarie said in a separate Reuters interview. "We have the will and the way." Bockarie claimed that AFRC/RUF rebels had captured Makeni and were battling for Kenema. He also claimed to have captured Waterloo, about 20 miles from southeast of Freetown, and nearby Benguema, where he said rebel forces had seized the military training barracks. There has been no independent confirmation of his claims.

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31 December 1998: ECOMOG troops repelled an AFRC/RUF rebel attack Thursday on their military barracks near the garrison town of Hastings, according to an ECOMOG spokesman. Residents fleeing the town reported that the rebels had attacked overnight, and said they had also attacked the Hastings Air Field. The spokesman said ECOMOG was forced to abandon its frontline trenches at Hastings during the initial onslaught. At least 40 persons were killed in the fighting, he added. Residents said the fighting had stopped by mid-morning, but that ECOMOG soldiers later shelled hills around the town.

The fighting at Hastings followed attacks Wednesday on Waterloo and Lunsar. Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer told a news conference Thursday that ECOMOG had driven the rebels back from Waterloo. "ECOMOG troops killed a lot of rebels in their attack yesterday on Waterloo," he said. He said the rebels had just attacked an ECOMOG barracks near Kossoh Town. "The infiltration of rebels into the Peninsular area is a cause for concern," Spencer said, but told reporters that those who had attacked Kossoh Town and Waterloo were cut off from the rear and trapped. BBC West Africa Correspondent Mark Doyle said hundreds of pro-government militiamen, armed with shotguns, knives, and spears, were massing for a probable new operation against the rebels. He quoted government sources as saying a counter-offensive would begin soon.

Spencer repeated assurances that the rebels posed no military threat to Freetown, and he said they were mounting attacks near the capital in order to create a negative psychological effect on the population. Spencer dismissed as "disinformation" a statement by United Nations Special Envoy Francis Okelo that the northern half of Sierra Leone was under rebel control, but conceded that an area in the centre of the country was held by the insurgents. He said about five towns in the north were under rebel control: Lunsar, Makeni, Binkolo, Kamabai, and Kabumbe. He said ECOMOG controlled Kabala, all of Kambia District, parts of Port Loko District, and all of Tonkolili and Koinadugu Districts. He said there was no rebel activity in the south, while in the east the rebels were still holding Koidu and had tried to attack Daru.

Spencer noted that the rebels had mounted attacks on Port Loko and Lunsar on Wednesday, and he reported that Lunsar had fallen. A "senior ECOMOG commander" quoted by the Associated Press denied that Lunsar was under rebel control, but he acknowledged that rebel forces were in the area. Spencer told reporters that Makeni was also in rebel hands. Aid workers and "sources close to" the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) militia told Reuters, however, that the rebels had pulled out of Makeni and that the CDF was now in control. CDF sources said the rebels left Makeni in three groups, one heading for their eastern base, one moving toward Lunsar, and one going in the direction of Port Loko.

Heavy fighting raged between ECOMOG troops and AFRC/RUF rebels Thursday for control of Port Loko, which has been mostly deserted by its civilian population. The town came under attack by hundreds of rebel fighters on Wednesday. "Our jet fighters bombed their positions in the town," an ECOMOG spokesman said. Journalist Emmanuel Turay, who fled Port Loko on Thursday, said rebels and ECOMOG troops held different parts of the town, and that both sides were firing mortars. "The death toll is not clear but there are bodies lying in the streets," he said. Spencer said the rebels had attacked Port Loko, but had been turned back. The Agence France-Presse (AFP) quoted residents of nearby villages who reported hearing prolonged bombardments throughout the night directed at areas of suspected rebel concentration.

A spokesman for RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie claimed Thursday that the rebels had captured Segbwema and that heavy fighting was going on at Daru. Spencer said ECOMOG and the Civil Defence Forces were moving towards the Sierra Leone-Liberia border to seal off the area. He said ECOMOG maintained a strong presence in the towns of Zimml, Gufor, and Wonde. "There is the possibility of the war ending militarily," Spencer said. "But this does not mean that if the rebels laid down their arms, we would not talk peace." Kamajor sources were quoted as saying that the area between the Moa River and the Liberian border are now fully under the control of the Civil Defence Forces.

ECOMOG troops closed roads from Freetown to Waterloo and Hastings on Thursday to prevent rebel infiltrators from reaching the capital by mingling with fleeing civilians, an ECOMOG spokesman said. Police in Freetown announced Thursday that about 300 civilians had been detained as suspected infiltrators.

Nigeria sent further reinforcements to Freetown on Thursday. The Nigerian government has reportedly sent more than 9,000 troops since the weekend, bringing the total strength of the ECOMOG force to around 19,000. An ECOMOG spokesman said Wednesday that additional battalions would continue to arrive from Nigeria, and that ECOMOG's strength could reach 20,000 by the end of the week. He said that of the other ECOWAS countries which had promised to send troops, the only ones to arrive were 200 Ghana who had had transferred from Liberia in the week. According to estimates reported by Reuters, rebel strength could exceed 20,000 while the Civil Defence Forces militia, made up of various hunters' militias, numbers about 30,000.

Gambian President Yahya Jammeh will begin to mediate in the Sierra Leone conflict shortly, Gambia's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Mohamed Lamin Sedat Jobe, said Wednesday. "The Gambia's stance has been that of an apostle of peace," he said. Jobe said Jammeh did not believe in the use of arms to resolve the conflict. "The president, after consultation with both parties in the conflict, has decided to mediate based on the fact that his offer has been solicited, welcomed and he feels comfortable in doing it," Jobe declared. He added that Gambia was working to end or lessen the killing and maiming going on in Sierra Leone. Jobe said Gambia would follow through on its promise to supply troops to the ECOMOG force, but that Gambia had a new role in Sierra Leone other than contributing troops. He claimed Jammeh was the first person to make an international offer to mediate the conflict, and that his offer had been supported by many nations. At the recently concluded Committee of Six foreign ministers conference, he said, Sierra Leone's file was handed over to Gambia. Asked about the death sentence imposed on RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh, Jobe said Gambia could not involve itself in the judicial system of another sovereign nation. "Anyway, I am made to understand that Sankoh has appealed against the sentence," he said.

Liberian President Charles Taylor has offered to put pressure on RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh to help restore peace in Sierra Leone. Sankoh is currently jailed in Freetown, appealing his conviction and death sentence on treason charges. "With our knowledge of Sankoh, we may be able to exert some pressure to bring about peace," Taylor said in a press conference. "Sankoh is part of the problem in Sierra Leone and should be part of the solution." He added that "Sankoh is better alive than dead," because if he were to die in jail the war in Sierra Leone might continue for a long time. Taylor called on the U.S. Special Envoy to Africa, Rev. Jesse Jackson, to help find a peaceful solution to the Sierra Leone crisis. "We believe

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Reverend Jackson can bring a whole lot of credibility to the process in solving the problem in Sierra Leone," he said. Taylor said his government "supports and recognizes the government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, and we do not support the (rebel) activities against President Kabbah in Sierra Leone in any shape or form...But we still believe that the way forward is a ceasefire on all sides, and for President Kabbah to dialogue with the rebels rather than continue to fight them." Taylor denied any Liberian government involvement in the Sierra Leone conflict, but he acknowledged that there were Liberians fighting alongside the rebels. "It is very clear and factual that there are Liberians in Sierra Leone fighting," he said. "Liberians have been used as mercenaries in Sierra Leone for a long time by all governments of Sierra Leone," he said. "They have always been there — about 3,000 of them. But they are there on their own."

Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer accused Taylor on Thursday of "not doing anything to prevent rebels from crossing his border into Sierra Leone." Spencer threatened that if the situation were not checked, "We shall have to exercise our right of hot pursuit."

Nigerian U.N. Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari met with the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council on Wednesday to press for urgent assistance for ECOWAS's efforts in Sierra Leone. Gambari appealed for the U.N. to tighten the arms embargo on Liberia and to prevent the illegal supply of weapons into Sierra Leone. He also asked the Council to investigate countries accused of violating the arms embargo to the rebels, naming Liberia and Ukrainian mercenaries. He pleaded with the Council to prevail upon the international community to honour pledges of support they made to ECOMOG, and for the U.N. to be more proactive in getting member nations to assist Sierra Leone. Gambari warned that, with Nigeria's financial problems and after the country's elections in May, a continuation of its involvement at present levels was impossible. "With democratisation coming, it is impossible to expect such a new government to continue to maintain such levels of external involvement, which is very expensive," he said. Gambari said after the meeting that he had received a positive response from the five permanent Council members. "They said they will bring all these concerns to the council immediately and to convey all these urgent requests to their respective countries," he said.

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9 January: Witnesses reported Saturday seeing large numbers of wounded soldiers being evacuated by helicopter from Freetown to the ECOMOG base at Lungi International Airport. "I saw 60 or 70 wounded ECOMOG men evacuated. They looked like fresh injuries," one witness told Reuters. The casualties provided evidence of heavy fighting between ECOMOG troops and rebel fighters for control of the capital. Nigerian Alpha fighter jets took off from Lungi to attack rebel positions.

Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Jullus Spencer told the BBC that an ECOMOG counter-offensive had made advances in Freetown Saturday. "So as of now, ECOMOG troops are in the center of the city, clearing the rebels out of that part of the city. In fact they're already moving toward the eastern part of the city," he said. He added that "the rebels are in disarray. They're fleeing." Spencer said he was unable to give an assessment of civilian casualties in the fighting. "I don't think it has been high, because ECOMOG has tried to be very careful. But the casualties are those caused really by rebels, because they've gone to knock at people's houses, pulled people out of their houses, shot them dead." News accounts have emphasised civilian casualties resulting from bombardments by Nigerian Alpha jet fighters attached to the ECOMOG force. Spencer denied, however, that the government was planning a final counter-offensive to defeat the rebels. "The government has said we are prepared to adopt the multi-track or dual-track approach: dialogue and military force," he said.

News agencies gave varying reports of the fighting on Saturday. The AFP, quoting witnesses, spoke of a "precarious calm," in Freetown Saturday morning, with deserted streets and few direct clashes between rebel and pro-government troops. "(Friday) night was quiet, and ECOMOG's Alpha jets were not seen early Saturday," the AFP said. The Associated Press (AP) reported that artillery fire pounded Freetown Friday night and Saturday morning, and said heavy street fighting took place Saturday near Wilberforce Barracks and in Congo Town. The AP described Nigerian ECOMOG jets screaming over Freetown, "firing rockets into rebel-held territory." The report said Alpha jets circled the capital for about an hour searching for groups of rebel fighters, while platoons of ECOMOG soldiers patrolled near-empty streets in the West End and artillery was fired at rebel positions in the hills to the south. Reuters described smoke rising from burning buildings in the east of the city after strikes by ECOMOG Alpha jets "which screamed low over the dilapidated city." The Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA) said rebels and pro-government troops engaged in heavy fighting on Saturday, with ECOMOG claiming successes on Saturday evening.

Artillery fire pounded Freetown through Friday night and there were unconfirmed reports Saturday that Wilberforce Barracks was under attack by AFRC/RUF rebels. Reuters reported that smoke could be seen billowing from burning buildings in the rebel-held areas of the capital. "We can see burning buildings in the eastern district but the rest of the city looks calm," a Reuters television journalist said. "A handful of people are stepping out cautiously to assess the damage in the streets. There is no traffic on the roads." The Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA) quoted witnesses as saying that rebel forces were firing on Wilberforce Barracks and that ECOMOG troops stationed there were returning fire. The DPA quoted residents as saying that numerous houses were burning in the rebel-held east of the city, and noted "partly unconfirmed reports" that Kamajor militiamen were engaging the RUF in street battles.

The Sierra Leone government is trying to arrange a meeting between RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh and RUF leaders, Minister of Finance, Development and Economic Planning Dr. James O.C. Jonah told the BBC

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on Saturday. "We spent over three hours with President Conteh, reviewing the situation and trying to determine what role Guinea might play," Jonah said. "For example, Sam Bockarie had expressed the interest to meet somewhere or to have some connection with Foday Sankoh, and we were exploring the possibility of a venue in Conakry perhaps through the U.N. mediation." He said there would be no preconditions, but he ruled out holding the meeting in "certain foreign countries which have been hostile to Sierra Leone. See, we will not accept either Liberia or Burkina Faso. That's out of the question." Jonah confirmed that he had requested mediation by Togo and Ivory Coast to facilitate negotiations between the government and the rebels. He said he was exploring the possibility of travelling to Togo, and that the government "might have some meeting" with Ivory Coast representatives, "perhaps in Conakry," within the next 24 hours. Jonah explained why outside mediation was deemed necessary: "(Sankoh) said he has been out of circulation for a long time. Therefore, he cannot go beyond the Abidjan Accords. And that is a reasonable position, so we believe that that's why my government is prepared to facilitate contact even between the U.N., Sankoh, and Bockarie to find out precisely what we should do."

Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Essy said Saturday he had been asked to mediate the conflict in Sierra Leone. "Both President Kabbah and the leaders of the Revolutionary United Front have asked me," he said. He did not indicate whether he would accept the requests. Essy said the rebels had faith in Ivory Coast as an honest broker, but in an interview with the government newspaper *Fraternite-Matin*, he denied that Ivory Coast was pro-rebel. "Everything Ivory Coast has done so far has been to help the government of Sierra Leone, not the rebels," he said. Essy said he doubted whether Togo, which currently chairs ECOWAS, would succeed in diplomatic efforts or organise a new regional summit on Sierra Leone. In a separate interview, Essy said he spoke to RUF commander Col. Sam "Maskita" Bockarie on Saturday and tried to convince him to agree to a ceasefire. "I told him there's no point humiliating a great power like Nigeria which can send reinforcements to dislodge him," Essy said. "I told him he should agree a ceasefire because at the moment he is in a strong position to negotiate something."

Britain has despatched the Royal Navy frigate HMS Norfolk to the Sierra Leone region, a Ministry of Defence spokesman said on Saturday. "The ship will be monitoring events," the spokesman said. "It's a straightforward precautionary measure to give us a ship available in that part of the world. No decision has been taken yet on what, if anything, to use the Norfolk for." The Norfolk is expected to arrive in the area next week. RUF commander Col. Sam "Maskita" told the BBC that he had "intelligence reports" that the Norfolk was planning to land British mercenaries in Freetown, and threatened retribution should that take place. "We want to express ourselves that that is not going to be accepted and if British naval boats attempt that, we are going to burn down all invading countries' embassies. First step. Second step, we'll start burning state house, all banks, all government offices, electricity, water supply, and all buildings that have been functioning with the government are going to be burned down," he said. "I also got an information from Mr. Amara Essy, Foreign Minister of Ivory Coast, telling me that the Nigerians are bringing in more reinforcements and artillery pieces to come and join up with the British nationals to invade Freetown. And if that's the case, before we leave Freetown, we are going to burn down all these areas that I have just mentioned to you — After we have evacuated all civilians out of the town."

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmad Salim called on President Kabbah and RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh Saturday "to follow the path of peace and proceed to establish a ceasefire," and called for dialogue between the

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two sides. He said the OAU is ready to facilitate, "together with the countries of ECOWAS and other members of the international community, the conduct of a sustained process of dialogue and negotiations for the achievement of lasting peace and reconciliation in Sierra Leone." Salim repeated the OAU's "unyielding support" for Sierra Leone's civilian government, and appealed to the international community to provide assistance for the Sierra Leonean people.

BBC correspondent Prince Brima reported Saturday that an RUF offensive to capture the diamond mining town of Tongo, in eastern Sierra Leone, had been turned back by Kamajor militiamen. "During the four hour battle, 87 rebels were killed and large quantities of arms and ammunition were captured," Brima said, quoting residents fleeing the area. "The success of the Kamajors, who have been guarding their towns and villages against rebel attacks, was greeted with joy in the eastern town of Kenema. The Kamajors laid down a display of arms and ammunition they captured from the rebels. These include rocket-propelled grenades, machine guns, and AK-47 rifles."

11 January: There was renewed heavy fighting between ECOMOG troops and AFRC/RUF rebels in the central part of Freetown on Monday, Reuters reported, quoting witnesses. The BBC and Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported that there had been heavy casualties on both sides, and said rebels had used non-combatants as human shields, resulting in civilian casualties. At Lungi International Airport, numerous ECOMOG casualties were brought in, while journalists and a pilot who had flown over the city reported seeing many uniformed bodies lying in the streets. "There is continued shelling and gunfire from the central district. It started around 9.00 a.m.," one witness said. BBC West Africa correspondent Mark Doyle reported that the rebels had set fire to Freetown. "Whole streets have been burnt down," he said. "The United Nations military headquarters has been burnt down, the roof collapsed. As a result it's completely destroyed. Other buildings, government buildings, have been set on fire by the rebels, and it seems that what they can't have they're going to destroy." A local journalist who walked on Monday morning through parts of the city behind ECOMOG lines, including Tengbeh Town, Brookfields, Congo Cross, and Pademba Road, said many houses had been burned. From a distance, he said, he could see the telephone exchange (SLET) and the City Hall on fire, while a thick cloud of smoke hung over the city, obscuring some buildings. The ECOMOG force said Monday it was gradually regaining control of the city. While claims of who controls various parts of Freetown are difficult to confirm independently, Doyle said ECOMOG appeared to be making advances. "I do know though that the Nigerian-led forces have entered an area, quite an important area of the city, where they weren't yesterday, and the Nigerians say that they are advancing, and that certainly does appear to be the case," he said. ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said his troops had secured the port and State House, and were pushing the rebels southeast towards "Kissy, Wellington, and Calaba Town." The AFP reported that Nigerian Alpha fighter jets made continuous sorties from Lungi on Monday, while helicopters ferried in ECOMOG and Kamajor reinforcements and evacuated casualties.

The government's spokesman, Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer, claimed that ECOMOG had retaken the central part of the city reached the eastern parts of the capital. "They should have gone past the Cline Town roundabout and probably are now in the Kissy area," he said. Spencer acknowledged that ECOMOG had met stiff resistance from rebel forces at Kingtom, Brookfields, Tengbeh Town, and Pademba Road.

Overnight Sunday the city was reported quiet. "We didn't hear a single shot fired overnight. It seems to be very, very calm," one journalist in Freetown said. At least 500 new Nigerian soldiers reportedly reinforced ECOMOG troops at Wilberforce Barracks on Sunday.

The foreign ministers of Togo and Ivory Coast, together with a United Nations negotiator, flew into Lungi on Monday in a bid to mediate the conflict in the strife-torn country. Foreign Minister Amara Essy of Ivory Coast and Togo's Foreign Minister, Joseph Kokou Koffigoh met first with President Kabbah and ECOMOG commanders. "(Without speedy action) this could turn into another Somalia and the international community will no longer take care of the situation," Essy said. The two foreign ministers plan to meet next with RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh. According to Information Minister Dr. Julius Spencer, they will confirm that Sankoh's call for a cease-fire was genuine and not made under duress, and communicate their findings to RUF commander Col. Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. Sankoh's location has not been disclosed, but the BBC referred last week to persistent rumours that he is being held aboard a Nigerian naval ship off the coast of Sierra Leone.

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were receiving treatment at the Netland Surgical Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre.

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) warned Monday that hundreds of thousands of Freetown residents trapped in their homes for almost a week could soon face starvation if fighting continues. "We urgently need all parties to the conflict to allow unimpeded access to needy people in Freetown and the rest of the country," said the WFP Regional Manager for Coastal West Africa, Paul Ares, in a statement issued in Abidjan. Freetown residents have been trapped with little or no food, water, and electricity since the fighting started last week. "We are gravely concerned about the severe hardship imposed on the civilian population," Ares said. Prior to the rebel attack on Freetown, the WFP was providing food to some 63,000 farmers and vulnerable persons in Sierra Leone. At present, the WFP is continuing to feed some 20,000 persons who arrived in Bo and Kenema last month, fleeing fighting between rebel forces and ECOMOG. The agency has sufficient food reserves to feed them for two months, the statement said.

Russia has called on the Sierra Leone government and the rebels to institute an immediate cease-fire and start a dialogue, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Vladimir Rakhmanin said in Moscow on Monday. "We can feel nothing but regret at seeing the hostilities continuing in that country lead to casualties and damage, especially in its capital, Freetown," Rakhmanin said. He added that he hoped the conflict could be settled by negotiations, and said Russia supports the regional efforts, including those of ECOWAS, to find a peaceful settlement.

The United States on Monday directly accused the Liberian government of support for AFRC/RUF rebels in Sierra Leone.

[REDACTED]

Rubin said the U.S. was "extremely concerned" about the welfare and safety of Freetown residents caught up in the fighting. "So far in the current RUF offensive against Freetown, we have not received reports of mass executions, mass kidnappings and other forms of extreme torture that the RUF has been known for since 1991," he said. "We do, however, have reports of rapes, looting, house burnings and other abuses of civilians by rebel forces."

Italy's Ambassador to Sierra Leone, Luigi Costa Sanseverino Di Bisignano, said Monday that two Italian missionary priests kidnapped on Sunday had been "tricked" by rebels who told them they could meet their fellow priest, Father Mario Guerra, who was abducted at Kamaio in November. Di Bisignano, who resides in Ivory Coast, was accompanied by the Bishop of the Diocese of Makeni, George Biguzzi.

About 100 Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees in Dakar, Senegal protested Monday in front of the UNHCR office to demand legal refugee documents, assistance, and medical care. "We have made several attempts to discuss our situation here in Senegal with the appropriate UNHCR authorities but they have always refused to talk to us. This is what prompted us to lead this demonstration," said the leader of the Sierra Leonean group, John Kanu. "It is appalling that we continue to live here without shelter, food, medical facilities, or even a legal document." The regional UNHCR delegate, Ousseni Fassassi, tried to calm the refugees and called for "understanding

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and dialogue." He said he had looked into their situations, and a positive decision would soon be made regarding them. "We will now issue them a six-month attestation and hold meetings with them in order to look into the modalities of working out an assistance programme for them," he said.

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NEW DEMOCRAT WEEKLY THURSDAY - TUESDAY, FEB 29 - MARCH 5 1994

Votes Counted In Kosovo Amidst Protests

Counting in Kosovo's
elections continued in
the morning with no
sign of the day's polls
being closed. The
counting was interrupted
by protests in the
provinces of the
country. However, both
observers as
well as the
international community
of OSCE, and the
European Community
have expressed concern
that the election
process is being
disrupted. In the
provinces of the
country, Dr. John
Baker, a candidate for the National Unity
Party (NUP), has also protested about the
elections. The new Kosovo People's
Party (KPP), which has its traditional
stronghold in one of the most war-torn
areas, has also protested about the
elections. The party's leader, Mr. Ahmet
Tajari, is widely regarded as one of the
leading voices of the opposition.

Protesters did not in their demands to
cancel their ballot in what is now known as
the country's largest anti-party election in

20 years. The election took two days in the
midst of considerable insecurity with gunfire
and shelling around in the state office of
Pristina and the Kosovo voters did not vote
because of the state's inability to provide
adequate security. United Front
observers, fearing the voters at great risk,
saw the election as a failure and others were
suspicious. The KPP strongly vowed to disrupt
the voting right the new civilian
government.

The Election Chairman James Jones
said results are expected to be out by this
afternoon. Results from the western area,
Pristina, will be out this morning. He said
one major problem was security in the
provinces. But he said it was a miracle that
votes were able to go to the polls. He said
the results will reflect the will of Kosovo
Lebanese.

In the provincial city of Kosovo, there
was reports that voters closed a postbox of
rebel. This caused the day to disrupt the
election, a move described by analysts as the
disruption of Kosovo Lebanese to restore
democracy.

Little Brother

(Quoted from The Economist)

The new boss of Sierra Leone,
Brigadier Julius Amadih Bio, has a
problem. It is not just that his West

African country's once fairly prosperous
British colony has been torn to pieces by
corruption and bloody rebellion but that an
older sister, who brought him up, is one of
the leaders of the rebels. Amadih Bio is
the most senior member of the
Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and
wife of Ibrahim Bio, its spokesman. The
brigadier had no trouble replacing his home
in a police camp on January 16th. He will
find some Amadih and his friends a bigger
problem.

The camp where Brigadier Bio
replaced Captain Valentine Strasser at the
head of the National Provisional Ruling
Council (NPRC) was not unexpected. In
the Sierra Leonean capital, Freetown, there
is widespread suspicion that the British
government knew all about it in advance.
Captain Strasser had made it clear that he
wanted out and said elsewhere that he
had agreed to step down. A plan was
made young then, not yet into his 30s, he
has a photo booked at a British university.

So why did he not wait and step down
after the presidential election promised for
February 1994? His answer was to agree to
stand in it. The NPRC has been trying to
turn itself into a party for some time.

To be continued

Taylor

Cont'd From Page 1

Government was new up per with them in
the subregion and would not be dictated to.

On disarmament, Dr. Bioley said there will
be "total disarmament" and that "No one
should entertain the notion that he can hold us
hostage by making conditions. The
Councilman's statement is in sharp contrast
with Councilman Taylor's recent claims that
"there is no total disarmament any where in
the world". He said those who believe that the
war was necessary because the 1995 elections
were rigged must now subject themselves to
the democratic process by disarming totally
and "unconditionally" for the polls. One of
the primary reasons given for war in the
NPRC was that the 1995 elections were rigged
and that there was a need to remove the
military dictatorship. "The war cannot end
without disarmament", he emphasized.

CUBA COMPLAINS TO GEN. ASSEMBLY

Cuba has requested the General Assembly
of the United Nations to listen to its side
of the story in which the US accused
Havana of violating international
humanitarian law. Cuban military last
week shot two privately owned aircrafts
over its air space. Cuba has said it gave
the Americans warning ever since in 1994
about the illegal flight of Cuban planes
into Cuban air space. Operators of the two
planes said they were on humanitarian
mission, to rescue people leaving Cuba or
sea. They argue it was their rights as free
men to do so.

SUDANESE PRESIDENT WANTS WAR ENDED

President Omar Bashir of Sudan has called
for the end of his country's civil war. It
made the call in the Kenyan Capital
Nairobi, where he is attending a meeting
The 13 years old civil conflict in Sudan
between Christians in the South of a
country and the Northern Muslims of
control the government and impose
Islamic laws.

PROBED FOR HELPER CRIMINALS

Two French Police officers are now
undergoing investigation on suspicion
helping Algerian Islamic militants
France without correct travel
documents. One of the Police
under probe has been arrested.
sources in Paris say some
militants, suspected of being in
over the country illegally by
between \$10,000 to 20,000 do
false documents from the police.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
 The New York Times is a daily newspaper published in New York City. It is one of the most influential newspapers in the world. The Times is known for its high-quality journalism and its commitment to reporting the news as it happens.

Taylor Times With Khaddafi

About six years ago, in early December, 1989, the plain faces of four young Libyans were pictured on national television here in Mauritania. The suspects, all males, had been unnamed by a tight security dragnet.



Connections Charles Taylor
 He has been implicated in denying his Libyan connections on national television here in Mauritania. The suspects, all males, had been unnamed by a tight security dragnet.

Libyan leader Muammar Khaddafi
 Characterized by the world for his sponsorship of terrorism, he sent a special invitation to Councilman Taylor.

Among them at the time, revealed that a total of 100 dissidents had entered Liberia in November that year via Ivory Coast to Monrovia. And their mission to stage a coup in Liberia and topple the Samuel Doe regime.

During interviews by security forces in the presence of journalists, all four of the young men further revealed that they had undergone five-week basic guerrilla training at the Latoua Military Academy in Libya and that they were the first batch of dissidents prone to invade Liberia.

cont'd on page 4



William Sankawulo - Did he mean what he said?

WEER

SEER

Sankawulo

See Story On Page 4

William Sankawulo - Did he mean what he said?

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20 December: AFRC/RUF rebels captured Koidu on Saturday after ECOMOG and the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) militia withdrew their troops following heavy fighting, survivors and aid workers said on Sunday. ECOMOG officers in Freetown said they had withdrawn to avoid civilian casualties. "We had to pull out of the town to save civilian lives," one officer said. "We could have beaten the rebels back but it would have resulted in the loss of many civilian lives. We are giving the civilians a few days to leave the town, then we will strike and crush the rebels." Survivors who reached Freetown told of many bodies lying in the streets of Koidu, many of the apparently rebels. Fighting began on Wednesday when the rebels launched an attack in the area of Small Lebanon, but were beaten back by ECOMOG and the CDF. Aid workers said thousands of civilians had fled Koidu on foot to Makeni. "At least 10,000 people have reached Makeni since Friday. Thousands more are on the road and thousands more have gone to other towns in the north," one aid worker in Makeni said. Medical sources said dozens of wounded had been admitted to the Makeni Government Hospital.

The Liberian government has closed Liberia's border with Sierra Leone and ordered all army soldiers to report for duty immediately, Liberian President Charles Taylor announced late Saturday in a statement read on his radio station, KISS-FM. The statement said the Liberian government had been informed of plans by Liberians in exile, aided by neighbouring countries, to overthrow Liberia's elected government. *Reuters* cited a rumour circulating in Monrovia that an attack would be launched on December 24. Taylor's radio station said Friday the government had learned that 5,000 armed men were crossing into Liberia from Sierra Leone. A spokesman for President Taylor said the measure was being taken to prevent the violence in Sierra Leone from spilling over into Liberia, and warned that any individual involved in the unrest would be arrested. At a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria on July 2, President Kabbah and President Taylor "expressly reaffirmed their commitment not to permit their territories to be used for actions aimed at destabilizing the other." The two leaders renewed this pledge at their Monrovia summit on July 20 and at the Mano River Union summit on November 12. However, Sierra Leone has continued to accuse Liberia of aiding AFRC/RUF rebels, a charge which Taylor has continually denied.

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28 December: AFRC/RUF rebels reportedly seized control of Makeni from retreating ECOMOG troops on Monday, but ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi, attending the ECOWAS Committee of Five foreign ministers conference in Abidjan, refused to concede that the town had fallen to the rebels, describing it instead as a "no-man's land." "Our troops have pulled back from Makeni," he said. "We had to make a tactical withdrawal in order not to stretch our communication lines." Shelpidi said the Kamajor militia would defend the town against the rebels. Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Sama Banya, declined to say who controlled the town but confirmed that all of Makeni's residents had fled. He said Nigeria had sent two battalions to Freetown on Sunday night, reportedly some 600 additional troops, to reinforce ECOMOG, bringing the force's estimated strength in Sierra Leone to about 12,000.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie claimed Friday to have captured Waterloo and Benguema, 20 and 30 miles from Freetown, respectively. ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi denied the rebel claim, saying ECOMOG troops were "in control of the area." In an interview on Sunday, Bockarie said the rebels "were no longer seeking dialogue," adding it was "too late now."

No new initiatives emerged from a one-day emergency meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five foreign ministers on Sierra Leone in Abidjan on Monday, but delegates issued a communiqué following the conference demanding that AFRC/RUF rebels cease fighting, and condemning those who were providing them support. The communiqué called on the rebels "to cease fighting immediately, to lay down their arms and to recognize the government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah as the legitimate government of Sierra Leone," and "strongly condemned the activities of the countries which are providing support to the rebels." Sierra Leone's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Sama Banya, and ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi "implicated Liberia in providing military support to the rebels," the communiqué said.

"We have a destabilising situation in the sub-region, and if it's allowed to continue, it's going to be very, very serious. It won't end in Sierra Leone, it's going to spill over and affect every country in the sub-region," Shelpidi said. Delegates said Britain, Nigeria, and the United States also accused Liberia of aiding the rebels in their current offensive.

Monie Caplan countered by demanding proof of his government's involvement, and called for an international investigation. "I don't deny that there are Liberians in Sierra Leone, but the Liberian government is not involved," he told reporters. ECOWAS General Secretary Lansana Kouyate called for additional troops for ECOMOG, and deplored the "lack of military backup" for the force despite the "good will" of ECOWAS countries. Togolese Foreign Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, who chaired the talks, called on Western countries to provide logistical equipment while maintaining the key to peace in Sierra Leone was national reconciliation. "We must insist on the necessity to organize a true dialogue -- a frank and sincere dialogue between Sierra Leone's feuding brothers," Koffigoh said. "But dialogue demands, above all, a halt in fighting," he added, urging delegates to "work together to convince belligerents to agree to a ceasefire." Koffigoh said the United Nations and the Netherlands had "given the green light" to finance 400 troops from Mali and 100 from Gambia.

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The U.S. Department of State, in a strongly-worded statement issued by Acting Spokesman M. Lee McClenny on Monday, said the United States "condemns in the strongest terms the brutal RUF insurgency" in Sierra Leone. "The United States Government stands firmly with the democratically elected government of President Kabbah," the statement said. "We can not countenance any renewed attempt to overthrow the Kabbah government by force. Nor will the people of Sierra Leone accept another coup d'etat as was demonstrated yesterday in Freetown by their march in support of the legitimate government." In a reference to allegations of Liberian support for rebels fighting in Sierra Leone, the statement said the United States Government "is especially concerned about external regional support for the RUF insurgency. We continue to urge the Government of Liberia to take all necessary measures to stop support for RUF activities emanating from its territory."

Liberian officials say they arrested eight Sierra Leoneans inside Liberia over the weekend, accusing them of being members of the Kamajor militia. According to a press report in Monrovia, two were arrested at Bo Waterside, while the remaining six were taken into custody at Dambala. Military sources at Bo Waterside said heavily armed Kamajor fighters had crossed the Mano River at Mowahn in the Wednesday evening in search of food. The sources, quoting villagers, said the Kamajors stole twelve bags of seed rice and a large quantity of palm oil before fleeing. Kamajors in canoes were reportedly seen near the abandoned mining town of Kongo, on the Liberian side of the border. There has been no direct confrontation between the Kamajor militiamen and Liberian troops, but Liberia has stepped up patrols along the border.

ECOMOG Press Secretary Malam Buhari Ali, in a statement issued in Abuja, Nigeria on Monday, claimed rebel faction leader and former AFRC Chief Secretary Solomon "SAJ" Musa was killed December 24 during an attack on Benguema Military Training Centre. There has been no independent confirmation of the claim.

17 April: Presidential spokesman Septimus Kaikai said Friday that ECOMOG had taken control of Koidu from junta loyalists and RUF fighters holding the city. "I won't tell you when we took the town. What is important is that we have captured Koidu and we are pushing forward on Kailahun and Koindu," Kaikai told a news conference. Sources close to the ECOMOG force said ECOMOG, backed by the the Kamajor militia, had driven junta troops from much of Koidu on Thursday afternoon, but that the rebels were still holding the eastern part of the city. Aid workers in Kono District reported by radio that an estimated 1,000 civilians were crossing into Liberia every day to escape the fighting. They said the rebels, backed by about 500 Liberian fighters, had withdrawn to the east end of the district with the stated aim of striking back against the ECOMOG force.

The United Nations Security Council on Friday unanimously approved deployment of up to ten U.N. military liaison and security personnel to Sierra Leone. The U.N. personnel will report on the military situation in the country, and will assist ECOMOG in identifying former combatants to be disarmed and drawing up a disarmament plan. U.N. Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okello said the mission would reassure former combatants that they would not be treated outside the law, and would observe that this was the case.

The European Union has contributed \$7 million to help Sierra Leone to demobilise combatants, according to National Security Advisor Sheka Mansaray. He said had been set up, or were in the process of being set up, throughout the country, and that the reintegration process would begin in the coming weeks.

ECOMOG task force commander Colonel Maxwell Khobe told the BBC that Liberian rebels fighting in the east of Sierra Leone are causing his troops more trouble than the junta forces and their RUF allies.

He said the Liberians, along with their local allies, were killing large numbers of Sierra Leoneans. Khobe described as "very credible" a report that retreating junta forces had killed 80 people in the village of Ngolahun last weekend.

About 200 civilians were killed last Saturday night by retreating AFRC-RUF rebels in an attack on the village of Bambatendu, Liberian *Star Radio* reported on Friday.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski has said that the exodus of refugees fleeing the fighting in Sierra Leone has reached alarming proportions. Janowski said more than 100,000 refugees had crossed into Liberia and Guinea since the beginning of the year. Since January, 50,000 Sierra Leoneans had arrived at Kissidougou, he said, and during the past week at least 1,000 Sierra Leoneans a day had crossed into Guinea—many of them suffering from malnutrition and respiratory infections. "According to people who recently arrived, there are tens of thousands more who are on their way to Guinea from Sierra Leone. So, we are seeing an emergency situation building up slowly. The people who flee Sierra Leone are in a very bad shape healthwise. Many of them have been on the road for four months." Janowski said the UNHCR was trying to move people away from the border area, but that so far only about 15,000 Sierra Leoneans had been moved into the interior. "Some refugees, not very many, are trying to make their way to Conakry — but, we're talking here about a few dozen a day — and then try and take a boat or be transferred from Conakry to the capital of Sierra Leone or to areas in Sierra Leone which are safe." He said that while the situation in Guinea was critical, the flow of refugees to Liberia had almost ceased. About 50,000 Sierra Leoneans have fled to Liberia this year, but only a handful had arrived in the country since ECOMOG took control of the area along the Liberian border, Janowski said.

Physically handicapped Sierra Leonean refugees in Bopolu, Lofa County, have complained they are being neglected by relief agencies, Liberian *Star Radio* reported on Friday. The refugees, who number about 15, said they had not received food or medical attention since the

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International Committee of the Red Cross pulled out of the area last July. Most of them were maimed during fighting between the Kamajors and the RUF. The refugees have integrated with Bopolu residents and are engaged in farming. They said they were willing to return home when it was safe for them to do so.

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STATEMENT ON THE HISTORIC RETURN TO FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, OF
THE LEADERS OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT
OF SIERRA LEONE AND THE ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

Freetown, Sunday, October 3, 1999

We herald the dawn of a new era. The war has ended. The era of peace, forgiveness and reconciliation has come.

We stand before you today to ask for forgiveness and a spirit of reconciliation across the country.

We offer hands of kindred understanding and love to all those who we have wronged. You, who we have wronged, you have every human right to feel bitter and unforgiving but we plead with you for forgiveness.

Those who have died; those who are grieving for the loss of their loved ones; those who have been disabled; those whose property have been destroyed; those traumatized - the children, the youth, the women and the old aged - we ask for their forgiveness.

We ask for forgiveness from the displaced and refugees.

We also ask for forgiveness and a spirit of reconciliation from the relatives and governments of all those foreign troops who lost their lives and suffered casualties in their tour of duty in Sierra Leone.

We ask for forgiveness and a spirit of reconciliation from members of the international community whose good will has been frustrated by this war. We ask of the same from non-governmental organisations, journalists and civil society groups both local and foreign.

We will like to repeat that the war has ended. To this effect, all prisoners of war are to be released. All roads are opened. To complement this, we call on the government to release all political prisoners and prisoners of war.

We are no longer in a state of war. We are in a state of peace and our presence here today is a testimony to our commitment to the full implementation of the Lome Peace Accord.

We have come to stay and to help consolidate the peace. We want all fears to be removed from our society starting from today. We are now in an era of peace. We are in an era of absolute respect for human rights.

All fears must be removed from our society. The state of emergency must be lifted immediately as we are no longer in a state of war. We have a responsibility now to remove all signals of mistrust, fear and war. The curfew must be lifted. All so-called

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collaborators are freed of their charges and we welcome them back into our society. Let know one be intimidated or live in fear in the new Sierra Leone we are about to create.

We are happy to announce to the nation today that the reason that brought together the Revolutionary United Front and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council still remains. We came together to end the war. We shall remain together to consolidate the peace. Nothing will divide us as our union or alliance is with the blessing of the Almighty Allah/God and our glorious ancestors. Our alliance is for peace! Our alliance is for peace! Our alliance is for peace.

With peace comes politics. The RUF/AFRC alliance will enter into politics. By this, therefore, the RUF/AFRC alliance is to be transformed from a military alliance to a political alliance in accordance with the Lome Peace Accord.

To further demonstrate our abiding commitment to peace, we the leadership and high command of the Revolutionary United Front and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council are happy to announce today the transformation of the RUF/AFRC alliance into a political movement. We usher in a vibrant political movement for peace. The RUF/AFRC alliance is now the ALLIANCE FOR PEACE (AFP)!

Very soon we will announce the symbol and flag of the Alliance for Peace (AFP). Our chosen symbol will be that of peace, goodwill and respect for human rights. Our chosen flag will reflect the strength and pride of our Pan-African heritage. We shall strive for the empowerment of our people so that the root causes of the civil war shall be removed from our society forever. Our rallying call shall be "Power to the People". Our Alliance is for Peace and we are here to sustain the peace and contribute to the creation of a new Sierra Leone of equal opportunity, freedom and justice for all.

We have come home to stay! We have come home to build! We have come home to remove fear, intimidation and mistrust from our society.

We embrace you, our people, in the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Our dear nation has suffered enough but at long last peace is now at hand. All the fighting forces of this country will be mobilised to rebuild this country. We will transform ourselves into builders of homes, schools, hospitals, markets, roads, bridges, airfields and dams to provide electricity. We shall make farms, fish ponds and raise livestock. We will be the motivating force behind the regeneration of our mining industry. We will transform the motivation on the battlefield to the fields of construction and development. This is the challenge we have put before us. Our movement for peace is also a movement for reconstruction and development.

Fellow Sierra Leoneans, join us in expressing our profound gratitude to all those who have patiently assisted us on this our footpath to peace and democracy. We thank the Heads of State of the ECOWAS Authority, their governments and people for helping us to achieve peace at last. We thank the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity,

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the European Union and the Commonwealth for listening to the cries of Sierra Leoneans for peace and helping the nation to focus on the benefits of peace. We thank the NGO community, journalists and the civil society groups who constantly reminded the warring factions of their human rights obligations. To them and the international community who supported them we reaffirm our commitment to the observance of human rights. Let their collective voice continue to ring in our ears and remind us of our human rights obligations to the rest of society.

We hold our Alliance for Peace sacred and therefore our commitment to peace and our desire to see to the implementation of the Lome Peace Accord in full.

We are at home and there is no turning back. We have come to help build a new Sierra Leone. May the Almighty Allah/God and our glorious ancestors continue to guide and bless us all.

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SIERRA LEONE

The United Nations special conference on Sierra Leone: the protection of human rights must be a priority for the international community

On 30 July 1998 the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, will convene a special conference in New York to galvanize the international community's response to the political, humanitarian and human rights situation in Sierra Leone.

The meeting will bring together representatives of the Government of Sierra Leone, intergovernmental organizations, including the UN, the Organization of African Unity, the Economic Community of West African States - which played a key role in restoring the elected government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah in March 1998 - the European Union and the Commonwealth, as well as humanitarian organizations.

Continuing atrocities

The international community's commitment to bring peace and security to Sierra Leone and to assist in its reconstruction and rehabilitation must include initiatives which will help to stop the gross human rights abuses being perpetrated by the joint forces of the ousted Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and Revolutionary United Front (RUF), prevent further abuses and also lay solid foundations for the respect and protection of human rights in the future.

AFRC and RUF forces in the east and north of Sierra Leone are deliberately and arbitrarily killing and torturing unarmed civilians. A deliberate and systematic campaign of killing, rape and mutilation - called by the AFRC and RUF "*Operation no living thing*" - has emerged since April 1998.

Although the exact number of those killed in recent months is unknown, it is likely to be several thousand, many of them women and children. More than 200 people were killed during an attack on one village alone - Yifin, in Koinadugu District in Northern Province - in late April 1998. Many hundreds of men, women and children of all ages have suffered mutilation and crude amputations of their arms, legs, lips or ears, lacerations and gunshot wounds. Women and girls have been raped or suffered other forms of sexual assault. Survivors of attacks who manage to reach safety and medical assistance recount that many others from their villages were killed or fled into the bush, their fate unknown.

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The UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Sergio Vieira de Mello, following a visit to Sierra Leone in June 1998, said that the brutal treatment of civilians by the AFRC and RUF was unlike anything he had seen in 29 years of humanitarian work: *"there are no words to condemn this sort of practice..."*.

An Amnesty International delegation which visited Sierra Leone in May 1998 met some of the victims of these atrocities at Connaught Hospital in Freetown. One, a farmer aged 40 from the village of Badala, in Koinadugu District, had both hands cut off when the village was attacked on 3 May 1998. He had arrived at Connaught Hospital four days later. Another, a 15-year-old schoolboy from Koidu, in Kono District, Eastern Province, who had arrived at the hospital on 10 May 1998, had suffered severe lacerations to his right ankle in an attempted amputation. Almost 50 people with him had been killed when they were attacked on 1 May 1998.

Three young women survived an attack on the village of Boima in Bombali District, Northern Province, on 7 May 1998; one had a deep cut to her arm, the other two had been beaten all over their bodies. One of the women had witnessed the killing of several members of her family, including her children. Twelve people, including three of her children, died when their house was set alight. Another child, a girl aged three, was pulled from her back and cut with machetes.

Such gross and large-scale human rights abuses demand an immediate and forceful response from the international community. The UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), the peace-keeping operation established by the UN Security Council on 13 July 1998 to monitor the military and security situation in Sierra Leone, must be given the necessary resources and political support to effectively monitor violations of international humanitarian and human rights law and to make its findings public. In approving resolution 1181 (1998) the Security Council expressed its grave concern about *"the loss of life and immense suffering undergone by the people of Sierra Leone ... as a result of continuing rebel attacks"*. Effective monitoring and reporting should be an important part of the international community's response.

Monitoring and reporting human rights abuses

Measures taken by the UN so far to address the human rights situation in Sierra Leone, including UNOMSIL civilian staff to monitor and report on violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, should be supported and reinforced. The inclusion of reporting on human rights in the Fifth Report of the UN Secretary-General on the situation in Sierra Leone of 9 June 1998 is welcomed and should be developed further in future reports.

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The extent of the atrocities in Sierra Leone requires an increased number of civilian staff with human rights expertise within UNOMSIL to report on human rights violations to the UN Secretary-General and the High Commissioner for Human Rights. It is important that there are adequate resources for UNOMSIL human rights monitors to be deployed in those areas of the country, in particular Eastern and Northern Provinces, where human rights abuses are being perpetrated. Adequate protection must be provided in areas where their security might be at risk.

The special conference will specifically seek assistance from the international community for UNOMSIL and for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants and child soldiers in Sierra Leone. Military observers deployed in Sierra Leone should also report, through explicit channels, to the UN Secretary-General and the High Commissioner for Human Rights any violations of international humanitarian and human rights law which they may witness or receive reliable information about.

Children caught in the violence

Children have been particular victims of the violence and brutality in Sierra Leone. As well as being deliberately and arbitrarily killed, mutilated and maimed, thousands of children have been and continue to be abducted by AFRC and RUF forces and forced to fight. Girls and women have been systematically raped and forced into sexual slavery.

Among the more than 350,000 Sierra Leoneans who have either become refugees in neighbouring countries or internally displaced since February 1998 are hundreds of unaccompanied children separated from their families as a result of the violence. Children are the most vulnerable to the acute hardship, disease and malnutrition faced by Sierra Leonean refugees and displaced people. During May and June 1998, 750 people, including children, were reported to have died of disease and malnutrition at Masingbi, in Tonkolili District, Northern Province, where some 15,000 displaced people have sought safety.

The Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, Olara Otunnu, following a visit to Sierra Leone in May 1998, challenged the international community to respond in a more vigorous and concerted way to the needs of children affected by the conflict in Sierra Leone. In June 1998 the UN Security Council, condemning the abduction, sexual abuse and recruitment and use in hostilities of children, said that it would pay serious attention to the situation of children affected by armed conflict. The needs of children in Sierra Leone are critical. Amnesty International welcomes the work of the Special Representative and endorses his call for Sierra Leone to be made one of the pilot projects for a more effective response in the context of post-conflict peace-building.

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Effective institutions for the protection of human rights

Amnesty International urges the participants at the special conference on Sierra Leone, including the UN and international financial institutions, to work closely together to promote post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation which is based on good governance and respect for human rights. The police and army need to be restructured and trained, including in human rights; the legal and judicial systems need to be reformed and strengthened. The international community should assist in creating effective institutions for the protection and respect for human rights, including an independent national commission for human rights.

Ending impunity

Impunity contributes to continuing patterns of human rights abuses. Peace and security in Sierra Leone will not be achieved until there is an end to impunity. It is only when those responsible for human rights abuses are brought to justice for their crimes that a clear message is sent that gross human rights abuses will not be tolerated or allowed to go unpunished.

Amnesty International strongly endorses the joint statement in June 1998, shortly after the conference on the creation of a permanent international criminal court opened in Rome, by the heads of five UN agencies - UNICEF, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs - that the atrocities being committed in Sierra Leone are a brutal reminder of the urgent need for an international criminal court to bring to trial those responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The delegation of Sierra Leone to the diplomatic conference in Rome repeatedly cited the experience of its country as evidence of the need for the establishment of a permanent international criminal court. The international community must assist in establishing accountability for the atrocities in Sierra Leone in order to combat impunity and to bring justice, and also to contribute to lasting peace in Sierra Leone.

KEYWORDS: UNI / ARMED CONFLICT1 / CHILDREN / WOMEN / INDISCRIMINATE KILLINGS / IMPUNITY / OAU

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AFRC'S RESPONSE TO ARTICLE ON DISCORD IN REBEL RANKS

Dear Ambrose

There were factual inaccuracies in your analysis about the problems between the AFRC and the RUF. We would like you to set the records straight, in your otherwise excellent tradition of fair and unbiased reporting and comment:

- Gborie did not lead the coup of May 25 1997. He was recruited by the real leaders - Abu Zagalo Sankoh, Ibrahim Bazzi and Tamba Brima - in the early hours of the morning of May 25th 1997. Before 24th May, the man knew nothing of the plans. A mere look at the cassette of the treason trial where Gborie gives his last explanation to the world confirms this fact and clearly says that he was not a coup maker but that he was approached by Zagalo.
- The talk of a Tamba Gborie faction is therefore not correct. We know who is behind those rumours and the damage that it has caused. It was not Johnny Paul Koroma (JPK) who left Gborie at Pademba Road. It was not even JPK who sacked him or locked him at Pademba Road. It was SAJ Musa! He led the investigation into Gborie's actions at the Iranian Embassy. The Investigating Committee led by SAJ submitted their findings to the Supreme Council and the decision to dismiss Gborie was a collective decision of the Supreme Council. Gborie was then misled into taking a contingent of men to attack the Chairman's residence.
- Again, the decision to lock him up for this action of insubordination was not that of JPK. After a supreme council meeting, in which all council members were present, it was decided that Gborie be locked up. It was SAJ Musa and the RUF's Issa Sesay who actually went to Brigadier Mani's house where Gborie was staying, placed him under arrest and drove him to Pademba Road.
- It is not true to say that JPK left Gborie in jail. Where were the so called "Tamba Gborie faction" when Gborie was left behind in jail? JPK gave orders to Zagalo to release Gborie. Zagalo was too busy securing his own safety and later explained that he had malaria. Gborie knew of this and those who were with him at Pademba Road know that Gborie died without any bitterness for JPK. There is no Tamba Gborie faction. What happened to him was unfortunate and very, very sad.
- JPK did not abandon his men to go to the East; nor is he a weak man who "is too religious". This is deliberate misinformation told by those who are out to make money out of Sierra Leone's crisis, and you should not be deceived to repeat it. They see JPK's gentle approach to the crisis as a stumbling block. They want more SLAs to be sacrificed and to die on the battlefield so their own selfish interests can be realised. JPK, on the other hand is not interested in power or emoluments. All he wants is a decent package for the soldiers so that these young men are not left alienated by society and so resort to creating havoc on a country they believe they

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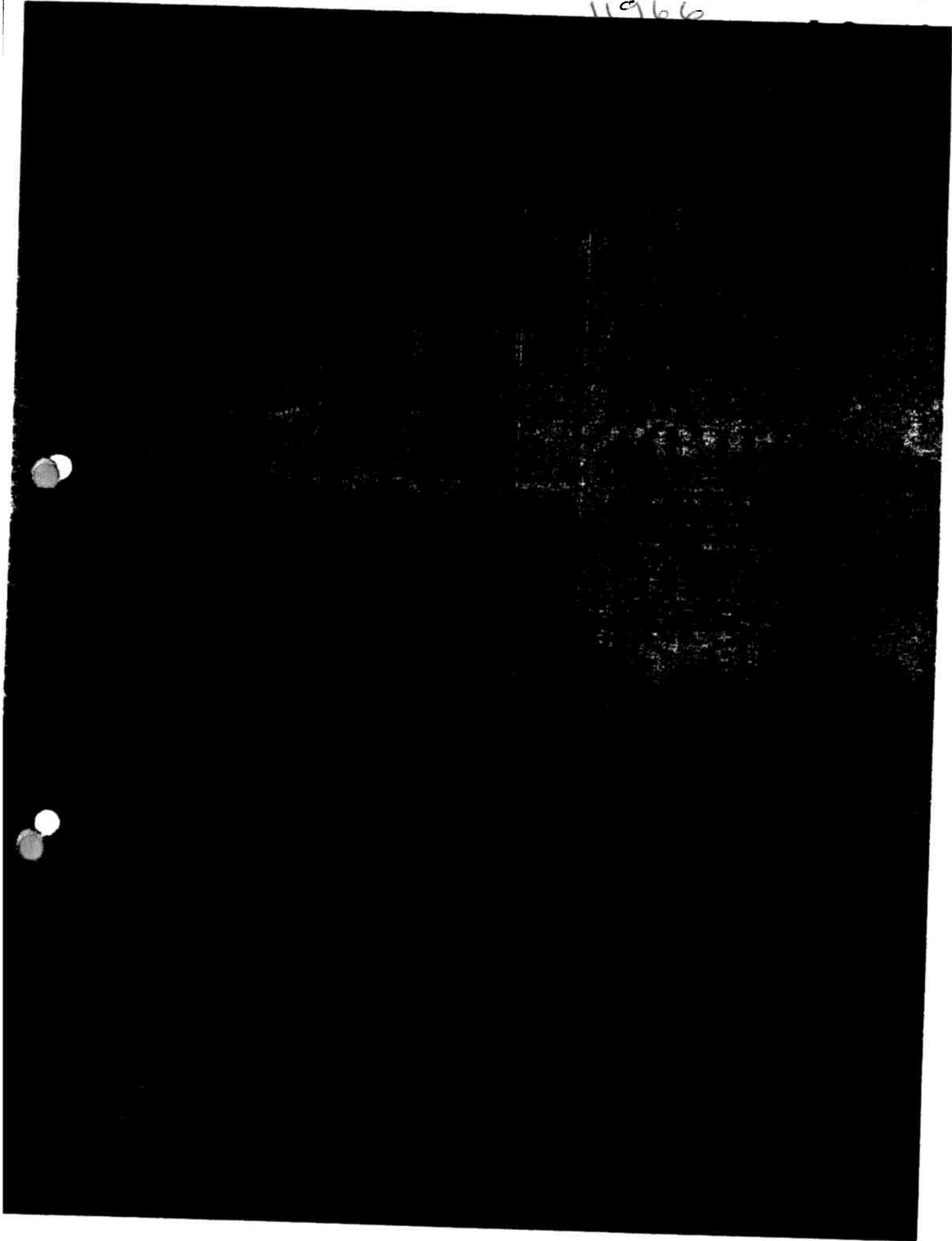
protected. Let it not be forgotten that they protected Sierra Leone. Your readers should remember that it took Charles Taylor less than seven months to march from Ivory Coast to Monrovia, decimating the Armed Forces of Liberia along the way. Our boys refused to allow the RUF this success. For seven years the RUF tried and failed to even secure any major town (for any considerable time) after the army's offensive. Johnny Paul Koroma was the first officer sent to counter the RUF in 1991. He was the officer who stopped the RUF's Mohamed Tarawallie (Zeno) from crossing Waterloo into Freetown in 1995.

- The Lomé Accord says nothing about what happens to the SLA soldiers. Yes, the hostage taking was unfortunate but it drew the world's attention to the real plans of the RUF. You said it was "totally unjustified". We say, it was totally justified. Even those who were taken hostage understood the desperation of the soldiers who abducted them.
- JPK was a moderate and religious man throughout his term as Head of State. No "chastening" experience made him so. He decided to relocate to the South instead of his homeland in the North because he feared that the conflict might change to a North versus South matter. If, as your article suggests, the soldiers in the North felt betrayed by Koroma, why did they hold hostage UN personnel to bring the plight of Koroma to the world? Why not hold the hostages, damn Koroma and make heroes of officers like Brigadier Mani who stayed with them up North throughout?
- Rambo was not killed because (as you wrongly stated) he was "popular among the young AFRC soldiers" but because he had been sent by an RUF Commander to kill Dennis (Superman) Mingo. It was 'Superman, not Rambo, who was seen by the RUF as being too closely aligned with the SLAs in the North.

Banjah Marrah
AFRC Communications Officer
7 November 1999

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May 12, 2000, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 14; Column 2; Foreign Desk**LENGTH:** 742 words**HEADLINE:** Sierra Leone Rebels Halted Near Capital but Active Elsewhere**BYLINE:** By NORIMITSU ONISHI**DATELINE:** FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, May 11**BODY:**

Forces loyal to the government appeared to push back rebels attacking the capital today but fighting intensified and spread to other areas.

A coalition of United Nations peacekeepers, Sierra Leone soldiers and a militia known as Kamajors secured the road leading to Waterloo, about 18 miles southeast of Freetown, but heavy fighting broke out about 10 miles east of Waterloo, said David Wimhurst, the spokesman of the United Nations force.

On Wednesday, fighting around Waterloo drove thousands of civilians to gather at Jui Junction, 10 miles from Freetown, as they fled toward the capital. Today, many left Jui Junction for their homes.

In the capital, pro-government forces tightened security, mindful that infiltrators played a critical role last year in rebel attacks that nearly overran Freetown.

British paratroopers limited access to the western part of the city, the site of the United Nations headquarters, even setting up barbed wire along the beach.

United Nations peacekeepers operated checkpoints alongside Sierra Leone soldiers, militiamen and rifle-toting men of unknown affiliation who were dressed mostly in T-shirts and flip-flops.

"Every minute that goes by strengthens our resolve to bring lasting peace in this country," said Prince Nicol, the spokesman for Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Koroma. In alliances that have shifted rapidly since last week, Colonel Koroma is now supporting the government against his former ally, Foday Sankoh, the leader of the Revolutionary United Front. Colonel Koroma led a short-lived junta that toppled President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah in 1997; Mr. Kabbah is now president again.

Shadowing today's fighting was the continuing search by the United Nations for 500 peacekeepers whose capture by the rebels set off the newest crisis.

The whereabouts of Mr. Sankoh are still unclear, Mr. Wimhurst said. But talks with the Revolutionary United Front are being held through intermediaries, including President Charles Taylor of Liberia, a former guerrilla [REDACTED]

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Securing Freetown has become the priority of the United Nations force. But thousands of peacekeepers remain deployed across the country, some in rebel territory.

In Makeni, in the center of the country, hundreds of Kenyan peacekeepers who had been surrounded by rebels broke through the cordon and made it to friendly territory. But six were wounded, three seriously, when they came under fire by Sierra Leone soldiers who mistook them for rebels disguised in United Nations uniforms.

Some rebels have apparently begun wearing uniforms that they stripped from the 500 United Nations hostages. Others have been using the hostages' equipment, including 13 armored cars belonging to Zambian troops. In Port Loko, about 65 miles from Freetown, United Nations peacekeepers were attacked overnight by rebels using armored cars, Mr. Wilmhurst said. No casualties were reported.

The heaviest battles broke out east of Waterloo, despite the heavy presence of Jordanian and Nigerian peacekeepers, and three Land Rovers filled with elite SAS British troops were seen heading east of Waterloo. The 850 British soldiers in Sierra Leone, who came to evacuate European citizens, have been under intense pressure to play a more active role in peacekeeping.

The 8,700 peacekeepers here include Nigerians, Indians, Kenyans, Jordanians, Zambians, Guineans and Ghanaians.

The Sierra Leone Army, which is said to number 5,000, was far larger before the junta took power in 1997. At the time most soldiers reportedly sided with Colonel Koroma against the government. In the anarchy of Sierra Leone, many who were soldiers during the day became rebels at night, and came to be known as sobels.

According to the peace accord that briefly halted the earlier battles, rebellious soldiers fit to be rehabilitated were to be reintegrated into a new government army. But in the desperation that gripped the government in recent days, the government effectively permitted Colonel Koroma to rally his men against Mr. Sankoh's group without any pretence of official rehabilitation.

"The government has not stopped them from doing what they are doing," Septimus Kaikai, President Kabbah's spokesman, said in an interview today.

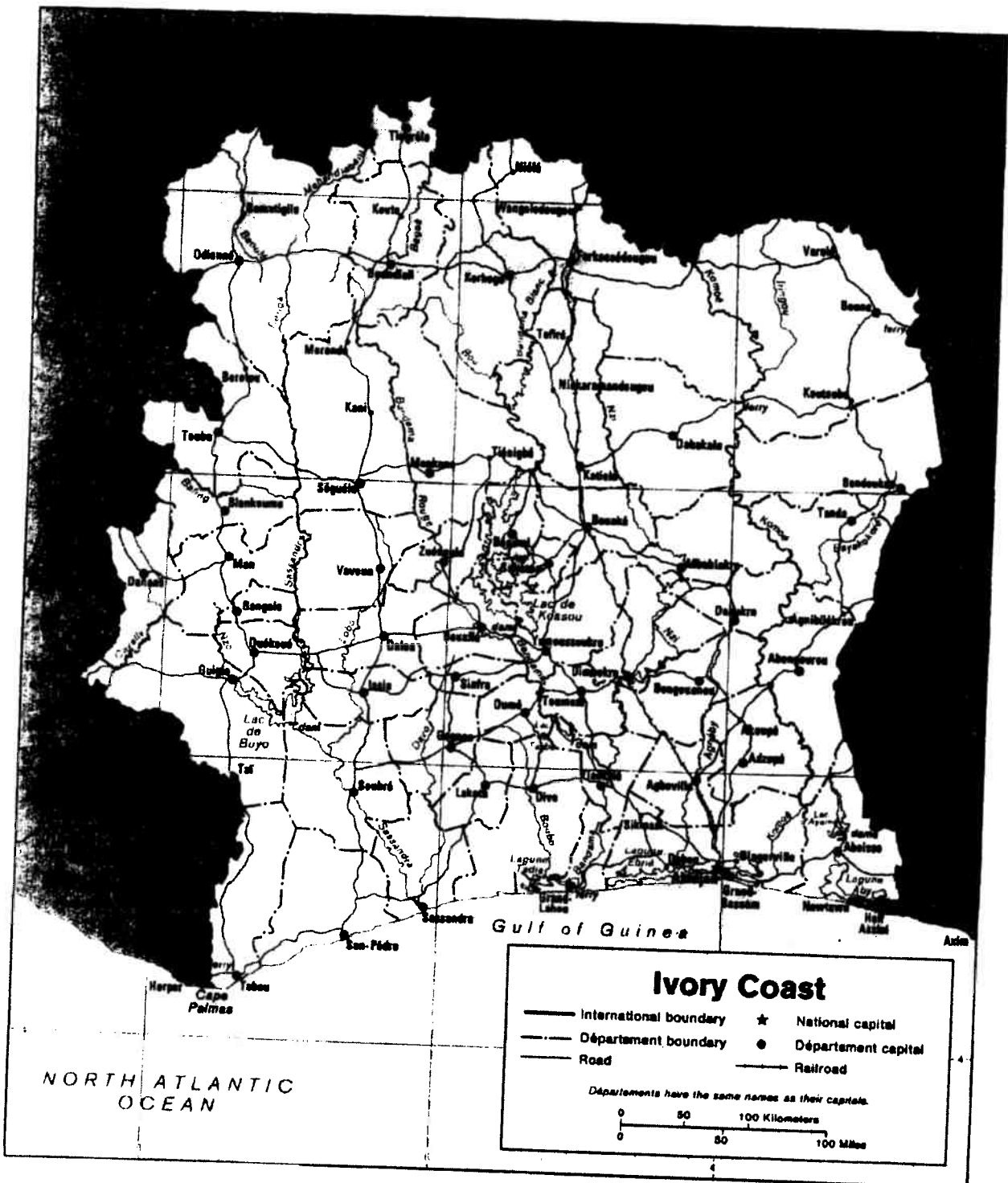
The Revolutionary United Front and the Kamajor militia, which is made up of traditional hunters who often provide security in West Africa, are each thought to total more than 15,000 members.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photos: Sierra Leone troops and ragtag militiamen near Waterloo headed toward the line of battle with rebels yesterday, and seemed to halt the push against the capital, but the rebels still hold 500 peacekeepers hostage. (Associated Press); Refugees fleeing Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, thronged a boat landing yesterday. Attacking rebel forces were apparently pushed back. (Reuters)

Map of Sierra Leone highlighting Freetown: Troops loyal to the government seem to control Freetown for now.

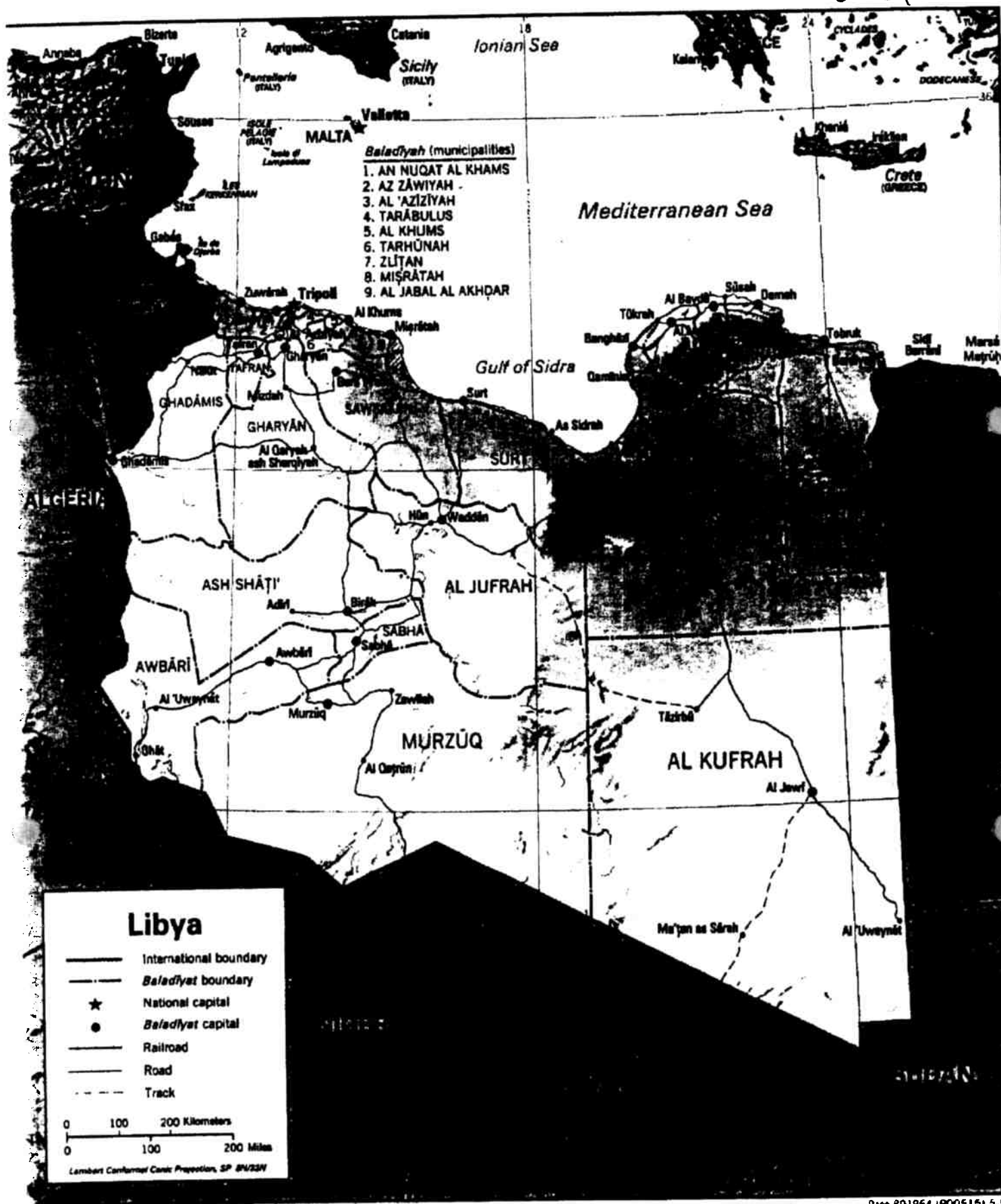
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TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS BROADCAST ON THE BBC

Un-official transcripts prepared by the OTP.

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Track 10: Sam Bockarie, 08.01.1999**00025103**

So the fly in the ceasefire ointment seems to be Sam Bockarie alias - perhaps aptly - Mosquito. He's urging his rebels to go on the offensive we called him up and Robin White asked him why he wasn't taking this chance to work for peace with the President Kabbah Government.

- SB** That chances was there when Kabbah was in power. But he failed to do that. He said he was not going to talk to us, we are thieves and bandits and that he was going to kill all of us at the end of the year and he never succeeded that's why God has given us the upper hand to have overrun him and now he's gone.
- RW** But isn't this a golden opportunity for a peaceful solution?
- SB** There is an opportunity if they are ready.
- RW** But they say they're ready.
- SB** If they are ready, our leader cannot be under duress there, being humiliated, molested and then people asking us to cease-fire. We are trying to do everything possible that will secure his release.
- RW** Now I've just spoken to the Information Minister and he says that if you want to see your leader Foday Sankoh face-to-face he's sure that that can be arranged.
- SB** Oh, if he can do that then let him arrange that.
- [sounds like gun shots in background]
- SB** I'm sorry Robin. My men are coming around me. They don't want any bush to shake around me.
- RW** So what are they doing?
- SB** They are coming the bush. I don't want any bush to shake. Any bush shake we're gonna come¹ there.
- RW** But I mean is anybody trying to attack you?
- SB** Yes, maybe somebody will attack, attempt an attack, attacking me.
- RW** Anyway you were saying about the possibility of you going to see Foday Sankoh face-to-face. You're game for that are you?
- SB** If he say he is ready to do that, then we are looking up to them but all we want an immediate release of Corporal Sankoh and to be turned over to us or to a neutral ground where we have suggested through the usual channel.

¹ "Come" in this context means 'shoot'.

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You've called for you know a general offensive. Do you think your men are going to obey you?

SB It is happening now they are obeying me. This morning I got on the air and I asked if the offensive started last night and all of them answered me yes and as I'm speaking to you Tongo has fallen to us.

RW Where is that?

SB Tongo is another diamond ..., a rich diamond mining area

RW But what about the people in Freetown, are they going to obey you?

SB I tell you, you are the first people I spoken to. I called the task force commander on the air and I spoke to him who is Brigadier G who is commonly called as "Gullit". He is there. I told him that I asked him whether the offensive started since last night. He told me "yes".

RUF rebel commander Sam Bockarie.

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Daily News

VOL. 3 #149, THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1994. MONROVIA, PAKE: \$1.00

In Civil Conflict 00031419

Taylor takes blame for those killed

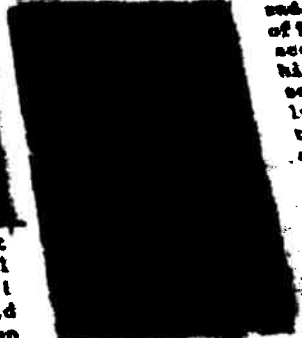
IGNU accused of siphoning foreign aid funds

The erstwhile (Yoruba Government) headed by President Amos Sawyer has been accused of allegedly misappropriating US aid and other funds donated by

the international community to Liberia. According

NEW YORK NEWS, which it possesses: VISA, D and so official accuse high o some luxury: the 1 and 2 The

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DR. MYERS

In an apparent response to allegations levied against him recently by Labour Minister Thomas Kporiye, the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Charles Taylor, says he stands responsible for all the atrocities and killings committed by his fighters during the civil war over the last four years.

Woodwright recently accused Taylor of ordering the execution of

several prominent Liberians as well as political figures in a bid to foster his plan

Cont'd On Page 6

Dee takes Myers to task

An assertion by Prince Myers, former Security Advisor to the rebel-NPRAG, that David Dwanyen died a "natural death" while displaced in NPFL held territory, has been described as a "blatant evasion of the facts and circumstances."

On Monday, ELRC greeted an interview to the NPFL Security Advisor at which time Myers denied revelations made by the former NPFL Defense spokesman, Mr. Dan Woodwright, that Mr. Dwanyen was among several

other prominent politicians and educators ordered killed by Charles Taylor.

But in his reaction to Prince Myers' denial and clarification, Mr. Berber Smith Dee, a displaced from NPFL-controlled area, said that the former Commerce Minister was humiliated and severely beaten by NPFL fighters on two occasions.

He recalled that on July 10, 1990 the late Dwanyen was beaten up by NPFL fighters in the town of Gbarnga.

the following day, July 11, he was taken to the Omega Station area where he was again beaten and forced

Cont'd On Page 6

ELRM P U

The President and founder of Liberia's first independent commercial Radi Station, ELRM 98.6, leaves the country today to attend a special training session in Washington. Mr. Char

CHARLES TAYLOR

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MONROVIA
GUARDIAN

VOL. 9 NO. 1 WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1999 PRICE: £520.00

**KABBAN AGREES
TO CEASE-FIRE**

—TODAY SANKOH TO BE FREED

Addressing a news conference at the Long Beach Convention Center, he said that the release of the prisoners was a "very important step" in the process of ending the Vietnam War. He said that the release of the prisoners was a "very important step" in the process of ending the Vietnam War.

allow for mediation between the governments and rebels, and that such talks would involve the governments of Le Coll d'Or and Togo. But the governments only attended President Kabiho's press conference in Lomé said the President's statement is a sign that the war continued. International from



1998

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in last three and no lightning agreement with Cameroon but the arrangement was a concession one. "I don't expect Joseph to go to the press with this matter," he added. Mr. Haroun however returned to report that his Commander and that of the Togo will have to handle the matter.

For his part the Federal Manager of the Cameroon, Mr. George Dabon emphatically told our reporter that he could not have any case with the Cameroonian as he was concerned.

Continued by Mr. Haroun is that there was no lightning agreement between Cameroon and the Cameroonian. He said in the publication of this paper the copy of a communiqué dated April 26, 1998 under the signature of his General Manager, Mr. George Dabon which was forwarded to authorities of the Cameroonian officially informing them of the number of citizens supplied with the categories of treatments.

Meanwhile authorities of the Cameroonian currently contemplating on putting in the necessary means to have communication in the Cameroonian, cause all other effects. This will yield any result thus far. *Wanda Herbert Johnson*

CAMEROON

Fighting by two factions of the Cameroonian Football Association (FECAFOOT) between and after France '98 FIFA accused Cameroon of not respecting the accord reached after the dissolution of FECAFOOT. According to the accord, Cameroon and FIFA would both run the affairs of the FA for a period of about 6 months during which time election of new Chairman would take place. But Cameroon failed to name all of its members to the committee and insisted that FECAFOOT should clear the committee, a row which continued until the expiration of the deadline set by FIFA.

Cameroon fell apart with FIFA immediately after France '98 FECAFOOT Chairman Mr. Vincent Onanwan was accused of racketeering some world cup tickets alleged to be sold by the Cameroonian Football Association by FIFA. This accusation prompted the Cameroonian government to demand Mr. Onanwan. But since his detention some six months ago, no formal charge has been brought against him, and it is widely believed that Mr. Onanwan is just being used as a scape goat and an attempt to investigate him will implicate so many public figures in the Cameroonian sporting arena. Politics in Cameroonian football is not anything new, it has since begun to be the case after every four years after the world cup.

COMMISSION

King, NPA Pythons, Invincible Eleven (IE) and Mighty Barville.

On Saturday, the opening day, Uthuru Kings will face IE in the first match while Barville engages the NPA Pythons to climax the activities of the day.

On Sunday comes the big one when the winner of the Uthuru Kings/IE's encounter meets the winner of the second encounter to decide who clinches the trophy.

According to the organizers, a trophy will be presented to the winner and the tournament is geared at raising funds for the springs of the association.

Kabbah

Foday Sanneh asking his men to cease-fire to allow for peace talks to begin.

Although President Kabbah did not disclose where he had spent Sunday, his meeting is believed to have been held at a private club. On Tuesday a rebel

commander told the BBC he had received information that their leader, Corporal Foday Sanneh had been married from his prison cell by ECOMOG. Foday Sanneh's Commander Maxwell Kibuka and Foday Sanneh's Airport, possibly to be taken in Nigeria.

Kabbah's decision to talk with the rebels is a major reversal of his earlier stance of insisting that he would not negotiate with them despite of repeated calls from several quarters both locally and internationally to dialogue, and it comes as rebels have made major military gains.

About a year after being driven out of their country, a shattered, splintered force of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and ex-Army soldiers over ran most parts of Freetown and seized full control of the Statehouse, the presidential residence and seat of government.

Lawrence quoted by most international media including the BBC and Associated Press report that the rebels are presently occupying Statehouse and most of the eastern parts of the city, plus a portion of the western end.

Officials of President Kabbah's government and ECOMOG however continue to deny reports of major gains by the rebels. Information Minister Julius Spencer told the BBC yesterday that ECOMOG was effectively in control of Freetown and were simply carry on a mop-up operation.

But independent reports indicate that ECOMOG troops and Kabbah's loyalists are concentrated in parts of the capital. ECOMOG is said to be in firm control of Lungi Airport, 15 miles from downtown Freetown, whilst a fierce battle was ensuring the control of Wilberforce Barracks.

The rebels Wednesday marched into Freetown with virtually no resistance and burned down the Nigerian Embassy, the Police Headquarters and that of Sierra Leone's secret service.

Yesterday afternoon at least 12 civilians were killed when Nigerian jets zoomed over Freetown and dropped bombs in the Rebel-controlled section of the city; a rebel spokesman put the number of civilians killed in the ECOMOG bombing raids at "more than a thousand". A journalist reporting from downtown Freetown said the civilians had come out in large numbers in the streets and were chanting, "we want peace", "we want peace", when ECOMOG plane roar above and dropped the bombs. He described the scene as "terrifying", and said he saw several persons severely injured, including a pregnant woman.

Information Minister Julius Spencer said ECOMOG was not targeting civilians, but said if civilians were killed in the process, it was very unfortunate. He recalled that the government had earlier warned civilians to stay off the street.

Minister Spencer announced earlier Wednesday that anyone who ventured out of his home would be considered a rebel and shot on sight.

Meanwhile latest reports indicate that former President Joseph Momoh and other prominent Sierra Leoneans have been released from custody by the rebels and are currently residing at Statehouse.

The whereabouts of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah is still unclear. Sierra Leone government officials and ECOMOG have remained tight-lipped on his specific location but insist he is in Freetown. It is widely believed that Kabbah and most of his officials are seeking refuge at the ECOMOG-protected Lungi Airport portion of Freetown.

NEWSPAPER: As we went to press, RUF Commander Sam Boleun, also "Mongor", rejected President Kabbah's calls for an immediate cease-fire. He argued that Corporal Foday Sanneh must first be released before there can be any talk of a

rebel offensive in Freetown.

HELL ON EARTH

It was one of those heavy evenings when the sun and the stars both chose to take a holiday, and your poor CHB could not fail to take full advantage of such an ideal period for relaxation after an extremely hectic week.

That Saturday as I drove out the April 22, 1998 edition of *Attachee* from my cabinet and took off the dust that had accumulated since I received this copy six weeks earlier without reading a line, the first thing that drew my attention was the cover photograph: the garishly-heeled boot, worn leather, dark sunglasses and the plastic, stainless weapons, and knives wielded by these teenagers, were enough to tell me they were gangsters - Urban Rebels, to be exact.

So even before diving into the article within the magazine, I focused my mind on the unspeakable tragedy, teenage and police attacking millions of people around the globe - the millions who were living in HELL ON EARTH. CHB came upon what was a long, long journey, my I share with you a comment once made by a dear friend - he told "Africa offers the best opportunity for teenagers." I couldn't help but agree with that fellow, but I added that the coverage of today are dominated all over the globe. Poverty, drug abuse, prostitution and immorality have made our world so abhorrent.

The problem of gangsters certainly does not stop at the same level above, however, my interest was raised by the fact that such acts could be going on in some "safe haven" of our world apparently with no end in sight.

Now get a gist of how these "Urban Rebels" operate:

Little Robert was only 11 years old, yet he was found three days under a deadline bridge. There were two bullet holes in the back of his head. He had been killed, it was believed, by members of his own youth gang. Fifteen - year old Alex was headed for gang membership and perhaps toward an early grave but he saw a blood die and thought to himself "I don't want to end up like that."

FOOTPATHS

WITH CHB

Violent street gangs, once associated with the widely known Los Angeles gangs called the Bloods and the Crips have spread worldwide. But wherever they are gangs are menacingly often.

England's "Teddy Boys" shocked the world in the 1950s. The Tins of London said they used axes, knives, bludgeons, and other weapons to "inflict terrible injuries" on innocent people. "Their fights broke a coffee were ripped apart, and coffee bars were wrecked; people were maimed, beaten up, and sometimes killed."

Die Welt of Hamburg, Germany, reported that more recently young people "on their way to the disco or on their way home" have been

upon by gangs wielding "baseball bats, knives, and guns". Jean Soderström of *Arbete* said that delinquents in Berlin attack anyone "is noticeably weaker - the handicapped, the handicapped, raped women."

An *Attachee* correspondent in Spain reported that the youth teenage gangs is a recent one but is growing. ABC, a Spanish Ministry, carried the headline "Witchhunts - The New Nightmares Streets." A former student from Spain said they would call foreign pigs, prostitutes and homosexuals. He added: "A night's violence (was) worthless."

In South Africa the Cape Times said that much of the violence there is "the by-product of a violent gang culture." A high paid Cape Town says that South African gangs became "prominent power groupings and that they 'robbed and raped members of the community and indulged in gang fights over territory, and women'."

In New York City, a rash of gang-related violence erupted. Members of the Bloods and the Crips, gangs originally from Los Angeles, were said to have been involved. According to the New York, between July and September, the police made 700 incidents directly related to gangs.

What? The plague of violence has afflicted every back of this world. No doubt, we are living in HELL ON EARTH.

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LIBYAN, APRIL 11, 1976

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LIBYA THREATENS TO EXPOSE TAYLOR

Libya, widely believed to be one of the strongest backers of the NPFL leader, Mr. Charles Taylor, is reportedly considering exposing the Front if it (the Front) remains intransigent to the current peace process.

Reported monitor-
ed from the Lib-
yan News Agency.

JANA recently
by our correspon-
dent in Accra.

Ghana, said that
Libya was consid-
ering the plans
to expose the
NPFL because the
NPFL has refused
to stop prolong-
ing the suffer-
ings of the Libe-
rian people.
cont'd on page 6



Col. Kaddafi
Libyan Leader

Libya Threatens to Expose Taylor

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THE INQUIRER, THURSDAY, AUGUST 11, 1994 Page 6

LIBYA THREATENS

cont'd from back page

Libya, according to the reports, during its exposure campaign, will bring forth countries that had supported the NPFL with arms and ammunition as well as arms dealers and even present supporters.

The Libyan authorities, the reports continued, are also considering the mass evacuation of Liberians to neighboring countries as a result of fighting in the country. They said Liberia is among 45 war-ravaged countries in the world that have accumulated higher numbers of refugees in other countries.

JAMH also re-

is attacking seriousness to the plan and is warning the NPFL to desist from creating obstacles in the peace process so that lasting peace would come to Liberia.

The Libya news agency, according to our correspondent also disclosed that Libya is seriously concerned about the current state of affairs as reported in the media and has expressed concern about the deadlock in the process which might lead to the withdrawal of the peace keepers and relief agencies. Libya warned that if the NPFL continues to delay the peace process by putting impediments

in the way, it will unveil documents, information and tape recorded messages regarding the military operations of the NPFL in Liberia...

JAMH went on to say that "a leader of a revolution is not a president. Power in Libya is in the hands of the people and since

you are Libya a dictator to talk about revolution society."

Recently, the NPFL reportedly discharged 15 troops loaded with arms and ammunition to the country. The country is ready to join another force on the basis of civilians in Monrovia and other parts of

S. LEBNEAN REFUGEES

cont'd from front page
government (LNU).
The scribe action by the refugees caught many residents in Monrovia unaware as it started for minutes after the outbreak at 7:00.
Upon hearing the news about the refugees' scribe, this paper dispatched a team of a re-

ports due to the war. "We have been denied the necessary facilities as refugees and the UN has failed to provide us with necessary relief assistance."

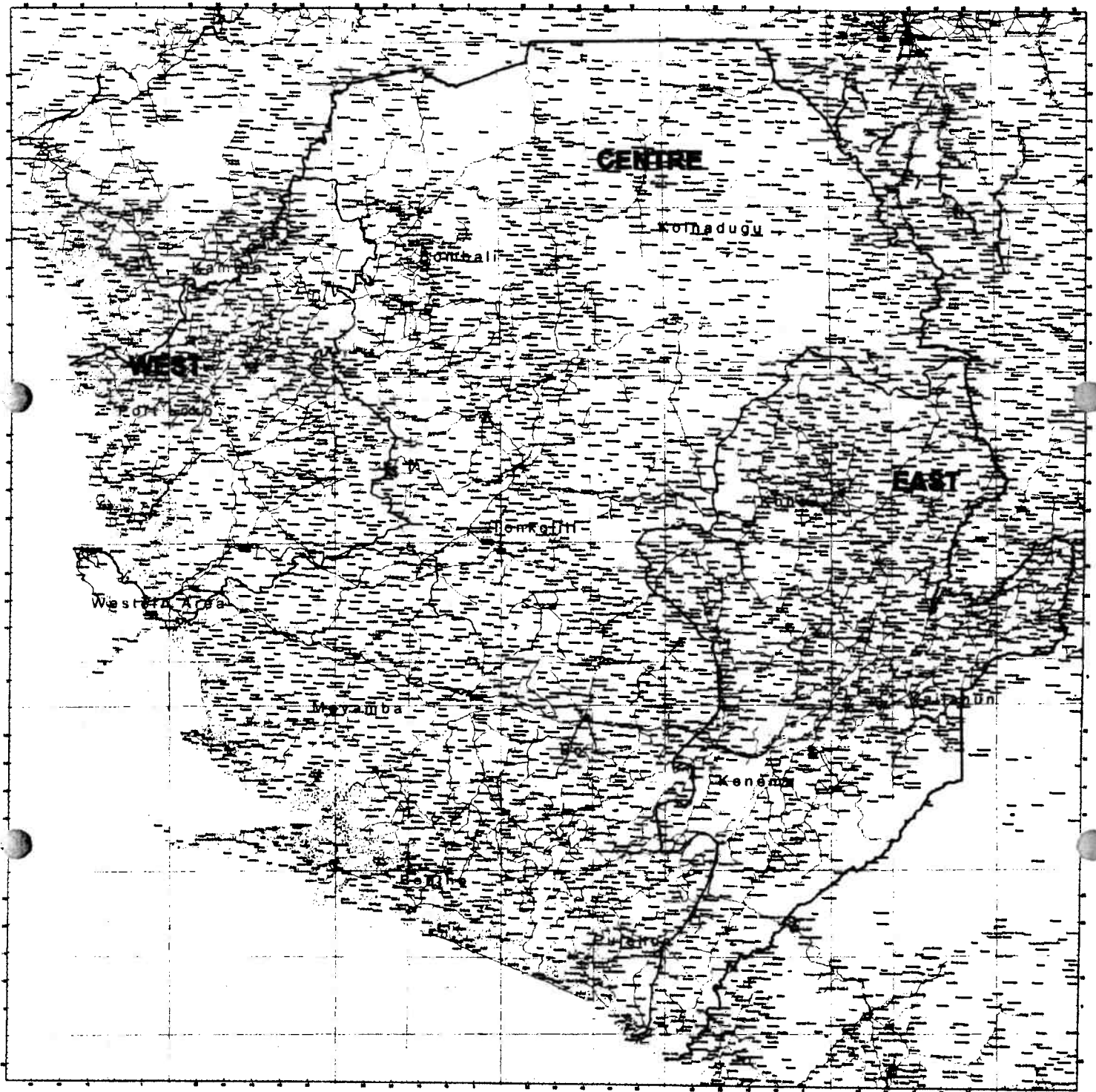
Some of the facilities the refugees were seeking include shelter, food, clothing, and medicine.

LIBYAN THREATENS

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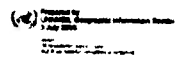
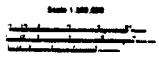
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Sierra Leone

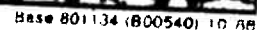


- Legend**
- Primary Highway
 - Secondary Highway
 - Report
 - Population Place
 - Border Boundary
 - District Boundary
 - Railroad
 - Coastline
 - International Boundary
 - Primary Road
 - Secondary Road
 - Tertiary Road
 - Trail
 - Unsettled Area
 - Lake/Reservoir
 - Swamp
 - Settlement Area

Sierra Leone



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November 26, 1996

Wants Child Soldiers Disarmed First

disarmament and demobilization process, a large number of fighters under 18 is disarmed and demobilized," says U.N. E.C.O.M. Representative to Liberia, Dr. Omar Abdul. "It will send a strong positive signal to the international community about the commitment of the fighters to the process."

The programme U.N.E.C.O.M. plans for the rehabilitation of child soldiers include reactivation of schools, vocational and skills training, family tracing and reunification, transit

homes, physical rehabilitation, trauma counselling and other psychological interventions.

U.N.E.C.O.M. will come against the background of world leaders' pledge (2001) at the World Summit on Children to promote the survival, protection and development of children.

That principle, says experts on children's rights, means that children must be given priority in any national effort.

Challenged To Raise Men for Leadership

Children of I-rod from bondage of I-rod.

"The same confusion with their books just want to march through the people, no matter how much they

to train men and women in humble spirit and find learning to take as the ark in that I-rod would "hear all" was no more."

Political authorities interpret the ark spoken about by Rev. Hells in its

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At 8:30 friend called about a school about Libe Nightline.

Customs previews programs, righteous ministers to wa Liberians who program that before televis program star tearfully in d and cruelty in eyes.

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As Fighting Begins CEASE

...the rebels intended to take a position of complacency which they eventually take advantage of. The BBC sources are saying that the RUF rebels in Sierra Leone yesterday.

D

Sierra Leone's Information Minister Dr. Julius Spencer said the BBC that the RUF rebels hunting ECOMOG forces are continuing their attacks on

Sierra Leone's Information Minister Dr. Julius Spencer said the BBC that the RUF rebels hunting ECOMOG forces are continuing their attacks on

surprised because the rebels intended to take a position of complacency which they eventually take advantage of. The BBC sources are saying that the RUF rebels in Sierra Leone yesterday.

Minister Spencer stressed that the rebels on tonight has lost its security because, "President Taylor has decided to severely his own Government's" Liberia has been repeatedly warned by the Sierra Leonean Government and other by the international community of supporting the RUF rebels. The Government of Liberia has repeatedly denied these concerning allegations. It has taken a step aimed at winning the trust and confidence of regional colleagues by sending a high-powered delegation headed by Vice President Samuel Doe to deliver a special message. There are no reports, however, that the special message fell on fertile grounds.

Government spokesmen have turned the charges of allegations by prominent members of the international community as a 'conspiracy' against the Government of Liberia. They have, however, fallen short of saying why should there be a conspiracy against Liberia.

The Sierra Leonean Information chief also stated that ECOMOG had warned the RUF rebels out of the city and are now negotiating them to the hills where they are still posing a threat of resistance. This has allowed the collection of large-scale weapons and

From Ahmed Fatah Magan
Parliament report against and President
for RUF's Policy Director
several fronts in the country, including the hills overlooking Freetown. Minister Spencer said he was not

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WE WERE UNBROKEN, IN JANUARY 1999 MONROVIA, LIBERIA

ARMY CHIEF APPEARS IN COURT TODAY

The Central Court Judge William A. Metzger is today awaiting the report of the prosecution to bring the AFL Chief of Staff before the court today.

Judge Metzger said he expected the application of

ARE MEMBERS SEVERAL

Several of the members and candidates program include members of the Christian Fellowship Movement Church at the Sunday Training Center on United Nations Drive in Monrovia, were the Honorary Father Charles-Chambers to Liberia his Upph Jany, Mrs. David Howard-Thompson, Honorary Minister Daniel L. Chin, Mr. Arthur B. Smith and Mother Michael B. Williams.

Other members included Mother Virginia Young, Mr. Joe W. Mitchell, National Security Minister Philip A. Smith, Mr. William Tye, Mr. Robert Brown, Mr. J. Blackish Brown, among others.

Also among the members were Mr. LaChen, John-K. Johnson, R. LaChen, Elizabeth Y. Smith, Col. John S. Thomas, LaChen, Smith S. Jany, Smith, Samuel G. Young, SDC, Daniel M. Smith, among other members of the AFL.

In his address delivered at the occasion, AFL Deputy-Chairman Samuel, Captain S. Webb Wilson, who delivered on the topic "The Willingness to When Willingness," noted that there must be a balance on people not because of their riches, poverty, nationality, but because of their humanity to mankind and the state.

Capt. Webb said the members should not see their humanity as a privilege or a favor to give them the right to exercise anything that is not theirs and the nation, and acknowledging that "to strive to maintain the dignity you have left behind for yourselves over the years."

For the members, they said they accepted the honor with joy, delight and respect, and promised to continue to identify with the needs of the Liberian people as well as contribute towards the development of the nation.

Meanwhile, AFL Chief of Staff, Gen. Prince C. Johnson who spoke briefly at the occasion, warned against dissensions, gossip in the society and the national army, adding, "These social vices have the propensity to divide us as a people."

General Johnson also called on men and women of the AFL to be committed, take initiatives as well as make sacrifices to make the nation's army second to none in Africa.

the prosecution to have Gen. Johnson in court today based on his position as a General in the Armed Forces of Liberia.

However, the Judge was quick to add that once a witness has been questioned, he remains under the jurisdiction of the court until he is discharged.

Meanwhile, there has been no development concerning the removal of Judge Metzger last week. Judge Metzger refused to comment when asked. State and defense lawyers also declined to comment as well.

The prosecution said they were taking the Judge to the Supreme Court to show that he has made an error.

The move followed a ruling by Judge Metzger who denied a request by the State prosecution to mark the order of arms and ammunition as well as other documents to be admitted into evidence.

rtos

YONGEGAR INTERVENES

Continuing the address of the FDA, the General Manager of ELTA, Mr. Tunde Abdurrahman said 4,000 units of his company's 500,000 shares was later sold to LASTA by FIDA without any notification to him or the company. He said when he later came to resume operation early January '99, he was told that his LASTA is his company regarding existing road that his company had purchased. Mr. Abdurrahman who refused to comment further said he has reached an agreement with the management of LASTA for a meeting on the 24th of this month along with the assistance of Internal Affairs Ministry to settle the dispute between LASTA & ELTA, in order to resume operation.

Meanwhile, the Internal Affairs Ministry has called upon the FIDA to send logging companies to them after all their requirements to be introduced to citizens in areas where they are to operate.

Minister Yongegar said this will minimize the constant complaints between them and others who are said to be operating the forest and loggers. He said the Ministry is only interested in logging companies which they are in combination.

Speaking on the establishment of Minister Two Ministerial Order V. Smith accompanied Minister Edmund Smith for calling his Representative Minister who understands the language of the area, and others, adding that with his presence, he believes that everything will be easily resolved. Mr. Karon then accepted the Minister of his director's occupation with LASTA and ELTA.

PUL SETS UP C'TTEE

the responsibility to select journalists and others who performed very well in 1998.

Those appointed are: Cdr. David A.B. Kallish, Chairman, Mrs. Madina Wessah, Co-Chair, Mrs. Harna Gull-Koichi, Secretary.

Others appointed as members of this committee are: Hon. J. Milton Tashay, Deputy Information Minister, Colin Koo and Chawwa I. M. Obagha, Press Counsellors at the Embassy of the Republic of China and Nigeria. Also, a seven-member program committee to organize the awards induction program has been set up.

This committee include Janet Johnson, Chairman, Terrence Sany, Co-Chairman, Linford Gweh, Secretary, Zongar Jaynes Timothy Sankoh, Jarwanian Web and I. Caesar Padmore, members.

Appointments to other committees will be announced shortly.

CEASEFIRE FAILS

retreating rebels. Their fate is yet uncertain. Robah spokespersons who frequently called the international press, especially the BBC and VOA did not do so yesterday. Up to present time, there was still no word from the RUF camp concerning their position on the failed cease-fire which they promised to observe for one week, only to resume fighting when their leader, Foday Sankoh is not released. President Kabbah has ruled out the possibility of granting Sankoh his absolute freedom.

YOUTH WARNED AGAINST

schools. For his part, the President of Lagan Tima Chapter, Mr. Eljah Johnson, said drug addicts are enemies to society, and pointed out that students are the future leaders of the country, and if Liberia was built on Christian principles, then the youth should do away with drugs.

During the programme, the students made resolutions, selections, amongst others against drug abuse to grace the occasion. Meanwhile, a 12-year-old student of the Victor M. Wilson Elementary School in the community, Emmanuel Tash who gave the keynote address with emphasis on the eradication of drug and substance abuse within the community, was awarded a two-year scholarship by the Executive Director of LUADA, Mr. Samuel O. Gibani. Jr.

11985

24 December: Kamajor militiamen arrived in Freetown Thursday to reinforce ECOMOG troops defending the capital. *Reuters* reporter Christo Johnson put the number of Kamajors at around 2,000, while BBC correspondent Winston Ojukutu-Macaulay reported the arrival of "about 5,000 dare-devil Kamajors." According to Ojukutu-Macaulay, the militiamen have been deployed "across Freetown along the peninsula from Waterloo and right across the west, the entire Western Area." The militia reinforces an estimated 5,000 ECOMOG troops deployed around the capital, according to figures provided by the United Nations Military Observer Force (UNOMSIL). UNOMSIL chief, General Subashi Joshi, told aid workers on Wednesday that more than 1,000 additional ECOMOG troops had been flown in from Liberia to increase security. ECOMOG officials have not confirmed the reinforcements nor provided information on how many troops it has deployed within and outside of the capital.

ECOMOG reopened the main highway to the interior, closed since rebel attacks on Tuesday. An ECOMOG spokesman said vehicles can now travel without fear, as all highways leading to the provincial capitals are under air and ground military surveillance.

Hundreds of residents returned to Waterloo in trucks and busses Thursday after ECOMOG troops had cleared the area of rebel fighters. One resident told the *Agence France-Presse* that: "Over 40 houses were burnt down, including one of our popular nightclubs after it was heavily looted." ECOMOG troops in Waterloo staged a military parade through the town on Wednesday evening. The procession, which lasted for several hours and continued on toward Freetown, was led by ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi. Chief of Defence Staff Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe, along with other top officials, also took part.

The United States has suspended operations at its embassy in Freetown and ordered the departure of all U.S. personnel in view of the deteriorating security situation in the country. A travel advisory issued by the U.S. Department of State on Thursday warned that "travel within Sierra Leone should be considered extremely hazardous due to possible attacks by deposed military and rebel forces." The advisory said that "U.S. citizens in Sierra Leone should review their own personal security situations and are urged to depart the country."

Britain has sent to Royal Air Force planes to Sierra Leone to evacuate British citizens as AFRC/RUF forces neared Freetown. "This is a precautionary measure, because of the deteriorating security situation," a Foreign Office spokesman said on Thursday. The first of two Hercules aircraft landed at Lungi, with a second to arrive shortly, a Ministry of Defence spokeswoman said. She added that about 300 British nationals were expected to depart as soon as possible amid expectations that Lungi International Airport could close within hours. "We do not know if we will be able land another plane after these," she said. Consular staff were arranging helicopters to fly Britons from Freetown to Lungi. The Foreign Office spokesman said the first plane was due to leave Freetown shortly for Dakar, Senegal carrying about 150 persons, mostly British nationals but also with other Europeans including nine Italian priests. "This is a precautionary measure, and does not mean a lack of support for the democratically elected government of Sierra Leone," he stressed.

A United Nations spokesman said Thursday that the U.N. is evacuating about one third of its 116-members staff from Sierra Leone. He said about 40 employees, mainly civilians, were being sent to Guinea while others in outlying areas were being brought to Freetown.

Minister of Information, Communications, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer has accused senior Liberian officials of being actively involved in supporting AFRC/RUF rebels, the BBC reported on Thursday. In an interview with the BBC's Focus on Africa programme, Liberian Deputy Information Minister Milton Teahjay "categorically" denied that Liberia was involved in the fighting. "We deny categorically the presence of Liberian troops in Sierra Leone, he said. He acknowledged that individual Liberians may have entered Sierra Leone to take part in the fighting

"but no member of the Armed Forces of Liberia, or any of the paramilitary units in Liberia, will ever, and have ever, gone into Sierra Leone to fight war for or on behalf of any of the factions. Our interest is to resolve the conflict diplomatically." Teahjay repeated Liberia's call for the Sierra Leone government to negotiate with the rebels. "I think the leaders of Sierra Leone have to begin to approach this issue with pragmatism," he said. "The issue of Foday Sankoh is an important factor that we have to address in a collective way. What that means is the man who is a part of the problem must be given an opportunity to be part of the solution. And this is what we've personally said. President Kabbah and President Taylor have been talking on this very issue. And we believe that that and many other approaches from the Liberia experience could be exploited to be utilised in the process of bringing peace to Sierra Leone." Teahjay rejected accusations that the Liberian government involved in the Sierra Leone conflict. "President Taylor has won the presidency here, he won the elections here. He has no interest in ensuring that conflict continues in Freetown, or in Sierra Leone for that matter. What does that benefit him? He does not want to be president of Freetown or Sierra Leone. He wants to be president of Liberia, and he's president of Liberia already."

Liberia sent additional troops to the Sierra Leone border Wednesday following new charges by the government that fighters from former Liberian militia groups planned to infiltrate Liberia from Sierra Leone. The measure was intended to "prevent a spill-over of escalated military operations in Sierra Leone," according to an official statement. Liberian President Charles Taylor said he had intelligence reports that elements of the disbanded ULIMO militia "have been amassing fighters to infiltrate them into Liberia." Deputy Information Minister Milton Teahjay, in a BBC interview on Thursday, called the move "normal in the conduct of domestic policy and international policy." He said Liberia didn't want to be a party to the conflict in Sierra Leone. "We don't want anybody fighting to reach Sierra Leone then coming back into Liberia and regrouping and going back in there," he said. "If there is a conflict in a neighbouring country, it is incumbent on the country nearby to make sure that their borders are not used for hit-and-run tactics on the other side of the border."

ECOMOG has confirmed the presence of white mercenaries in last week's AFRC/RUF rebel attack on Koidu. Their nationality was unknown.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie said Thursday his forces would attack Freetown "after the New Year" if the government would not agree to negotiate. "Our men are standing by to take the city. We are ready to attack at any moment," Bockarie said, speaking by satellite telephone from "somewhere in the northwestern jungle." He said his force numbered "30,000 strong seasoned fighters" across the country, some of them already in the capital. "We have a strong enough force to take ECOMOG out of Freetown," he warned. Bockarie said his fighters would launch the attack "after the holidays...after the New Year", but added "We are asking for peace. We are not coming for revenge or to kill civilians. We want to enter into dialogue." He rejected President Kabbah's demand that the rebels lay down their arms as a pre-condition to negotiations, and called on Burkina Faso President and OAU Chairman Blaise Compaore to mediate. Bockarie demanded the "immediate and unconditional" release of RUF leader Foday Sankoh, currently appealing his conviction and death sentence on treason charges, saying the rebels would give up their arms only if Sankoh made the request, on the condition that Sankoh were "free, on neutral territory, and not under duress."

Sierra Leonean refugees living in and around Monrovia complained Thursday that they had been subject to arbitrary arrest, detention, and harassment by Liberian security forces on "unjustified" charges of illegal residence since Sunday, when Liberia closed its border with Sierra Leone. A refugee spokesman at Samuka Town Refugee Camp said nine refugees, including himself, had been arrested at dawn on Monday. He said they were detained at police headquarters for two days without food or water and that their personal effects, including money and watches, were taken from them. He said many of the 5,000 refugees at the camp were frightened of police who conduct early morning visits to the camp, make threats, and appropriate their belongings. Police

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also arrested 21 Sierra Leoneans Monday in the Monrovia suburb of Fiamah, claiming they were "dissidents." A police officer said the 21 were released "after it was proven that they were refugees seeking safety in the city." He added that the raids were "part of the security operation for the Christmas season." The First Secretary at the Sierra Leone Embassy in Monrovia, James Sarwee, said the embassy was aware of the situation but could not comment publicly because the new ambassador had not yet presented his credentials to President Charles Taylor. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees acknowledged receiving complaints from the Sierra Leonean refugees, and said they had been forwarded to the Liberia Refugee, Repatriation and Resettlement Commission.

AFRC/RUF rebels came within striking distance of Freetown before being repelled by ECOMOG troops, the BBC reported on Thursday. It added that ECOMOG re-established its positions in Waterloo on Wednesday. "A number of young people were kidnapped by the rebels and several houses in Waterloo burned down in the fighting," the report said, adding that the capital remained tense. Freetown was reported calm on Thursday morning.

51 persons rescued from the Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Malta on December 6 and "believed to be Sierra Leoneans" were not, according to the Honourary Consul For Sierra Leone in Malta, J. A. Dougall. "I have interviewed all the 51 survivors of the rescue at sea drama which happened on the 6th instant during the three days that followed," Dougall said in a statement. "I have circulated to the press that it was ascertained that none of these people do as of fact come from Sierra Leone. The international press were misinformed about this whole issue, and it has become frequent that illegal immigrants do pretend to be allowed in foreign countries if they claim to be coming from Sierra Leone because of the current problems facing the country."

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29 December: 1,000 additional Nigerian soldiers arrived in Sierra Leone on Tuesday, bringing the total strength of the ECOMOG force to over 14,000, according to an ECOMOG spokesman. "This batch of 1,000 men brings the total of Nigerian troops flown into Freetown to 3,000 since Sunday," he said. "Several thousand more men will be flown in within the week." The Agence France-Presse (AFP), quoting "reliable sources", said ECOMOG had some 9,500 troops in Sierra Leone, 7,000 of them Nigerian, prior to the arrival of additional Nigerian soldiers on Sunday. Nigeria has also brought in three warplanes, increasing the number operating in the country to at least seven. A senior Ghanaian Defence Ministry official said ECOMOG troops were now concentrating on defending Freetown. "We have sent some men and officers to help beef up what is already on the ground," he said.

ECOMOG sent 300 troops toward Lunsar Tuesday as RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie claimed his forces had captured the town. Bockarie said the rebels seized Lunsar on Tuesday after heavy fighting with ECOMOG troops. "We have captured Lunsar, and ECOMOG soldiers are now on the run," Bockarie said. He added that 60 Nigerian soldiers had been killed in the fighting. An ECOMOG official dismissed the claim "pure propaganda," adding: "There was no fighting in Lunsar today." Local journalists reporting from Port Loko said the rebels had overrun villages between Lunsar and Makeni, and reported hearing explosions and gunfire around Lunsar on Tuesday. A member of the United Nations Military Observer Force in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) said that as of mid-day Tuesday the ECOMOG unit had reported no military confrontation. A "U.N. humanitarian official" said there had been reports of "civilian movements" from Lunsar. Bockarie said his forces would continue to head toward Freetown despite calls by ECOWAS for negotiations. "The issue is not laying down arms. The issue is dialogue and getting our leader Foday Sankoh released from prison," Bockarie said. "This is our ultimatum. If a dialogue is not started we will have to invade Freetown. They have 48 hours." He repeated his call for Burkinabe President and current OAU Chairman Blaise Compaore to mediate between the rebels and President Kabbah. "We are still appealing to the OAU chairman to prevail on ECOWAS and the Tejan Kabbah government to respond positively to our demand for dialogue," Bockarie said. "But we will not stop shelling Freetown until we see the Tejan Kabbah government out."

Gambian President Yahya Jammeh has repeated his offer to mediate between the Sierra Leone government and the rebels, and has reportedly called on the U.N., the OAU, and ECOWAS to let him handle the crisis. Referring to the conflict in Guinea Bissau, Jammeh said, "I initiated and handled the negotiations in Bissau before involving the full support of the international community," adding that only a peaceful settlement of the crisis will work in Sierra Leone. Jammeh first offered to mediate during President Kabbah's four-day state visit to Banjul in early December, but he said he had heard nothing since Kabbah returned to Freetown.

The United Nations Security Council issued a statement Tuesday condemning renewed fighting and atrocities by AFRC/RUF rebels in Sierra Leone. "The members of the Council are gravely concerned about the situation in Sierra Leone. Council members condemn atrocities by rebel forces, assisted by external factors to those rebel forces," the Council said in a statement read out by its current president, Ambassador Jassim Mohammed Buallay of Bahrain. "They call upon states concerned to take immediate action to cease the interference in Sierra Leone's domestic affairs," he said in an apparent reference to Liberia. The Council called on U.N. member states to strengthen the arms embargo against AFRC/RUF rebels and against Liberia, where a U.N. arms embargo remains in effect.

The Liberian government has reacted to scathing criticism of its alleged role in aiding AFRC/RUF rebels fighting in Sierra Leone by threatening to withdraw from the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Sierra Leone, which is charged with finding a solution to the country's civil conflict. A statement issued by the Liberian government on Tuesday said it "views with disappointment and indignation" suggestions that the Liberian government is backing rebels fighting to overthrow Sierra Leone's civilian government. It said Liberia was being destabilised by the use of Liberian

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mercenaries by a succession of Sierra Leonean regimes to increase their security. "The government of Liberia considers this situation as grave," it said, and called on President Kabbah to open a dialogue with the rebels as the only way to guarantee peace in Sierra Leone. "The Liberian government further calls on the United Nations to establish a commission of inquiry with immediate effect to establish the circumstances leading to the involvement of foreign nationals, including Liberians, in the Sierra Leone civil war," it added. The statement said the accusations had created a crisis of confidence, compromising its participation in the ECOWAS Committee of Five. "As a result of the situation, Liberia may be prepared to recluse (sic.) itself from the process until such a time when the crisis of confidence is resolved," it said.

Liberian President Charles Taylor repeated his call Tuesday for the Sierra Leone government to negotiate with the rebels rather than to try to defeat them militarily. "I call on the leadership in Sierra Leone to show real statesmanship by engaging in dialogue with the joint RUF and ousted junta rebels rather than using force," Taylor said on his private radio station. "We believe this is the only way to achieve genuine peace in Sierra Leone...We realize that if there is no peace in Sierra Leone, there is no peace in Liberia."

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) said Tuesday that escalating hostilities could jeopardise relief programmes in the provinces. "Those most likely to be affected by the lack of food are displaced persons who were living in camps and urban areas in the north and the east," Sierra Leone's WFP representative Patrick Buckley said in a statement. He said food shipments to Makeni and other areas had been halted, affecting close to 24,000 people. Food stocks in the town are now depleted. At estimated 80,000 Sierra Leoneans have been displaced by the recent upsurge in fighting. The WFP expressed particular concern about the fate of some 8,000 civilians who fled Koidu during a rebel attack two weeks ago. "We are gravely concerned about the situation of people fleeing the Kono region. We estimate that a total of 40,000 displaced persons are either hiding in the bush in the region or moving towards other towns spared by the fighting," Buckley said. "WFP and its food aid partners have sufficient food stocks for all the country in Freetown but with the increased rebel activity, trucking companies face serious security constraints to deliver our food to vulnerable people in the interior." On Monday, the WFP sent 90 metric tons of food to Bo and Kenema. As of late Tuesday, the food had not arrived.

United Nations Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo has said that the Sierra Leone government may have no choice but to negotiate with "those who have grievances" sooner rather than later. The situation on the ground is getting worse," he said. "The government has to take this seriously. It can't stand back and wait for things to get better."

A boat carrying African refugees has been rescued by a Libyan ferry boat in the Mediterranean near Malta, Honourary Sierra Leone Consul in Malta J. A. Dougall said on Tuesday. The refugees are thought to come from Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Algeria, although their identities have not yet been confirmed. "All of these are in a bad shape and are all receiving medical attention," Dougall said. Police authorities postponed interviewing of the refugees as they were suffering from exhaustion, Dougall added.

Military officials say they have detained 25 suspected rebels, along with eight Ukrainians suspected of being mercenaries. The Ukrainians are being questioned, they added. According to the Agence France-Presse, SLBS (state radio) had announced that eight Ukrainians who entered the country last week should report to the police.

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8 January: Reuters reported Friday that "apart from the odd explosion from the rebel-held east of the city," there was no sign of fighting in the capital as night fell. During the day, the Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported, rebels intensified their attacks against pro-government positions. Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer said that there had been shooting on Thursday night. "By all indications, the rebels seem to have no intention of respecting the ceasefire," he said. He added that fires had been set in Kingtom. Spencer said he believed the central power plant had been attacked, since all electricity had been cut off in the city. The AFP reported that Nigerian ECOMOG planes stepped up their attacks on the city on Friday afternoon "after a relatively calm morning." The AFP quoted a resident of western Freetown as saying that ECOMOG "only controls the extreme west of the town. The majority of the town is in rebel hands."

The United Nations Special Representative to Sierra Leone, Francis Okelo, said he was optimistic that a ceasefire declared Thursday by President Kabbah, and in a recorded message by RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh, would hold despite shelling earlier in the day. "It is not surprising to have some clashes in the early stage of a ceasefire," he said. "What is important is that there is a cease-fire." Okelo returned to Lungi briefly on Friday to evacuate remaining U.N. staffers and other aid workers, and to hold "crisis talks" with President Kabbah, ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi, and government ministers. RUF leader Col. Sam "Maskita" Bockarie dismissed the tape of Sankoh calling for a ceasefire as having been faked. He said the recording had been made by Sankoh following the Abidjan Peace Agreement in November 1996 and was sent to RUF fighters in the bush. "Sankoh did not announce a ceasefire," he said. "That is not a recent recorded cassette. Otherwise they would have played the whole cassette. It was the cassette that our leader sent to us to join the brothers for lasting peace in Freetown...What I heard from Kabbah last night made me to intensify my offensive. He is not the one to call for a cease-fire." In an interview with the BBC, Bockarie ruled out any negotiations with the civilian government. "No chances were there when Kabbah was in power," he said. "He failed to do that, he said he was not going to talk to us, we are thieves and bandits, and that he was going to kill all of us at the end of this year, and it never succeeded. That is why God has given us the upper hand to have overrun him, and now he is gone." Bockarie said a peaceful solution to the crisis hinged on Sankoh's release. "If they are ready, our leader cannot be under duress there, being humiliated, molested, and then people asking us to cease fire. We are trying to do everything possible that will secure his release." In a separate interview, Bockarie said: "There is no cease-fire. We will take the rest of the city and save our country...We do not recognize Kabbah, we will not talk to Kabbah, he is ousted." Bockarie said he had ordered an all-out offensive on pro-government positions. "Our plan started since last night," he said. "My men are on the move. We will take Lungi...that is not a secret any more. We know we can do it." He said the rebels would pin the Nigerians down until they ran out of ammunition and surrendered, as they did during fighting at the Mammy Yoko Hotel in June 1997. "We will suppress them until they are out of food and ammunition and later they will surrender and we will negotiate how to repatriate them," he said. In an interview with the AFP, Bockarie said: "We are now fighting in Jui and Wilberforce (and) we are heading to Lungi. "I've ordered an offensive to start today on Lungi. Anyone who is found there is considered an enemy." He denied news reports that the rebels were forcing people from their homes, and accused ECOMOG of killing civilians during their air raids on the city. "ECOMOG has killed a lot of people. No one is talking about that," he said. Bockarie told the BBC that since the start of the offensive on Thursday night, "Tongo has fallen to us."

In a BBC Network Africa interview Friday, Bockarie said he had not listened to Sankoh's appeal for a ceasefire. "I haven't heard his voice since the time he instructed me to join up with the brothers in Freetown for lasting peace; I haven't heard him," he said. "Even if we hear that, we're not going to obey that. Because we are not too sure of his health, or whether he is the one that is even talking. Let us have access to him. Let's first speak to him, and let's see face to face, and see that he is mentally and physically fit. Then we'll see what next to be done." Bockarie demanded that a caretaker government be set up. "We are asking the OAU chairman to

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immediately step in to call on both parties to see how best we can resolve this problem now once and for all, and now we want a caretaker government, which is a broad-based government, till we can organize a fresh election which will bring in a democratically elected government that people want."

ECOWAS Executive Secretary Lansana Kouyate said Friday that President Kabbah and RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh had met Wednesday to discuss a ceasefire, shortly before the rebels began their offensive to capture Freetown. "President Kabbah made the request for a ceasefire two hours before the rebels came into the town. He went to Foday Sankoh and proposed they stop fighting," Kouyate said from Abuja, Nigeria. "Sankoh asked President Kabbah him to let think about it for two hours and that was when the rebels entered the city." On Thursday, the BBC quoted Minister of Finance, Development and Economic Planning Dr. James O.C. Jonah as saying that talks between the government and the rebels had been attempted on Tuesday through a third party. Kouyate said he believed President Kabbah had accepted the need for a "change in strategy," replacing confrontation with dialogue. "There has been a change in strategy. Previously, President Kabbah believed that the rebels should go before the courts, the process of law. Now he has agreed there must be a political solution," Kouyate said. He added that ECOMOG would continue to play a peacekeeping role in Sierra Leone. "ECOMOG is in a position to play a role. ECOMOG is playing a fantastic role, a vital role. Though the financial burden is very heavy. "What we are receiving from the international community is not enough... It is a drop in the ocean," he said. Kouyate dismissed suggestions that a civilian government in Nigeria might cut back the country's commitment to peacekeeping operations. "The commitment of Nigeria to ECOWAS and ECOMOG is permanent... Even after the elections, I am sure that the government will follow the same line," he said.

Rebels holding the East End District looted food aid warehouses, stole cars, and ransacked houses and offices there on Friday, United Nations agencies reported, quoting their remaining staff in Freetown. "This might affect the ability of agencies to respond immediately to a humanitarian situation," a U.N. official said.

OAU Chairman and President of Burkina Faso Blaise Compaore on Friday condemned the rebel invasion of Freetown. The OAU "condemns these attacks, which, far from settling the problem, are only worsening the situation, at the same time putting off prospects for a lasting peace in this country," he said.

President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, the current ECOWAS chairman, has expressed concern about the situation in Freetown. He said the surge in fighting has caused the deaths of many civilians, the fleeing of a large part of the population, and huge property damages. Eyadema appealed to President Kabbah and the rebel leader to lay down their arms and begin a political dialogue with a view to finding a final solution to the conflict.

Ghana is holding consultations with other West African countries on how to restore sustainable peace and consolidate democracy in Sierra Leone, the Pan African News Agency (PANA) reported on Friday. A delegation led by Foreign Affairs Minister James Victor Gbeho left Accra for Abuja, Nigeria early Friday, while a second delegation headed by the Deputy Minister of Defence, Lt. Col. E.K.T. Donkor, left for Guinea.

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan recommended Friday that the the mandate of the United Nations Military Observer Force in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) be extended by two month when its original six-month mandate expires on January 13. Annan said that although the future of UNOMSIL appeared much less clear than it did a few weeks ago, there was still much it could do. He said that he intended to reduce the number of military observers, who would be based at Conakry, Guinea and would return to Sierra Leone when conditions permitted. In a letter to the Security Council, Annan said that military successes would not win the rebels legitimacy or

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recognition. "I therefore call on them to open discussions with the government on any legitimate political demands and grievances they or their supporters may have," he said.

The Nigerian newspaper Post Express, quoting military sources, has reported that 38 Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers were killed in the battle for Freetown. Lagos P.M. News said Thursday that 26 Nigerian soldiers killed last Sunday were secretly buried at an army cemetery in Nigeria. The newspaper also reported that some 35 seriously wounded soldiers and officers had been flown back to Nigeria and were being treated at the ECOMOG ward of the Yaba Military Hospital. "(The burials) came as Nigeria's military authorities are contemplating withdrawing Nigerian soldiers from the troubled country," P.M. News said, citing "high military sources." The Guardian (Nigeria) said Nigeria, apparently worried about the situation in Sierra Leone, is consulting with regional allies.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku told the BBC from Nigeria Friday that he had met with RUF representatives and encouraged them to abide by the ceasefire announced Thursday. "Yesterday the representatives of the rebel group came to my office, had a discussion with us, and we are now encouraging them to support this cease-fire," Anyaoku said. "And I hope the international community will come in support of that as well as in support of shoring up democracy in Sierra Leone." He did not identify the RUF representatives or provide details of the talks.

"We (the Commonwealth) are focusing on the representations made to us by the rebel group to try and help sustain this cease-fire. At the same time we are asking the international community to rally around the democratically-elected government," he said.

Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings on Thursday appealed to nations supplying arms to AFRC/RUF weapons to stop. "ECOMOG did not enter that place to wage war," he said. "We entered that place to put in place a lasting democratic process." He argued that continuing to supply weapons to the rebels would mean suffering for the innocent women and children of Sierra Leone. Rawlings said it "is not beyond the capability of the regional force to launch a full-scale offensive to reverse the rebel incursions within 48 hours. But its preference is dialogue rather than force." He urged the rebels to lay down their arms and to realise that dialogue "is the best approach, else a lot of things will go wrong and they will be the losers."

Over 200 Sierra Leonean refugees, along with other foreign nationals and U.N. staff, arrived at the Guinean port of Bassora on Wednesday, Liberian Star Radio reported Friday. A UNHCR spokesman said the refugees were being screened at Bonfi Stadium and will later be transferred to the Forecariah Refugee Camp. The spokesman said the UNHCR, WFP, and other aid agencies have met to discuss the situation in Freetown, and are making contingency plans to receive some 30,000 refugees in Guinea.

Kabbah's statement Thursday night (English translation from Krio): "I have been very, very busy doing what we have to do in this situation to make sure that all the security apparatus is in place. Foday [Sankoh] and myself have had straight talks — straight talks about the country. During the seven-day cease-fire period, we will work out modalities as to how Sankoh will get access to his people. If we just go on fighting and win the war, as we could surely do, after all that, we will still have to talk peace. So let us do both at the same time. Let us go back to the Abidjan Peace Accord, but let us be sincere this time. I am sorry for the inconvenience that we have all had to suffer."

Sankoh's recorded statement: "Fellow Sierra Leoneans: I, Corporal Foday Sankoh, leader of the RUF, am speaking to you on a matter of interest. I am always committed to peace for my beloved country. I can say I am a prisoner of peace; and President Kabbah and I met today for several hours to discuss the situation in our country. President Kabbah and I agreed that for the

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eradication of poverty in the country, there must be security, peace, and stability. So our combatants should keep to their defensive positions and cease all hostilities. We further agreed that the best way to achieve a sustainable peace is to use the Abidjan Peace Accord."

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12 January: RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh held talks with the foreign ministers of Ivory Coast and Togo on Tuesday after being flown to Conakry, Guinea. According to the United Nations Special Representative to Sierra Leone, Francis Okelo, who attended the talks, Sankoh said he wanted his freedom and official recognition for the RUF before agreeing to a cease-fire. "He is 100 percent committed to peace... He is willing to order a cease-fire and he recognizes the legitimacy of President Kabbah," Okelo said. Foreign Ministers Amara Essy of Ivory Coast and Joseph Kokou Koffigoh of Togo said Sankoh had expressed his "willingness for peace" and for a "political, not a military solution" to the Sierra Leone crisis. The two ministers found Sankoh in "good shape, dynamic, combative, and having a clear vision of his objectives." The RUF leader, dressed in a prison uniform marked with the letter "C", did not repeat the unconditional call for a cease-fire which was attributed to him by Kabbah on Thursday. A U.N. official said the result of the talks were unclear, but that U.N. delegates attending the meeting were "optimistic." Further talks were a possibility, he said. Because of Sankoh's terms, no cease-fire was arranged and the talks were adjourned after three hours. Okelo said he and the mediators would convey Sankoh's position to President Kabbah at Lungi. Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Dr. Sama Banya also took part in the talks, representing the Sierra Leone government. Military sources said Sankoh remained in Conakry on Tuesday night.

RUF commander Col. Sam "Maskita" Bockarie said Tuesday he would continue the armed struggle until RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh was released. "We want our leader to be freed. We want to meet him on neutral ground," he said. "I am carrying his orders." Bockarie told the Agence France-Presse (AFP) his forces had seized missiles from the Guinean ECOMOG contingent, and would use them to attack Lungi International Airport. "We will fire the missiles," Bockarie said. "We will use them on all aircraft that land at Lungi." He claimed that fires which have destroyed parts of Freetown were not set by rebel forces, but resulted from attacks by ECOMOG Alpha fighter jets. "The jet bombed the civilians. Now they want to conceal it... All that they are saying is propaganda," Bockarie said. He dismissed ECOMOG claims to have regained control of most of the capital, saying his forces controlled most of Freetown, except for Wilberforce Barracks and Goderich Barracks to the west of the city. "If they controlled the city, they would be distributing food, but that isn't the case," Bockarie said. He told the AFP that the execution of 24 military officers for treason last October was responsible for the rebel offensive against Freetown. "Kabbah killed 24 people, one of them a woman. Some of them gave themselves up to authorities but were still killed," he said.

Reuters reported no sound of fighting overnight Monday in Freetown, although the news service said clouds of smoke were billowing over the eastern part of the city. The Associated Press, however, said artillery fire and small arms bombardments were heard Monday night and Tuesday morning. The Bishop of Makeni, George Biguzzi, said ECOMOG troops had captured the city center and were battling for the eastern suburbs. "There is a lot of fighting and you can hear it and see it from miles away. The fires lit up the sky last night and the explosions continued this morning," Biguzzi said from Lungi. Reuters said "sketchy reports from the battle zone" indicated that the ECOMOG force, believed to number about 15,000, was recapturing the city street by street Tuesday. Witnesses said the streets of the capital were littered with bodies, adding that rebels had burned houses and cars as they retreated. The Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported Tuesday, quoting an ECOMOG helicopter pilot, said that "much of Freetown lay in ruins." Fourah Bay College, Connaught Hospital, the central telephone exchange (SLET), the Government Wharf, warehouses at Kissy Dockyards, and countless homes had been set on fire, he said. The AFP reported that residents whose houses had escaped the blaze remained inside for fear of being attacked by rebels or Kamajor militiamen. One resident told Reuters that he was hijacked with his car by four Kamajor militiamen holding a rebel fighter. The Kamajors then stopped the car and summarily executed their prisoner, he said.

RUF commander Col. Sam "Maskita" Bockarie promised Tuesday to free Italian missionary priest Father Mario Guerra, but denied any knowledge of two other priests kidnapped on Sunday. Bockarie said Guerra was being held by the RUF "for his own safety," and would be turned over

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to church officials when "the security situation allows." He refused to reveal Guerra's location, saying this was to prevent pro-government forces from killing him and blaming it on the rebels. Bockarie refused to confirm or deny that his forces were behind the attack on an ECOMOG convoy on Sunday which killed one journalist and seriously wounded another. "This is war and it is a dangerous situation. It is not professionalism to go into a situation like this," Bockarie said. He suggested that the journalists secure the protection of the RUF.

The United Nations Security Council, meeting behind closed doors on Tuesday, voted unanimously to extend the mandate of the United Nations Military Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) for two months, until March 13.

The European Union (EU), in a statement issued Tuesday by its German presidency, condemned AFRC/RUF rebel attempts to overthrow Sierra Leone's civilian government, and gave the EU's full backing to President Kabbah. "The European Union strongly condemns all those who have supported the rebels in Sierra Leone and expresses its grave concern at reports that arms and personnel are being supplied, in particular, from the territory of Liberia. It calls on all states to comply strictly with existing arms embargoes," the statement said. The EU said it supported diplomatic efforts and the efforts of ECOMOG to restore peace to the country.

The South African foreign ministry issued a statement on Tuesday calling for a cease-fire in the Sierra Leone conflict. The statement expressed support for the government of President Kabbah, and called the use of force by RUF rebels unacceptable. "South Africa believes that the underlying causes of the violence have to be addressed through negotiation," the statement said. "An immediate cease-fire would furthermore allow the U.N. and other international aid agencies to carry on their vital role of addressing the urgent needs of Sierra Leone's internally displaced population." The foreign ministry statement condemned the RUF for using civilians as human shields, and urged them to halt their offensive as a prerequisite to dialogue leading to national reconciliation.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku urged AFRC/RUF rebels Tuesday to cease hostilities, accept President Kabbah as the democratically-elected president of Sierra Leone, and demonstrate a willingness to negotiate in good faith. "The only way forward is for them to accept the futility of fighting...and that the international community wants democracy in every country and carve out a role for themselves under a democracy," Anyaoku said. "The rebels were in my office last Wednesday, and I made it clear to them that the Commonwealth is in support of President Tejan Kabbah's democratically-elected government." He added: "I don't believe the rebels are at the moment anymore on the offensive as the tide of the battle is now turning against them. They have been on the retreat from Freetown and the ECOMOG are on the offensive. So I don't think things are hopeful for them." He reaffirmed that the Commonwealth supported "peaceful resolution of the crisis in the country."

The British naval frigate HMS Norfolk, on its way to Sierra Leone, is due to dock in Senegal on Wednesday for refueling.

Local staff of the the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have reported that Freetown residents remain trapped in their homes without water or electricity, unable to go and search for food. "They say a humanitarian disaster is looming in the capital unless some kind of cease-fire is arranged and humanitarian supplies can be brought in," UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said in Geneva. "The situation is quite terrifying for civilians. People are holed up, and are not in a position to move out of their homes, let alone flee the capital. That may explain while so few people have moved out."

The journalists' group Article 19 has condemned the killing of Associated Press journalist Myles Tierney, and "all parties to the civil war in Sierra Leone to respect international humanitarian and

human rights principles in relation to local and foreign journalists reporting the conflict." In a press release issued by Article 19 Acting Director Malcolm Smart, the group said, "Journalists are a prime target for repression and violence by both governments and rebels in such situations. We call on all sides in Sierra Leone to respect the efforts of journalists, in the most difficult of circumstances, to engage in their legitimate professional activities."

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Liberian House Majority Leader Momolu Massale, responding to allegations that of Liberian support for AFRC/RUF regels fighting in Sierra Leone, said his country was being used as a scapegoat. "We have repeatedly said that Liberia is not supporting rebels in that country, but they are finding a scapegoat by repeatedly accusing us of involvement," Massale said. "The problem in Sierra Leone is the responsibility of Sierra Leoneans and not Liberians." He urged "peaceful negotiations rather than fighting as the way forward in solving the crisis."

The Ukrainian foreign ministry said Tuesday it had no official knowledge of Ukrainian nationals involved in mercenary activities in Sierra Leone, according to the Kiev UT-3 Television Network. Diplomats in Kiev know the facts that Ukrainian citizens are trying to enlist as mercenaries," the report said. A foreign ministry spokesman, Andriy Veselovsky, who heads the political analysis and planning directorate, said that as the number of trouble spots around the world was growing, he could not rule out the possibility of Ukrainian citizens taking part in the conflicts. "If it is possible to rescue these unfortunates—or these fools, depending on the circumstances—by diplomatic means, we certainly will do so," he said.

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13 January: RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh spoke with his military commander, Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, on Wednesday, reportedly by satellite telephone. "They spoke for about three hours. I set up the discussion and it went beautifully," said United Nations Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo. He declined to comment on the talks or where Sankoh was when the two spoke, but U.N. officials said the RUF leader had been returned to Freetown.

and that they should be committed to peace." Okelo held "private talks" with Sankoh in Freetown on Wednesday, according to U.N. sources. The foreign ministers of Ivory Coast and Togo, together with U.N. mediators, will continue to try to arrange a cease-fire on Thursday. "I am very hopeful we will make a breakthrough in cease-fire negotiations," Okelo said after mediators met with President Kabbah at the presidential lodge.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, in a BBC interview Wednesday, recounted his conversation with RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh: "He spoke to me, he asked me about everybody. I told him that everybody is doing well, and that the operation is going on, and that we have been wishing to receive him and to hear from him, and he told us that we should not worry, that they're talking. The foreign ministers of Togo, Abidjan, and the ECOWAS Secretary-General, together with Mr. Francis Okelo, the U.N. representative to Sierra Leone, and that they are trying to reach an agreement [words indistinct] may be leaving from Conakry to go to Abidjan and from Abidjan, he will be taken to a neutral ground, where he will remain and instruct me to announce a unilateral cease-fire." Bockarie said he thought that Sankoh would be taken to Ivory Coast within the next 48 hours. "They are just going there to see how best they can reach real agreement for him to be taken to neutral grounds to assure us that he is not under any duress as to the instructions that he will be passing on to us," he said. Bockarie insisted that mediation of the Sierra Leone conflict should be conducted by "the OAU chair," President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso. The Sierra Leone government has ruled out Compaore as a mediator because of allegations that Burkina Faso is providing support for the rebels. "We are still standing by our word," Bockarie said. "We do not want to change our venue of this negotiation, where we have suggested, of the negotiation being held in Burkina Faso." Refusal to accept Burkinabe mediation "means it must be a trick again. They want me to be the next man to be arrested. I will not allow that. [Words indistinct] also will not allow for RUF to be destroyed," Bockarie said.

RUF spokesman Omrie Michael Golley called Wednesday for Sankoh's immediate release, and deplored the fact that the RUF leader had conducted peace negotiations dressed in prison garb. "A man who is negotiating a cease-fire should be properly attired, for goodness sake," Golley said in Abidjan. "The fundamental issue is that he is still a prisoner. We have not been able to talk to Corporal Foday Sankoh, the leader of our movement."

ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said Wednesday that his troops were in control of most of Freetown and that the greater part of the rebel forces had retreated to the hills surrounding the capital. "The operation is almost complete." He acknowledged some rebels remained in areas around Kissy, but described them as isolated pockets. Shelpidi claimed ECOMOG casualties had been "light," but refused to give numbers. He said more than 1,000 rebel fighters had been killed in the fighting. There has been no independent confirmation of these claims. On Monday, journalists based at Lungi reported heavy casualties on both sides. A U.N. security officer who accompanied U.N. Special Representative to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo to Freetown said about 200 bodies were lying around Connaught Hospital, near the city centre. Guinean Foreign Minister Lamine Camara, following talks with President Kabbah, said the city appeared quiet. "We've just been on a tour of the town. Everything is calm. We believe ECOMOG has everything under control," he said. Shelpidi said the rebels had caused "colossal" damage to parts of Freetown, but that he hoped electricity and telephone service would be restored by the weekend. Residents reported power had already been restored to parts of the western area by late Wednesday.

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ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi has blamed rebel successes on a shortage of military equipment. He said Wednesday that ECOMOG needed assistance from friendly countries, and deplored a cut in U.S. financial assistance for the ECOMOG force. "What we need is hardware, military hardware. If only we could have helicopter gunships, MI24s, then we would have ended this thing a long time ago. Right now we're relying on one single helicopter and that is slowing down operations," he said.

Shooting was heard overnight, but residents said there was no fighting in the western and central districts of Freetown, Reuters reported Wednesday, adding that the situation in the east remained unclear. Italian missionary news agency MISNA reported that fighting was continuing in the east of the capital. "Very heavy fighting is currently underway in Kissy, where artillery fire can be heard and ECOMOG is using a fighter plane," the news agency reported. Reuters quoted residents who said the rebels had killed many people and taken others hostage, including women and children. Many bodies have washed up along the shore of the western peninsula, and fisherman have reported seeing bodies at sea. Radio Democracy 98.1, which began broadcasting again Tuesday after having been off the air for several days, warned that any boats trying to leave Freetown would be sunk. The warning followed reports that prisoners, including soldiers loyal to the former junta, who were freed from Pademba Road Prison, had been trying to leave Freetown by boat.

BBC correspondent Prince Brima reported Wednesday that thousands of people had fled to Kenema following three days of fighting between Kamajors and AFRC/RUF fighters from Tongo Field, creating a humanitarian crisis in the town. Brima said the refugees had told him the Kamajor militia was in control of the town. "Definitely at the moment now the Kamajor militias are now controlling Tongo Field because the rebels had fled from the area on Monday," he said. "In fact, thousands of Kamajors were seen yesterday moving toward Tongo Field just to strengthen their position on the ground." Brima said Civil Defence Forces commanders in Kenema told him they were preparing to launch more attacks on rebels in Kailahun District. "In fact, most of the fleeing rebels are also burning houses, murdering people, just as what is happening in Freetown," he said. He reported that youths had erected checkpoints to prevent rebel infiltration into Kenema. "But one thing interesting that I saw yesterday was that three rebels were caught, that is, three rebels infiltrated into the township and were apprehended by the youths and burned alive," he said.

The commander of the 181-member British "reconnaissance and liaison team" aboard the British frigate HMS Norfolk, Brigadier David Richards, said Wednesday that his mission was to support the government of President Kabbah. "Our aim is...to see whether or not we can do something more to assist the restoration of stability in support of Mr. Kabbah and the democratically elected regime there," Richards said during a refueling stop in Dakar. "How we are going to do that is really my business." The ship was due to sail later Wednesday, heading for Conakry, Guinea.

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) has appealed to both sides to allow safe passage for urgently-needed food supplies to reach starving Freetown residents. WFP Regional Manager for Coastal West Africa, Paul Ares, said people were being forced out onto the streets either in search of food or because rebels had burned down their homes. He said there were no markets or fresh food because all roads to Freetown were blocked.

Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings, meeting with a Liberian delegation led by Vice President Enoch Dogolea on Wednesday, bluntly accused Liberia of supporting AFRC/RUF rebels fighting in Sierra Leone. "You are being accused of supporting the RUF. You have a hard task on your hands to prove that you are not playing any role in Sierra Leone. It is a stab in the back," Rawling said. He told the Liberians that ECOMOG was in Sierra Leone not to wage war, but to support a democratically-elected government. "This is exactly what we did in Liberia," he said. He also accused another West African country and a North African country of aiding the rebels, but did not name them. Rawlings said neighbouring countries had nothing to gain from involving themselves in the Sierra Leone conflict. "Are there any gains to be made in this conflict? Frankly

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speaking, there are no gains. The political and economic stability of West Africa is being jeopardised." In response, Liberian Foreign Minister Monie Captan repeated the Liberian government's assertion that Liberia was not backing Sierra Leone's rebel forces, although Liberian mercenaries were involved in the conflict. "We are not involved at the government level," Captan said.

ECOWAS Executive Secretary Lansana Kouyate has sent a message of condolence to the family of Myles Tierney, the Associated Press journalist who was killed Sunday while covering the fighting in Freetown.

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14 January: RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie said Thursday the RUF had agreed to an unconditional cease-fire, beginning on Monday. "After that one week, if (RUF leader Corporal Foday) Sankoh is not released, we are going to resume our offensive," he said. Bockarie said the RUF had agreed to the cease-fire at the behest of Liberian President Charles Taylor. "He only said to me that we should allow a temporary cease-fire to allow the humanitarian relief officers to be given a chance and that during that period Foday Sankoh would be released. That's why I agreed," Bockarie said. Rebel spokesman Eldred Collins added that after "lengthy discussions" with Taylor, the rebels agreed to a week-long cease-fire. Taylor, who announced the cease-fire at a press conference in Monrovia's Executive Mansion, said agreement with the rebels was reached after two days of stringent negotiations. He said that the rebels had agreed to institute their cease-fire at 6:00 p.m. on Saturday. The Liberian government wanted to secure the cease-fire to allow humanitarian agencies to reach the civilian population with relief assistance, he added. Taylor said he was encouraging other parties to the conflict to respect the cease-fire, and for negotiations to continue. Despite international accusations that Liberia supported the rebels, he said, Liberia would continue its efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Liberia was suggesting that the ECOWAS Committee of Six on Sierra Leone meet in Ivory Coast within the next seven days to discuss the release of RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh, so that he could be part of the peace process, Taylor added. Bockarie, in a BBC interview, said that while the cease-fire was originally to have started on Saturday, difficulty in communicating with his forces meant it could not be implemented before next week. "(The cease-fire) should have started on Saturday, but after I have passed on this information to them, some of our chiefs of stations or commanders told me that some men...they have dispatched men already to go on operation, so it will take time to get to withdraw them back to return to base. So, I decided to call back to the president the number he gave me this morning to call him back. I called him and informed him that: 'Oh, chief, yes, you have talked to me about a temporary cease-fire, but I asked him so that it shouldn't be on Saturday again, but on Monday or Tuesday.'" Bockarie said the fighting would continue "for a couple days" because his fighters had already left to conduct operations. "You cannot just cease fire as you want," he said. "You have to, I mean, send other men to withdraw from operations." Bockarie said the cease-fire would take effect on Monday. "We don't want to announce a cease-fire, then break it," he said.

U.N. Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo said the RUF was insisting on meeting with Sankoh this weekend, and had demanded that he be released next week. "This message has been conveyed to President Kabbah and there will be further consultations before we know if it is a genuine development," Okelo said. He added that it was unclear whether President Kabbah's government or ECOMOG would support the proposal. Sankoh has demanded his freedom and recognition of the RUF as the price for his agreeing to a cease-fire, mediators said. "We're still waiting for Kabbah's response," said a U.N. official. "What we were briefed on yesterday (by Okelo in Conakry) did not include President Kabbah's response to the cease-fire proposal. I think President Kabbah just wants some time to study the proposal, but obviously, with Sankoh there is an agreement."

The foreign minister of Ivory Coast, Amara Essy, has said that the two sides in Sierra Leone's conflict have expressed their willingness to seek a peaceful solution. "Concerning Corporal Foday Sankoh...He told us and repeated to us that, according to him, the conflict cannot be resolved through the use of force. He added that there must be absolutely a political solution and that he was determined to change the Revolutionary United Front into a political movement. President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, who was elected on a program of peace, is also seeking peace for the country... That is why it is up to all of us to make efforts to reach a consensus on how to solve the crisis." Essy said ECOWAS had ruled out a military solution to the conflict. "I think that the ECOWAS has never been a war body," he said. "All that we have done so far with the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group is aimed at achieving peace." He added that although "lack of information gives the impression" of divergent opinions within ECOWAS on how to solve the Sierra Leone crisis, "actually, there is no divergent views" among ECOWAS countries. "However,

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at a certain moment there is the need to coordinate all the various views so that we can achieve the same objective," he said.

AFRC/RUF rebels have abducted Archbishop Joseph Henry Ganda, the Italian missionary news agency MISNA reported on Thursday. The 66-year old archbishop is believed to have been taken from his home on Tuesday or Wednesday. MISNA said it had been informed of Ganda's kidnapping by Bishop George Biguzzi. According to Biguzzi, Ganda was being held along with Xaverian missionary priest Father Mario Guerra, who was kidnapped in November. "Biguzzi told us that the kidnappers have maintained contact with the church and permitted a series of exchanges with Monsignor Ganda," MISNA said. A MISNA spokesman in Rome said the rebels had offered to release Ganda in return for a cease-fire. MISNA also reported that Fr. Guerra had been released for a few hours on Tuesday. He took a meal with members of his order and spoke with Biguzzi before returning to his captors.

Two Italian missionaries priests kidnapped on Sunday, Rev. Maurizio Boa and the Rev. Giuliano Pini, have been freed, according to the Italian missionary news agency, MISNA. "The two priests are safe and sound in a zone controlled by ECOMOG, the African intervention force," the news service reported. The two said ECOMOG soldiers who found them Monday had at first believed them to be European mercenaries and had beaten them. The ECOMOG soldiers had wanted to kill them, but then decided to take them to their headquarters where a Sierra Leonean priest confirmed their identity, the priests related. In a BBC interview on Wednesday, Pini described the damage he had observed in the center of Freetown. "I can see that the scene was apocalyptic," he said. "The city was deserted, many houses destroyed — completely destroyed. The town is in ruins." He said the rebels had detained the two priests at State House on Sunday and Monday. "While ECOMOG was moving up, we called their attention and a soldier took us to Wilberforce Barracks," he said. Pini said State House itself "is not damaged too much for what we saw at that moment."

Food stores in Freetown began to reopen on Thursday as residents ventured out in search of rice or "anything edible," Reuters reported. In the aftermath of a week of fighting, the Associated Press said Thursday that "raging fires and artillery explosions" had destroyed large areas in Freetown's suburbs. A Reuters correspondent reported seeing dozens of bodies while touring the city in the company of ECOMOG troops. State House was "honeycombed with bullet-holes" and was serving as a shelter for residents flocking to the city center in search of food, the Reuters report added. The Italian missionary news agency MISNA said Connaught Hospital was "overflowing with dead," posing a clear risk of epidemic.

ECOMOG has enlisted the help of Nigeria's 72nd Airborne Regiment to help fight AFRC/RUF rebel forces who have withdrawn to the hills around Freetown, according to a "senior source" in ECOMOG. "Last time we made the mistake of not going all the way, this time we're going to finish the job," the source said. He said the regiment would arrive in Freetown on Thursday afternoon.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has evacuated its last five expatriate staff from Freetown at the request of the Sierra Leone government, ICRC Michael Kleiner said on Thursday. The five, including three medical staff who were believed to be the last expatriate medical workers in the capital, were flown to Conakry on Wednesday evening aboard a chartered helicopter. "The ICRC has been asked by a member of the Sierra Leone government to leave Freetown for security reasons," Kleiner said. "The ICRC regrets this decision because it obliges its delegates to leave Freetown while the humanitarian situation remains highly preoccupying as most civilians are trapped in their homes by incessant fighting. The five were a reassuring presence for 180 civilians who had sought shelter in the ICRC compound and for the wounded at Netland Surgical Hospital in the capital," Kleiner said, adding: "The ICRC has informed the authorities of its readiness to resume its humanitarian activities in favour of the victims of the conflict as soon as it is authorised to do so." ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy

<http://www.sierra-leone.org/slnews0199.html>

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Shelpidi said on Wednesday that he had requested the deportation of aid workers from an unnamed non-governmental organisation. ECOMOG sources said Thursday that Shelpidi was referring to the ICRC staff because they had communications equipment which could listen in on ECOMOG transmissions. Dutch battlefield surgeon Willem Boere said the staff were surprised to be ordered to leave at a time when there was such huge humanitarian need. "Chaos is enormous and wounded have not been able to get any treatment. There has been no access to food or water for the population which is getting desperate," he said. Some 200 Sierra Leonean ICRC staff remain in Freetown.

The Nigerian government has termed it "regrettable" that AFRC/RUF rebels have been receiving support from a number of countries, some of whom were members of ECOWAS and the OAU. "The actions and policies of these countries not only subvert the principles and collective decisions of these organizations but also jeopardize bilateral relations among states," the statement said. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in Sierra Leone. It cannot be business as usual with countries which provide the bullets that kill and maim our sons and daughters."

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17 January: Fighting between ECOMOG troops and AFRC/RUF rebels continued to the east of Freetown on Wednesday. London Times journalist Sam Kiley reported that the sounds of tanks and heavy artillery could be heard from around the university area, where "rebels are believed to be using a disused quarry and caves around there for cover." The number of casualties in the city since the onset of the fighting has been conservatively estimated at 2,000, the BBC and the Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported on Sunday. The number is expected to rise on account of the number of injured, starving children, and because of the lack of medical care. Fires started by the rebels which have destroyed key installations, and reportedly even whole streets, coupled with damage from ECOMOG bombing raids, have left the city badly damaged.

ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said Sunday that re-establishing complete control over Freetown was a matter of "a few days," but he acknowledged that "urban warfare creates a lot of difficulties." He said bands of RUF rebels, often teenagers carrying assault rifles, and snipers on rooftops posed a threat which ECOMOG needed "better and more efficient means" to counter. He said the Nigerian Alpha fighter jets used by ECOMOG were too rapid, and said the force required helicopters, light arms, more communications equipment, and a commitment from other ECOWAS countries to contribute troops to the ECOMOG force. "We're now organising civil defence," Shelpidi added. He said the rebels, who had been prevented from getting back to the interior of the country, were now in the forested hills overlooking Freetown. "The worst thing is that the rebels change their clothes all the time," said a Nigerian major. "One minute, they're on the street in jeans and t-shirts, like you or me; the next they're in stolen ECOMOG battle dress."

Freetown was reported calm on Sunday morning, Reuters reported. Saturday night was reported generally quiet, although distant bombardments could occasionally be heard from the east. The news service described Freetown as a "disaster area," with bodies littering the streets. At Connaught Hospital, a few local doctors with almost no medicine attempted to care for the sick and wounded, while dogs and vultures disturbed bodies piled in the hospital driveway. "The hospital is in a dire situation right now. There are over 80 war wounded requiring all kinds of medical help, and we just do not have the means to assist them," said surgeon Dr Johnston Taylor. "There are bodies littered everywhere, unattended as well. We are appealing for any kind of help and assistance that we can get." Most aid agencies evacuated their personnel to Conakry following the AFRC/RUF rebel attack on Freetown. Five expatriate staff of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), including a Dutch battle surgeon, were expelled by ECOMOG last week without explanation. On Friday, ECOMOG ordered non-government organisations and United Nations agencies to hand over their communications equipment, further hampering humanitarian operations.

The British frigate HMS Norfolk anchored off Freetown on Sunday. The British government has said the warship will not take direct part in fighting, but might provide logistical support for the ECOMOG force and assist in humanitarian operations, according to the British Foreign Office. In March 1998 the British frigate HMS Cornwall provided humanitarian and technical assistance following the ouster of the AFRC military government. The Foreign Office said Friday that the Norfolk would not undertake an evacuation of the estimated 50 British nationals remaining in Freetown. "That particular boat is equipped to provide humanitarian assistance, they have crew who will probably help to restore some of the essential services that the people so badly need," President Kabbah said on Saturday. Brigadier David Richards, the leader of the British Reconnaissance Team, said the Norfolk was carrying three tons of medical supplies. "Our focus in the first instance is clearly on the humanitarian situation," he said. Richards added that the British "plan to support ECOMOG in any way we can to do whatever is necessary to restore stability in the country." London Times journalist Sam Kiley said Sunday that the Norfolk's immediate mission would be to airlift the medical supplies from Lungi to Connaught Hospital in Freetown. He also reported that Richards met with Chief of Defence Staff Maxwell Krobe and President Kabbah to discuss the situation in Freetown both from a humanitarian and a military point of view. "So as yet the British certainly haven't ruled out some sort of military role, although

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the Foreign Office in London of course have ruled out an actual direct combat role of the frigate that's here, which may in fact be augmented in the future," Kiley said. He pointed out that the frigate was equipped with only one Lynx helicopter, capable of lifting about half a ton of equipment, but speculated that it could possibly supply "guidance or intelligence-gathering equipment" to direct ECOMOG Alpha fighter jets. RUF political spokesman Omrie Golley said RUF commanders in the field feared the Norfolk would help ECOMOG's Alpha jet fighters locate rebel positions. "They are worried it will eavesdrop on our communications and help the Alphas pinpoint our positions," Golley said. "Britain seems to have confused objectives. They say they are looking for dialogue and yet they are playing a great part in supporting ECOMOG." On Friday, Britain flew a planeload of military vehicles to Freetown, destined for the ECOMOG force. RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, in an interview on Sunday, accused the Norfolk of shelling rebel positions. "Their shells have landed on our soil," he said. "We will attack their embassy. It's going to be burned down." A British Defence Department spokeswoman in London called the accusation "absolute rubbish." "All that has happened is that HMS Norfolk has arrived in international waters off Sierra Leone, and has sent a reconnaissance party in a helicopter to assess the situation from the air," she said. The British Reconnaissance Team intends to remain in Freetown until early February to assess the situation in the country.

The Ivory Coast reacted Saturday to criticism by Nigerian Foreign Minister Ignatius Olisiemeka of efforts by the foreign ministers of Ivory Coast and Togo to mediate the Sierra Leone conflict. A statement issued by the Ivorian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Abidjan recalled that the final communiqué issued by the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Sierra Leone following their extraordinary meeting on December 28 called both for reinforcement of ECOMOG and for a restoration of dialogue between the government and the rebels in Sierra Leone, as provided for by the Abidjan Accord and the Conakry Peace Plan. The ECOWAS foreign ministers called on Ivory Coast and Liberia to use their influence to establish contacts between the government and the rebels for possible further negotiations, the statement said, adding that the decision had received the support of all of Committee of Five foreign ministers. "It is worth recalling that the involvement of Ivory Coast in the settlement of the crisis in Sierra Leone is the result of an urgent request made in this regard by former Sierra Leone President Maada Bio and President Kabbah to President Henri Konan Bedie, who had made great efforts toward the signing of the Abidjan Peace Accord on 30 November 1996, an accord which had received the support of the entire international community," the statement added.

Malian army spokesman Aboudlaye Coulibali said Sunday that 428 Malian troops were sent to depart for Freetown following an assessment mission Friday by General Nimkaro Kame. "Our aim is not to fight, unless we're attacked, but to provide security for the population and facilitate negotiations between the belligerents," Coulibali said. Reuters reported that a military delegation from Mali flew to Freetown Saturday for talks with ECOMOG as to when the long-expected contingent of Malian troops might arrive.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie said Sunday that the rebels would go ahead with a seven-day cease-fire set to begin at 6:00 p.m. on Monday. "Our guns will go silent for a week. If the Nigerians do not try to do anything, they will stay silent for a week," he said. Bockarie warned, however, that any ECOMOG action — even a single flight by an ECOMOG jet — would end the cease-fire. "We will not sit down and look at them shooting at us," he said. Bockarie threatened to unleash anarchy on the capital unless RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh were released. "We have made Freetown ungovernable," he said. "We can do that until Kabbah steps down or they release Sankoh." United Nations Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo, quoted by the Agence France-Presse (AFP), said he feared "the intransigence" of President Kabbah toward the AFRC/RUF troops "could trigger, very quickly, a new wave of violence."

The Associated Press, quoting an unnamed "rebel official" in an "undisclosed location" in Sierra Leone reported Sunday that AFRC/RUF rebels will abandon their unilateral cease-fire unless President Kabbah agrees to release RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh. "We are hoping that

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there will be a significant shift on Kabbah's part," he said. "But if (there isn't), we fight and fight to the bitter end." President Kabbah, in a Reuters television interview on Saturday, refused to release Sankoh. "What the rebels are saying is 'Mr. President, we have a gun pointed at your head. Either you release our man or we are going to shoot you'", Kabbah said. "They are saying that we should ignore our constitution, we should ignore our legal system, and just obey their orders to release Sankoh. I am not going to succumb to that." RUF political spokesman Omrie Golley told Reuters Saturday that the rebels planned to go ahead with their cease-fire beginning Monday, and that Sankoh's release was not a pre-condition. The "rebel official" told the Associated Press that rebel forces remain entrenched in parts of Freetown and could regain full control of the city within ten days. He acknowledged that the rebels were hampered in their movements by ECOMOG Alpha fighter jets and artillery, but said they were able to move freely after dark. "We have the upper hand by night, and they have the upper hand by day," the official said. "Although they are better equipped, we are smarter." He claimed that the rebels controlled most of Sierra Leone, except for the cities of Bo and Kenema.

BBC correspondent Prince Brima reported Sunday that AFRC/RUF rebels clashed with Kamajor militiamen at Jomu, 12 miles from Kenema. Brima said the battle lasted for three hours "before the rebels were repelled with heavy casualties." An afternoon curfew lasting from 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. was imposed on Kenema Saturday, he said, adding that the town was calm Sunday. Heavy fighting also broke out Saturday near Masingbi, on the Makeni-Kono highway, between rebel forces and the Kamajor militia, Brima reported. He said the two sides continued to battle along the highway Sunday.

United Nations Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo flew from Conakry to Freetown Saturday to try to revive mediation efforts, and to arrange to bring humanitarian aid to Freetown by road from Guinea. "We've been assured of the necessary escorts and security and I'm on my way back to Conakry to relay this good news to the (aid agencies) so that they can begin right away," Okelo said.

The First Secretary at Sierra Leone's embassy in Liberia, James Sawi, has described as "false and misleading" a report by the Daily Times newspaper that the Sierra Leone government had asked Liberian refugees to leave the country.

Sawi acknowledged that there were serious problems between the two countries, but said this would not cause Sierra Leone to expel Liberian nationals.

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22 January: Archbishop Joseph Henry Ganda and five Catholic missionary priests escaped from rebel captivity on Wednesday and were picked up by ECOMOG troops on Friday. The priests were identified as Fr. Giuseppe Berton, Fr. Giovanni Ceresoli, Fr. Giuseppe Cavallin (Giuseppino del Murialdo), and Fr. Mario Guerra of the Xaverian order, and Spanish priest Fr. Luis Perez Hernandez. Six nuns of the Missionaries of Charity, and two Xaverian missionaries, Father Girolamo Pistoni and Brother Guglielmo Zambiasi, are still in rebel hands. Bishop George Biguzzi said the priests had been held along with many other prisoners, including former President Joseph Momoh, at what he described as a brewery building at Grassfield. Fearing an ECOMOG attack, the rebels decided to relocate in great haste, Biguzzi related. "There was a sudden advance of ECOMOG from outside Freetown. There was a lot of chaos and shooting. Everybody was trying to move into a safer area and eventually we were freed by ECOMOG," said Fr. Mario Guerra, who was abducted in November from the Catholic mission at Kamalo, in northern Sierra Leone. Biguzzi related that the rebels first moved the six nuns and two Xaverian missionaries, leaving Archbishop Ganda and the other priests alone. "They were able to find shelter, where they spent the first night," Biguzzi told the Missionary Service News Agency (MISNA). "The following day they cautiously continued their escape and then found shelter in another building for the second night. This morning they tried to reach the 'main road' but were intercepted by a group of rebels. Though in that same moment also a civil defence patrol arrived and the rebels decided to not confront them and escaped." The six were retrieved by ECOMOG and taken to Ferry Junction with an escort which included "an armoured tank and a truck loaded with soldiers," Biguzzi added. "Their health conditions are satisfactory, and now they are resting," he said. "They were not mistreated, though they were not able to wash for two weeks." Said Archbishop Ganda, "We're happy to be alive but there are others still there with the rebels. We're praying for them."

Thousands of displaced persons formed long lines Friday to receive emergency food aid being distributed by church and relief groups. Rev. Moses Khanu, President of the Council of Churches of Sierra Leone, said that stores of 8,000 to 10,000 tons of food had not been looted from warehouses near the port during the rebel attack on Freetown. The stocks, which include high nutrition corn and soya blend, bulgar, and vegetable oils, are owned by the United Nations World Food Programme, Catholic Relief Services, and World Vision. "We believe that we have enough for the first phase of emergency aid," Khanu said. Aid workers said the number of displaced persons sheltering at the National Stadium had decreased by half, to about 17,000. They added that many had gone to check their homes but would return to the stadium to sleep.

ECOMOG officers said Friday that Nigerian fighter jets were attacking rebel strongholds in the mountains surrounding Freetown, while Nigerian and Guinean ECOMOG units were closing in on rebels trapped on the eastern fringes of the city. "(The rebels) have been devastated and (are) running in all directions," said ECOMOG spokesman Colonel Chris Olukuoade. "We are now on phase two of the operation, which is cordon and search." RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie told the Agence France-Presse (AFP) Friday that AFRC/RUF rebels planned to launch an attack to retake the capital. "We are changing our tactic and planning a surprise attack on Freetown," he said, adding that despite their retreat the rebels "were still a strong fighting force." Bockarie denied allegations that the RUF was receiving assistance from Liberia and Burkina Faso. He claimed that the rebels had purchased or captured their arms from ECOMOG. "The Nigerians in ECOMOG are selling us arms and ammunition. They are collaborating with us," Bockarie said. He added that other weapons had been "seized from ECOMOG soldiers who were captured," adding that had captured "250 ECOMOG soldiers so far."

Kissy residents reported that "continuing atrocities by pockets of rebels," who attacked Thursday for the second night in a row, Reuters reported. World Food Programme (WFP) spokeswoman Christiane Berthiaume said Friday that ECOMOG had recorded at least 30 cases of mutilations. "The people are traumatised and in a state of shock," she said, adding that there had been summary executions and other human rights violations. Quoting witnesses, she said up to half of the houses had been burned down in the east of the city. A United Nations World Health Organisation official said retreating rebels had hacked off the limbs of civilians, including babies,

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in eastern part of the city. "The rebels have resorted to amputating arms and fingers of civilians, some as young as one-year-old babies," the official said. RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie denied that the rebels had mutilated civilians or burned houses. Instead, he blamed the atrocities on the Kamajor militia. "The Kamajors are known for using machetes. They are committing these atrocities," he said. Bockarie deplored the "incredible suffering of Sierra Leoneans in Freetown," and said the RUF had called a cease-fire for this week which was to have allowed food and emergency relief supplies to reach civilians trapped by the fighting. He warned that any future suffering would be "the responsibility of the Kabbah government and the Nigerians who have rejected a peaceful solution to the crisis." RUF spokesman Omrie Michael Golley also denied that the rebels were responsible for the atrocities. "The RUF was not responsible for the horrific recent atrocities in the east of the capital," Golley said. "ECOMOG said it had completely cleared the area of rebels on Tuesday. How is it possible then that rebels burst into people's homes on Wednesday and began cutting off their arms and legs?" In a separate interview, Golley said: "I have investigated this and spoken to our military high command, and I want to refute the idea that the RUF was behind these mutilations." Asked to comment on why survivors at Connaught Hospital had blamed their wounds on the rebels, Golley responded, "If anything happened, it must have been the civil militia going in and mutilating people they thought were rebels... There are a lot of terrible things going on. I'm not saying we've never committed atrocities, especially in the early stages of the war," he added. "In recent times, in the north and east, events will show it was not the RUF, it was the Kamajors that did the atrocities."

Following a closed-door meeting of the United Nations Security Council on Friday, Council President Ambassador Celso Luiz Nunes Amorim (Brazil) read out a statement expressing grave concern about the humanitarian situation in Sierra Leone, and the increasing number of refugees. Council members expressed the need for all parties to ensure the safety of humanitarian personnel, to allow them to work effectively, and to respect their impartiality and neutrality, the statement said. "Council members expressed support for the democratically-elected government of President Kabbah, and the efforts that are being made by ECOMOG," Amorim said. Council members urged the international community for "continued and sustained" support for the ECOMOG force, while indicating "their hope for an early resumption of dialogue that respect the legitimate government of President Kabbah."

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International on Friday termed "unacceptable" plans by the United Nations Security Council to reduce the number of human rights monitors attached to the United Nations Military Observer Force in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) from five to two or three. "At a time when it is more urgent than ever to monitor human rights abuses in Sierra Leone and to report them accurately and impartially, the UNOMSIL human rights section is being weakened dramatically" Amnesty International said. "Despite the difficulties posed by the security situation in Freetown, there is still much that UNOMSIL human rights officers can do." The Amnesty statement detailed human rights violations committed by both sides in the fighting. It said rebel fighters had "deliberately and arbitrarily" killed hundreds of unarmed civilians, and abducted large numbers of civilians, including children and young people. Rebels also killed eleven police officers near the Cotton Tree, in central Freetown. Amnesty said rebel forces had arrived in Freetown with lists of people to be targeted, including members of the National Commission for Democracy and Human Rights, lawyers, and journalists. Amnesty said ECOMOG and the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) had summarily executed "captured rebels or people they suspect of supporting rebel forces." The statement said ECOMOG troops had summarily executed 22 captives on Aberdeen Bridge on January 13, and that such executions were continuing. The CDF last week summarily executed six young men at Kingtom whom they alleged were rebels. Amnesty said indiscriminate aerial bombardments by ECOMOG had resulted in large numbers of civilian casualties. The human rights group also said eight Sierra Leonean humanitarian aid workers had been detained by ECOMOG and accused of cooperating with rebel forces. "Most of them are reported to have been beaten while detained," the statement said.

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The West African Journalists' Association (WAJA) on Friday said it was "outraged and shocked" by indiscriminate attacks and persecution of foreign and local journalists in Sierra Leone. "We condemn in no uncertain terms the abduction of journalists by the rebels, the killing of journalists, and the destruction of media houses and equipment," WAJA said in a statement. "WAJA has had occasion in the past to condemn the anti-media measures of the Tejan Kabbah regime, particularly the death sentence passed against some journalists. Whilst urging all parties in the crisis in Sierra Leone to lay down arms and bring peace to the long-suffering people of Sierra Leone, we equally appeal to them to respect the dignity and right of journalists, irrespective of their perceived political leanings, to do their work."

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26 January: ECOMOG bombarded suspected rebel positions overnight in the hills overlooking Kissy and in the wooded areas beyond Lumley before dawn on Tuesday. Shelling was also reported Monday night around around Calaba Town. ECOMOG officers said they were targeting "rebel infiltrators," Reuters reported. The Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported "relatively little shooting" overnight, but said tension in Freetown remained high. A military source said ECOMOG troops were "moving south, and would start bombarding adjacent hills in the next 48 hours." In conflicting reports, Reuters quoted medical staff at Connaught Hospital Tuesday as saying that the number of wounded arriving there had decreased substantially, while the AFP said wounded victims, many of them mutilated, continued to arrive at the city's five hospitals. The AFP, quoting hospital sources, reported more than 3,000 persons are known to have died during nearly three weeks of fighting between ECOMOG troops and AFRC/RUF rebel forces, with the final death toll expected to be much higher. No estimate of military casualties has been released.

The Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported Tuesday that some 60 people were killed Sunday in an attack on Waterloo. The number is based on reports by residents of 25 civilian deaths and a claim by Guinean ECOMOG sources that 35 rebels were killed during clashes in the town. Some 17 houses at Waterloo were reported to have been burned down. On Monday, ECOMOG said rebels were present at Wellington, but claimed to have surrounded the rebels on all sides. "We have blocked all known routes and are patrolling the coast," said ECOMOG spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jimoh Okunlola, adding that rebel forces were caught between ECOMOG troops at Kissy and in Waterloo. Okunlola said the rebels' supply lines had been cut and that they were running out of ammunition. ECOMOG spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Olukolade said Tuesday that neighbourhood vigilante groups which have sprung up in Freetown have the support of ECOMOG. "We encourage that but there should be orderliness. They should be organised enough to help ECOMOG in countering the movement of suspicious characters or likely rebels in the society," he said in a radio broadcast.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie threatened Tuesday that the RUF would make Sierra Leone ungovernable unless the movement was given a share of power. "No government can rule. We'll make the country ungovernable," he said. "We are demanding a political role." Bockarie said ECOMOG troops would be "unable to provide security" for the Sierra Leone government. "We are negotiating the liberation of (RUF leader Corporal) Foday Sankoh, and we want a new government of inclusion," he said. "No government can succeed in this country if it doesn't include Foday Sankoh." Bockarie ridiculed ECOMOG claims to have "trapped" rebels southeast of Freetown. "Can you trap a rebel in the bush?" he asked.

The Spanish foreign ministry said Tuesday that the BBC had interviewed French journalist Patrick Saint Paul who, along with Spanish reported Javier Espinosa, was kidnapped by rebels on Monday. Saint Paul was released with a message which the rebels have demanded be read over the BBC as a condition for Espinosa's release. As reported by Madrid EFE (radio), the BBC said stressed that its broadcasts could not include communiqués from guerilla groups anywhere in the world, adding that it could not "shape its news programmes as dictated by violent groups of any kind," the interview closely paralleled the rebel statement. Saint Paul said the rebel group wanted to assure the international community that in no case would it harm the civilian population. Earlier, the Spanish foreign ministry said RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie had given assurances to Spain's ambassador to the Ivory Coast that he would order the release of Espinosa, who allegedly was being held by a "Colonel Rambo." The Spanish foreign minister confirmed that Spanish embassies in Nigeria, Senegal, and Ivory Coast, as well as the French secret service, were working to secure Espinosa's release. ECOMOG press spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Olukolade called the two journalists "irresponsible" Wednesday, adding they had put "their lives in danger to publicise people who have committed the worst atrocities." He said the journalists had ignored all the rules of caution in entering a zone believed still to be occupied by the RUF.

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Freetown experienced fuel shortages Tuesday, a day after a fire at the Kissy fuel terminal on Monday further reduced already diminished supplies. "This is what we expected to happen. There has not been any supply for weeks and oil companies have had to supply ECOMOG with lots of fuel," said an engineer close to Safecon. "We don't know when the next shipment is coming in as no insurance company will cover any tanker docking at Kissy," he added.

Some shops began to reopen in the central business district of Freetown on Monday, Reuters reported on Tuesday. Some banks and shops reopened last week in western Freetown, which largely escaped the fighting. Few cars were on the streets Tuesday afternoon due to the fuel shortage.

Telephone and electrical service, which was partially restored in some areas last week, remain disrupted in central and eastern Freetown due to the destruction of power lines and overhead cables. "It will take several weeks to get things to near normal as burnt buildings have to be knocked down to prevent any catastrophe," a construction worker was quoted as saying.

The Sierra Leone Council of Churches continued emergency food distribution of rice and flour on Tuesday, Reuters reported.

The Nigerian newspaper P.M. News reported Tuesday that the bodies of 31 Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers were returned to Nigeria on Sunday for burial. "A military source revealed that the dead soldiers include a major," the newspaper reported.

Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings called for peace talks to resolve the Sierra Leone conflict, but said AFRC/RUF rebels must first stop committing atrocities. "We are prepared to sit down to talk provided they stop those acts of violence, killing and maiming of innocent civilians," he said following talks with the United Nations Special Envoy to Sierra Leone, Francis Okelo. Rawlings said ECOWAS should review its strategy of using force. "We do not believe this is the only way to handle the situation," he told Okelo, adding that constitutional legality must be respected. "The will of the people must be made to prevail," Rawlings said. "I implore you to get to some of the sober-minded allies of the rebels to bring their influence to bear on them to see reason."

International humanitarian agencies, whose foreign staff had fled Freetown following the rebel attack on January 6, began to return to the capital on Monday. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Judith Kumin said security concerns had forced cancellation of an aid flight to Kenema, where the UNHCR said there are currently 50,000 displaced persons. ECOMOG reportedly wants to move these people because of their proximity to the rebels. Kumin said a Sierra Leonean employee of the Irish aid agency Concern was killed when rebels set his house on fire. The victim worked with Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone, she said.

The Japanese foreign ministry has called on AFRC/RUF rebels holding its honorary consul, Kishoie Shankerdas, who was reported to have abducted Sunday along with ten other Indian nationals. "We are deeply concerned about the report," a Foreign Ministry statement said. "We strongly demand the anti-government rebels release the honorary consul general and other civilians." Japanese foreign ministry spokesman Sadaaki Numata said Japan was working through several countries, including Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Togo, and Britain, to confirm the whereabouts of the eleven. Shankerdas, who has served as honorary consul for Japan since 1986, contributed greatly to the evacuation of Japanese citizens from Sierra Leone, the statement said.

Five Italian Xaverian missionary priests departed Sierra Leone for Italy via Conakry on Tuesday. Three of the five, Father Giuseppe Berton, Father Giovanni Ceresoli, and Father Mario Guerra, escaped from RUF custody last week, along with Archbishop Joseph Henry Ganda. A fourth,

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Father Girolamo Pistoni, survived an execution attempt by RUF fighters on Friday, and was hospitalised for a bullet wound in the chest. Father Giuseppe Cavallin (Giuseppino del Murialdo) had been isolated by the fighting and hid out for some days. The flight, which also includes civilians, was organised by the Crisis Unit of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE
DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS.

Received by
Intelligence Office
16/3/98

22nd January, 1998.

From: The Chief of Defence Staff (CDS)
To: 4th Battalion Commander
Subject: PROMOTION- OFFICERS/OTHER RANKS:

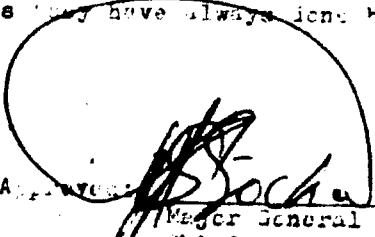
00007058

The Chief of Defence Staff, Major General Sam Bockarie is pleased to approved promotions to the under-mentioned officers and NCO's as shown against their names.

<u>NO.</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>PROMOTED TO:</u>	<u>ASSIGNMENT</u>
1.	Lt. Nyuma Joseph	Capt.	1st Pl. Comm. B/Coy.
2.	" Simeon B. Momoh	"	2nd " "
3.	" Augustine Pyne	"	3rd " "
4.	" Sahr Bobor	"	4th " "
5.	S/Sgt Dauda A. Saffa	Lt.	1st Pl. D/Comm "
6.	" Lahai Sallia	"	2nd " "
7.	" Manjo Ansumana	"	3rd " "
8.	" Alhaji Kakay	"	4th " "
9.	" Morison P. Keiffa	2/Lt.	B/Coy Clerk
10.	Sgt Wonneh Lansana	S/Maj.	" S/Maj.
11.	" Saidu Musa	Lt.	B/Coy/Ops/Comm.
12.	" Vandj Momoh	Lt.	B/Coy/H.Q.
13.	" Haws Tie	"	" WAC
14.	" Lamin Sheku	S/Sgt.	Combatant
15.	Cpl. Vandj Bockarie	Sgt.	"
16.	S/Sgt Briama Samba	2/Lt.	"
17.	Sgt Alpha Mambu	S/Sgt.	"
18.	S/Sgt Sheku Momoh	2/Lt.	"
19.	Sgt Abdulai A. Senesie	S/Sgt.	"
20.	Sgt Fodie Umaru	S/Sgt.	"
21.	" Umaru Sam	"	"
22.	Cpl Moses James	Sgt.	"
23.	Sgt Sengbeh Momoh	S/Sgt.	"
24.	" Surba Marcullay	"	"
25.	" Alfred Turren	"	"
26.	" Briama Lahai	"	"
27.	Cpl Frances Kamara	Sgt	1st Pl. WAC. Comm.
28.	" Christiana Peter	"	2nd " "
29.	" Nancy Umaru	"	3rd " "
30.	" Massah Mbocha	"	4th " "

31.	Sgt Aryra Bassie	S/Sgt.	Combatant	
32.	" Samai Briama	2/Lt.	"	
33.	Cpl Lamin Bangura	S/Sgt.	"	
34.	" Alhaji Koroma	Sgt	"	00007059
35.	" Moiwo Bockarie	"	"	
36.	" Musa Kallon	"	"	
37.	Sgt Sumaila Samuka	2/Lt	"	
38.	Cpl Morie Sidikie	Sgt	"	
39.	" Vandl Moigua	"	"	
40.	Sgt Bockarie Sama	2/Lt	"	
41.	Cpl Swaray Briama	Sgt	"	
42.	Sgt Ansumana Briama	2/Lt	"	
43.	Cpl Momoh Mjisa	Sgt	"	
44.	Sgt Mustapha Momch	2/Lt	"	
45.	" Satta Bundeh	S/Sgt	WAC	
46.	Cpl Aruna Thomas	Sgt	Combatant	
47.	Sgt Lawrence Kpandewah	2/Lt	"	
48.	" Nyuma Ngossah	"	"	
49.	Cpl Lahai Mansaray	Sgt	"	
50.	Sgt Jusu Musa	S/Sgt	"	
51.	" Bobor Kallon	2/Lt	"	
52.	" Bobor Jusu	"	"	
53.	Capt Lansana Wonnsh	Major	"	

2. The Chief of Defence Staff, Major General Sam Bockarie congratulates every member of the 4th Battalion on their recent promotion and they would continue to give off their best loyalty, dedication and devotion in the execution of their duties as they have always done before.

Approved: 
Major General Sam Bockarie
Chief of Defence Staff-RUFSL.

cc: C.D.S - RUFSL
File.

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE
 "4" Dent.
 DATE: DEC. 4, 1996

FROM: Cpl. FODAY S. SANKOH,
 LEADER, RUF/SL
 ABIDJAN, LA COTE D'IVOIRE

TO: BROTHER MOHAMED TALIBI,
 PEOPLES' BUREAU OF LIBYAN ARAB PEOPLES JAMAHIRIYA
 ACCRA, GHANA.

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 7#
 EXH. E^K
 A.

SUB: URGENT INFORMATION

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I received the USD 29,000 (twenty-nine thousand United States dollars) through Mr. Daniel Kallon for which I am very grateful to you and the other brothers back home. We have signed the Peace Accord on November 29, 1996 just so as to relieve our movement of the enormous pressure from the International Community while I will use this opportunity to transact my business in getting out fighting materials freely and easily.

I have already finished negotiations with my business partners and I have so far paid USD 300,000 (three hundred thousand United States dollars). Our agreement is that they should receive USD 700,000 (seven hundred thousand United States dollars) from me in Sierra Leone upon their arrival with the materials into my controlled territory.

The total cost of the material is USD 2,000,000 (two million United States dollars). The balance amount will be paid when the operation is completed.

I am therefore asking you and your brothers

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to urgently provide the needed USD 700,000 (Seven hundred thousand United States dollars) so that I will be in position to live up to my commitment to my business partners who will be coming very soon with these materials. As I have always learnt from you people, there is some money with the Burkina Faso Government for the provision of our needed materials. But as you might have known by now that government have really not shown any keen interest in assisting us as a movement. I even had conversation with Commandant Dienderé these few days but with no positive result.

I would therefore suggest that you prepare a letter for me to meet President Compaore on this issue as we never received anything from them and even my delegates at Ouagadougou have returned ever since to my location here. Please advice on this issue.

When I went in last week, I was able to organize serious mining operations in precious minerals which I believe will help us to generate the needed foreign exchange for our mission. For now I am highly in need of this USD 700,000 in order to go in and be waiting for the arrival of my business partners. Please help me in this great hour of need and I promise not to let you down. Palmer will give you the rest of my message. My best regard to you and your family.

Cpl. FODAY S. SANKOH.

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE
4th Ident.
DATE: DEC. 4, 1996

FROM: Cpl. FODAY S. SANKOH,
LEADER, RUF/SL
ABIDJAN, LA COTE D'IVOIRE

TO: BROTHER MOHAMED TALIBI,
PEOPLES BUREAU OF LIBYAN ARAB PEOPLES JAMAHIRIYA
ACCRA, GHANA.

75
7th Ident.
EXH. Eth
A.

SUB: URGENT INFORMATION

I received the USD 29,000 (twenty-nine thousand United States dollars) through Mr. Daniel Kallon for which I am very grateful to you and the other brothers back home. We have signed the Peace Accord on November 29, 1996 just so as to relieve our movement of the enormous pressure from the International Community while I will use this opportunity to transact my business in getting out fighting materials freely and easily.

I have already finished negotiations with my business partners and I have so far paid USD 300,000 (three hundred thousand United States dollars). Our agreement is that they should receive USD 700,000 (seven hundred thousand United States dollars) from me in Sierra Leone upon their arrival with the materials into my controlled territory. The total cost of the material is USD 2,000,000 (two million United States dollars). The balance amount will be paid when the operation is completed.

I am therefore asking you and your brothers

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT
OF SIERRA LEONE (RUF/SL)

"2" dent.

DATE: JUNE 26, 1996

FROM: Cpl. Foday S. SANKOH,
LEADER, RUF/SL.

Ext. "D"
JL.

TO: BROTHER MOHAMMED TALIBI,
LIBYAN ARAB PEOPLES JAMAHIRIYYA,
ACCRA, GHANA.

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP REQUEST

I want to thank you and the other brothers back home again very much for the half million United States dollars (500,000 USD) which I received through you for the purchase of needed material to pursue the military mission.

However, I wish to let you all be informed that my business partners for these materials are here with me and we have had extensive discussions on this subject. Attached to this letter, you will find a list of materials (arms and ammunitions) and their costs for your serious and urgent attention. I now need one and a half million United States dollars (USD 1,500,000) in order to purchase twice the listed materials for effective and smooth operation.

My representative, Capt. PHILIP S. PALMER, will elaborate on this all important and urgent mission as he is expected to travel along with my business partners somewhere for these materials if and only if the above-mentioned amount is available. These materials will be given to me at discount rates and the requested amount plus the one already in hand will cover in addition all transportation costs for airlifting these materials

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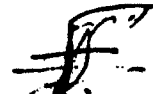
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The airlifting of these materials to our controlled territory will be done before any payment for this mission is done by me. This is why I am urgently appealing to you and the other brothers back home for your usual cooperation in providing this time the one and a half million United States dollars (USD 500,000) to be at hand with me so that my business partners and my representative can proceed for these materials very quickly for fast and smooth operation.

Kind regards.

Sign:



Cpl. FODAY S. SANKOH,
LEADER, RUF/SL

12019

1.079

13.30 a.m.

Attendance List

24th Dec, 1989

89/11

— Chairman & Leader of the RUF — F. S. Sankoh

1. Daniel G. Kallen
2. Shaka Lomber
3. Dr. Williams
4. Rashid Sandy
5. Col. Sonba Mwangi
6. Benkenneth
7. C. C. Isaac
8. Major ^{Tommy} Sandy
9. Col. Karmah Kameh (eagle)
10. Col. Foday Massagui
11. Kumbaba mondoh
12. Maj. Matthews Fabbie
13. Maj. Collins
14. J. T. Bayo
15. Gibrell Massagui
16. Sheikh Abu Balkar Nabbe
17. Major Suarray (Ray)
18. Nyawhen
19. Allicious Alpha
20. Francis S. Bando
21. Abdul Rahma ~~to~~ Kobbeah
22. Francis C. Charlie
23. Mohamed Musa (Gadaffie)
24. Lt. Col. M. J. Sheriff
25. Col. Tiddis Taramallie
26. Tamba Jimmy
27. Alex ~~Kaars~~
28. Sidi Kumba

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89/2

- Rashid Faday

- 22/3/69

- Student

pendebu-Kaulabu Dist

Father - Faday Kamara (Kamara
Mama st 8

Mother - Mariama Kamara
(Kamara pendebu)

- The late Dad business

- Farmer

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11

Minutes of Meeting with the Leader and Senior Officers

24/12/99

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prayers: both Christian and Muslim way

The Leader: Thank all of us for our work in his absence and continued to state that he is opened to criticism. We are all to encourage ourselves to do the right thing for the future of the party and ourselves.

I admire Mone Kallan and Issa. They never join Sam Buckarie on his plan or else the whole Movement could have been destroyed. Issa also told Staperman that they should work together and give the people of SL peace. The leader reiterated that he advises all of us to take the same direction.

The leader also said that Omire Gully is no more Spokesman, no more legal representative and no more Ambassador at large to the RUF. ~~Since~~ He is not discommunicated yet but he has to change his attitudes. Everybody is warning to steer from Corruption.

Gen Ibrahim is not involved in Mosquito's plot. Sam Buckarie once insulted Gen Ibrahim once. All the officers and combatants wrote Sam Buckarie to be sent back to Kailahun for trial. A message I will write and sent to the brother. I will like to get your own views. The leader said further that president Sankoh men at Foya and are not cooperating and be in fear of him. President Sankoh will change all the command there. Mosquito should be tried for atrocities committed by asking his bodyguards to rape other officers wife, detention of AG's against those wishing to leave the Movement with him and all going to be tried. Brigadier Mike Lamin to set up a people's court. We will ask the views of all soldiers for more promotion this was re-iterated by Brigadier Sankoh.

The leader also warned Colonel Kallan to stop from disobeying orders given by Brigadier Issa. He said to be disciplined by Issa if not tried for being and damaging his command relations.

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The leader also asked Kombo to comment on the report of
refugees going to Guinea

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Kombo said it was the same complain I made and
some of my men have returned but up till now a little
more and an S.B.U are yet not to be seen. Kombo
raised the paramount chief of A.T. Mixing himself with
the section chief who organised group to attack my men.

The leader further ask Kombo to still meet the
chief and ask his section chief for the men. I support you
hundred percent for defending your men but at the same
time you have to discipline your men. No tribalism,
No sectionalism said the leader.

The leader then read the position statements
and made some other contributions such as: Men
deployment of ECOMOG or UN until J.M.C and C.M.C
are ~~formed~~ exercising their duties.

The welfare of the men poor. All forces in
S/L besides France and UNAMSIL are to disarm
and go through the DDR program.

Appointments to the various Commissions to
be done by both parties and not Kabila's group
alone. No UNAMSIL to disarm as was not in the
Lomé agreement. Mandate of UNAMSIL change to
monitoring - to move from the flank approach
to military and diplomatic option but only
diplomatic option now is dialogue and be present
at DDR centers. But to form a committee advised Kabila
on these issues, not only the leader.

Coming back to Sam Bockarie. He
leader said all those who continued with Sam
Bockarie (Laguards) are all to be tried. They
have now been arrested by Brigadier Deso Sosa.

press conference to be held this week to
explain our position as far as how the implementation
of the agreement is going.

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(15)
All SCAs to send their Nominal roll, formal unit
served, military numbers for their back payments. This
to be done within 72hrs said the leader.

To also re-iterate on the Nominal roll of
RuF and its Armament as per article (19) of the Lore
agreement.

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Co. Isaac ask that why Fayy Musa and Abu
are not to be included in the trial.

The leader responded that from 1991 until 7th July
1999, what ever anyone have done, there is complete
Amnesty.

press release to be made for those taking money
in the name of RuFP without the knowledge of the
leader or either conferring with the leader by telephone
Omire Golly suspend for corruption. He has been
doing it ever in the Arab countries including Syria
and Beirut. Unless they change their attitudes.

Andra and ----- to send their appointments
as RuFP representatives to Washington and we will
put it in Internet. said the leader.

From now onwards to the Jan 15th all senior
officers 3-4 to look for horses so that the
party will pay for them for a year.

Special letters written to various Committee
heads for lodging, transportation and feeding of their
representatives with ~~from~~ the RuFP.

RRR - Information received that \$75 million
dollars sent by International Community. This
falls directly into CNRRD i.e reconstruction
and Development RRR to be formed immediately and
not the old one. In which the RuF is not represented

Below ~~are~~ the list of ~~addn~~ attendance.

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VERBATIM REPORT ON A RECORDED DISCUSSION BETWEEN CPL.
FODAY SANKOH AND HIS COHORTS ON HIS RETURN FROM
DETENTION AT NIGERIA IN 1999 EXPLAINING THEIR ACTIVITIES
DURING HIS DETENTION IN 1996 - 1999 (SPECIFICALLY JAN. 6)

ADJUTANT GENERAL:

The leader Sir, war council Chairman, the adviser, and other members of the delegation. The report that we had prepared since we came here contained certain issues which I felt should not be documented because of security reasons. Therefore, we decided to meet the leader and other members and brief them orally. Among the issues jotted down for the leader and other members to deliberate on were:

1. We start with minerals:- first and foremost the one thousand eight hundred and thirty two pieces of diamonds in nine plastics received from J.P.KOROMA.

Next was the fourteen pieces of diamonds misplaced by Brigadier ISSA SESAY. Among which was an eleven carats piece of diamond. Then the sales of two hundred and forty four pieces of diamonds at a total price of seventeen thousand United States dollars to raise fund.

2. Some of the behaviours of Brigadier Superman:-
 - (a) He was disloyal to the Commander on the ground.
 - (b) He break the Kono Bank without informing anybody
 - (c) He had been attacking and killing some RUF members
 - (d) He had misused RUF funds
3. The mass promotions that was made by us
4. Moreover we made some trips to Burkina Faso and other neighbouring countries.
5. Then of course we had been informing you about some mining programs that we have undertaken in Kono and Tongo. But Pa ROGERS and C.O. MIKE can elaborate more on these points mentioned. So let us start now with number one diamond received from J.P. KOROMA which was 1832 pieces in 9 plastics

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PA ROGERS:

It is true that diamonds were received from J.P. KOROMA O.K; those that the adjutant general had put on paper were received from him. How these diamonds were received I could not tell because while some of us pulled out from Freetown we were at Kono when J.P. KOROMA arrived at our base. As a result of this, we did not have any fore knowledge on whether they had received diamonds from him. But there was a reason why they received the diamonds from him. In the first instance, when we pulled out, we thought that since he was regarded as head of state at that time he may have something to feed the boys as the boys did not have anything on the ground to feed the combatants, other people and his own delegation. We had to tell the CDS that J.P. KOROMA had nothing at hand which prompted them to ask other members of the delegation (SLA) that if they know of members in their delegations which had money in their possession they should inform mosquito to take action. With this view, they had to raid the place of J.P.KOROMA. Mike Lamin will be in a better position to elaborate on the raid because they did the operation. Hence by the time we arrived, we only heard that they had taken diamonds from Johnny Paul Koroma But.again, how these diamonds were transacted; only. Brigadier MIKE can actually explain to you how they had gone about it as far as the diamond business was concerned

BRIGADIER MIKE:

O.K. Sir just to reiterate what the chairman of war council has just said we left Freetown and arrived at Kailahun via Kono where we met MOSQUITO who virtually had nothing to feed the soldiers especially the SLA brothers. Infact Brigadier ISSA and myself escaped with JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA to Kailahun. Later, MOSQUITO, Brigadier ISSA and myself told JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA that since he was the head of State, we expected him to have some amount of money, which we can decide to use for logistical support in a bid to organise the men. JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA told them that Gullit also known as black JAH ,had some diamonds he had instructed him to mine in Kono. I then left with Brigadier ISSA to meet Gullit in Kailahun. I told him to hand over all the diamonds he had in his possession and we collected one hundred and fifteen

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pieces of diamonds from him which was valued at fifteen thousand U.S. dollars. We returned with the diamonds to MOSQUITO the same day. These diamonds were handed over to MOSQUITO in the presence of JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA, Brigadier Issa and myself. He in turn, handed over the diamond to JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA but he later refused to respond to our needs when we have set out defence position at GBAIMA in KOIDU areas so that the enemy could not push us further. In sequel, RAMBO the C.S.O. to JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA informed us that JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA is in possession of a plastic containing diamonds including some United State Dollars, which he intends to escaped with together with his family. Notwithstanding this, we have been monitoring him through intelligence source that he had intentions to escape so we intimated Mosquito and Issa suggesting that we confront this brother and ask him to hand over all government properties he had in his possession to enable us procure all the logistical materials to carry out the operations they agreed with us and therefore confronted Johnny Paul Koroma in a non-violent manner. Johnny Paul Koroma had to reason with us and handed over nine plastics containing diamonds. We in turn handed over these diamond to mosquito for safe keeping and utility in the presence of his late body guard, brother SHABADO, C.O. Mohamed's body guard, Major Kamara; C.O. Issa and other senior men. Since then the diamonds were with mosquito since Pa Rogers and others were in Kono. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Then we later decided to send somebody to the Brother in Burkina for the logistical materials hence brother Mosquito decided that Brigadier Issa should go on that mission. In this way, some parcels of diamonds among which was a fifteen carats diamond that I have seen myself was handed over personally by General Mosquito and

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myself to him. We left for Monrovia but we understood later from Issa himself that he had lost the diamonds in Monrovia.

FODAY SANKOH : He lost what?

BRIGADIER MIKE: The diamonds sir! because of this, Mosquito had to summoned a General Meeting to find out how these diamonds got missing as every one was concerned about it, but since at that moment the enemy was pushing our troops, Mosquito and myself called Pa Rogers and others pointing to them that in order to avoid further misunderstanding within the men the matter should be investigated later Issa should be sent to the front-line at Pendembu to put the situation under control since the pressure on us was increasing at the time and to avoid the enemy infiltrate our positions. Thus we agreed that when it is appropriate we shall look into that matter.

In addition, we captured Kono the other day, and started some mining operations there. The proceeds of that operations was documented. All the diamonds were handed over to Mosquito and sold at seventeen thousand united states dollars at Buedu in the presence of Pa Rogers, Johnny Paul Koroma and other senior members. The amount was utilised on external delegations and the purchasing of other items such as drugs. That is all I know.

FODAY SANKOH: You gave money to external delegation! Who are these external delegations that you gave money.

BRIGADIER MIKE! We gave Dr. Simbo and one Alusine Kamara one thousand united states dollars.

FODAY SANKOH: (grumbling) Why?..... O/K continue

BRIGADIER MIKE: Yes sir! The General Adjutant will give the break down as Pa Rogers also knows about it but the proceeds recovered from these diamonds was utilised in facilitating the transportation of materials and other

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logistics since our men were in disarray. Therefore, Pa Rogers will comments more on that.

PA ROGERS: Just as Brigadier Mike had explained about the proceeds before we disbursed the money, we considered the part played by the external delegation comprising Omrie Golley and General Ibrahim who had been spending their money to facilitate contacts and to clarify some issues on behalf of our movement. We had trust in them even though they did not put forward any claim for the expenses accrued by them; we think it fit to encourage them hence, the General called me to give the external delegation eight thousand U.S dollars which I did. Next I was not present on the issue about Johnny Paul Koroma. I was made to understand that General Ibrahim was presence at the time of that operation. Therefore General Ibrahim or General Adjutant will dilate on that issue what actually was given to him for the other brothers outside there, I could not tell but we were in dire need of those things so that we can defend our ground to prevent the movement going into disarray. These are the areas that Brigadier had not commended on.

ADJUTANT GENERAL ! Allow me to say something now with regards to what Brigadier had just said about the things received. These diamonds were with Mosquito when we decided that we should make good use of it by creating an avenue for outside contacts since the pressure was high against us. Then luckily, General Ibrahim arrived the same day. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In this way, we met at Koindu were, we checked the 1832 pieces of diamonds in 9 plastics which was intact . In lieu of this, Bra told Benjamin that they had something that they want to presence to Big Brother in Monrovia so that he will help us.

Immediately, Benjamin advised us that for security reasons, we should not enter Liberia at the moment as Ecomog are hunting for us. Benjamin further said that he was instructed to sneak with J.P. Koroma to Monrovia to avoid suspicion. Then 'Bra' replied that J.P. was not around, he then asked which area is J.P. presently. Brat said J.P. is about fairly miles away from where we where at

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the time hence Benjamin has to leave. What follows after this was, "Bra" asked me he said "Rash' " provide one operator and one body guard including Jungle. I will be leaving to night for Monrovia to meet Pa Musa. During that journey, we narrowly escaped Ecomog patrols and arrived at Pa Musa's residence. We informed him about what we have at hand and our intentions. He agreed with us and said he will brief the Big Brother about our present stance. But when Pa Musa met with Big Brother, and explained about our mission, he said No! Mosquito should not come for security reasons and even told us to leave Liberia immediately as information has spread around that we all going to him and that Ecomog were deployed from that point onto Mabaclay. Therefore after we received such advise from pa Musa, we left the same night. Hurriedly washing our car, which was too dirty because of the bad Lofa road. We reached Gbanga. Less I forgot, he told us that if we have anything, we should send it with a reliable person but Mosquito should not go there. We arrived at Koindu in the evening, and met Benjamin, Memuna and others where we left them and gave them the feedback on our mission." Bra" said no problem, this is how God works out things" that he could have been arrested, He said we should write a letter and hand over the 1832 pieces in 9 plastics to the Papay. " Bra "approved the letter.. ,General Ibrahim ,Memuna and Jungle went to Liberia while we returned to Buedu. When Pa Rogers and others went to Gbanga later these diamonds were shown to him. Big Brother told them he is going to reserve them until you (pa Sankoh) return.. With regards to the 244 pieces that we sold, I have the record in a ledger showing the quantity, and everything. The sales was followed by the arrival of external delegation selling drugs and other brothers. "Bra" called J.P. Pa. Rogers, C.O.Mike Dr. Willaims ,other authorities including two other brothers, who were assisting us in getting drugs, food and other necessities outside that were needed at the Front line we haggled on the prices of gems we agreed at 17000 U.S. Dollars which was paid later \$1000 was given to Johnny Paul for his feeding. \$800 was given to Mr. Golley and Ibrahim and the remaining amount was used in buying more rice and the needed items such as Cigarettes etc that the boys needed up front. These items arrived recently. Although \$500 was given to us when we left with Brigadier Issa. I cannot give much detail about that because

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I was seriously sick with 'open mold' for about two months but I believe JRR, one of your security can brief you better on that Sir.

JRR (Junior Rambo): yes Sir, pertaining to the diamonds that General handed over to Brigadier Issa. I was with general when these diamonds were brought from Kono. Among the gem was an eleven carat pieces. The General held a meeting with some senior officers. He told them that the war had reached a stage wherein we need external assistants to make contacts for ammunition in Burkina Faso. Thus Brigadier Issa, a senior member in the movement was given the said document to hand over same to general Ibrahim in Burkina Faso. Issa was also given the diamonds and briefed on how best he could travel with it to Monrovia then Burkina Faso. He left Koindu with S.S security like Colonel Jungle that the leader had assigned to us for such operation. he was on this mission (Pause) ... This Col. Jungle, the high command instructed him that they should secure Issa onto Liberia. From there, the High Command further instructed Issa to try his level best to reach Burkina Faso to meet General Ibrahim for the said diamond: sales. He was on this until we heard from Jungle that he dropped these diamonds in Monrovia. The commander immediately summoned Brigadier Issa to report back to the base. Jungle went to received him as he reached at the base.

FODAY SANKOH :STOP! So the mission was not accomplished?

PA ROGERS, YES SIR: Next we come to discipline the behaviour of Brigadier SUPERMAN. Sub heading he proved disloyal to the command on the ground. He break the Kono Bank, He attacked and killed other RUF/ Soldiers .then he misused some fund for RUF movement. The First issue is when he proved disloyal.

FODAY SANKOH; Excuse me! I hope you will be brief.

PA ROGERS: I felt that since you left me on the ground with the exception of Pa Kallon we had elders. And one of them was me the Chairman of the council. I settled any confusion without any favour when the high command confirm such orders to do so. But with particular reference to Brigadier Superman, who was made Battle Group Commander in your absence by the Field Commander CDS because he had been making efforts. But when he was sent to

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Kono he was not doing his work as required, Hence the CDS told us to call him and organise a better operation so that the area will not fall to the enemies. Superman refused to come, even though, this matter was referred to the war council to look into it. This was jotted down, so that we can deliberate on this issue that Superman had broken the structure you left behind.

FODAY SANKOH: Execute me! Superman is not the one that have disrupted the structure. Because of I had given instruction, Mosquito had no right to appoint neither Col. or a Major in my absence. He has no right! But that I will look into on future. I am not here for that at the moment. When you make a lot of promotion, that is, you have so many Brigadiers, so many Colonels so many what do you call them, you see it is difficult on that side to deal with it.

MOSQUITO: carry on Sir, I was just trying to explain. Does it mean that if you promote a person, he should not listen to you. That is ungratefulness or whatever you might called it. However, since you have said so about the command structure, we might have made mistakes but that will be corrected because we knows that even if we had gone astray you are there to correct us. What I had done, was to call him to resolve the matter.

FODAY SANKOH: I appointed you, Field Commander; Issa, Battle Field Commander; you have no right to give any appointment to superman. This has caused the problem, because you now know that this man is hard to control. Look at the man that you gave command. He is not fit to be a Battle Group commander so again! He is a problem to you Superman. He is not fit to be a Battle Field /group Commander.

MOSQUITO: But he is Senior

FODAY SANKOH! I know he is senior, let me tell you, but he is not fit to be a Battle Field Commander, because I know his attitude, when I am there you can get him under control when I am not there, he is a problem. This is what I have said this appointment has caused the problem. One thing I noticed he had no respect for the man sitting down here. Yes, it is true! He has no respect for him. can you do that to your teacher even if you had superseded him.? But Superman had not being the cause of the problem. But Command Pa Rogers, in the Army

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you know that it is the peoples war. If you are appointing somebody, you must be careful. When they promoted me. I will continue to criticise and I will neither take any action nor charge anyone but when the time comes, we shall look into that. Superman to put him under control, God will put him under control. His behaviour is important but also not important. Do you understand that? I thank you for all what you have done. But the command structure should have remained as it was. He promote some brigadier, when I do not the power and opportunity to promote a person Brigadier. Infact, in a peoples war all promotions stopped, at Colonel, Lt. Colonel, full Colonel that is all until the war ends. After the end of the war we can promote people.

FODAY SANKOH: Does anybody have anything to say against Superman:

ANOTHER SPEAKER: Yes Sir. In your absence, I was assigned with Brigadier Issa, until we moved from Buedu to Kono where we launched an operation up to Waterloo. We met the brothers from Freetown there we were expecting them to give their SLA report but they did not. On a certain day, C.O.ISSA asked Barry a newly elected commander in the presence of Superman, Bra Issa Gullet, and 55 about the SLA operation report. They did not give any SLA Ops reports or present anything nor did they gave any account about their manpower, and arms. There was confusion over this issue. At that moment we had to plans attack Tombo Village after Benguema. We went on that operation and returned on the next day we had to follow up on the issue concerning the Freetown operations. All they could tell us was they had freed the other brothers. Two or three days later, we arrested some SLAs with 600 U.S. Dollars and Thirteen millions Leones. These money was taken to Makeni with the SLAs. At night Superman attached us in Makeni and took away the money. During that period issa was in possession of some diamonds had from our mining activities at the kambia axis. This attack took place when the General sent me to bring along Bra Gibo C.O.Gibo.

FODAY SANKOH: GIBO?

SPEAKER: Yes Sir Gibo! He told us to bring Superman before him as he had called him on several occasion but he refused to come. And that the matter concern your business.

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FODAY SANKOH: Who was that person?

SPEAKER: Gibo Sir Gibril Massaquoi was called on six different occasions to be briefed and he did not report. Therefore General Mosquito instructed Brigadier Issa to arrest Superman and escort him to Kailahun.

At that time, Superman, Brigadier 55 and others had left the front line, leaving Kallon behind without even informing others. I also left the front line on a vehicle with AA gun mounted on it and I met them at Gberay junction close to Lunsar. Although my vehicle had mechanical problems in Makeni, I later told Issa what had happened at the front-line. Late Mamba and I then left for Lunsar arrested Gibo the same night and placed him in the vehicle. C.O Issa told us to arrest C.O. Nya also. We went to the compound where C.O. Nya and C.O. Denis were residing. As we approached the entrance of the compound, we met Superman who told us that if any one of us enters his compound, he will shoot at us. Rambo and I began to move forward while saying that we have not come to him but to C.O Nya because C.O. Mosquito said he must report. We did not even step into his compound when he fired at us sporadically but before this. He took the commando mortar, loaded the bomb and launched it at us. Before his sporadic firing. I was at the middle of both parties; C.O Gibo was on one side, while C.O. Denise was on the other side. One person was killed among us as we scattered about. Since only seven of us went as a security to C.O. Issa, Superman Gibo, C.O.Nya came to Makeni, and raided our houses, took away all ammunitions and other materials as the civilians fled for their lives. We found out way back through Mile 91, Magburaka and then Makeni.. After a month, General Mosquito had to send to Issa, instructing that they should meet at waterside to discuss the issue. Mosquito advised Superman to forget about this raid. We left for Makeni again with some ammunition, and RPG rocket supplied by the General. As we arrived at night we had plans to run some operations along Bo-Makeni highway. Staff told me to get the trucks, fuel them and collect some man power from Masingbi, Sewafe and Cole town. That was our last mission. After which, Superman went and told us that you had instructed him to arrest Mosquito, C.O. Issa, Moses Kallon because he (Mosquito) had refused to answer a telephone call you made to him and to obey your instruction. And that Mosquito should now take orders from him. He then attacked us from three

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flanks; he led the flanks that went to Rambo who had repelled a Kamajor attack at Mile 91. At night we had to retreat to as far as Masingbe. Later we went to Magburaka and freed our men that were arrested by Superman.

SANKOH: This command issue, even the soldiers are grumbling about it. And I will advise Rogers on this because this is the root of the matter.

PA ROGERS: whether I am here or not I will brief you better so that if you all want to carry on with the movement, you can do so. Alhamdulillah! As I was saying, everything is in the hands of God. We do not want to come in like that. Let us forget the business of Koroma, Superman etc. Look here, Pa Rogers, if it happens that we form a Government, I will look firstly on who to appoint Minister. I will not start from those who have just joined us, but those who had struggled. Just imagine somebody from America may want to be appointed Minister. How will you feel about that? This man, do you all want to overlook him because of his body? I have noted that in my diary. This man had trained all of you. What ever he was doing when I promote, I always say he is not going to be a commander, but an overall adviser. Until I came back. If I did not send informing you that this man is deputy officer, can anybody know? He deserves that, because you are not objective.

Those people gave me command that I am deputy. They had wanted to use me but I know later. How can you do that to release three hundred soldiers from three of us? You could not even tell Foday Sankoh what Koroma said over the air that we are now friends. Yet you release all the Nigerians. Is that not so, even though we were in custody?

SPEAKER: Permit me to us these words. The son of a bastard, we shall kill them today. We tried to disarm him and place him into our car he had no alternative but to listen to top senior officers and briefed them that this is our position. We need assistance and back up.

In fact we were in Freetown. And every day we had to arrest one or two Colonel and place them in ... so it was.

Not too long, we began keeping them off, and then 98.1 radio station started announcing that a number of colonel had surrendered to them. You see? The

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problem I am arriving at. This point is this. J.P made blunder sir. We made the blunder because by then we had appointed him when he was an officer in the Army. This he had to listen to the officers since he felt that they will support him, but they were fooling him. Do you understand sir? While there was total disintegration of the revolution. Pa Rogers can bear me witness. We went to J.P with General during which the General was explaining about all that was happening but with God, I managed to put it under control. The civilians were happy in such a way that they presented one drum of diesel to Rambo because he had repelled the Kamajor attack on Mile 91. Consequently, Rambo left for Makeni to report the incident to C.O Issa. Even though there was petrol and diesel scarcity, he did not report on the night of his arrival because he was too tired and needed rest. With the hope to see C.O Issa the next morning, but C.O. Superman attacked Makeni with four groups. He, Superman advanced to the house where Rambo was resting at opened fire at the entrance. In this way, Rambo was shot on his stomach. Superman then forced the door opened and told C Rambo that he is going to kill him, but Rambo pleaded that he should not kill him because Superman is his elder brother. That took him to that place. Superman later killed him. In addition to this, the other three groups led by Colonel T attached to Brigadier Mani, Colonel Gibo and colonel Kumba. Superman's operations commander attacked our base at D.O's barracks in Makeni, took all the ammunition, the next day, he called the civilians and apologised for what he has done. He told them that he had acted on military instruction given to him.

FODAY SANKOH: Instruction? When everybody heard me over the air. Did anyone of you hear me give that instruction?

SPEAKER? No Sir! He did that just to gain support and co-operation from the soldiers, even though there are some soldiers who had not entered Buedu since they pulled out of Freetown. They are still in the jungle. Therefore most of them are not aware of the CDS and the other brother's efforts.

FODAY SANKOH: why did not you go over the air to inform the people that what he had said was untrue?

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SPEAKER: Yes sir. At that moment, we were under arrest; including C.O. Ibrahim, who was beaten and placed in cells after they advanced 42 miles further on to Matotoka, from Matotoka to Makali. And all of us were taken to Magburaka Prison. That was why we were unable to refute that statement. At this point, J.P. had wanted to say something but pa Rogers stopped him. He said please sir, you have to listen so that you will know how you have blundered. He said the accumulation of all the blunders have placed us in this position today. Hence he allowed us to blow our minds. Then from that point we turned to a new page. From all this, what I was trying to say is this. That from the onset, J.P. was not one hundred percent of himself during the entire revolution. I was with him in prison. I launched the first revolution and I was arrested, placed in prison while others called on the international community, which forced them to free ten of us. When we came out, we launched another attack and freed them. Do you understand sir? This was how it all happened. Even when Ecomog entered Freetown. Gborie is not here today, but I am saying this with the fear of God and my conscience we sat together with J.P. and argued bitterly we told him that he should not allow the Nigeria ship to berth here. But Gborie argued again bitterly that we need to gain international support. During that brief argument, Victor King the pilot who was executed was on my side. I asked them what was international community's business in this matter because when two Heads of State are in dispute and one has come to talk peace. It means this matter will be solved on the table (NEGOTIATION). I told them that they should stay on their own side while we remain here. Finally they persuaded J.P. who later allowed them to berth at government Wharf. And when they entered our territorial waters, they moved to the quay. He told them to come out of their ships with personal arms. What we saw were armoured cars, RPGs, motars, being offloaded from their ship. These are the mistakes that happened. By then his elder brother SFY Koroma was Chief of Defence Staff.

FODAY SANKOH: Chief of Defence Staff? Who made him Chief of Defence Staff?

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SPEAKER: J.P appointed him because the former Chief of Defence Staff, Brigadier Hassan Conteh was appointed by SLPP with Max Kanga. Although we had all kinds of pressures – blockade, sanction, embargo etc. and we proved ourselves to be a government as we ensured that we functioned everyday. Notwithstanding this, every day during our nine months, we must heard of missiles being launched, fighting near Freetown etc. With this scenario, we held our last meeting wherein C.O. Mike was the Director of Intelligence. He told us that our popularity has dwindled within the populace, because of “anti Revos” (our men) had been harassing them. For instance, some of them who felt that because they are around “Leather Boot” at certain deployment they should enjoy. But we picked our men based on their loyalty. When we felt that if we instructed someone, he obeyed us he is our comrades in struggle.

FODAY SANKOH: But why did you appoint Momoh adviser?

SPEAKER: I did not. In fact Momoh was not an adviser to me, but we needed him. Beside Paul Thomas you asked for had pulled out including others.

FODAY SANKOH: Where is Paul Thomas?

SPEAKER: He has gone. The problem was ,we needed Brigadier Mani, although that is still possible; because he is an old soldier, who can provide us with a formidable plan to enable us go on the offensive. But he refused to come when called on several occasions. His usual replied was that he preferred to stay with the men at the battle fronts as he put it, his men will leave their deployment if he is not there. This effort was appreciated but we needed him at the rear.

FODAY SANKOH: when this man refused to come, don't you know that he has hidden agenda? Even when I was talking to him, I gathered something from him. I am an experienced man and I will not say anything against him. He can be contained when I returned inside I will be in position to work with him because my mind has accepted him on certain issues.

Speakers' everybody was coming up with his own suggestions, while others were looting which later received condemnation from the international committee. What we were trying to do was to do things in order to gain some international praises. As they told us that the RUF have been roaming about killing people which was not true. In fact we had been praised for better behaviour than the Sierra Leone Army in

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Freetown. Further, all the fighting that we had engaged in was to free you. All that had happened over there, we pray that you go back as there are lots of problem if we fail to found a solution to it, it will be hard for us to refuse the criticism against us since we all responsible.

ANOTHER SPEAKER : I want to talk to on behalf of the other Senior brothers. There had been problems with us in the bush. And this problem started after the merger between RUF and AFRC until we ended up in disarray. We are therefore informing you our leader so that you will know how this problem began. Firstly all what the other brothers have said is true and every body had been making frantic effort. But these mistakes happened because of the break in communication between you and the movement. And one lesson that I have learnt in this struggle is when the leadership is absent there is always a problem. The solution to this problems was done with the help of God through the good advise of Pa ROGERS . Dr. S.S WILLIAMS, and other elders. Finally we are happy to meet you today so that you could be in a better position to handle them when you return to the bush ..In this way, I will conclude by allowing you the external delegation to say some thing.

OMRIE GOLLEY: we all want our outside activities those come inside to be done simultaneously in a bit to unite our operations as our main concern was you release. Superimposed of all of these is the issue of bringing the RUF to international recognition and respectability. This was why we had worked so hard to achieve this objective. On our part, we have made a lot of efforts from London to Paris, from Paris to America,. from America back to the Sub-Region: to Burkina Faso, Togo, Nigeria, Liberia, and all other countries within the sub-region. Because I do not want to talk much, IBRAHIM will explain. The only thing I have to say is that the movement that you are now leading is a very, very good movement .Within the short time., I have been with the movement and meet with the brothers. I am convince that we are on the right way forward to bring peace to the country. We must therefore continue not only as a government but as a representative of the people of Sierra Leone. And all I was doing was to protect the image of the movement because I am not a Military man I cannot add more to this as every body contributed in their own individual way. I well not say I have worked more than MIKE LAMIN but the critical thing is that

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we should continue to work and move forward as the outside forces are many especially the Sierra Leoneans are worst. They will talk to you nicely but when you are not around they will say the worst things about you that will actually cause not to sleep or even eat anything. But mistake that has been made, we will continue to live with it as we move forward. One thing JOSEPHINE has said that is very, very important that we are not the external delegations but all of us. Therefore while some of us has to leave other will be returning to their bases, so you have to explain to the brothers what you have seen and what has happened. Let us leave now because this is not the time to begin backbiting about what a person has done. Let us move forward not only to fight the enemies but to start preparing ourselves for governance. That is the name of the game we must fight and in this way put ourselves in a position to better ourselves and our people we have suffer for too long. We shall continue to fight to protect the name of the RUF to bring it to International recognition and respectability because of the negative things that has been done. We are very, very concern., we have lacked many things in and out of our movement that has really limit our work. Most of the things that we have done we did them in our own way, myself together with this man had lived in an hotel that we pay our bills including telephone bills ,one frank after another, when I told them why we cannot pay for huge bills. They told us we control all the diamond areas. Therefore we should have money, we had nothing with us at the time. The way we had worked IBRAHIM will explain but we need to find a way to resolve this problem. This money issue must be solved once and for all to let the movement proceeds forward. As we cannot proceed without money, we must try to send the money.

FODAY SANKOH: Has the movement reacted some where?

IBRAHIM: Talking about the military side of the situation first when the coup took place and when you instructed the brothers to join the AFRC our main helper in Burkina Faso was really annoyed. He told us that with his experience that is not going to succeed. It is difficult for a revolutionary leader to join another group in this kind of situation

This discussion which was recorded by the RUF (with all participants speaking in the local Krio language) ended at this point.

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HIS EXCELLENCY DR. CHARLES G. TAYLOR 14TH NOV. 2000
PRESIDENT, REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
WEST AFRICA.

HIS EXCELLENCY:
THE RUF FAMILY COMMENDS YOU AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA FOR YOUR TRANSPARENT EFFORT RENDERED
TO A PEACE MAKING SOLUTION IN SIERRA LEONE.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, BE INFORMED THAT COL. GIBRIL MARRAQUOI IS
HENCEFORTH INPEACHED FROM THE EXTERNAL DELEGATION.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR, GIBRIL IS REPLACED BY COL. JONATHAN JIM
KPOSOWA; AVANGUARD AND A COLLEGE GRADUATE.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, COL. KPOSOWA HAS HELD NUMEROUS
POSITIONS IN THE RUF. SINCE THE STRUGGLE. HE SERVED AS
ADJUTANT GENERAL, NOW CHIEF OF ADMINISTRATION.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE ENTIRE RUF HOPES YOU CALL ON COL.
KPOSOWA FOR ALL EXTERNAL DISCUSSIONS AND NOT COL. GIBRIL
EFFECTIVE THE DATE ABOVE AND SHOWER YOUR EXCELLENCY'S
GUIDANCE UNDER THE BLESSING OF OUR LORD, ON COL. KPOSOWA
AT ALL TIMES.

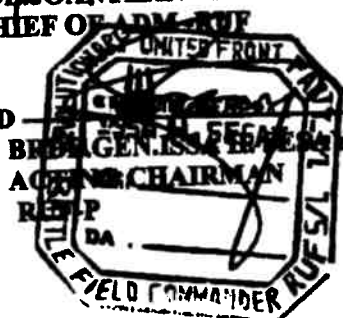
COL. JONATHAN KPOSOWA WILL RESIDE IN MONROVIA AS USUAL
WITH THE ENTIRE DELEGATION OF SEVEN.

MAY GOD BLESS US AND SAVE OUR SUB-REGION.

SIGNED

[Signature]
COL. JOANTHAN KPOSOWA
CHIEF OF ADM. RUF

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THE NAMES OF VANGUARDS WITH
APPOINTMENT IN MAKENI ARE
AS FOLLOWS-

1.	Gen.	Issa H. Sesay	- Regional Chairman
2.	C.O.	V. Varney	
3.	C.O.	Allen T. Blamo	
4.	"	Augustine Bao	
5.	"	David Ballah	
6.	"	David Padmore	
7.	"	Thomas Cooper	
8.	"	Ibrahim Dugbeh	
9.	"	Sellieu Kallon	
10.	"	James Seitua	
11.	"	Alfred Brown	
12.	"	Matthew Barbue	
13.	"	Marlvine Keita	
14.	"	John Peter	
15.	"	M. B. Christopher	
16.	"	Daniel Wolo	
17.	"	Robertson Dowe	
18.	"	Carver Samba	

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THE NAMES OF VANGUARDS WITHOUT
APPOINTMENT IN MAKENI ARE AS
FOLLOWS-

1.	C.O.	A. B. BAKARR
2.	"	Ben Blah
3.	"	Fatu Gbamo/ Waco's
4.	"	Agnes Manning/ "
5.	"	Marie Robertson "
6.	"	John Vincent
7.	"	E. M. K. Brooks
8.	"	Janko Mulbah
9.	"	Morris Massaquoi
10.	"	Ibrahim Jallah
11.	"	Ben Kerkula
12.	"	Issac Galama
13.	"	Alimamy Kamu

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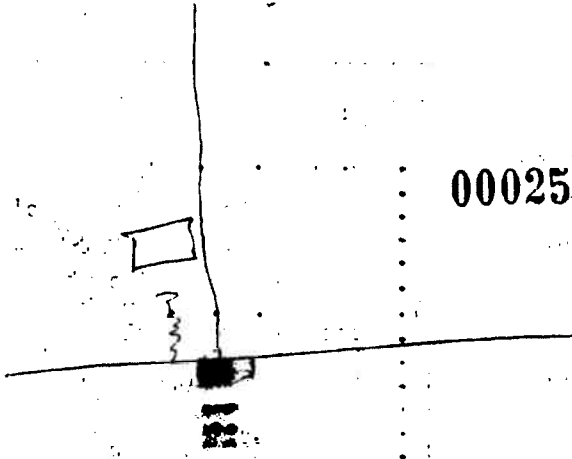
LIST OF VANGUARDS PERSONNEL

Feb. 9, 2000

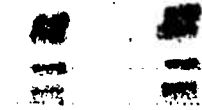
1.	Brig. Gen.	Issa H. Sesay	- Regional Chairman
2.	C.O.	Isaac Morego	
3.	C.O.	Sam Beckaria	
4.	"	Dennis Mingo	
5.	"	Morris Kallon	
6.	"	Augustine Bao	
7.	"	Peter Vandy	
8.	"	Emmanuel Johnson	
9.	"	V. Varney (Kai)	
10.	"	Johanda Robert	
11.	"	Sam Kolleh	
12.	"	Prince Taylor	
13.	"	Monika Pearson	
14.	"	Mild Lamin	
15.	"	Matthew Kennedy	
16.	"	Momoh Rogers	
17.	"	John Vincent	
18.	"	Matthew Barbue	
19.	"	Augustine Mulbah	
20.	"	Bobby Wessah	
21.	"	Alfred W. Brown	
22.	"	Ben Blah	
23.	"	John Peter	
24.	"	David Ballah	
25.	"	David Padmore	
26.	"	M. B. Christopher	
27.	"	Ibrahim Dugbeh	
28.	"	Thomas Cooper	
29.	"	James Keita	
30.	"	Agnes M. Manning	
31.	"	A. B. Brooks	
32.	"	James Vincent	
33.	"	Sam Kolleh	
34.	"	Kya Kerkula	
35.	"	Kole Jallah	
36.	"	Martin Palmer	
37.	"	Jonathan Brown	
38.	"	Sellieu Kallon	
39.	"	Allen T. Blamo	
40.	"	Robertson Dowe	
41.	"	Fatu Gbamo	
42.	"	Musa Gbamo	
43.	"	Eldred Collins	
44.	"	Issac Galama	
45.	"	Maris Robertson	
46.	"	Daniel Wolo	
47.	"	Junior Dair	
48.	C.O.	Morrison Torkpoah	
49.	"	H. B. Fahnbulleh	
50.	"	Idrissa Passaway	
51.	"	Jakai Voweh	
52.	"	Fatu Kallon	
53.	"	John K. Mulbah	
54.	"	Mawulo Kollie	
55.	"	George Daniel	
56.	"	Morris Massaquoi	
57.	"	Ibrahim Barry	
58.	"	Varney Kasia	
59.	"	Miatia Fallah	
60.	"	Eric Dolo	
61.	"	Mose Debah	
62.	"	Jonathan Kposowa	
63.	"	Marlvine Keita	
64.	"	Ben Kerkula	
65.	"	Ibrahim Jallah	
66.	"	Philip Palmer	
67.	"	Joseph Brown	
68.	"	E.M.K. Brooks	
69.	"	A. J. Kamu	
70.	"	Janjo Mulbah	
71.	"	Richard Cooper	
72.	"	Mulbah Toto	
73.	"	Varney Samala	
74.	"	Mohamed Kamara	
75.	"	Joseph Jantah	
76.	"	Charlie D. Flomo	
77.	"	Oscar Flomo	
78.	"	Robert Toe	
79.	"	Edwin Gartah	
80.	"	Francis Manning	
81.	"	Jeremiah Sai	
82.	"	Alfred Sam	
83.	"	Benedict Nelson	
84.	"	Carver Samba	
85.	"	Varney Samba (Varney)	

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REVOLUTIONARY FRONT OF GUINEA BISSAU - UNIT
OF THE ARMY - BATTALION - BATTALION
INFORMATION - BATTALION OFFICE

DATE: 21/11/1999

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TO :- The RFO (Brigadier I. M. Sany.
FROM:- The Over All Intelligent Officer Commander
and Black Guard Adjutant.

SUB :- REPORT

Upon hearing the confirm report that the Strike Force Commander Brigadier Gedial entered Freetown with his troops, Colonel Boston Fene (Alias Verdane) was instructed to meet with his troops date 05 Jan 1999. We launched a serious attack on Nuziaka around 5:55 in the morning. The enemies were not able to stand or confront us.

LOGISTICS CAPTURED:

1. One (1) American GWS.
2. Some light automatic Rifles.
3. Some assault GWS rounds.

CASUALTY:- Two (2) wounded in action (WIA), with that we advanced to RFO but no enemy confronted us, straight away we headed for Waterloo. with confidence that Waterloo may be out of enemy control, unfortunately we got in the mist of Guinean troops we fight for the whole day unto the night.

LOGISTICS CAPTURED RFO:

1. Six (6) Rockets RFO Bombs with 6 TNT's.
2. One (1) Box of Mortar Bombs.

Date:- 06 Jan, 1999. In the noon whilst resting at Waterloo displaced and Refugees Camp, the deployed soldiers sent some civilians to us from the Guineans saying that they want to go to Guinea.

Date:- 07 Jan, 1999. 0900 hrs we launched attack on their position at Pungilar Secondary School Waterloo. This act gathered them from their deployment some to the said Secondary School. In the afternoon the enemies communicated with us through letter that they does not want to fight any longer with us, Colonel Boston Fene replied this letter to their high commands.

Date:- 08 Jan, 1999. 1900 hrs we attacked them again. In the noon 1900 hrs heavy and thick enemy convey left from Port Loko bombarding whilst the Alpha Jet was flying over as special escort 1945 hrs the convey including the deployed enemies that were at Waterloo evacuated Waterloo back towards Port Loko Axis. We embarrassed them and with the panic in them because we tried them every where they left behind some logistics; 120mm Mortar Gun, 40 Barrel Missile with some assorted rounds of AK rounds, G3, GWS, Kalibre, Bombs indeed the capturing of surrendered soldiers is eminent also at Waterloo and near Berquina, we do capture materials almost everyday Casualty on the operation overall operation at Waterloo 2 Killing in action (KIA) and around 15 Wounded in action (WIA).

Date:- 09 Jan, 1999. We deployed at Hastings, we discovered enemies at Jui and Kosse town earlier on their number was not much, from this said date onto now, we everyday attack the guys, but the Air Raid is desperate on and we attacked Jui and Kosse town, however the Helicopter which landed every day at the point had re-inforced the enemies with both armament and manpower.

CASUALTY ON JUL OPERATION:-

1. One KIA in action (KIA)

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Date:- 15 Jan, 1999. It was agreed that the men in Freetown and the men at our point were to do joint operation on Jui and Kesse town. The Freetown men scheduled to attack Jui and we to attack Kesse town, that night we attacked Kesse town clear the enemies but the Freetown men never turn up, therefore the enemies with the support of the Alpha Jet drove us from Kesse town.

Date:- 18 Jan, 1999. The Guinean troops from Port Loko entered vehemently at Waterloo with sporadic shelling and firing. Infact Two (2) Alpha Jets escorted the troops consisting of five (5) War Tanks, Two (2) Armoured Car, One (1) 40 Barrel Missile and series of AA one Barrel and Twin Barrels. they occupied Waterloo from that evening onto the morning around 0300 hrs.

PROBLEMS:- For the main while the only problems thier at the front line are:- (1) We have not yet connected physically with our brothers in Freetown.
(2) Menpower indeed to be engaged on this Urban Warfare.
(3) The stratigic positions of the enemies mainly Port Loko, Langi, Jui, Kabala are delaying our progress. These problems are to be looked into kindly and to find fast solution.

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SUGGESTION:-

We suggested that as we are on Urban gaurrile Warfare, that we use mainly artillary weapons.

That we speedily recruits abled and gallant men as population matters.

All Units to be active especially at the frontline especially Units like IDU, G5, G4, and S4.

That Tombe Road should be engaged wile fighting force-enemies are at Tombe.

That monitary group should be formed, should assess and bring in situation report from at the Flanks Waterloo, Port Loko, Mile 91, and Kabala.

That the commanders should give chance to we the securities to be reached to you with processed situation report.

All Front lines to be re-inforce with correct combat medics.

RECOMMENDATION:-

Anyway the morale of the soldiers especially to the point I have visited is high. Brave to Colonel Boston Flomo, Major Barker, Idout.ColVister, Idout.Col Amara Sallia (Alias Peleto) and all Black Guards. Only the regards for one another is logging but I pray that we will put this together fastly I beg sir, that you look into my problems and you rectify it with General Sam Beekarie ie; the conflicting position between Ben Kenneh and me.

Best regards. 21-01-99

Signed: Fraser

Idout Raymond Kartewa
Black Guard Adjutant.

Approved: [Signature]

21-01-99-
Major Onist. A. Mannah
Overall I.O. Commander.

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Sub J **CONFIDENTIAL - XEROX**

Date: January 24 1999.

**Demarcation's
Strip**

On the 6th December 1998, I left the Defence Headquarters on your instruction for assignment and mission to attack Kadir, the second (2nd) Brigade, HUF/SL axis.

The below enumerated materials and items were then handed over to me for said mission.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | AK Rounds | L | Thirty (30) boxes |
| 2. | G3 Rounds | L | Sixteen (16) boxes |
| 3. | RPG Bombs | L | Two and half (2½) boxes |
| 4. | Drugs | L | One medium and one small cartons |
| 5. | Diesel | L | One (01) drum |
| 6. | Petrol | L | Two (02) five-gallons tins |
| 7. | Mortar Gun | L | One (01) |
| 8. | Baraga | L | One full set with a rocket and HIT |
| 9. | Fifty calibre rounds | L | Twenty-five (25) belt-feds |
| 10. | Chasers | L | Two (02) magazines with five (05) fuses |
| 11. | GPMS Rounds | L | Twenty boxes but after checking at Sangama, two (02) of the boxes were discovered to be HIT rounds |
| 12. | RMS Rounds
(British Calibre) | L | One (01) |
| 13. | Rice | L | Seventeen (17) Bags |
| 14. | Salt | L | Nineteen (19) Bags with twenty (20) packets in each bag |
| 15. | Big Battery | L | Two (02) Cartons |
| 16. | Renson Cigarette | L | Three (03) Cartons |

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|-----|---------------|---|------------------------------|
| 17. | 555 Cigarette | L | Thirty (30) Cresses |
| 18. | Mampo Maggi | L | Four (04) big cartons |
| 19. | Cane Juice | L | Six (06) Five-gallons rubber |
| 20. | Acid | L | Two (02) Gallons |
| 21. | Stationery | L | Two (02) Cartons |
| 22. | Engine Oil | L | Seven (07) Gallons |

The below listed materials and items were also given to me for Sengama target:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|---|---|
| 1. | AK Rounds | L | Two (02) Boxes |
| 2. | G3 Rounds | L | One (01) Box |
| 3. | Mampo Maggi | L | Six (06) Packets |
| 4. | Rennen Cigarette | L | Five (05) Cresses |
| 5. | Salt | L | One (01) Bag |
| 6. | RPG Bombs | L | Half (1/2) Box |
| 7. | GPMS Rounds | L | Two (02) Boxes but after opening, they were discovered to be RTT Rounds |

Members of delegation included myself as head and:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|--|---|--------|
| 2. | Colonel Harrison Kallon | L | B.F.I. | L | RUF/SL |
| 3. | Lt-col. Foday Lamsana | L | | | |
| 4. | Major Edward Fambah | L | | | |
| 5. | Major Samuel P. Jabba | L | Adjutant | | |
| 6. | Major Victor Kamara | L | Security Commander to me | | |
| 7. | S/Captain Mohamed Kamara | L | | | |
| 8. | Captain Morris Jibao | L | | | |
| 9. | Captain Abdulai Masealay | L | | | |
| 10. | Captain Kusa | | Vandi including other soldiers and NCOs. | | |

December 7th, 1998; we made a cross to Sengama; materials and items were handed over to the Commander in charge. We then arrived at Wuvama where we spent the night.

December 9th, 1998; we arrived safely at Guinea Highway, second (2nd) Brigade Headquarters. We were hundred percent welcomed by the Commandery Colonel Boston Fleno (Alias Rambo) including his adviser, Lt-col. Peter B. Vandi and others. Materials and items as mentioned above were turned over to the Commander.

December 11th, 1998; the Commander then called a general forum at his Headquarters. Battalion and Unit Commanders were then invited

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to this forum. At 11 am, the forum commenced and mostly centralized on the mission given to me by you to attack and capture Keidu including Yengma and the Air Field for quick transportation of our materials by air.

The Brigade Commander, Colonel Boston Flame thanked us for said mission and promised to co-operate on the mission together with his men.

During the Forum, Colonel Kailenda S. Banyu, Third (3rd) Battalion Commander was appointed the mission Commander. Details of the forum is attached to this document.

December 16th, 1998, the mission was carried out as re-scheduled by me. It was carried out successfully and there was understanding among the Officers and other ranks. On the 17th December 1998, the town was under complete control. After the mission when Keidu was under complete control, the below listed items and materials were captured.

1. KEIDU TOWN

- a) Five (05) Fifty Calibres but incomplete
- b) One (01) full set of S.P.G.
- c) Three (03) full sets of 81 mm gun
- d) Two (02) spare stands
- e) Two (02) spare stands of mortar guns
- f) One (01) full set of grenade launcher
- g) One (01) 82mm Mortar gun without stand
- h) One (01) incomplete set of American AA
- i) One (01) set flame thrower with fifteen (15) rockets without TNTs
- j) Thirty-nine (39) 120mm Mortar bombs in boxes.
- k) One (01) RPG tube with two (02) rockets without TNTs
- l) Seventy-three (73) boxes of American AA Rounds
- m) Sixteen (16) boxes of 81mm Mortar bombs
- n) Thirty-one (31) rockets, commando Mortar bombs with fuses
- o) Three (03) boxes of S.P.G. bombs and five (05) bombs without fuses
- p) One (01) sardine tin of GPMS Rounds
- q) One (01) Box of Chinese Calibre Rounds
- r) One (01) Box of Hand grenade
- s) Three (03) Armoured Trucks

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- t) Different types of Drugs
- u) Eleven (11) drums of Diesel
- v) Two and half (2½) drums of Petrol
- w) One (01) box of Twin Barrel Rounds
- x) Several missiles were burnt

2. EDOUARDINE 2 DECEMBER 1968

- a) Thirty-four (34) incomplete 60mm Mortar Bombs
- b) Eight (08) Boxes and one (01) tin of GPMG Rounds
- c) Thirty-one (31) Boxes of 82mm Mortar Bombs
- d) One (01) RPG Bomb without TNT
- e) One and half (1½) Magazines of grenade launcher bombs

Sowafe was also captured by the ambush team and same team advanced to attack Gola town on the highway leading to Mahuri. The below listed materials were captured in this mission:

- a) One-hundred-and-twenty (120) RPG Bombs
- b) Seven (07) RPG Tubes
- c) Two (02) Boxes of G3 Rounds
- d) Five (05) Boxes of AK Rounds
- e) Two (02) 60mm Mortar Guns
- f) Two (02) 81mm Mortar Guns
- g) Two (02) 62mm Mortar Guns
- h) Two (02) AA Guns
- i) Ten (10) Boxes of AA Rounds
- j) Two (02) American GPMGs
- k) Twenty-five (25) Boxes of 81mm Mortar Bombs

December 22nd, 1968, Madingbe was attacked and captured after the second (2nd) Brigade Commander, Colonel Barton Flems advanced with the troops. The below were captured:

- a) Five (05) Boxes of 60mm Mortar Bombs
- b) Seven (07) Boxes of Twin-Barrel Rounds
- c) Two and half (2½) Boxes of Chinese Rounds
- d) Two (02) American GPMG Guns
- e) Twelve (12) RPG Rockets and eleven (11) TNTs
- f) One (01) Box of 120mm Mortar Bombs
- g) One (01) incomplete Chinese 50 Calibre

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n) One (01) incomplete 60mm Mortar Gun

The following day on the 23rd December 1998, Magburaka was captured. Not much was captured however in this town as its Military strength was not much. On the 24th of December 1998, Makuni was captured.

Sir, Some of these materials were used for operation i.e. defensive etc. and as events unfolded, our troops were able to capture some Nigerians (Soldiers). To my knowledge, some Kamaajors are surrendering too.

Faithfully submitted for your necessary attention Sir.

APPROVED

Battle Field Commander

HUF/EL

24/1/99
SIGNED *[Signature]*

Adjutant

RCGS Office

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT PARTY OF SIERRA LEONE(RUFF/SL).

3rd BRIGADE 1st BATTALLION-NORTHERN REGION.

TO :- THE BATTLE GROUP COMMANDER - RUFF/SL

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FROM :- LT. COL. AUGUSTINE VANDI(DUEL)

DEPUTY 3rd BRIGADE BLACK GUARD COMMANDER ASSIGNED TO THE MINING UNIT.

SUBJ :- SITUATION REPORT/MINUTES ON A MEETING HELD AT SERRIA MINING VILLAGE:

DATE :- 10/02/2001.

TEXT :-

SIR,

WE HELD A MEETING AT SERRIA VILLAGE IN THE SANDA LOKO CHIEFDOM ON THE 6th FEBRUARY, 2001 TUESDAY AT 10:00.A.M. THIS MINUTES/SITUATION REPORT WAS PREPARED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGENDA OF THE MEETING.

AGENDA:

- (1). PRAYERS
- (2). INTRODUCTION OF PROMINENT MEMBERS WORKING IN THE MINING COMMITTEE
- (3). INTRODUCTION OF GROUND SOLDIERS AND IN-COMING SOLDIERS
- (4). PURPOSE OF THE MEETING
- (5). PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE PEOPLE (LAND OWNERS, COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND THE MINERS)
- (6). A . O . B .
- (7). VOTE OF THANKS
- (8). CLOSING PRAYERS

THE MEETING STARTED IN MUSLIM PRAYERS BY SHEIK ABDUL AND CHRISTIAN PRAYERS BY MR. THOMAS SESAY.

THE PUBLIC RELATION OFFICER(PRO) FOR THE MINING MR. LAMANA KAMARA INTRODUCED THE MINING WORKING COMMITTEE THUS:

- (1). PA. ALIMANY BORIE KAMARA SECTION CHIEF
- (2). MR. M.S. KAMARA CHIEF ADVISER
- (3). MR. LAMANA BANGURA COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
- (4). MR. THOMAS SESAY DEPUTY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
- (5). MR. LAMANA KAMARA F.R.C.
- (6). MR. ALIMANY KAMARA TOWN CHIEF
- (7). MR. LAMIN SESAY SECRETARY GENERAL
- (8). MR. DAUDA TURAY ELLER BROTHER TO THE TOWN CHIEF
- (9). PA. MANSALAY CHIEF FOR ALL STRANGERS
- (10). PA. KAMARA ELLER BROTHER TO THE LAND OWNERS
- (11). SHEIK ABDUL CHIEF IMAM
- (12). SHEIK MULKUM DEPUTY CHIEF IMAM

AND TO NAME BUT A FEW FOR THE FACTOR.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GROUND SOLDIERS WAS DONE BY CAPTAIN MINKAILU BANGURA (ADJUTANT) TO COL. KONDOMA. THUS:

- (1). LT. COL. KONDOMA - FORMER MINING COMMANDER
- (2). S/CAPT. NARA - SECOND IN COMMAND TO LT. COL. KONDOMA

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THE INTRODUCTION OF IN-COMING SOLDIERS WAS DONE BY CAPTAIN TURAY AS FOLLOWS:

- (1). LT.COL. LAMIN KAMARA - O/ALL 3rd BRIGADE MINING COMMANDER
- (2). LT.COL. AUGUSTINE VANDI - DEPUTY 3rd BRIGADE BLACK GUARD COMMANDER ASSIGNED IN THE MINING.
- (3). MAJOR ASSULT - GROUND COMMANDER
- (4). S/CAPT. ABDUL KAMARA - O/ALL MINING ADJUTANT
- (5). S/CAPT. SORIE BANGURA - MILITARY POLICE COMMANDER ASSIGNED IN MINING
- (6). S/CAPT. FRANCIS - TASK FORCE COMMANDER ASSIGNED IN THE MINING
- (7). INCREASE ORDER RANKS ETC.

00025537

THE

THE MEETING WAS FINALLY HIT ON THE HEAD BY BRIEFING THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING DONE BY LT.COL. AUGUSTINE VANDI AS BELOW:

THE FIRST, MOST IMPORTANT WAS THE CHANGE THAT HAD OCCURED IN THE MINING MANAGEMENT. HE MADE A BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF NEWLY SENT PERSONNELS TO THE MINING UNIT AS FOLLOWS: THE O/ALL MINING COMMANDER - LT.COL. LAMIN KAMARA, MAJOR ASSULT AS GROUND COMMANDER TO NAME BUT A FEW FOR THE MOMENT.

HE FURTHER HIGHLIGHT TO THEM ABOUT THE NEW PROCEDURE IN RELATION TO THE MINING THIS:

ALL GRAVELS ARE NOW TWO PILE SYSTEM I.E. ONE FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND ONE FOR THE PEOPLE.

ALL GOVERNMENT DIAMONDS HAVE TO BE REPORTED DIRECTLY TO THE DEFENCE HEAD QUARTERS(D.H.Q) NOT TO ANY BATTALION COMMANDER NOR NEITHER THE BRIGADE COMMANDER. HE PROMISED THE PEOPLE THAT UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS THE COMING MINING ACTIVITIES WILL BE A SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTION WITH THE HIGH COMMANDS.

HE THANKED THE PEOPLE FOR THEIR PREVIOUS EFFORTS IN UP-GRADING THE MINING IN THEIR AREA WITH CASH, SACRIFICES IN THE FORM OF MONEY, ANIMALS, FOOD STUFF, THEIR ENERGY ETC. HE TOLD THE PEOPLE THAT, THEIR PRESENCE WAS TO UNITE WITH THE PEOPLE, SECURE THEM, CONSULT AND COORDINATE AMONG ONE ANOTHER FOR BETTER DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR LAND AND THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE. HE SAID, IF THE PEOPLE COULD WORK HARD AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE MOVEMENT, HE PROMISED THEM THAT, HE WILL COMEND AND TELL THE HIGH COMMANDS ABOUT YOUR POSITIVE EFFORTS IN SUPPORTING THE REVOLUTION.

HE SHOWED THE PEOPLE THE MINING IMPLEMENTS SENT BY THE BATTLE GROUP COMMANDER. BRIGADEER MORRIS KALLON TO ENHANCED THE MINING ACTIVITIES IN THAT AREA. THEY ARE: TWELVE(12) SHOVELS AND ONE(1) ROLL SHAWLER WIRE. HE PROMISED TO SEND IN MORE AS TIME AND YOUR CO-OPERATION PROVES TO THEM.

LT.COL. VANDI ASKED THE PEOPLE IF THEY HAVE ANY PROBLEM(S) AFFECTING THEM AND THE MINING ACTIVITIES?

THE P.R.O. MR. LAUSAMA KAMARA BRIEFLY EXPLAINED THAT FEEDING FOR MINING SOLDIERS WAS A MAJOR PROBLEM TO THEM. BECAUSE MOST OF THESE PEOPLE DEPEND TOTALLY TO MINING AND LESS TO AGRICULTURE(FARMING) SINCE ALL THEIR SWAMPS HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN MINING WITH NO OR LITTLE LAND FOR FARMING.

THE P.R.O. EMPHASIS THE STRAINS OF THE PEOPLE TO THE SOURCE OF GETTING

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8929

Revolutionary United Front
of Sierra Leone.
2nd Brigade Headquarters.
Kono District.
Date: 12 Dec 1998.

To :- The 2nd Brigade Commander.
From :- The 2nd Brigade G-4 Commander.
Sub :- REPORT OF MATERIALS ISSUED OUT:

00025706

REMARKS:-

The below listed issued yesterday per instructions from the 2nd Brigade Commander.

Materials recieved by the BFI - Colonel Morison Mallon for the mission are as follows:-

- 1) Four (4) boxes of AK Rounds.
- 2) Two (2) boxes of G-3 Rounds.
- 3) Four (4) boxes of G-4 Rounds.
- 4) Two (2) RPG Rockets and Two (2) TAT's.

MATERIALS RECIEVED BY MAJOR ABRAHAM DUGGAN as follows:-

- 1) Three (3) boxes of AK Rounds.
- 2) One (1) box of G-3 Rounds.
- 3) Two (2) G-4 Rounds.
- 4) Two (2) RPG Rockets, Two (2) TAT's.

MATERIALS RECIEVED BY THE BATTALION COMMANDER-1st COL KS MA.YA

- 1) Ten (10) Packets of AK Rounds.
- 2) Five (5) Packets of G-3 Rounds.

Best regards,

Signed: *[Signature]* 12-98
2nd Brigade G-4 Commander
Major Mohamed Christoph

Approved: *[Signature]*
G 2nd Brigade Commander
Colonel Boston Flomo.

12054 1.105
8921

INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE - RUF 84
200 THE BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS • KONO • KONO • KONO
THE OFFICE OF THE C-4 UNIT

TO :- The 2nd Brigade Adjutant.
FROM :- The 2nd Brigade C-4 Commander.
SUBJECT:- REPORT
DATE :- 22nd January, 1999

00026072

REMARKS:-

The Materials we transported to KONO (Koidu) on the 15th January, 1999 reached safely at KONO (Koidu) on the 16th January, 1999. the materials are listed below :-

1. 94 Boxes of American A.A. Bombs.
2. One Box of 60mm Mortar Bombs.
3. Two Boxes of 120mm Mortar Bombs.
4. One Box of 81mm Mortar Bombs.
5. One 81mm Mortar Stand.
6. Four Boxes of Armourd Tank Bombs.
7. One 1 Barrel Gun.
8. Three Boxes of 82mm Mortar Bombs.

Among these Materials the one Barrel Gun was asked for, by the RUF Brigadier Ince. The weapon including one spare Barrel that have been with us were brought by Major Fathullah per instruction from the RUF when we got mechanical problem at Karingbi.

Best regards.


2nd Bde C-4 Cmdr.


2nd Bde C-4 Adjutant.

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10

THE B.F.C
R.U.F.S/L

00026073

00010253

DATE:

TO: THE LEADER OF REVOLUTION. R.U.F.S.L.
FROM: THE OFFICE OF BLACK GUARDS.
SUBJ: CONFIRMED REPORT.

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SIR,
UPON YOUR INSTRUCTION GIVEN FOR US TO
JOIN THE JUNTAS, ON THE 29TH MAY, 1998. WE LEFT THE
BUSK FOR VARIOUS TOWNS AS PER YOUR INSTRUCTION.

DURING OUR ARRIVAL, THERE WAS THAT LINE OF DEM-
ACATION BETWEEN THE R.U.F. FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND THE JUNTAS.
INFECT, THE JUNTAS USUALLY CALLED THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS (BUSK
BOYS WITH BUSK RANKS.)

BLACK GUARDS FORUM WAS HELD AT WATERLOO C.S.C. COM-
POUND UNDER THE COMMANDERSHIP OF F.O.C. (BLACK GUARDS). THE
FORUM DISCUSSED ABOUT THE WAR COMBATANTS ARE SUFFERING AND
THE WOUNDED SOLDIERS. WE DISCUSSED AND DOCUMENTED IT TO THE
WAR COUNCIL OF R.U.F. THE HIGH COMMANDS AND ALL UNITS WITH-
IN THE STRUGGLE.

THESE DOCUMENT REACHED TO GEN: SAM ROCKARIE AND MR:
I.M. SESAY WHICH GAVE THEM ANNOYED AND CALLED FOR ALL BLACK
GUARDS THAT WAS PRESENT IN THAT FORUM. WE RESPONDED ACCORDI-
NGLY AS PER THEIR INSTRUCTION AS NERQUEMA MILITARY BARRACK.

WE WERE SERIOUSLY BLASTED BY BOTH OF THEM, THAT THIS
IS NOT THE REGIM OF PA; SANKOL. SO TO KILL WITH ALL BLACK
GUARDS. DUE TO THIS BLASTATION, FEW BLACK GUARDS REDREW THEIR
STATEMENT LIKE F.O.C. MORIE GINCA AND LATER, MAJOR A.B. DENIED
THAT THEY WERE NOT AWARE OF THAT FORUM. THEREFORE, WE WERE
SERIOUSLY BLASTED AND KICKED OFF BY THEM.

BRIGADIER SUPERMAN WAS ISSUED 9,0000 LEONES BY JOSEPH
PAUL KOROMA AFTER HE LEFT FROM MOYAMBA ATTACKED. THIS MONEY
WAS CONSUMED WITHOUT ANY GOOD REASON. WHILE WOUNDED SOLDIERS
WERE SUFFERING IN THE HOSPITALS. HE WAS DISCIPLINED BY GEN:
SAM ROCKARIE BY KEEPING HIM INTO OFFICERS MESS AT WILBER FORC
BARRACK.

VARIOUS MINISTRIES WERE GIVEN TO R.U.F. PERSONNELS BY A.F.R.C
GOVERNMENT. BELOW ARE AS FOLLOWS:

PA; Y.M. ROGERS.	DEPT: LAND AND HOUSING.
2 ELDRED COLLINS.	" TRADE AND INDUSTRY LATER TO ENERGY AND POWER.
3 RAURENCES	DEPT: ENERGY AND POWER LATER TO TRADE AND INDUSTRY.
4 PA; BAIDA.	" EDUCATION.
5 PETER VANDY	" AGRICULTURE.
6 A.K. VANDY.	" "
7 DR: PARAL.	" HEALTH AND SANITATION.

C.O. ISSAC
9 MIKE RALWAY
9 MIKE LAMIN

DEPT: AMH LOUING.

E.I.S.

00010254

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UPONED ALL THESE MENTIONED DEPARTMENT, NONE BODY AFFORD TO RENDER
HELP TO THE PEOPLES OF KAILAHUN NEITHER THE COMBATANTS AS WELL AS THE
WOUNDED SOLDIERS. AS THE RESULT, ELDERED COLLINS PREFERRED TO MARRIED
INSTEAD OF HELPING THE STRUGGLERS.

ZOGODA FELL DUE TO VIOLATION OF ORDER BY LT. COL. MOHAMED.
BUT HE REFUSED THE ORDERED BECAUSE OF THREATENING REMARKS GIVEN
BY GEN MOSSQUITOE DURING HIS STAYING AT PRITAMA. HE EVEN ARRESTED
HIS FOOD THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO REACHED HIM AT ZOGODA BY THEM.

AFTER OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM FREETOWNE, DUE TO THE SU-
FFERING THAT MOST COMBATANTS USUALLY BEGGED BEFORE EARNING THEIR
LIVING, MOST DECIDED TO LEAVE THE CITY FOR PROVINCES. AS THE RE-
SULT, THERE WAS NO STRONG COMBATANTS TO ENGAGED THE CITY. UN-
FORTUNATELY, THE ECOMOC OVERCAME US AND WE WERE DRIVEN.

AFTER OUR WITHDRAWAL, SOME TROOPS BASED AT KOINADUGU JUNGLE
WHILE OTHERS BASED AT KONO. WE ORGANISED OURSELVE AND STARTED LAUN-
CHING OFFENSIVE IN ORDER TO REGAINED THE LAND. AND FORTUNATELY, WE
SUCCEEDED BY CAPTURING KONO, WAKENI, SEGBWEMA, LUNSER, MAGEHRAGA AND
ETC. WHICH ARE UNDER CONTROL TODAY TODAY.

AFTER OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CITY, THE COMMANDS WERE NOT
IN UNIFORMITY. FOR EXAMPLES, BETWEEN GEN: SAM BOCKARIE AND SUPERMAN

BRIGADIER I.H. SESAY. CARRIED DIAMONDS TO LIBERIA, ACCORDING
TO HIM, IT GOT MISSING. AND NO MILITARY ACTION WAS TAKEN AGAINST
HIM BY THE HIGH COMMAND. WHILE SUPERMAN WAS DISCIPLINED FOR THE
9.0000 LEONES.

JONNEY PAUL KOROMA WAS RAIDED TOGETHER WITH HIS WIFE UPONED
THEIR ARRIVAL IN KAILAHUN. ACCORDING TO SOURCES, 9. PLASTIC OF DIAMOND
WAS RAIDED FROM THEM BY GEN: SAM BOCKARIE AND BRIGADIER I.H. SESAY
AND THE WIFE OF J.P.K. WAS TAKEN TO UNKNOWN LOCATION BY ISSA FOR
THE REST OF THE DAY.

DUE TO THIS INFORMATION RECEIVED BY MOST S.L.A.S. MOST
DECIDED DIS LOYALTY AND MANY PREFERRED TO JOINED SUPERMAN INSTEAD
OF C.O. ISSA OR MORIS KALLON OR GEN: SAM BOCKARIE. IN FACT MANY
S.L.A.S WERE KILLED BY KALLON WHICH RESULTED TO THEIR DIS LOYALTY.

THERE WAS NONE CONSULTATION DURING OUR STAYING IN TOWN. AND
UP TO THE TIME WE LEFT THE TOWN. IN FACT WE THE BLACK GUARDS NOT
CONSULTED ON ANY EVENT.

YOUR BODY GUARD DOLO WAS KILLED BY MAJOR SADAM AND NO ACTION
WAS TAKEN TOWARDS THAT ISSUE.

SIR, WE ARE SORRY TO SAY THE ADMINISTRATION WAS COLLAPSED.
THE HIGH COMMANDS THAT LEFT TO TAKE CONTROL NEVER ENTER HIS FEET
INTO YOUR SHOES. AS THE RESULT, ASK THE COMBATANTS ABOUT THEIR VIEW.

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-3-

ON THE PARAGRAPHS WHERE BRIGADIER SAM BOCKARIE REFERRED
TO THE WIFE OF SUPERMAN AS IDIOT, THE GRUPOD CONTINUES.

COMMUNICATION WAS CUT-OFF BETWEEN SUPERMAN AND SAM BOCKARIE AT THE INSTRUCTION OF SAM BOCKARIE.

00010255

ON THE 25TH DECEMBER, 1998 UP-WARD, AFTER MAKHEI HAVE BEEN CLEARED. BRIGADIER SUPERMAN AND BRIGADIER I.E. SESAY MET TOGETHER IN FORUM. IN THE FORUM, SUPERMAN GRUMLED OVER THE WAY HE WAS TREATED BY SAM BOCKARIE THAT IS NOT FAVOURABLE TO HIM AND THE WAY HE IS NOT REGARDED BY RAMBO AS HE IS SENIOR. DMC

THEY DISCUSSED ABOUT WAR PLAN AND SUPERMAN WAS TO ATTACKED KABALA. ON THE 28TH DECEMBER, 1998. BRIG: SUPERMAN UNDERTOOK THE MISSION; AND ON THE 30TH DECEMBER, 1998 HE ATTACKED, BUT HE DID NOT SUCCEED. ON HIS WAY BACK TO MAKEHI, HE GOT VIOLENT ACCIDENT AND SUSTAINED PAIN.

UPONED HIS ARRIVAL, MORIS KALLON AND C.O. ISSA ARRIVED TO HIS HOUSE WITH INVITATION FOR SUPERMAN TO JOINED THEM TO THEIR VILLA.

ACCORDING TO SUPERMAN, THE APPEARANCE OF C.O. ISSA AND KALLON DID NOT PROVED FAVORABLE TO HIM. THEREFORE, HE TOOK AN EXCUSE FOR HIM⁷ DRESS AS A RESULT, HE ESCAPED FROM THEM TO LUNSER.

SIR, ON THE 16TH FEBRUARY, 1999. THERE WAS OUT BREAK OF FIGHTING BETWEEN BRIGADIER SUPERMAN AND BRIG: ISSA. ACCORDING TO BRIGADIER ISSA, HE INSTRUCTED COL: GIBRIL BY THE COMMAND OF C.O. SAM BOCKARIE TO REPORT TO BUNDU AFTER HE HAS BEING FREED FROM JAIL TO GIVE ALL DETAIL REPORT ABOUT FREETOWN.

AFTER THIS STATEMENT, BRIGADIER ISSA WENT AND ARRESTED COL: GIBRIL MASSAQUOI AND ATTEMPTED FOR BRIGADIER SUPERMAN. ACCORDING TO BRIGADIER I.E. ISSA, BRIGADIER SUPERMAN OPEN FIRE ON THEM AND USED SEVEN R.P.G. ROCKETS AND FREED COL GIBRIL MASSAQUOI FROM THEM. THE SAME NIGHT, BRIGADIER SUPERMAN FOLLOWED THEM IN MAKHEI AND VANDALISED HIS COMPOUND AND RETURNED BACK ON HIS BASE LUNSER.

ON THE 3RD APRIL, 1999. AT ABOUT 1:30 PM, THE CONVOY OF BRIGADIER SUPERMAN. BUT MOST WERE AT SLEEP, ONLY THE GUN SOUND WOKE MOST UP. WE DECIDED TO CHECKED WHERE THE FIRING^{CAME} FROM. JUST AFTER THE MARKET, GOING TOWARDS TEKOR ROAD, THERE WE MET WITH C.O. SUPERMAN ALIAS TIMING BOMB AND HIS CONVOY COMING FROM COL RAMBO'S PLACE OR LOCATION. IN FACT HE WAS RIDING MOTOR BIKE AND CALLED "RAY" WE TURNED AROUND AND HE SAID, GEN: SAM BOCKARIE AND BRIGADIER ISSA REFUSED TO ANSWER TO THE CALLED FROM THE LEADER BY COMMUNICATION AND ALSO HE DROPPED PHONE ON THE LEADER AND LAUGHED.

THEREFORE, SUPERMAN SAID, HE WAS BEING INSTRUCTED BY THE LEADER TO SEARCH FOR THEM AND ARREST ALL THOSE THAT ARE NOT LOYAL TO THE LEADERSHIP OF R.U.F.S.L. HE FURTHER SAID, HE CAME

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COL. COMBA AND COL. GIBRIEL MASSAGUCI. AND THE ARE PRE-DEPLOYED AT THE COMPOUND OF ISSA.

00010256

CASUALTY: COL. RAMBO.

THE FOLLOWING MORNING, WE MET SUPERMAN WITH THE ADVICES THAT "SO LONG YOU HAVE GOT INSEARCH OF THEM TO TALK TO THE LEADER, WITHDRAW YOUR TROOPS AND ALL BELONGING TAKING FROM C.O.ISSA AND RETURNED BACK TO LUNSER". WE FURTHER ASKED HIM "WHO KILLED RAMBO" ACCORDING TO BRIGADIER SUPERMAN, HE WAS NOT THE ONE KILLED THE RAMBO BUT HE SENT MEN TO CALL HIM."

REALLY BRIGADIER SUPERMAN PREPARED TO RETURNED TO HIS BASE LUNSER. UPONED HIS READNESS, ON THE 14TH APRIL, 1999. BRIGADIER ISSA'S TROOPS LAUNCHED OFFENSIVE ON SUPERMAN'S SUPERMAN, CAME AND INFORMED THAT THEY ARE COMING AND HE RETURNED LUNSER, THE NEXT PLACE WILL BE HIS BASE. THEREFORE, HE IS GOING TO DEFEND ANY ATTACKED COMING TO MAKENI.

ON 15TH APRIL, 1999. THEY RE-ATTACKED WITH MANY CIVILIAN CASUALTY AND SOLDIERS. ON THE 22ND AND THE 23RD APRIL, 1999 THE ALSO ATTACKED THE TOWNSHIP OF MAKENI. BUT THEY NEVER SUCCEEDED. ONLY PARTNESS WAS IN THE TOWN.

PLEASE SIR, SO FAR WE ARE CONCERNED, WE THEM ADVICES BOTH SIDE AS IT IS OUR DUTY.

WARMEST REGARDS.
SECN...
APPROVED...
O/A. POERATION...
TO CS

ATTESTED:
O/A. POERATION...
C.O. COMMANDER.

SIGNED: ...
BLACK GUARDS ADJUTANT

12060

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1.365

FM- C/S SATELITE 2 BDE COMO
(KONDU TOWN)

TO- C/S JUPITOR SUNRAY (SENAFE)

SUBJ: INSTRUCTIONS

DATE: 03/5/00

BY THE INSTRUCTION OF BRIG 188A SGBAY
CMM YOU ARE HEREBY INSTR. TO DAMAGE
ALL MOTORABLE ROADS LEADING TO YOUR
POINT EXCLUDING C/S PUMPAY (MAKENI)
SATELITE (KONDU) H/WAY () ACT AS
INSTRO.

FROM: 2 BDE COMDR C/S OCEAN-NGAIYA

TO: BRIG 188A SGBAY

SUBJ: INFORMATION

04/5/2000
1033 HRS

SIR, FOR YOUR INFORMATION CMM. I
HAVE RECEIVED FIGURE 188 UN POWS
FROM CO BAGE MARINE THIS MOR-
NING ALONG WITH FIGURE TWO(2)
TRUCKS AND FIGURE FIVE(5) VANS
(X) SIR, I NEED YOUR ADVICE.

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WITH REF TO THE MSG SENT FM US
 DEAN (NGA 4A) (1) BELOW IS THE NO. AND
 RANKS OF UN. POW PRESENTLY AT HAND
 EXCLUDING THE FIRST 20 MEN THAT
 WERE BROUGHT TO THIS POINT (KONO)
 1/DAY FOR CONFINEMENT (1) ON THEIR
 WAY 1/DAY AN ACCIDENT OCCURED
 WHEREIN LTCOL JOSEPH MENDY (ZAMBIAN)
 BREAK HIS L LEG AND THREE (3) OTHERS
 SEVERELY INJURED (1) THE TOTAL FIG
 IS NOW 208 POW.

RANK	NO.	RANK	NO.
BRIG GEN	1	PTE	44
LT COL	1	LTS/2/LTS	7
MAJ'S	3	4 CPL/CPL	84
CAPT'S	10	SGTS	19
WO I	2	TOTAL	188
WO II	2	1/DAY	20
		TOTAL	208

THE VEH'S WERE AS FOLLOWS:

1 LAND CRUISER, 2 UN TRUCKS & 4 LAND-
 ROLLERS

RECEIPT FOR YOUR UNDERSTANDING 041552MAY

00012938

8929

DTG: 09 11 20 ~~Z~~ Dec - 99

FM: Dist. Adm. CDF/SL H/O BA 00007061

10: Nat. Co-ordinator - CDF/SL Nat. H/O -
Deputy Minister of Defence - Ministry of
Defence - State Avenue - Freetown.

INFO:

INFO:
Regional Director of Intelligent Conf/SL Nat. H/A F/T

Text:

Text Sitrep fm BO t/ship and its environs is cool and calm. A reliable information received that Sam Becharie alias Mosquito has made himself head of the Kailahun Dist. He is training young men in large number to add to the existing thousands. Arms and Ammunition also received in Quantum fm Lib. where he is marketing all Agricultural Produce cmm Coffee and Cacao grabbed fm farmers unwarrantedly. Mass movement of AFRC/RUF combatants fm Ken-to BO Dist. in all flanks of the South-Eastern Part. Accept info for your understanding. Firm regards. AK

① J. Acharya 1159HR8
09-12-99

12063 8940

Annex B.3

Other Documents

12064 1.072
00011193 8941

The Medical Report on Abducted Victims treated by the FAWE Medical Team – March – December 1999

FAWE Medical Team

1	Dr Y Koso-Thomas	-	Circular Road Clinic
2	Dr S D Gassama	-	PCMH
3	Dr V George	-	PCMH
4	Dr J B Koroma	-	Grafton Camp Clinic
5	Dr L Whitfield	-	5 Heddle Street
6	Dr M A S Anthony Williams	-	33 Goderich Street

Introduction

A total of 1168 abductees were treated from March to December 1999 and all included in this report. Although over 2000 patients were treated by the medical team, only the patients with a complete record of their history and treatment, have been included in this report.

<u>Sex:</u>	Females treated	-	901 (77%)
	Males treated	-	139 (11.9%)
	Gender not specified	-	128 (10.9%)

Age: The age range was from 1 month to 50 years

Years	<12	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	<19
No	207	37	24	48	83	92	127	103	67	294
%	17.7	3.1	2	4.1	7.1	7.8	10.8	8.8	5.7	25

Occupation:

1	School Girls/students	-	541 (46.3%)
2	Trader/Business	-	190 (16.2%)
3	Category not stated	-	393 (33.6%)

Abduction:

99% of the patients were abducted. The majority of these abductees were captured in Freetown during the January 1999 invasion. A few were abducted from Makeni and Kono.

Trauma:

- (a) Physical – 274 (23.4%) were beaten. The degree of violence ranged from slaps to severe and brutal beating.
- (b) Psychological – 114 (9.7%) clients suffered psychologically.
- (c) Sexual – 648 (55.4%) of the abductees were raped and some of the girls were raped by one, two, three or even ten men. Two women particularly were raped by 15 and 30 rebels respectively. The former had only given birth to a baby two weeks before being raped. Both patients suffered from prolapse of the uterus (the womb descending out of the vagina). The former woman had a repair to replace the uterus in its proper position. The latter woman had a major degree of prolapse and therefore the uterus had to be taken out – (a total hysterectomy was done).

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89/12
00011194

MSF (Holland) supplied the surgical materials and drugs. The surgical fee was also paid by MSF (Holland).

Similarly, an abductee who had a prolapse of the uterus, after delivering in the bush, her surgery was paid for by MSF (Holland).

Military Training:

An insignificant number of abductees were trained for military action. These were the few patients abducted from Kono and Makeni.

Use of Drugs:

52 (4.4%) of the clients were given drugs like valium and cannabis. A few were given cocaine. Alcohol was given in the form of Totapak. Palm wine (or Poyo) was the most abused alcohol.

Medical Treatment

589 (50.4%) of the abductees were treated for malaria. Malaria was the commonest cause of illness among the abductees. 275 (23.5%) were treated for worm infestation. Roundworms were the commonest type diagnosed. 144 (12.3%) patients had skin rashes, mainly fungal infections and scabies. There were also some respiratory tract infections among the children.

Sexually transmitted Diseases – STD

281 (24.1%) complained of vaginal discharge while 327 (27.9%) had pelvic inflammatory disease.

Pregnancy:

200 (17.1%) of the abductees were pregnant. 79 (6.7%) of the abductees had their pregnancy terminated. More than 80% of the pregnant women were teenagers, in the age range from 14 to 18 years of age.

Many have delivered normally via the vagina. Only about 3 patients have had surgical intervention – that I am aware of.

Conclusion

The programme has been implemented by FAWA and sponsored by MSF (Holland).

ICRC at PCMH has supplied the surgical materials and drugs for all the caesarian section cases.

Prepared by:

Dr S D Gassama

12066 1133

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NAME OF DECEASED	AGE	SEX	CAUSE OF DEATH	DATE OF DEATH	NAME OF INFORMANT AND ADDRESS
1. Abraham K. Bangs	40	M	Gun Shot Injury	03-01-99	Isaac Adam Conkh 220 Blackhall Road, Freetown
2. David J. Bangs	53	M	Gun Shot Injury	09-01-99	Dr. J. D. Sandy Prisons Medical Service
3. Tertina Davies	20	F	Gun Shot Wounds	08-01-99	Saidu Bangura, 5 Freetown Rd
4. Patrick J. Gbaya-Kokoy	4	M	Gun Shot Injury	06-01-99	David T. J. Gbaya-Kokoy 16 Jarvis St, Freetown
5. William M. Gwannah	56	M	Gun Shot Wounds	20-01-99	Sylvanus Samrah - 3 Bright St Freetown
6. Johannes M. Jones	84	M	Gun Shot Injury	15-01-99	Delewyn C. Barber, 78 Hanneman St New England
7. Rev Isaac Macken	43	M	Gun Shot Wounds	12-01-99	Joseph Adam John - 2 Hognuts Freetown
8. Eugene H. Haden-John	36	F	Gun Shot Wounds	12-01-99	Joseph Adam John - 2 Hognuts Freetown
9. Euphemis Adam-John	34	F	Gun Shot Wounds	12-01-99	Joseph Adam John - 2 Hognuts Freetown
10. Joseph George	29	M	Bomb Blast	15-01-99	Amelle Louis - 6 Knipsells St, Freetown
11. Olu G. Mphah-John	81	M	Gun Shot Wounds	11-01-99	Harold Taylor - 2 Gwink Rd
12. Barbara W. Williams	47	M	Gun Shot Injury	17-01-99	Samson Williams - 5, St. Mary St, Freetown
13. Litta Kemers	84	M	Gun Shot Wounds	08-01-99	Abibatu Kemers - 84, Abassan Freetown
14. Fatmata Silla	28	F	Bomb Blast	15-01-99	Annette Louis - 6 Knipsells St, Freetown
15. George D. D. G. G. G.	24	F	Gun Shot Injury	22-01-99	Anthony Robbin-Coker - 19 Lundy St, Freetown
16. Ishs Bangura	7	F	Gun Shot Wounds, Hemorrhage	06-01-99	Dr. Kabbu Kuits -
17. Samuel F. Williams	74	M	Gun Shot Injury	09-01-99	Alice Williams - 3 White St, 8/1000
18. Cyrus Konde Wright	32	M	Gun Shot Wounds	12-01-99	Marfaat fath
19. Ernest Arthur French	68	M	Gun Shot Injury	14-01-99	Cecil Kande - 25 Freetown St, Freetown
20. Richard G. G. G.	44	M	Gun Shot Wounds	31-01-99	Marfaat fath

12067

8944

NAME OF DECEASED	AGE	SEX	CAUSE OF DEATH	DATE OF DEATH	PLACE OF DEATH	RESIDENCE
1. Josephine Bangura	4	F	Gun shot injury	22-01-99	22-01-99	At D.D. FESS (2)
2. Mustapha Kamas	52	M	Gun shot wounds	25-01-99	25-01-99	Nene Sambo - 33 Juma St. Kisi
23. John P. Conway	53	M	Gun shot injury	22-01-99	22-01-99	Abdul A. Sambo - 14 William St
24. Joseph Roy - Macanley	76	M	Gun shot wounds	21-01-99	21-01-99	Lehai A. Conway - Kiplom Police BKS
25. Balogun A. Smith	55	M	Gun shot wounds	27-01-99	27-01-99	ERIC WKenley - 6, Kinsella St. F.I.
26. Bill Kargbo	65	M	Gun shot wounds	27-01-99	27-01-99	Aaron Smith - 5, H. Pitt St. F.I.
27. Musine Balogun Kari	23	M	Gun shot injury	28-01-99	28-01-99	Canoff Thomas - K4 Fomah Bay Gilole
28. PC 1910 Randolph Ro-Pure	35	M	Gun shot injury	11-01-99	11-01-99	Mohamed L. Sillah - 13 Upper Bombay St
29. Amadu Kabba	30	M	Gun shot wounds	27-01-99	27-01-99	Georgi A. Pratt - 16 Allen St.
30. Chirben Saang Bay Bwale Cstelet	27	M	Gun shot injury	27-01-99	27-01-99	Abdulai L. L. Lash - 16 Makamah Ahmadi St
31. Alhaji Abu Bakur Jumbaji	39	M	Gun shot injury	18-01-99	18-01-99	Georgi A. Pratt - 29 Makamah Ahmadi St
32. Prof. Mohamed Danyash	55	M	Gun shot injury	19-01-99	19-01-99	Rinta Jumbaji - 925 Kisiy Rd. Kisi
33. Florence Danyash	56	F	Gun shot injury	19-01-99	19-01-99	Moses J. Conway - 248 Blackhall Rd. Kisi
34. Onike Coller	23	F	Blat injury	29-01-99	29-01-99	Moses J. Conway - 248 Blackhall Rd. Kisi
35. Sule George	9	M	Gun shot	29-01-99	29-01-99	Francis O. R. Coller - 6, Cardow St. F.I.
36. Monah Koron	58	M	Gun shot injury	20-01-99	20-01-99	Julius Dixon - 1, Pine St. F.I.
37. Mustapha Amin Kigiri	32	M	Gun shot injury	20-01-99	20-01-99	John B. R. P. - 35 Steward St. F.I.
38. Frank Albert Kongo	61	M	Gun shot injury	21-01-99	21-01-99	Amin K. Kigiri - 35 Kisiy Dye Press Rd. Kisi
39. Alhaji Conch	81	M	Gun shot wounds	26-01-99	26-01-99	John B. R. P. - 218 Kinsella St. F.I.
40. Mohamed Savage	17	M	Gun shot injury	12-01-99	12-01-99	Alhaji Conch - 7, Lower Bombay St. F.I.
41. Hays Karietu Alphasley	28	F	Burns	13-01-99	13-01-99	Abdul R. Savage - 132 French St. Rd
42. Shadi CS	68	M	Burns	19-01-99	19-01-99	Abdul R. Savage - 132 French St. Rd
43. Samuel Sundris of 960	28	M	Gun shot injury	07-01-99	07-01-99	Alhaji A. K. Cste - 8 New St, Chie town
44. Mannei Tucker	17	F	Gun shot injury	06-01-99	06-01-99	Jonathan L. Sillah - 258 Bri. B. Rd. Kisi

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69	Sabbir Shallah Karlo	26	M	Gun shot wounds	24/1/99	Ibrahim N Komars (Consin) 4 First St, F/T
70	Christian F Roberts	33	M	Gun shot injury	20/01/99	Sarah C Roberts (Wife) 3, Range St, F/T
71	Harold Albert Roberts	29	M	Gun shot wounds	20/01/99	Sarah C Roberts (Wife) 3, Range St, F/T
72	S E Bailey Miss Komars	43	M	Gun shot injury	15/01/99	S. E. Komars (Brother) 8, Range St, F/T
73	Abdullah Doss Abbas Karlo	40	M	Gun shot injury	01/99	Abdullah S. H. Komars (Consin) 4, 66th Lane St
74	Victor S J Walker	27	M	Gun shot injury	10/01/99	Josephine Walker (Wife) 2, 66th Lane St
75	Thade J Langley	65	M	Gun shot injury	23/01/99	Abdullah Langley (Wife) 8, Range St, Wellington
76	Marjaret Stenby	50	F	Gun shot wounds	25/01/99	Emilia Stenby (Wife) 2, 66th Lane St
77	Winifred A. Allen-Davies	56	F	Gun shot wounds	09/01/99	Emilia Stenby (Wife) 2, 66th Lane St
78	Abelie Saw	34	M	Gun shot injury	10/01/99	Amari Komars (Sister) 31, Upper Brooke St, F/T
79	Osman Sany	45	M	Gun shot wounds	14/01/99	Amari Komars (Sister) 31, Upper Brooke St, F/T
80	Abdullah Charn	21	M	Gun shot injury	15/01/99	Abdul Begun (Consin) 14, Williams St
	Memorin Komars	10 mths	M	Gun shot	07/01/99	Rebecca Charn (Wife) 33A, Cassfield, Lumbay
82	Zahr Nassir Gibrie	48	M	Gun shot injury	14/01/99	Samuel Komars (Uncle) 37, Cassfield, Lumbay
83	Tamba Prada Simpson	15	M	Gun shot injury	14/01/99	Amari Komars (Sister) 31, Upper Brooke St, F/T
84	Solomon T. Ashang	32	M	Gun shot injury	28/01/99	Amari Komars (Sister) 31, Upper Brooke St, F/T
85	Francis Boyle	18	M	Gun shot injury	11/02/99	Francis Boyle (Brother) 11, Bedouille St, F/T
86	Harriet Nabien	67	F	Butchered by rabbit	27/01/99	Abdullah Boyle (Father) 8, Range St, F/T
87	Shant H Sany	43	M	Gun shot injury	07/01/99	Josephine Boyle (Wife) 37, Newcastle St, Kensington
88	Mary Komars	44	F	Gun shot injury	23/01/99	Amari T. G. Sany (Brother) 14, Range St, F/T

NAME	AGE	SEX	DATE	REMARKS	STATUS	LOCATION
1 Daniel Amehs father	63	M	21/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	155 George St, KISSY
2 Alton Ndumu Kamara	45	M	20/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	Abdul Kanna (shop-father) 9, Thurton Lane, FFI
3 Daddy J Kelle	34	M	09/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	Alimama Danda Kelle () 47 George St, KISSY
4 Kevin Williams	18	F	06/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	Ann-Flora Vincent (mother) 35, Kerevut St, FFI
5 Moses A Adu	43	M	23/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	Wuyista Adu (wife) 53, Pademba Rd, FFI
6 Moses Fayis Stevens	31	M	21/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Fallah Stevens (mother) 61, 1518 Terrace, Wilson
7 Gampis Kanna feay	60	M	21/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Franklin Kanna feay (son) 61, Thimbe Hills, KISSY
8 Sif Sif 1838 John Ndumu	35	M	07/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	James Ndumu (father) 61, George Brook PFI
9 Bayane J A Kelle	35	F	07/01/99	Gun shot wounds	Dead	Patrick KSS. Keri, 209 main Amehs Terrace
10 Manno Lappa Kamara	28	M	22/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Rev. Washington Ndumu (son) 38, Kerevut St, FFI
11 Amelia Cole	27	F	01/02/99	Butchered by rebels	Dead	Rev. Washington Ndumu (son) 38, Kerevut St, FFI
12 Kamatu Gibball	55	F	23/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Hamson D. Gibball (father) 9, Kamanya farm, KISSY
13 Phelix S. Ndumu	35	M	23/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	John Kamara (brother) 9, Kamanya farm, KISSY
14 Tatums Ndumu	43	F	23/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Foday Ndumu Ndumu (son) 38, Camp valley, KISSY
15 Theodore B Max-Peter	30	M	26/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Elizabeth Max-Peter (wife) 45, Main Rd, Allen farm
16 Samuel A Kanga	50	M	06/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Yashu Kanga (wife) 9, Lawson Lane, FFI
17 Alpha Danda Kelle	19	M	19/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Abdul A. Kanga (son) 55, Adolphus St, KISSY
18 Melame Salim Kamara	21	M	12/01/99	Gun shot injuries	Dead	Alpha Kamara (father) 35, New site, Maryiba
19 Huma Mamo Damborgs	38	M	21/01/99	Gun shot	Dead	Amadu Damborgs (father) 3, Geomars St, FFI
20 Mohamed Aliou	English	Ref: 19			Dead	Amadu Damborgs (father) 3, Geomars St, FFI

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1	Alissa Barnes	48	M	Gun shot	24-01-99	Monie Barnes (sister) 48, Robert St. Pitt
2	James M. P. Asha-Williams	66	M	Gun shot	11-01-99	Victor Asha-Williams (son) 96, Dunross St. Pitt
3	Mathew H. Karfo	19	M	Gun shot	01-01-99	Alphonse Karfo (father) 1, Robert St. Pitt
4	Affine Sanket	47	M	Gun shot	21-01-99	Esther Sanket (wife) 51, Dancy St
5	Besmond Parsons	37	M	Gun shot	06-01-99	Isabel Parsons (wife) 9, Nicol Lane, Kassy
6	Kerston Pigeon	47	M	Gun shot	12-01-99	Tepin Lassum for rape
7	David Karfo	24	M	Gun shot	23-01-99	Infham S. Karfo (brother) 10, Dancy Lane
8	Ernest M. Coker	25	M	Gun shot	07-01-99	Josephine Coker (mother) 1, Dancy Rd. Pitt
9	Alan Barker Harnes	44	M	Gun shot	25/01/99	Osman Harnes (son) 65, Gamsala, Jun. Pitt
10	Malcolm Murray	43	M	Gun shot	19-01-99	Selamat Murray (wife) 48, Blackhall Rd. Pitt
11	William Lomas Proussly	50	M	Gun shot	23-01-99	Paul Prouss Proussly (brother) 4, John St. Kassy
12	Thermin Murray	15	M	Gun shot	19-01-99	Selamat Murray (mother) 48, Blackhall Rd. Pitt
13	Prasen Koronis	23	M	Gun shot	22-01-99	Selamat Murray (sister) 48, Blackhall Rd. Pitt
14	Vetia Roberts	21	F	Gun shot injure	07-01-99	Mary Barnes (mother) 23, Benjamin Lane
15	Hannah Jessay	12	F	Gun shot injure	07-01-99	Mary Barnes (mother) 23, Benjamin Lane
16	Richard Koronis	15	M	Gun shot	09-01-99	?
17	Alphonse Doman Barrie	40	M	Gun shot	06-01-99	Amadeu Tarsaville (Informant) 25, Argent St. 528
18	Luken Anacchie Abbey	14	M	Blast injure	11-01-99	?
19	Emmanuel Lomson	45	M	Gun shot	14-01-99	David M. Charles - 21, Pryke St. Pitt

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SIERRA LEONE POLICE FORCE

NAME: SAMUEL RANDOLPH TENGA
ADDRESS: No. 16 Samuels Lane, Kissy
NATIONALITY: Sierra Leonean
Occupation: Student
RELIGION: Christian
AGE: 40 years

Statement commencing on Thursday the 11th day of February 1999 at 11:15 hours at Military Headquarters, Cockhill, North Freetown. I have been asked not to say anything and cautioned that I am not obliged to say anything unless I wish to do so but whatever I say will be taken down in writing and may be admitted in evidence.

D/Cp 3743

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I am a Sierra Leonean a native of Bonthe District in the Southern Province of Sierra Leone. I was born at Mania Village in the Yawboko Chiefdom Bonthe District to the late Mr Moses Demby Tenga former Education Secretary of the United Brethren in Christ Mission (UBC) Matru Jong Bonthe District and Mrs Caroline Kati Tenga presently staying with me at No. 16 Samuels Lane, Kissy. I started my primary schooling at the UBC School Campbell Street, Freetown and completed at the UBC Primary School Matru Jong where I sat the Selective

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Entrance Examination and passed for Centennial Secondary School Matru Jong. Whilst attending Centennial Secondary School I underwent a medical operation that made the school authorities to allow me to repeat Form III but I decided to transfer to Bonthe Secondary School where I was allowed to Form IV. There I completed my Fifth Form and sat to the GCE Examination in June 1980 and passed the exams with a Division II. I taught for two years at UBC Primary School Talia in Yawbeko Chiefdom, Bonthe District and UBC Primary School Mogbwamo in the Moyamba District respectively. Sometime in 1983, I proceeded to Milton Margai Teachers' College at Goderich Village in the Western Area to pursue a Certificate Course in Physical Education. I completed my studies sometime in 1986 with a Higher Teachers Certificate in Physical Education. During my college days at Milton Margai Teachers College, I was the Student Union Minister of Sports a post I held for two consecutive years, Secretary General for Bonthe District Students' Union, and I also became one of the students that were interested in the Jucke Ideg of Kim Il Sung of Korea and the Green Fock of Mohamed Gadaffi of Libya, when some Sierra Leoneans called at the College compound to give lectures. For the Jucke Ideg, it was the Korean themselves that do go to the college compound to give lectures. Later on symposiums were held in colleges and universities on those two ideas that made some students to be flown to these countries on site seeing and to compare the way of life of the people of that country to ours. I was unfortunate during my college days to go and those who went brought with them property and few dollars that made life for them comfortable. Sometime in 1989 while I was a teacher at the Independence Secondary School at Kissy, a colleague of mine whilst in college by the name of Abu Hassan Kroma met me at my school that I was teaching, and told me that an opportunity had come for some people to go to Libya on a sho

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seeing and a symposium. That since he was fortunate on two occasions he would like me to go if I was interested. I said yes. Abu Hassan therefore promised to contact me in due course when he would have made sure of the trip. In about two weeks later during school hours Abu Hassan called on me at my school and told me that I should prepare an Emergency Travelling Certificate and that at any time the trip will materialise. Abu Hassan said that it was a symposium on "African Consciences" a topic related to Pan Africanism. He further explained to me that it was a sort of scholarship they had won and wanted to share the opportunity with me, since we all share the idea of the Green Book in college. Since it was school hours Abu Hassan left and promised to contact me during the course of the week. In about a week later I prepared the Travelling Certificate at the Immigration Headquarters along Siaka Stevens Street and also obtained Vaccination Injection at the Free Town Freezone. After some days that I prepared all my travelling documents, Abu Hassan contacted me to enquire as to whether I have prepared my travelling documents. I told him yes and he asked me to get myself prepared for the following day and meet him at Free Street at about 8.00 a.m. Abu Hassan left and went away after he had told me that it was he who was going to foot my transport fare to the Republic of Guinea as I will be travelling by road together with other students and school leavers. In the next day during the morning hours I came to Free Street where I met Abu Hassan who introduced me to other eight Students by the names of Samuel Kargbo, Mohamed Koroma, Unisa Kamara, another Mohamed Koroma, Ansumana Lamin and Yeku Bangura. I could not remember the names of the other three but can be identified if seen. It was my first encounter with these men introduced to me by Abu Hassan. Abu Hassan gave me some Leones which amount I cannot now remember. All of us boarded the City Link Bus with the

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exception of Abu Hassan and we left for Conakry in the Republic of Guinea. There was ~~one~~ one among our group that knows our destination in Conakry, besides somebody was to receive us at the park in Conakry. I cannot actually now remember with whom I was sitting in the bus but we arrived safely at about 7.30 p.m. at the lorry park in Conakry.

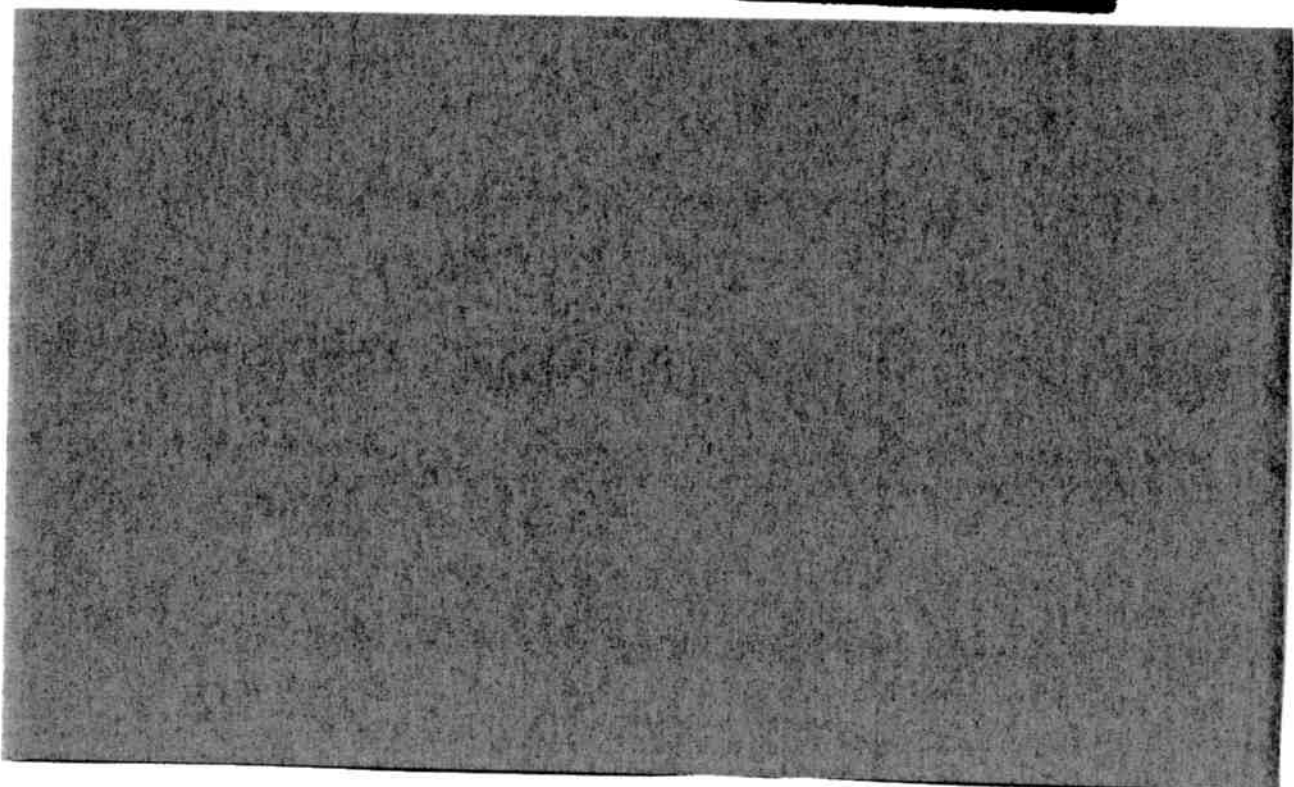
At the lorry park in Conakry, all of us assembled near a house as it was raining by then. The man among us who knew our destination in Conakry, left us for few minutes and came back with a fairly old man with grey hair who welcomed us and asked if we were the group that are going to Libya and we all said yes. He then took us to a near by restaurant where he bought some food for all of us. I became anxious to know the name of this man, so I asked me why I am worried to know his name, and I said because you are our host. He then told me to call him Pa Morlai Sheriff. This man after my trip to Libya and back, I came to know him as Foday Sankoh the leader of the Revolutionary United Front (R.U.F.) who he led the civil rebellion into Sierra Leone some time in 1991. After eating the food he introduced us to a private house in Conakry where we spent the night. Between 8.00 and 9.00 a.m. after breakfast the following morning, we went and boarded two peugeot familiar Guinean taxi cars for Mali. I cannot now remember with whom I traveled with in the taxi car I boarded. However Mr. Foday Sankoh did not travel in my own car but made the trip with us in the other car. I did not know whether Mr. Foday Sankoh was responsible for our lorry fare but there was some one in my car that paid the fare for us to Mali. And of course I paid the fare from Freetown to Conakry from the money given to me by Abu Hassan Koroma. We spent a night on the way and arrived at Bamako the following day at mid-day. In this same day we all boarded a bus and left Bamako for Burkina Faso together with Mr. Foday Sankoh. We arrived at

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the boarder of Mali and Burkina Faso at about 6.00 p.m. We spent the night at the Malian side of the boarder since it was 6.00 p.m. and we cannot cross to Burkina Faso. We of course slept on board the bus. Early the following morning between (8.00 and 9.00) we were then allowed to cross to Burkina Faso on board the same bus. We subsequently arrived at Ouagadougou the Capital City of Burkina Faso after mid-day of the same day. At Ouagadougou we were taken to some quarters by Foday Sankoh where we were accommodated in one of them. In the neighborhood quarters I observed that there were about four to five Liberian nationals and besides so many other Liberians were coming in and going out. I personally did not have any closed discussion with these Liberian nationals since we only spent about a day there. However on the following day of our arrival Mr. Foday Sankoh who did not sleep with us came at about 11.00 a.m. with a Peugeot car. On board the Peugeot car were about three Liberian nationals whose names I do not know. They also brought with them two empty cars, which we boarded. On the instruction of Mr. Foday Sankoh explaining that we were heading to the airport. On the way to the airport we had cause to stop at a residence and asked us to climb down from the cars. [REDACTED]



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then allowed to board the Libyan plane that was in the airport. It was nine of us Sierra Leoneans and Mr. Foday Sankoh that made the trip to Libya. We arrived at Libya on the same day, but it was at night. Whilst at the airport at Tripoli, four white men who speak both English and Arabic came and met us. They had some discussions with Mr. Foday Sankoh and after sometime they left and went away with Mr. Foday Sankoh leaving us at the airport. After about twenty minutes Foday Sankoh and three of the Libyans came with a white van, and they told us to board it. That we did and we were driven to an area within the Tripoli city and we were lodged in a long building together with Mr. Foday Sankoh. The building was like a boarding home with beds in the hall. We were allocated to a bed each. While we were in this building, some of us that is myself included, that were highly educated went every day taken to attend a symposium on African Consciousness which was just a mile from our place of lodging. This symposium lasted for about three days. Foday Sankoh did not attend the symposium as he was always going up and down with the Libyans. In fact the symposium was not interesting as we were expecting it to be. It was too boring as all the discussion was done through an interpreter who was a Ghanaian national by the name of Mohamed whose surname I do not know. After the three days symposium, the Libyans started coming every day at about 5.00 a.m. to go out on jogging exercise which in fact brought doubts to us, as that was not part of our programme. However, we thought the exercise was just to keep us fit and so we accepted it. The jogging exercise continued every day and the distance of jogging increased every day. We then became

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worried and suspicious about the trip we made to Libya. We who attended the symposium started to conclude that it was a ploy to brainwash us. We then started grumbling among ourselves and we put up a rebellious attitude towards the exercise by giving all kinds of excuses. This really did not go down well and Sheka Bangura who said Mr. Foday Sankoh is his uncle started to cry. He even attacked Foday Sankoh that, that was not the reason he went and took him from his mother. Sheka said that Foday Sankoh took him with the pretext that he was taking him to Ghana to do studies in journalism. We also grumbled to Mr. Foday Sankoh about the treatment we were getting from the Libyans. His reply always was that we are men and should accept it. We told him that that was not the reason of the programme we came to Libya for. On the following day during the morning hours Foday Sankoh left us that he was going to the central part of the city. As soon as he had gone, the Libyans another set of group, came with a white van and asked us to board the van with all our belongings. We abide on their instructions and we were taken far off the city to a camp called Wadra Libya. This camp is fenced all over with two steel gates at the frontage whilst at the extreme end of the camp is opened with no gate. That part of the camp leads to the desert. Later that day, Foday Sankoh came to the said camp driven by the Libyans. The camp is fairly a big camp with eight long buildings that will accommodate forty people each. There were also four hangar buildings down by the field which housed vans and car. There was another big building which had about four to six buses. On entering the camp, there was a long building by the left which was used as an office and there was a kitchen there for the Libyans. In the camp, we met the following nationals, Indonesians (Sunatians), South Africans, Liberians who were in the majority, Niger citizens, Malians and West Indians. All these groups we met were waiting militantly to go in to their respective

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counties and cause some insurgence as we were made to understand. We then asked Foday Sankoh to tell us why we were brought to that camp. Foday Sankoh who was a man very prone to anger remarked that if some of us are not careful we will not go back to Sierra Leone. With this kind of threat we kept our cool and we only grumbled among ourselves. We were then housed in the hall occupied by the Liberian nationals but in a separate apartment. Whilst at the camp, the jogging exercise continued to intensify every day, as any one who remained behind during the exercise, will be beaten up and forced to run and catch his fellow men in front. We were faced with no alternative but to obey the Libyans because the punishment given to one for disobeying their command is so fearful. For example you will be tied to a rope, be taken away and dragged on the bare ground for some distance, at a speed of about thirty to forty miles per hour. Whilst we were being trained, Foday Sankoh was always out of the camp on trips abroad which he made only to Ghana to solicit funds from his friends.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] legitimate government of President Samuel K. Doe. This message did not go down well but little could we do. Apart from the early morning exercise, every Thursday, every body in the camp goes out on a marathon exercise of about five to ten kilometers to and fro with the Libyans behind us in a vehicle to pick those that faint on the way, who will be later on punished by beating, standing naked at night under the snow as if you deliberately refused to do the marathon or training exercise. You will be tied on a jeep and dragged as earlier mentioned. After about a month on the physical exercise, we were taken to the desert on board vehicles where we were taught weapon drill by dismantling and assembling AK47 and General Purpose Machine Gun (G.P.M.G.). We were also shown Rocket

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Propelled Guns (R.P.G.) and Mortar which we never used by ourselves. We were given AK47 with five bullets each to aim and fire at an object thirty to fifty meters distance. The Libyans demonstrated how to take position in firing the G.P.M.G. Whilst at the desert where we spent a week, we were housed in those ancient broken buildings. We were also taught map reading in the desert. This exercise was led by Liberians and South Africans most of whom were ex-military men. After our exercise at the desert, we returned back to the camp. In the camp that night we were all removed from our belts and made to assemble in the field by nationality. Even though we travelled with Liberian emergency travelling certificates we still mentioned our nationality. We were then called one by one to face a panel of about eight people with sticks and hard rubber. They ask your name and nationality and as soon as you start to explain, they will accuse you as a liar and will give you a good beating. This exercise they did to every inmate in the camp. Some trainees even lost their eye sight and some sustained wound and body pain. As a whole every body sustained major injuries. As for me, my right hand was scrapped and sustained blisters on my back and my operation area was swollen. I cried bitterly and vowed to revenge on Abu Hassan Koroma when I return back home. We were all allowed to stay in doors for a week to heal our wounds as doctors were brought in to attend to us. During that week the instructors told us that our training exercise has been completed. After a day or two while we were healing our wounds, Mr. Foday Sankoh came to the camp where he stayed with us until we passed out. During that week he was attacked by Sheka Bangura his nephew every day who promised to explain to his mother all that Foday Sankoh did to him. Foday Sankoh replied that the day he will reach Freetown Sheka Bangura will be afraid to say a word about him to any one. We passed out from the training sometime in December 1989. The passing

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ent was attended by some Libyans whose faces were covered with veil except for their eyes that you will see. They cheer us as we were marching. We the Sierra Leoneans waited at the camp for a week before we left whilst the Liberians left a day or two after the passing out. It was during our week's stay at the camp waiting for a flight that we heard over the B.B.C. radio that Charles Taylor had launched a rebel attack in Liberia. Ansumana Lamin who was my intimate colleague in the training called my attention with regards the information we got that we are been trained to go and assist Charles Taylor. Both of us agreed that we are not going to be party to destroy that fine country and so we planned to escape. Foday Sankoh gave us five hundred Dollars (\$500 USD) each as a transport fare whilst the Liberians got one thousand Dollars (\$1000 USD) each. When we asked them how comes, they said the Libyan Government gave \$1,000 USD to each trainee and that it was Foday Sankoh who cheated us. Fortunately for Ansumana and myself, our departure was divided into two groups and we both happened to fall in the same group. Our group took a flight for Qugadougou in Burkina Faso whilst with instructions from Foday Sankoh that we should wait for him there whilst he boarded a flight with the other group and went to Ghana. When we arrived at Qugadougou, Ansumana and myself decided to move and find our way out. We spent the night in a hotel and the following day we took a train and travelled to Bobodalaso a town in Burkina Faso. Ansumana continued with the train to Gambia via Senegal whilst I came to Sierra Leone by road via Mali and Guinea with my Sierra Leone emergency travelling certificate that were earlier taken from us at Burkina Faso. When I arrived, every body that asked where I have been all the time, I just told them that I was in Ghana. I did not say a word to anybody because my mouth was just filled with surprises and dismay, coupled with bitter sadness because I cannot imagine what I went through

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due to thank God for my life. I vowed within myself that nothing should make me join them, but vowed to revenge on Abu Hassan Kromina alias Askia. Even my parents I did not tell them what I went through, instead I told them that I was in Ghana. Early in 1990 on my return, I went and sought a teaching job at the Almadayya Muslim Secondary School at Kissy Dock Yard. I was employed as a teacher. While I was teaching at the Almadayya secondary school, sometime in 1991, I heard of a rebel attack on Sierra Leone by Foday Sankoh but I never knew who this Foday Sankoh was until when I went to the Criminal Investigation Department Headquarters (C.I.D.) to pay a visit to my college colleagues of late Shaka Bangura with whom I was trained with in Libya identified me to the C.I.D. officers as one of those who Foday Sankoh the R.U.F. leader took and trained. At first I denied it because I had never been taken out of the country by a man with that name. I was then shown by the C.I.D. officers the picture of Foday Sankoh whom I know as Pa Morlai Sharifi. I straight admitted of knowing him as the man that took us to Libya from Conakry the Republic of Guinea to attend a symposium on African Conscience which happened to be a brain washing in order to destabilise Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo. This I now say was disclosed to us on the passing out parade by Charles Taylor and Foday Sankoh. It was then that the \$500 USD and our Sierra Leonean Emergency Travelling Certificates that were withdrawn from us at the Gwandugu air port were given to us that we used to find our way. In fact I came straight to Sierra Leone. At the C.I.D. I was subsequently detained and spent four years seven months in detention at the maximum prison at Pademba Road. I was released sometime in December 1995 on Amnesty by the then N.P.R.C. Government. This is all. Statement concluded at 1602 hours. Statement was commenced on Thursday the 11/2/99 at 11.15 hours break off at 12.15 hours continued on 12/2/99 at

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10.45 hours. Statement made in English read over and admitted to be true and correct.

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SIERRA LEONE POLICE FORCE

NAME: SAMUEL RANDOLPH TENGA
ADDRESS: No. 16 Samuels Lane, Kissy
NATIONALITY: Sierra Leonean
Occupation: Student
RELIGION: Christian
AGE: 20 years

Statement commencing on Thursday the 11th day of February 1999 at 11:15 hours at the Military Headquarters, Cockerill, North Freetown. I have been asked if I wish to say anything and cautioned that I am not obliged to say anything unless I wish to do so but whatever I say will be taken down in writing and may be admitted in evidence.

D/Cp 4743

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I am a Sierra Leonean a native of Bonthe District in the Southern Province of Sierra Leone. I was born at Mania Village in the Yawbeko Chiefdom Bonthe District to the late Mr Moses Demby Tenga former Education Secretary of the United Brethren in Christ Mission (UBC) Matru Jong Bonthe District and Mrs Caroline Kati Tenga presently staying with me at No. 16 Samuels Lane, Kissy. I started my primary schooling at the UBC School Campbell Street, Freetown and completed at the UBC Primary School Matru Jong where I sat the Selective

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Entrance Examination and passed for Centennial Secondary School Matru Jong. Whilst attending Centennial Secondary School I underwent a medical operation that made the school authorities to allow me to repeat Form III but I decided to transfer to Bonthe Secondary School where I was allowed to Form IV. There I completed my Fifth Form and sat to the GCE Examination in June 1980 and passed the exams with a Division II. I taught for two years at UBC Primary School Talia in Yawbeko Chiefdom, Bonthe District and UBC Primary School Mogbwamo in the Moyamba District respectively. Sometime in 1983, I proceeded to Milton Margai Teachers' College at Goderich Village in the Western Area to pursue a Certificate Course in Physical Education. I completed my studies sometime in 1986 with a Higher Teachers Certificate in Physical Education. During my college days at Milton Margai Teachers College, I was the Student Union Minister of Sports a post I held for two consecutive years, Secretary General for Bonthe District Students' Union, and I also became one of the students that were interested in the Jucke Ideg of Kim Il Sung of Korea and the Green Fock of Mohamed Gadaffi of Libya, when some Sierra Leoneans called at the College compound to give lectures. For the Jucke Ideg, it was the Korean themselves that do go to the college compound to give lectures. Later on symposiums were held in colleges and universities on those two ideas that made some students to be flown to these countries on site seeing and to compare the way of life of the people of that country to ours. I was unfortunate during my college days to go and those who went brought with them property and few dollars that made life for them comfortable. Sometime in 1989 while I was a teacher at the Independence Secondary School at Kissy, a colleague of mine whilst in college by the name of Abu Hassan Kroma met me at my school that I was teaching, and told me that an opportunity had come for some people to go to Libya on a site

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seeing and a symposium. That since he was fortunate on two occasions he would like me to go if I was interested. I said yes. Abu Hassan therefore promised to contact me in due course when he would have made sure of the trip. In about two weeks later during school hours Abu Hassan called on me at my school and told me that I should prepare an Emergency Travelling Certificate and that at any time the trip will materialise. Abu Hassan said that it was a symposium on "African Consciences" a topic related to Pan Africanism. He further explained to me that it was a sort of scholarship they had won and wanted to share the opportunity with me, since we all share the idea of the Green Book in college. Since it was school hours Abu Hassan left and I promised to contact him during the course of the week. In about a week later I prepared the Travelling Certificate at the Immigration House along Siaka Stevens Street and also obtained Vaccination Injection at the Clinic Town Freetown. After some days that I prepared all my travelling documents, Abu Hassan contacted me to enquire as to whether I have prepared my travelling documents. I told him yes and he asked me to get myself prepared for the following day and meet him at Free Street at about 8:00 a.m. Abu Hassan left and went away after he had told me that it was he who was going to foot my transport fare to the Republic of Guinea as I will be travelling by road together with other students and school leavers. In the next day during the morning hours I came to Free Street where I met Abu Hassan who introduced me to other eight Students by the names of Samuel Kargbo, Mohamed Koroma, Unisa Kamara, another Mohamed Koroma, Aasumana Famin and Sheku Bangura. I could not remember the names of the other three but can be identified if seen. It was my first encounter with these men introduced to me by Abu Hassan. Abu Hassan gave me some Leones which amount I cannot now remember. All of us boarded the City Link Bus with the

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exception of Abu Hassan and we left for Conakry in the Republic of Guinea. There was some one among our group that knows our destination in Conakry, besides somebody was to receive us at the park in Conakry. I cannot actually now remember with whom I was sitting in the bus but we arrived safely at about 7.30 p.m. at the lorry park in Conakry.

At the lorry park in Conakry, all of us assembled near a house as it was raining by then. The man among us who knew our destination in Conakry, left us for few minutes and came back with a fairly old man with grey hair who welcomed us and asked if we were the group that are going to Libya and we all said yes. He then took us to a near by restaurant where he bought some food for all of us. I became anxious to know the name of this man, so I asked him why I am worried to know his name, and I said because you are our host. He then told me to call him Pa Morlai Sheriff. This man after my trip to Libya and back, I came to know him as Foday Sankoh the leader of the Revolutionary United Front (R.U.F.) who he led the first rebellion into Sierra Leone some time in 1991. After eating the food he escorted us to a private house in Conakry where we spent the night. Between 2.00 and 5.00 a.m. after breakfast the following morning, we went and boarded two peugeot familiar Guinean taxi cars for Mali. I cannot now remember with whom I traveled with in the taxi car I boarded. However Mr. Foday Sankoh did not travel in my own car but made the trip with us in the other car. I did not know whether Mr. Foday Sankoh was responsible for our lorry fare but there was some one in my car that paid the fare for us to Mali. And of course I paid the fare from Freetown to Conakry from the money given to me by Abu Hassan Koroma. We spent a night on the way and arrived at Bamako the following day at mid-day. In this same day we all boarded a bus and left Bamako for Burkina Faso together with Mr. Foday Sankoh. We arrived at

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Arrived in
Conakry
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the boarder of Mali and Burkina Faso at about 6.00 p.m. We spent the night at the Malian side of the boarder since it was 6.00 p.m. and we cannot cross to Burkina Faso. We of course slept on board the bus. Early the following morning between (8.00 and 9.00) we were then allowed to cross to Burkina Faso on board the same bus. We subsequently arrived at Ouagadougou the Capital City of Burkina Faso after mid-day of the same day. At Ouagadougou we were taken to some quarters by Foday Sankoh where we were accommodated in one of them. In the neighborhood quarters I observed that there were about four to five Liberian nationals and besides so many other Liberians were coming in and going out. I personally did not have any closed discussion with these Liberian nationals since we only spent about a day there. However on the following day of our arrival Mr. Foday Sankoh who did not sleep with us came at about 11.00 a.m. with a Peugeot car. On board the Peugeot car were about three Liberian nationals whose names I do not know. They also brought with them two empty cars, which we boarded. On the instruction of Mr. Foday Sankoh explaining that we were heading to the airport. On the way to the airport we had cause to stop at a residence and asked us to climb down from the cars. We were taken inside the residence and introduced us to a man I later in the course of time I came to know as Charles Taylor now President of the Republic of Liberia. I can actually not remember whether he was then called Charles Taylor. However Charles Taylor briefly spoke to us that we were going on a programme and that he wished us well. When we were about to ask some questions he said he would not accommodate questions. We were then told to go and board the cars and we continued to the airport. On our arrival at the airport at Ouagadougou we were lined up. Mr. Charles Taylor and Foday Sankoh were standing by a table and demands our Sierra Leone travelling certificates that we secured in Freetown from us. Mr.

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Charles Taylor then issued us with Liberian travelling certificate signed by the said Mr. Charles Taylor bearing our respective names that we carried on our Sierra Leonean emergency travelling certificate, that we used to present to the immigration authorities at the airport. We were then allowed to board the Libyan plane that was in the airport. It was nine of us Sierra Leoneans and Mr. Foday Sankoh that made the trip to Libya. We arrived at Libya on the same day, but it was at night. Whilst at the airport at Tripoli, four white men who speak both English and Arabic came and met us. They had some discussions with Mr. Foday Sankoh and after sometime they left and went away with Mr. Foday Sankoh leaving us at the airport. After about twenty minutes Foday Sankoh and three of the Libyans came with a white van, and they told us to board it. That we did and we were driven to an area within the Tripoli city and we were lodged in a long building together with Mr. Foday Sankoh. The building was like a boarding home with beds in the hall. We were allocated to a bed each. While we were in this building, some of us that is myself included, that were highly educated were every day taken to attend a symposium on African Consciousness which was just a mile from our place of lodging. This symposium lasted for about three days. Foday Sankoh did not attend the symposium as he was always going up and down with the Libyans. In fact the symposium was not interesting as we were expecting it to be. It was too boring as all the discussion was done through an interpreter who was a Ghanaian national by the name of Mohamed whose surname I do not know. After the three days symposium, the Libyans started coming every day at about 5.00 a.m. to go out on jogging exercise which in fact brought doubts to us, as that was not part of our programme. However, we thought the exercise was just to keep us fit and so we accepted it. The jogging exercise continued every day and the distance of jogging increased every day. We then became

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worried and suspicious about the trip we made to Libya. We who attended the symposium started to conclude that it was a ploy to brainwash us. We then started grumbling among ourselves and we put up a rebellious attitude towards the exercise by giving all kinds of excuses. This really did not go down well and Sheka Bangura who said Mr. Foday Sankoh is his uncle started to cry. He even attacked Foday Sankoh that, that was not the reason he went and took him from his mother. Sheka said that Foday Sankoh took him with the pretext that he was taking him to Ghana to do studies in journalism. We also grumbled to Mr. Foday Sankoh about the treatment we were getting from the Libyans. His reply always was that we are men and should accept it. We told him that that was not the reason for the programme we came to Libya for. On the following day during the morning hours Foday Sankoh left us that he was going to the central part of the city. As soon as he had gone, the Libyans another set of group, came with a white van and asked us to board the van with all our belongings. We abide on their instructions and we were taken far off the city to a camp called Wadra Libya. This camp is fenced all over with two steel gates at the frontage whilst at the extreme end of the camp is opened with no gate. That part of the camp leads to the desert. Later that day, Foday Sankoh came to the said camp driven by the Libyans. The camp is fairly a big camp with eight long buildings that will accommodate forty people each. There were also four hanga buildings down by the field which housed vans and car. There was another big building which had about four to six buses. On entering the camp, there was a long building by the left which was used as an office and there was a kitchen there for the Libyans. In the camp, we met the following nationals, Indonesians (Sumatians), South Africans, Liberians who were in the majority, Niger citizens, Malians and West Indians. All these groups we met were waiting militantly to go in to their respective

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countries and cause some insurgence as we were made to understand. We then asked Foday Sankoh to tell us why we were brought to that camp. Foday Sankoh who was a man very difficult to anger remarked that if some of us are not careful we will not go back to Sierra Leone. With this kind of threat we kept our cool and we only grumbled among ourselves. We were then housed in the hall occupied by the Liberian nationals but in a separate apartment. Whilst at the camp, the jogging exercise continued to intensify every day, as any one who remained behind during the exercise, will be beaten up and forced to run and catch his fellow men in front. We were faced with no alternative but to obey the Libyans because the punishment given to one for disobeying their command is so fearful. For example you will be tied to a rope behind a jeep and dragged on the bare ground for some distance, at a speed of about thirty to forty miles per hour. Whilst we were being trained, Foday Sankoh was always out of the camp on trips abroad which he called on him to Ghana to solicit funds from his friends. Whilst in the training exercise we got the wind that we are been trained to go and assist J. J. Taylor who was planning to launch an attack on Liberia his intention to overthrow the legitimate government of President Samuel K. Doe. This message did not go down well but little could we do. Apart from the early morning exercise, every Thursday, every body in the camp goes out on a marathon exercise of about five to ten kilometers to and fro with the Libyans behind us in a vehicle to pick those that faint on the way, who will be later on punished by beating, standing naked at night under the snow as if you deliberately refused to do the marathon or training exercise. You will be tied on a jeep and dragged as earlier mentioned. After about a month on the physical exercise, we were taken to the desert on board vehicles where we were taught weapon drill by dismantling and assembling AK47 and General Purpose Machine Gun (G.P.M.G.). We were also shown Rocket

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Propelled Guns (R.P.G.) and Mortar which we never used by ourselves. We were given AK47 with five bullets each to aim and fire at an object thirty to fifty meters distance. The Libyans demonstrated how to take position in firing the G.P.M.G. Whilst at the desert where we spent a week, we were housed in those ancient broken buildings. We were also taught map reading in the desert. This exercise was led by Liberians and South Africans most of whom were ex-military men. After our exercise at the desert, we returned back to the camp. In the camp that night we were all removed from our billets and made to assemble in the field by nationality. Even though we travelled with Liberian emergency travelling certificates we still mentioned our nationality. We were then called one by one to face a panel of about eight people with sticks and hard rubber. They ask your name and nationality and as soon as you start to explain, they will accuse you as a liar and will give you a good beating. This exercise they did to every trainee in the camp. Some trainee even lost their eye sight and some sustained wound and body pain. As a whole every body sustained major injuries. As for me, my right hand was scrapped and sustained blisters on my back and my operation area was swollen. I cried bitterly and vowed to revenge on Abu Hassan Koroma when I return back home. We were all allowed to stay in doors for a week to heal our wounds as doctors were brought in to attend to us. During that week the instructors told us that our training exercise has been completed. After a day or two while we were healing our wounds, Mr. Foday Sankoh came to the camp where he stayed with us until we passed out. During that week he was attacked by Sheka Bangura his nephew every day who promised to explain to his mother all that Foday Sankoh did to him. Foday Sankoh replied that the day he will reach Freetown Sheka Bangura will be afraid to say a word about him to any one. We passed out from the training sometime in December 1989. The passing

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out was attended by some Libyans whose faces were covered with veil except for their eyes that you will see. They cheer us as we were marching. We the Sierra Leoneans waited at the camp for a week before we left whilst the Liberians left a day or two after the passing out. It was during our week's stay at the camp waiting for a flight that we heard over the B.B.C. radio that Charles Taylor had launched a rebel attack in Liberia. Ansumana Lamoin who was my intimate colleague in the training called my attention with regards the information we got that we are been trained to go and assist Charles Taylor. Both of us agreed that we are not going to be party to destroy that fine country and so we planned to escape. Foday Sankoh gave us five hundred Dollars (\$500 USD) each as a transport fare whilst the Liberians got one thousand Dollars (\$1000 USD) each. When we asked them how comes, they said the Libyan Government gave \$1,000 USD to each trainee and that it was Foday Sankoh who cheated us. Fortunately for Ansumana and myself, our departure was divided into two groups and we both happened to fall in the same group. Our group took a flight for Qugadougou in Burkina Faso whilst with instructions from Foday Sankoh that we should wait for him there whilst he boarded a flight with the other group and went to Ghana. When we arrived at Qugadougou, Ansumana and myself decided to move and find our way out. We spent the night in a hotel and the following day we took a train and travelled to Bobodalaso a town in Burkina Faso. Ansumana continued with the train to Gambia via Senegal whilst I came to Sierra Leone by road via Mali and Guinea with my Sierra Leone emergency travelling certificate that were earlier taken from us at Burkina Faso. When I arrived, every body that asked where I have been all the time, I just told them that I was in Ghana. I did not say a word to anybody because my mouth was just filled with surprises and dismay, coupled with bitter sadness because I cannot imagine what I went through

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but to thank God for my life. I vowed within myself that nothing should make me join them, but vowed to revenge on Abu Hassan Koroma alias Aebia. Even my parents I did not tell them what I went through, instead I told them that I was in Ghana. Early in 1990 on my return, I went and sought a teaching job at the Ahmadiyya Muslim Secondary School at Kissy Dock Yard. I was employed as a teacher. While I was teaching at the Ahmadiyya secondary school, sometime in 1991, I heard of a rebel attack on Sierra Leone by Foday Sankoh but I never knew who this Foday Sankoh was until when I went to the Criminal Investigation Department Headquarters (C.I.D.) to pay a visit to my college colleagues of mine Shaka Bangura with whom I was lodged with in Libya identified me to the C.I.D. officers as one of those that Foday Sankoh the R.U.F. leader took and arrested. At first I denied because I had never been taken out of the country by a rebel leader. I was then shown by the C.I.D. officers the picture of Foday Sankoh whom I know as Pa Morlai Shatta. I straight admitted of knowing him as the man that took us to Libya from Conakry the Republic of Guinea to attend a symposium on African Conscience which happens to be a brain washing in order to destabilise Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo. This I now say was disclosed to us on the passing out parade by Charles Taylor and Foday Sankoh. It was then that the \$500 USD and our Sierra Leone Emergency Travelling Certificates that were withdrawn from us at the Ougadougou airport were given to us that we used to find our way. In fact I came straight to Sierra Leone. At the C.I.D. I was subsequently detained and spent four years seven months in detention at the maximum prison at Pademba Road. I was released sometime in December 1995 on Amnesty by the then N.P.R.C. Government. This is all. Statement concluded at 1602 hours. Statement was commenced on Thursday the 11/2/99 at 11.15 hours break off at 17.15 hours continued on 12/2/99 at

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10.45 hours Statement made in English read over and admitted to be true and correct.

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The Resolution
The cl

January, 2000.

To: The Leader of the
From: The Black Guard
Subj: Information received from

Sir,

With your great permission, the unit is here presenting to you the bellow informations:

- (1) The government has deployed the S L A^s to work together with the UN peace keeping force (UNAMIS) at Gbongbong with the intention to take them from the R.U.F. party. At the moment they have given them the full UN kits (including identity to be known as UNAMIS).
- (2) These S L A^s in the mixed of the UN^s has fortified the whole Gbongbong and they are all in arms.
- (3) There are a group of people in the village between Gbongbong and Kabala where they are on elicide mining of Gold. The village is called Konebayer.
- (4) The aim of the UN is to deploy their armaments in Kond and use force to disarm the R U F as they have found out that we don't want to leave Kond. As they have

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been kind; ~~they~~ then we ~~have~~ no ~~power~~
~~again~~ to resist them, as imagined.

(4) They want to use the township of Kono
to the border of Guinea ie, by Kiskey town,
as route ~~to~~ man power.

(5) The ~~area~~ bordered with two missiles circled
enroute ~~to~~ the area as he was coming
yesterday. He ~~was~~ then at between Mile shires
and Gbelle junction.


(6) To Conclude, the Lt. George gathered all these
information as eye ~~with~~ witness when he went
to ~~Guinea~~ the past few days. And that the
gulf do not mean peace.

Sir,

You may call the Lt. George, and he
will explain to you in details as he is ~~present~~
~~presently~~ on the Ground.

Best Regards

signed


Mr. Jackson Swarney

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE

DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS

27th SEPTEMBER 1999

TO: THE LEADER OF THE REVOLUTION
FROM: BRIGADIER ISSA H SESAY
BATTLEFIELD COMMANDER RUF S/L
SUBJECT: SALUTE REPORT

Sir,

After working on the Draft document of the Abidjan Peace Accord, you returned behind RUF Lines to consult with the Military High Command and all combatants on the Accord and its implications. While in the Kailahun District, we received reports that Colonel Mohamed Tarawallie had been destabilized by Kamajohs and SLA troops at your former base of Camp ZOGODA. On hearing this news, I and other senior officers conveyed from Gaima to Buedu with the leader. The next day, before returning to Abidjan to conclude documentation and signing of the Accord, you instructed that General Sam Bockarie (Mosquito) take over as Battle Group Commander of the RUF.

From Abidjan, the Leader instructed that men should be sent across the Moin River to receive those of our troops who were fortunate enough to have successfully retreated from ZOGODA and to actively go in search of Colonel Mohamed Tarawallie. This was implemented in full and though we were able to rescue some soldiers and civilians that had retreated from ZOGODA, we were unable to locate Colonel Tarawallie.

From Abidjan, we received further instructions that General Mosquito was to take effective command on the ground in your

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absence and to assume the assignment of Battle Field Commander, RUF S/I.

I was to assume the duties and responsibilities of Battle Group Commander and together we were to work to maintain the ground, by any means necessary.



General Mosquito was able to make positive contact with ULIMO and make all necessary arrangements to buy materials from them. The money that you had left with us on the ground (7000USD) was utilized to buy materials from ULIMO and with these materials, we were able to resist enemy advances in the Kailahun District.

It became obvious to us on the ground that the Abidjan Accord was nothing but paper, as the Kamajohs were being used against us with vicious attacks on our positions.

It was not long before we heard that the Leader had been arrested in Nigeria, and as we were trying to understand the circumstances of your arrest and implications to the RUF, we learnt that Philip Palmer, Faia Musa and other members of the External Delegation were now claiming leadership of the RUF.

General Mosquito contacted Palmer telling him that since this was the action that they had taken, it was necessary for them to come back behind our Lines and brief the Military High Command and combatants accordingly. Palmer and others eventually agreed to meet us at the Nongowa Crossing Point. There, amidst drumming and dancing to receive them, the General was able to persuade all of the Coup plotters, including the Sierra Leone Ambassador to Guinea, Lt. Col. Djabi to cross-over into RUF zone. They were promptly arrested and their statements revealed an international conspiracy, to which they were party, aimed at changing the leadership of the RUF. They have since been in custody until your recent instruction to release them.

Soon after, we received information that Superman, who was operating as Battalion Commander for the Western Area Jungle, had arrested the bodyguards of Colonel Tarawalle and had executed two of them, namely Emannelle and Victor without consulting with and obtaining such instructions from the Military High Command left on the ground by the Leader.

An investigation was launched and before action could be taken against Superman, the S.L.P.P Government was overthrown by the AFRC on the 25th of May 1997.

A few days later General Mosquito was instructed to move and join our S.L.A brothers in Freetown,

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In accordance with the Leaders instructions, General Mosquito postponed action against Superman and instructed him to lead the advance team from Bradford to Freetown, whilst Colonel Isaac and Brigadier Kallon were to move to join the SLA Forces in Makeni. After ensuring that the security of the High Command was paramount, the General and I moved to Freetown.

Once in place in Freetown we assessed the security situation and deployed our troops in all strategic areas of the Capital and indeed the entire country. In accordance with the instructions of the Leader we took all instructions from Chairman J P Koroma and maintained the same sense of discipline and loyalty that we had developed growing within the ranks of the RUF.

Lt. Col. Gibril Massaquoi arrived in Freetown from Nigeria where he had been under detention with the Leader. He briefed us informally that he had been arrested together with the Leader but that he had escaped, all with the knowledge and consent of the Leader. A few days later Gibril would present a document to Chairman J P Koroma that he, Gibril alleges, was given to him by the Leader.

In the document, it was instructed that no member of the RUF was to accept any Ministerial position or participate in politics in any way. It also endorsed the promotion of Gibril to the rank of a full colonel.

These events were reported to General Mosquito as he had not been in Freetown when Gibril arrived.

On the arrival of Steve Bio in Freetown, he became very closely associated with Lt. Col. Gibril and both seemed to be on their own agenda.

I left Freetown for Kenema in order to distribute rations and morale boosters to the troops, as well as to organize the various deployments. Whilst waiting for my Jeep to be repaired, a vehicle pulled-up with Steve Bio and Lt. Col. Gibril within. Gibril greeted me and introduced Steve Bio to me. Though I knew Steve from a brief meeting in Abidjan at the signing of the Peace Accord, I had never really talked to him or knew much about him. They then began to discuss the AFRC and complained about the way in which the RUF was being marginalised and treated with disrespect. We were in a public place and I advised that such talk from them was not to be done around civilians. On this advice, we, including Major Eddie Nockarie (who was with me) walked to a point out of the earshot of others. Gibril went on to say that our meeting was not a coincidence and that they had searched the entire town for me as they had an important issue on which they

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had to brief me. Mr. Bio then stated that he had come with a special mission and was seeking my support in launching a coup. I listened as both he and Gibril went into details of the numerous grievances held against the AFRC. He said that the AFRC had refused to share power with us and had even marginalised us in the military. I told them that the instructions that we had received from the Leader called on us to join and take all orders from Chairman J P Koroma. Steve Bio responded saying that I should disregard all that as we were all young men and that this was an operation that was necessary for the four of us, Gibril, Steve, General Mosquito and myself to undertake and assume command of the Government and State. I asked them if they had already discussed this with General Mosquito as they had just left him in Freetown. Gibril replied that they had left the General in Freetown but that he was afraid of General Mosquito and could not summon the courage to approach him on such an issue. In fact it was this very reason that had made it necessary for them to search for me in Kenema. Knowing that if I could be convinced, they were close to getting General Mosquito's support.

The two of them left Kenema that night for Bo. At around 0400HRS the following morning General Mosquito arrived in Kenema. I immediately informed him of my previous day's discussions with Gibril and Steve Bio. I told the General that they were asking us to overthrow the very Government that the Leader had instructed us to join and secure. I told General Mosquito that since that dialogue I had been thinking of a secure way of informing him and was very relieved that he was in Kenema. The General was shocked to hear this and in turn informed me that he had been called to the State House in Freetown where he was informed by Chairman J P Koroma that some members of the RUF were planning a coup together with other SLA officers. The General informed me further that he had been given the instructions to investigate the situation and report back to him. That day I moved to Bo and Gibril and Steve joined my convoy to Freetown. On arrival in Freetown I asked them in the presence of Brig. Mike Lamin, Col. Isaac and other security personnel to repeat their statements made to me in Kenema. They repeated the same statements and they were detained and turned over to Army Headquarters at Cockerill.

On new-years-eve, I left home in search of a pharmacy that was still open for business as I was in poor health. I met the Late. Honourable Ghorie who informed me that he had chairs for me and had been trying to get a hold of me for two days. I thanked him sincerely and accepted his gift. Despite all the allegations and testimonies against the character of this man, I say with no hesitation that he welcomed the RUF with all his heart. On

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numerous occasions he would provide rations and boosters to our troops and every RUF problem was his problem. I accepted his gift in good faith only to be notified on SLDS Radio the following day that I had looted the Iranian Embassy and as a result, I had been removed from the Supreme Council and that my arrest had been ordered.

Knowing that while we the RUF were securing the Government of the AFRC, they were killing our soldiers with no action being taken and that the RUF High Command had been targeted for elimination, and knowing that I was innocent and the measures taken against me, extreme, I refused arrest and maintained the integrity of the High Command of the RUF.

In general, we were not trusted or respected by the AFRC even though they had called on us to join them. Our troops were the only ones committed to their assignments whilst the AFRC High Command rejected our war plans and strategies referring to us as 'blood-thirsty, bush-colonels'.

It became apparent to us in Freetown, that Lt. Col. Gibril had leaked information to the AFRC pertaining to Military Equipment belonging to the RUF that the Leader had kept in a safe place. Before we could confront Gibril and arrest the situation, he and the AFRC had arranged for the equipment to be delivered to them. They took delivery of the equipment without the concern or consent of the RUF High Command and stored the equipment where we had no say or access to it. When we retreated from Freetown a large quantity of the said equipment was left in storage at the residence of Chairman J P Koroma.

Due to the lack of command and control, shortage of issued materials to our front-line troops and the total lack of support of the SLA soldiers, the enemy were able to move us from Freetown and ousted the AFRC Government.

I retreated first to Waterloo and then to Masiaka. By then, the ECOMOG Force had taken Bo and Kenema and it was agreed that I should attack Bo and begin to organize to move to attack Freetown. I was successful in capturing Bo but sustained an injury that forced me to retreat back to Mile 91 and then to Makeni in search of good medical treatment.

Whilst in Makeni, I went to visit J P Koroma who was in hiding in his village. J P Koroma asked me to arrange and supervise the movement of his entire family to Kailahun as ECOMOG were advancing and the Clandestine Radio 98.1 FM, had accounted that he was in hiding in his village.

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I contacted General Mosquito and the order was given to escort the Former Head of State to our Kailahun base.

First, we had to open the road to Kono. This was done in conjunction with Superman and Brig. Mike Lamin. Having put Kono under our Control, we attacked Gandohun with the intention of opening the road from Koidu-Geya to Sandialu but failed in our attempts. We were then ordered by General Mosquito to enter the Jungle and use the cover of the Jungle to secure J P Koroma and his family to the banks of the Moa River. Across the Moa, General Mosquito had sent vehicles ahead of us and we all reported to Buedu.

All hospitalities were extended to J P Koroma and his family and General turned over his bedroom to J P Koroma and his wife.

J P Koroma appointed General Mosquito as Chief of Defence Staff, with overall command over both the RUF and the SLA and promoted him to the rank of Brigadier General. General Mosquito called on me and informed me that since he had been made Chief of Defence Staff for both the RUF and the SLA by J P Koroma he wanted to turn over his assignment of Battle Field Commander to me and asked me to turn my assignment of Battle Group Commander over to Superman. The General said that he was doing this to draw Superman within the High Command structure of the RUF in a bid to encourage him. I accepted and assumed the assignment of Battle Field Commander and Superman assumed the assignment of Battle Group Commander.

One morning, the Chief Security Officer to the former AFRC Chairman J P Koroma informed me that his boss was planning to escape to Ghana along with his entire family. The CSO further told me that J P Koroma had a parcel of diamonds that he was planning on selling once out of the country.

This information came as a surprise to me and found it hard to believe that at a time when we were trying to put the fighting-men under command and control and provide the necessary logistics to halt our retreat and move forward, J P Koroma would keep diamonds for his own use and flee, leaving us with a problem that he had created.

Accompanied by Brig Mike Lamin and the CSO to J P Koroma I asked the latter to present the diamonds for the use of the Revolution. He complied and the matter was settled.

* While in Buedu, Captain Michael Comber of the Mining Unit reported with a parcel of diamonds from Kono. The parcel was placed in my care by General Mosquito with the instructions to move with it to a transit point where I would be met

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by General Ibrahim and together we were to travel to a business associate of the Leader for arrangements and procurement of Military Equipment.

I arrived at the transit point and booked into a hotel.

On the evening of my third day at the hotel, Colonel Jungle and I went across the street to a tea-shop. Whilst there, it started to rain and Jungle and I ran from the shop across the street to the hotel. As we climbed the steps to enter, I touched my pockets, as I had gotten accustomed to doing since the parcel was put in my care.

To my shock and dismay, my pockets were empty. I screamed and put my hands on my head and cried. Jungle and I then retraced our steps from the tea-shop to the hotel. We searched in the rain on our hands and knees. Staff from the hotel helped us in our search, all to no avail. For the first time in my life I contemplated suicide. I above all knew the importance attached to the materials that the diamonds were to facilitate for the movement. How could I ever look my commander in the eyes and tell him that I Issa, who could be trusted with the security of the Nation, could not secure a small parcel of diamonds. As the days went by, I grew frustrated and could not eat or sleep.

Four days after the loss, Jungle and I were sitting on his bed when we monitored National Radio announcing that diamonds had been discovered on the very same street that I had suffered my loss.

Jungle and I cried knowing that the mentioned diamonds were the property of the RUF. Till this day, people still prospect this area thinking that diamonds are underground.

General Mosquito dispatched Lt. Col. Moriba to meet me and escort me back to DHQ.

On arrival, I was met by an enraged General Mosquito who angrily chastised me for the loss. I was ordered to 'fall-out' and for over a week, the General would not talk to me or even respond to my enquiries.

Finally one morning, I was summoned by the General and instructed that I should leave Bueda and make my base at Pendembu from where I was to coordinate all Front-Line Operations.

I complied with his order and stepped-up operations against the enemy at Daru. I also launched successful Jungle Missions to Joru and Niama.

General Mosquito left on a trip to secure materials for the Movement and on his return I was issued a liberal quantity of ammunition and instructed to cross the Moa River and re-capture Kono from the enemy. Prior to this, the same instructions had been given to Superman who misused the materials given to him and failed to capture the target.

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On arrival in Kono I called the Brigade Commander, Rambo and other senior officers and together we arranged a forum in which general security issues were discussed and a war-plan was made for the attack of Koidu Town.

* I instructed Brig. Kallon to move to Gold Town and 'cut-off' the enemy. I led the troops in the attack of Koidu Town, attacking the enemy at 0600HRS. They put up a strong resistance using their four Mechanized Battalions deployed to defend Kono and its diamonds. Our troops proved too aggressive for them and after fourteen hours of heated combat we captured Koidu Town. The Nigerians retreated to Bumpo. Very early the next morning we attacked their positions at Bumpo and raised them from the town. The enemy were forced to retreat through the road leading to Massingbi where they fell in Kallons ambush. All in all. The enemy lost four war-tanks, armored cars, and a multitude of heavy artillery pieces personal rifles and huge amounts of ammunition. They also suffered heavy casualties the likes of which they have never experienced in the history of ECOMOG. They were forced to retreat on foot with not even a bicycle being able to pass our defenses.

* Our Forces moved for Massingbi, Rambo and Kallon moving with the advance team whilst I moved to repel a Kamajoh Attack at Nimikoro. Our forces had by then captured Massingbi and Magboroka and were advancing to attack Makeni. I joined them, taking with me all needed Military Materials for the attack. We quickly put the Township under our Military Control. General Mosquito called me 'on set' and instructed that we allow Superman to join in the operations. The General explained that though Superman had earlier refused his orders, he Mosquito was man enough to put it behind him and accept Superman back, referring to him as 'a brother in arms.' Rambo proceeded to a village beyond Binkolo where Superman had been in hiding and brought him to Makeni. That morning the two of us met and had polite discussions. Together we attacked the Barracks and captured it. At that point, I received information that the enemy were moving to attack Bujana-Swafe and I moved to put the situation under control. Upon my return to Makeni, Rambo and Kallon reported that all Military Equipment in their care had been reported to the G-4. They reported that Superman on the other hand had taken the Materials he collected to his house. Accompanied by Kallon, I went to Superman's house and confronted him with the issue. I informed him that it was proper procedure to report all captured Military Materials to the G-4 who would then file a comprehensive report to DHO and issue the said Materials upon instructions. I asked that

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Superman present the Materials so as to ensure proper accountability. Superman led Kallon and I into the house and showed us where he had kept the Materials. I instructed that it be moved and reported to the G-4.

Two days later General Mosquito again asked for understanding and allowed Superman to rejoin the operations.

- * Rambo was instructed to advance and attack Port Loko which he did, deploying his forward defensive at the Port Loko turn-table, leading to Kambia. Rambo shared the town with the enemy for seven days.

Superman, pleaded that eventhough Rambo had done well, he as Battle Group Commander knew the ground well and should take over the ground. He said that he had received Intelligence that the Leader had been moved to Lungi and wanted to advance as far as Lungi and rescue the Leader.

- * At this time our forces Freetown were under enemy 'cut-off' from the rear and were in danger of being boxed-in and either captured alive or killed.

Rambo was withdrawn from his operation in Port Loko and instructed to open a through-way to connect with our men in Freetown.

Rambo then attacked and captured Masiaka, advanced and captured RDF, and attacked the Guineans at Waterloo, engaging them in combat for four days and four nights.

- * The Guineans wrote us a letter asking for their safe passage back to Guinea, saying that they were taking their hands out of the war. I replied, denying their request. I told them that if they wanted 'safe passage' they should leave behind all their Military Equipment. A few days later I monitored the sound of heavy bombardment from the direction of Port Loko. On inquiring, I was informed that our troops had dissolved the ground and that the enemy were advancing towards Gberay Junction. I asked for Superman and was informed that he was in Lunsar and not on the ground that he had asked for and been given.

The Guinean convoy bulldozed all the way to Masiaka where my position was also bulldozed. Their mission was to rescue the Guineans at Waterloo. Upon reaching Waterloo they joined forces and made a 'U-turn', bulldozing my ambush for a second time at RDF. The Guinean convoy consisted of over four war-tanks, eight armored vehicles, a Forty Barrel Missile, four Anti-Aircraft Guns and countless other mounted weapons and over eight trucks full of personnel. As they moved they bombarded and assaulted, clearing a path for themselves.

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* I was extremely annoyed at my position being bulldozed and issued strong orders for an ambush to be set ahead of them. They fell in the ambush and my Bodyguard commander led a team of less than a squad of men in the capture of the Forty Barrel Missile and a large quantity of its bombs.

I moved to Escort the Missile to our rear and on my return, Superman asked to join Rambo at Waterloo. He sighted the fact that as the SLA Commanders had operated with him before he would be able to consolidate them and exercise command and control over them. Taking into consideration his status as Battle Group and the logic behind his explanations, I gave the OK for Superman to join Rambo in Waterloo.

At Waterloo Superman incited SLA Commanders and soldiers against Rambo and generally did his best to cause a break-down in command on the ground.

A few days later General Mosquito on hearing that Lt. Col. Gibril had been rescued and had joined operations at Waterloo, called me and asked me to inform Gibril that he was welcome back and that no ill-feelings were borne against him. Gibril was to also report to DHQ to brief the High Command and all on the condition of the Leader as they had been in prison together.

Superman, monitoring the dialogue on field-radio responded that He would not allow Gibril to come to the call of the High Command.

A few days later, I received information from the Waterloo Front-Line that Superman and Gibril had retreated to Lunsar and had moved with a good number of men. As a result, the enemy had advanced and were now at Yams Farm.

I informed Rambo who was at my location on a Medical Pass. Rambo asked for ammunition to be given to him so that he could collect the Force from Lunsar and move to stop the enemy advance at Yams Farm. I arrived at Lunsar with only eight bodyguards and met Rambo and Gibril discussing. Gibril greeted me and we exchanged pleasantries. I told him that General Mosquito wanted him to report to DHQ not to face any charges but to give account of the state and condition of the Leader as they had been in prison together. Gibril complied and entered my vehicle. At that moment, Superman and his men came from the back of the building, opened suppressive fire and launched RPG rockets against my position. Gibril left my vehicle and joined Superman in attacking me. I managed to escape with my life but they had killed two RUF soldiers assigned to me as bodyguards.

I got in a vehicle with Major Kolo Mulba and escaped through Gberay Junction, Masiaka, Mile 91 to Maghoroka.

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Meanwhile, Superman and Gibril moved to Makeni and attacked my residence. They shot at my house, tied and beat up RUF soldiers and raised my compound. They entered my house, beating up my wife, undressing her and taunting her with rude and abusive remarks before she was able to escape under gun-fire.

Mr. E T Samara and others rescued from prison in Freetown, were staying with me in Makeni and were also molested and raised. RUF Military Materials given to me by the General for a planned re-attack of Freetown were looted along with 9,000 USD also RUF property. That same day Superman and Gibril attacked the home of Brig. Kallon. The entire house was raised and his wife was stripped off all her clothing and made to sit on the ground. Her suckling child was snatched from her and repeatedly banged against a wall. This resulted in serious injuries to the child.

I reported the incident to General Mosquito who asked me to exercise restraint and he dispatched a Delegation headed by Col. Isaac to calm the situation down and investigate the incident. The Delegation obtained statements from me and proceeded to Lunsar to get a statement from my attackers. Superman and Gibril refused to co-operate and issued threats against the Delegates.

During this impasse the enemy had advanced to Gberay Junction. General Mosquito instructed that in the interest of the Revolution, we should put our differences aside temporarily and act to repel the enemy. Along with Kallon, Rambo and Brig. Isaac, four trucks of armed men were mobilized and we joined the Force at Lunsar and moved for Gberay Junction. Four of Rambo's men were killed in that attack by 'friendly fire' from the rear suggesting foul-play.

Again the enemy moved against our positions advancing towards Mile 91. I sent Rambo, equipping him with a Single Barrel BZT. He met and joined Col. Bai Bureh and they were able to push the enemy past Moyamba Junction to Tiana Junction where they deployed our troops.

Rambo proposed an attack of DO and it was arranged that Kallon would hit Yele.

Kallon was dispatched to DIHQ to receive logistics for the said mission. Two days later I made a day's trip to Matotoka as the area was under Kamajoh threat. On returning to Makeni, Rambo visited me to inform me that he had repaired the BZT Weapon and wanted to move to capture DO the next morning. He left my house at around 2100HRS and I stayed up past mid-night. I stayed awake and at 0110HRS I heard heavy firing from outside. I entered my 'living-room' and my bodyguards were running from the direction of the firing. Some of them had been shot. I exited the house through a

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back entrance and ran for cover. A RPG rocket was launched against me and I was hit in the toe by fragment from the blast. I ran as guns blazed behind me. I got to a safe place and spent the night. The next morning with the aid of civilians, I escaped to Makali. The hunt was on for me and I had to bye-pass major towns on my way. At Makali I was at the Signal Station monitoring the Network when the Leader called. I responded and reported that I was faced with a serious problem. Not wanting to let the enemy know that there was serious in-fighting going on within the RUF, I could not go into details. At the end of my dialogue with the Leader I was attacked again by Gibril. They took me by surprise as I had been very careful not to disclose my location. The people of Makali, including the Paramount Chief Pa Alimamy Kanne, will testify that Gibril led the attack. He raised the town shooting and wounding people on the ground. He swore that he would kill me and take my head to Makeni where he would put it on display.

Away from my ground at Makeni, Superman took the opportunity of calling a meeting at the Town Hall where he informed those assembled that General Mosquito and I had collaborated to hijack the leadership of the RUF and sighted the Generals advise not to respond to the call of the Leader on field-radio as proof. He informed the meeting that he had received instructions from the Leader to take full command of the RUF and to arrest and execute both General Mosquito and I, Brig. Issa.

By then I had maneuvered to Kono, after spending five days in the bush as a result of the attack on me in Makali. Kallon moved to Magboroka to take command and was able to repel numerous attacks from Superman and Gibril.

X Upon receiving instructions from the Leader, through the General, calling for Kallon to take command at Makeni. I mobilized Kallon and the said operation was undertaken. We were almost in control of the entire Township when the General informed us that that the Leader wanted us to abort the operation and for Kallon to return to Makeni.

A Military Order was passed and we withdrew the force to await the arrival of the Leader on the ground.

Sir, if my Report is centered on the activities of Superman and Gibril it is not so merely because of their attacks on me but rather because of the negative results their 'out-law' actions have brought to the Movement.

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X
Supernan sought the advice of ULIMO General Bopleh and SLA Brig. Mann. Both strong critics and self-confessed enemies of the RUF. Supernan placed Former President J S Momoh in the hands of Mann who arranged for Momoh to escape to Guinea. Mannie refused to hand Momoh over to me stating that Momoh is SLA property and not RUF. He instructed SLA soldiers to go against RUF Command and together with Brill sought to sabotage the progress of the movement thus delaying the release of the Leader. Supernan killed Rambo in cold blood and made several attempts on my life in a bid to eliminate the RUF High Command left on the ground by the Leader.


Sir, it has not been easy controlling my emotions and harder still controlling the men who witnessed the cold-blooded killing of Rambo. General Mosquito, I Brig. Issa and other senior officers have obediently taken all orders from you and at this time we await most anxiously your arrival when we look to have the matter resolved by you.

Lastly Sir, the vast majority of the men are in 'high spirit' and remain loyal to the Leadership of the RUF. They have fought hard and longed for the return of the Leader.

As Battle Field Commander I pledge my loyalty to the Leader and ask that he moves earliest, to look into the internal-affairs of the RUF.

The High Command, officers, combatants and civilians of the RUF are on the ground and on full-alert awaiting the 'last-order' of the Commander In Chief of the RUF S/L, Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh.

Militarily Yours,


Brigadier Issa H Sesay
Battle Field Commander
RUF S/L

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE

DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS

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27th SEPTEMBER 1999

TO: THE LEADER OF THE REVOLUTION
FROM: BRIGADIER ISSA H SESAY
BATTLEFIELD COMMANDER RUF S/L
SUBJECT: SALUTE REPORT

Sir,

After working on the Draft document of the Abidjan Peace Accord, you returned behind RUF Lines to consult with the Military High Command and all combatants on the Accord and its implications. While in the Kailahun District, we received reports that Colonel Mohamed Tarawallie had been destabilized by Kamajohs and SLA troops at your former base of Camp ZOGODA. On hearing this news, I and other senior officers conveyed from Gaima to Buedu with the leader. The next-day, before returning to Abidjan to conclude documentation and signing of the Accord, you instructed that General Sam Dockarie (Mosquito) take over as Battle Group Commander of the RUF.

From Abidjan, the Leader instructed that men should go across the Non River to receive those of our troops who were fortunate enough to have successfully retreated from ZOGODA. To actively go in search of Colonel Mohamed Tarawallie. This was not implemented in full aid though we were able to locate some soldiers and civilians that had retreated from ZOGODA. We were unable to locate Colonel Tarawallie.

From Abidjan, we received further instructions that General Mosquito was to take effective command on the ground in your

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absence and to assume the assignment of Battle Field Commander, RUF S/L.

I was to assume the duties and responsibilities of Battle Group Commander and together we were to work to maintain the ground, by any means necessary.



General Mosquito was able to make positive contact with ULIMO and make all necessary arrangements to buy materials from them. The money that you had left with us on the ground (7000USD) was utilized to buy materials from ULIMO and with these materials, we were able to resist enemy advances in the Kallahun District.

It became obvious to us on the ground that the Abidjan Accord was nothing but paper, as the Kamajohs were being used against us with vicious attacks on our positions.

It was not long before we heard that the Leader had been arrested in Nigeria, and as we were trying to understand the circumstances of your arrest and implications to the RUF, we learnt that Philip Palmer, Fala Musa and other members of the External Delegation were now claiming leadership of the RUF.

General Mosquito contacted Palmer telling him that since this was the action that they had taken, it was necessary for them to come back behind our Lines and brief the Military High Command and combatants accordingly. Palmer and others eventually agreed to meet us at the Nongowa Crossing Point. There, amidst drumming and dancing to receive them, the General was able to persuade all of the Coup plotters, including the Sierra Leone Ambassador to Guinea, Lt. Col. Djabi to cross-over into RUF zone. They were promptly arrested and their statements revealed an international conspiracy, to which they were party, aimed at changing the leadership of the RUF. They have since been in custody until your recent instruction to release them.

Soon after, we received information that Superman, who was operating as Battalion Commander for the Western Area Jungle, had arrested the bodyguards of Colonel Taravallie and had executed two of them, namely Emannelle and Victor without consulting with and obtaining such instructions from the Military High Command left on the ground by the Leader.

An investigation was launched and before action could be taken against Superman, the SLPP Government was overthrown by the AFRC on the 25th of May 1997.

A few days later General Mosquito was instructed to move and join our SLA brothers in Freetown,

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In accordance with the Leaders instructions, General Mosquito postponed action against Superman and instructed him to lead the advance team from Bradford to Freetown, whilst Colonel Isaac and Brigadier Kallon were to move to join the SLA Forces in Makeni. After ensuring that the security of the High Command was paramount, the General and I moved to Freetown.

Once in place in Freetown we assessed the security situation and deployed our troops in all strategic areas of the Capital and indeed the entire country. In accordance with the instructions of the Leader we took all instructions from Chairman J P Koroma and maintained the same sense of discipline and loyalty that we had developed growing within the ranks of the RUF.

Lt. Col. Gibril Massaquoi arrived in Freetown from Nigeria where he had been under detention with the Leader. He briefed us informally that he had been arrested together with the Leader but that he had escaped, all with the knowledge and consent of the Leader. A few days later Gibril would present a document to Chairman J P Koroma that he, Gibril alleges, was given to him by the Leader. In the document, it was instructed that no member of the RUF was to accept any Ministerial position or participate in politics in any way. It also endorsed the promotion of Gibril to the rank of a full colonel. These events were reported to General Mosquito as he had not been in Freetown when Gibril arrived.

On the arrival of Steve Bio in Freetown, he became very closely associated with Lt. Col. Gibril and both seemed to be on their own agenda.

I left Freetown for Kenema in-order to distribute rations and morale boosters to the troops, as well as to organize the various deployments. Whilst waiting for my Jeep to be repaired, a vehicle pulled-up with Steve Bio and Lt. Col. Gibril within. Gibril greeted me and introduced Steve Bio to me. Though I knew Steve from a brief meeting in Abidjan at the signing of the Peace Accord, I had never really talked to him or knew much about him. They then began to discuss the AFRC and complained about the way in which the RUF was being marginalised and treated with disrespect. We were in a public place and I advised that such talk from them was not to be done around civilians. On this advice, we, including Major Eddie Dockarie (who was with me) walked to a point out of the earshot of others. Gibril went on to say that our meeting was not a coincidence and that they had searched the entire town for me as they had an important issue on which they

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had to brief me. Mr. Bio then stated that he had come with a special mission and was seeking my support in launching a coup. I listened as both he and Gibril went into details of the numerous grievances held against the AFRC. He said that the AFRC had refused to share power with us and had even marginalised us in the military. I told them that the instructions that we had received from the Leader called on us to join and take all orders from Chairman J P Koroma. Steve Bio responded saying that I should disregard all that as we were all young men and that this was an operation that was necessary for the four of us, Gibril, Steve, General Mosquito and myself to undertake and assume command of the Government and State. I asked them if they had already discussed this with General Mosquito as they had just left him in Freetown. Gibril replied that they had left the General in Freetown but that he was afraid of General Mosquito and could not summon the courage to approach him on such an issue. In fact it was this very reason that had made it necessary for them to search for me in Kenema. Knowing that if I could be convinced, they were close to getting General Mosquito's support.

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numerous occasions he would provide rations and boosters to our troops and every RUF problem was his problem. I accepted his gift in good faith only to be notified on SLBS Radio the following day that I had looted the Iranian Embassy and as a result, I had been removed from the Supreme Council and that my arrest had been ordered.

Knowing that while we the RUF were securing the Government of the AFRC, they were killing our soldiers with no action being taken and that the RUF High Command had been targeted for elimination, and knowing that I was innocent and the measures taken against me, extreme, I refused arrest and maintained the integrity of the High Command of the RUF.

In general, we were not trusted or respected by the AFRC even though they had called on us to join them. Our troops were the only ones committed to their assignments whilst the AFRC High Command rejected our war plans and strategies referring to us as 'blood-thirsty, bush-colonels'.

It became apparent to us in Freetown, that Lt. Col. Gibril had leaked information to the AFRC pertaining to Military Equipment belonging to the RUF that the Leader had kept in a safe place. Before we could confront Gibril and arrest the situation, he and the AFRC had arranged for the equipment to be delivered to them. They took delivery of the equipment without the concern or consent of the RUF High Command and stored the equipment where we had no say or access to it. When we retreated from Freetown a large quantity of the said equipment was left in storage at the residence of Chairman J P Koroma.

Due to the lack of command and control, shortage of issued materials to our front-line troops and the total lack of support of the SLA soldiers, the enemy were able to move us from Freetown and ousted the AFRC Government.

I retreated first to Waterloo and then to Masiaka. By then, the ECOMOG Force had taken Bo and Kenema and it was agreed that I should attack Bo and begin to organize to move to attack Freetown. I was successful in capturing Bo but sustained an injury that forced me to retreat back to Milo 91 and then to Makeni in search of good medical treatment.

Whilst in Makeni, I went to visit J P Koroma who was in hiding in his village. J P Koroma asked me to arrange and supervise the movement of his entire family to Kallahun as ECOMOG were advancing and the Clandestine Radio 98.1 FM, had accounted that he was in hiding in his village.

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I contacted General Mosquito and the order was given to escort the Former Head of State to our Kailahun base. First, we had to open the road to Kono. This was done in conjunction with Superman and Brig. Mike Lamin. Having put Kono under our Control, we attacked Gandohun with the intention of opening the road from Koidu-Geya to Sandlalu but failed in our attempts. We were then ordered by General Mosquito to enter the Jungle and use the cover of the Jungle to secure J P Koroma and his family to the banks of the Moa River. Across the Moa, General Mosquito had sent vehicles ahead of us and we all reported to Buedu.

All hospitalities were extended to J P Koroma and his family and General turned over his bedroom to J P Koroma and his wife.

J P Koroma appointed General Mosquito as Chief of Defence Staff, with overall command over both the RUF and the SLA and promoted him to the rank of Brigadier General. General Mosquito called on me and informed me that since he had been made Chief of Defence Staff for both the RUF and the SLA by J P Koroma he wanted to turn over his assignment of Battle Field Commander to me and asked me to turn my assignment of Battle Group Commander over to Superman. The General said that he was doing this to draw Superman within the High Command structure of the RUF in a bid to encourage him. I accepted and assumed the assignment of Battle Field Commander and Superman assumed the assignment of Battle Group Commander.

One morning, the Chief Security Officer to the former AFRC Chairman J P Koroma informed me that his boss was planning to escape to Ghana along with his entire family. The CSO further told me that J P Koroma had a parcel of diamonds that he was planning on selling once out of the country. This information came as a surprise to me and found it hard to believe that at a time when we were trying to put the fighting-men under command and control and provide the necessary logistics to halt our retreat and move forward, J P Koroma would keep diamonds for his own use and flee, leaving us with a problem that he had created.

Accompanied by Brig Mike Lamin and the CSO to J P Koroma I asked the latter to present the diamonds for the use of the Revolution. He complied and the matter was settled.

While in Buedu, Captain Michael Comber of the Mining Unit reported with a parcel of diamonds from Kono. The parcel was placed in my care by General Mosquito with the instructions to move with it to a transit point where I would be met

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by General Ibrahim and together we were to travel to a business associate of the Leader for arrangements and procurement of Military Equipment.

I arrived at the transit point and booked into a hotel.

On the evening of my third day at the hotel, Colonel Jungle and I went across the street to a tea-shop. Whilst there, it started to rain and Jungle and I ran from the shop across the street to the hotel. As we climbed the steps to enter, I touched my pockets, as I had gotten accustomed to doing since the parcel was put in my care.

To my shock and dismay, my pockets were empty. I screamed and put my hands on my head and cried. Jungle and I then retraced our steps from the tea-shop to the hotel. We searched in the rain on our hands and knees. Staff from the hotel helped us in our search, all to no avail. For the first time in my life I contemplated suicide. I above all knew the importance attached to the materials that the diamonds were to facilitate for the movement. How could I ever look my commander in the eyes and tell him that I Issa, who could be trusted with the security of the Nation, could not secure a small parcel of diamonds. As the days went by, I grew frustrated and could not eat or sleep.

Four days after the loss, Jungle and I were sitting on his bed when we monitored National Radio announcing that diamonds had been discovered on the very same street that I had suffered my loss. Jungle and I cried knowing that the mentioned diamonds were the property of the RUF. Till this day, people still prospect this area thinking that diamonds are underground. General Mosquito dispatched Lt. Col. Moriba to meet me and escort me back to DHQ.

On arrival, I was met by an enraged General Mosquito who angrily chastised me for the loss. I was ordered to 'fall-out' and for over a week, the General would not talk to me or even respond to my curtsies.

Finally one morning, I was summoned by the General and instructed that I should leave Buadu and make my base at Pendembu from where I was to coordinate all Front-Line Operations.

I complied with his order and stepped-up operations against the enemy at Daru. I also launched successful Jungle Missions to Joru and Niama.

General Mosquito left on a trip to secure materials for the Movement and on his return I was issued a liberal quantity of ammunition and instructed to cross the Moa River and re-capture Kono from the enemy. Prior to this, the same instructions had been given to Superman who misused the materials given to him and failed to capture the target.

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On arrival in Kono I called the Brigade Commander, Rambo and other senior officers and together we arranged a forum in which general security issues were discussed and a war-plan was made for the attack of Koidu Town.

I instructed Brig. Kallon to move to Gold Town and 'cut-off' the enemy. I led the troops in the attack of Koidu Town, attacking the enemy at 0600HRS. They put up a strong resistance using their four Mechanized Battalions deployed to defend Kono and its diamonds. Our troops proved too aggressive for them and after fourteen hours of heated combat we captured Koidu Town. The Nigerians retreated to Bumpo. Very early the next morning we attacked their positions at Bumpo and raised them from the town. The enemy were forced to retreat through the road leading to Massingbi where they fell in Kallon's ambush. All in all. The enemy lost four war-tanks, armored cars, and a multitude of heavy artillery pieces personal rifles and huge amounts of ammunition. They also suffered heavy casualties the likes of which they have never experienced in the history of ECOMOG. They were forced to retreat on foot with not even a bicycle being able to pass our defenses.

Our Forces moved for Massingbi, Rambo and Kallon moving with the advance team whilst I moved to repel a Kamajoh Attack at Nimikoro. Our forces had by then captured Massingbi and Magboroka and were advancing to attack Makeni. I joined them, taking with me all needed Military Materials for the attack. We quickly put the Township under our Military Control. General Mosquito called me 'on set' and instructed that we allow Superman to join in the operations. The General explained that though Superman had earlier refused his orders, he Mosquito was man enough to put it behind him and accept Superman back, referring to him as 'a brother in arms.' Rambo proceeded to a village beyond Binkolo where Superman had been in hiding and brought him to Makeni. That morning the two of us met and had polite discussions. Together we attacked the Barracks and captured it. At that point, I received information that the enemy were moving to attack Ijilama-Swafe and I moved to put the situation under control. Upon my return to Makeni, Rambo and Kallon reported that all Military Equipment in their care had been reported to the G-4. They reported that Superman on the other hand had taken the Materials he collected to his house. Accompanied by Kallon, I went to Superman's house and confronted him with the issue. I informed him that it was proper procedure to report all captured Military Materials to the G-4 who would then file a comprehensive report to DIHQ and issue the said Materials upon instructions. I asked that

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Superman present the Materials so as to ensure proper accountability. Superman led Kallon and I into the house and showed us where he had kept the Materials. I instructed that it be moved and reported to the G-4.

Two days later General Mosquito again asked for understanding and allowed Superman to rejoin the operations.

- * Rambo was instructed to advance and attack Port Loko which he did, deploying his forward defensive at the Port Loko turn-table, leading to Kambia. Rambo shared the town with the enemy for seven days.

Superman, pleaded that eventhough Rambo had done well, he as Battle Group Commander knew the ground well and should take over the ground. He said that he had received Intelligence that the Leader had been moved to Lungi and wanted to advance as far as Lungi and rescue the Leader.

- * At this time our forces Freetown were under enemy 'cut-off' from the rear and were in danger of being boxed-in and either captured alive or killed.

Rambo was withdrawn from his operation in Port Loko and instructed to open a through-way to connect with our men in Freetown.

Rambo then attacked and captured Masiaka, advanced and captured RDF, and attacked the Guineans at Waterloo, engaging them in combat for four days and four nights.

- * The Guineans wrote us a letter asking for their safe passage back to Guinea, saying that they were taking their hands out of the war. I replied, denying their request. I told them that if they wanted 'safe passage' they should leave behind all their Military Equipment. A few days later I monitored the sound of heavy bombardment from the direction of Port Loko. On inquiring, I was informed that our troops had dissolved the ground and that the enemy were advancing towards Gheray Junction. I asked for Superman and was informed that he was in Lunsar and not on the ground that he had asked for and been given.

The Guinean convoy bulldozed all the way to Masiaka where my position was also bulldozed. Their mission was to rescue the Guineans at Waterloo. Upon reaching Waterloo they joined forces and made a 'U-turn', bulldozing my ambush for a second time at RDF. The Guinean convoy consisted of over four war-tanks, eight armored vehicles, a Forty Barrel Missile, four Anti-Aircraft Guns and countless other mounted weapons and over eight trucks full of personnel. As they moved they bombarded and assaulted, clearing a path for themselves.

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* I was extremely annoyed at my position being bulldozed and issued strong orders for an ambush to be set ahead of them. They fell in the ambush and my Bodyguard commander led a team of less than a squad of men in the capture of the Forty Barrel Missile and a large quantity of its bombs.

I moved to Escort the Missile to our rear and on my return, Superman asked to join Rambo at Waterloo. He sighted the fact that as the SLA Commanders had operated with him before he would be able to consolidate them and exercise command and control over them. Taking into consideration his status as Battle Group and the logic behind his explanations, I gave the OK for Superman to join Rambo in Waterloo.

At Waterloo Superman incited SLA Commanders and soldiers against Rambo and generally did his best to cause a break-down in command on the ground.

A few days later General Mosquito on hearing that Lt. Col. Gibril had been rescued and had joined operations at Waterloo, called me and asked me to inform Gibril that he was welcome back and that no ill-feelings were borne against him. Gibril was to also report to DHQ to brief the High Command and all on the condition of the Leader as they had been in prison together.

Superman, monitoring the dialogue on field-radio responded that He would not allow Gibril to come to the call of the High Command. A few days later, I received information from the Waterloo Front-Line that Superman and Gibril had retreated to Lunsar and had moved with a good number of men. As a result, the enemy had advanced and were now at Yams Farm.

I informed Rambo who was at my location on a Medical Pass. Rambo asked for ammunition to be given to him so that he could collect the Force from Lunsar and move to stop the enemy advance at Yams Farm. I arrived at Lunsar with only eight bodyguards and met Rambo and Gibril discussing. Gibril greeted me and we exchanged pleasantries. I told him that General Mosquito wanted him to report to DHQ not to face any charges but to give account of the state and condition of the Leader as they had been in prison together. Gibril complied and entered my vehicle. At that moment, Superman and his men came from the back of the building, opened suppressive fire and launched RPG rockets against my position. Gibril left my vehicle and joined Superman in attacking me. I managed to escape with my life but they had killed two RUF soldiers assigned to me as bodyguards.

I got in a vehicle with Major Kolo Mulba and escaped through Gberay Junction, Masiaka, Mile 91 to Magboroka.

Meanwhile, Superman and Gibril moved to Makeni and attacked my residence. They shot at my house, tied and beat up RUF soldiers and raised my compound. They entered my house, beating up my wife, undressing her and taunting her with rude and abusive remarks before she was able to escape under gun-fire.

Mr. E T Samara and others rescued from prison in Freetown, were staying with me in Makeni and were also molested and raised. RUF Military Materials given to me by the General for a planned re-attack of Freetown were looted along with 9,000 USD also RUF property. That same day Superman and Gibril attacked the home of Brig. Kallon. The entire house was raised and his wife was stripped off all her clothing and made to sit on the ground. Her suckling- child was snatched from her and repeatedly banged against a wall. This resulted in serious injuries to the child.

I reported the incident to General Mosquito who asked me to exercise restraint and he dispatched a Delegation headed by Col. Isaac to calm the situation down and investigate the incident. The Delegation obtained statements from me and proceeded to Lunsar to get a statement from my attackers. Superman and Gibril refused to co-operate and issued threats against the Delegates.

During this impasse the enemy had advanced to Gberay Junction. General Mosquito instructed that in the interest of the Revolution, we should put our differences aside temporarily and act to repel the enemy. Along with Kallon, Rambo and Brig. Isaac, four trucks of armed men were mobilized and we joined the Force at Lunsar and moved for Gberay Junction. Four of Rambo's men were killed in that attack by 'friendly fire' from the rear suggesting foul-play.

Again the enemy moved against our positions advancing towards Mile 91. I sent Rambo, equipping him with a Single Barrel BZT. He met and joined Col. Bai Bureh and they were able to push the enemy past Moyamba Junction to Tiana Junction where they deployed our troops.

Rambo proposed an attack of BO and it was arranged that Kallon would hit Yele.

Kallon was dispatched to DIHQ to receive logistics for the said mission. Two days later I made a day's trip to Matotoka as the area was under Kamajoh threat. On returning to Makeni, Rambo visited me to inform me that he had repaired the BZT Weapon and wanted to move to capture Bo the next morning. He left my house at around 2100HRS and I stayed up past mid-night. I stayed awake and at 0110HRS I heard heavy firing from outside. I entered my 'living-room' and my bodyguards were running from the direction of the firing. Some of them had been shot. I exited the house through a

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back entrance and ran for cover. A RPG rocket was launched against me and I was hit in the toe by fragment from the blast. I ran as guns blazed behind me. I got to a safe place and spent the night. The next morning with the aid of civilians, I escaped to Makali. The hunt was on for me and I had to bye-pass major towns on my way. At Makali I was at the Signal Station monitoring the Network when the Leader called. I responded and reported that I was faced with a serious problem. Not wanting to let the enemy know that there was serious in-fighting going on within the RUF, I could not go into details. At the end of my dialogue with the Leader I was attacked again by Gibril. They took me by surprise as I had been very careful not to disclose my location. The people of Makali, including the Paramount Chief Pa Alimamy Kama, will testify that Gibril led the attack. He raised the town shooting and wounding people on the ground. He swore that he would kill me and take my head to Makeni where he would put it on display.

Away from my ground at Makeni, Superman took the opportunity of calling a meeting at the Town Hall where he informed those assembled that General Mosquito and I had collaborated to hijack the leadership of the RUF and sighted the Generals advise not to respond to the call of the Leader on field-radio as proof. He informed the meeting that he had received instructions from the Leader to take full command of the RUF and to arrest and execute both General Mosquito and I, Brig. Issa.

By then I had maneuvered to Kono, after spending five days in the bush as a result of the attack on me in Makali. Kallon moved to Magboro to take command and was able to repel numerous attacks from Superman and Gibril.

X Upon receiving instructions from the Leader, through the General, calling for Kallon to take command at Makeni. I mobilized Kallon and the said operation was undertaken. We were almost in control of the entire Township when the General informed us that the Leader wanted us to abort the operation and for Kallon to return to Makeni.

A Military Order was passed and we withdrew the force to await the arrival of the Leader on the ground.

Sir, if my Report is centered on the activities of Superman and Gibril it is not so merely because of their attacks on me but rather because of the negative results their 'out-law' actions have brought to the Movement.

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Superman sought the advice of ULIMO General Bopleh and SLA Brig. Mannie. Both strong critics and self-confessed enemies of the RUF. Superman placed Former President J S Momoh in the hands of Mannie who arranged for Momoh to escape to Guinea. Mannie refused to hand Momoh over to me stating that Momoh is SLA property and not RUF.

He incited SLA soldiers to go against RUF Command and together with Gibril sought to sabotage the progress of the movement thus delaying the release of the Leader.

Superman killed Rambo in cold blood and made several attempts on my life in a bid to eliminate the RUF High Command left on the ground by the Leader.

Sir, it has not been easy controlling my emotions and harder still controlling the men who witnessed the cold-blooded killing of Rambo.


General Mosquito, I Brig. Issa and other senior officers have obediently taken all orders from you and at this time we await most anxiously your arrival when we look to have the matter resolved by you.

Lastly Sir, the vast majority of the men are in 'high spirit' and remain loyal to the Leadership of the RUF. They have fought hard and longed for the return of the Leader.

As Battle Field Commander I pledge my loyalty to the Leader and ask that he moves earliest, to look into the internal-affairs of the RUF.

The High Command, officers, combatants and civilians of the RUF are on the ground and on full-alert awaiting the 'last-order' of the Commander In Chief of the RUF S/L, Corporal Foday Saybana Sanneh.

Militarily Yours,


Brigadier Issa H. Sesay
Battle Field Commander
RUF S/L

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(5)

REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT - SIERRA LEONE (RUF/SL)

TRAINED RUF/AERC/SLA CHILD COMBATANTS AT LUNGI

S/No.	RANK	NAME	BASE TRAINED	NAME OF TRAINING COMMANDANT	YEAR TRAINED	WHERE/WHEN CAPTURED	REMARKS
1	Sgt.	Allie Britna	Pendembu	Alysious Koker	May-91	Pendembu - 1991	Trained - RUF
2	Pte.	Boboh Britna	Jui-Koya	C.O. Rashid	1994	Komboma - 1994	Trained - RUF
3	Pte.	Foday Koroma	Ferdugu	C.O. Thompson-Lala	1998	Lunsar - 1998	Trained - RUF
4	Pte.	Justine Wilson	Rosos	C.O. Ranger (SLA)	1997	Waterloo - 1997	Trained - SLA
5	Pte.	Kassim Conteh	Camp Lion	C.O. Monica	1997	Makeni Town - 1997	Trained - RUF
6	Pte.	Hassan Bah	Barri Potoru	Lt. George	1997	Bandajuna Sowa - 1997	Trained - SLA
7	Pte.	Ansumana Pay	Lunsar	Lt. Alaberna (SLA)	1997	Lunsar - 1997	Trained - SLA
8	Pte.	Lamin Sankoh	Camp Lion	Camp Lion	1997	Magburaka - 1997	Trained - RUF
9	Pte.	Philip Wabber	Koinadugu, Kabala	CSM Muna	1997	Makeni - 1997	Trained - SLA
10	Pte.	David Peele	Nil	Nil	1997	Koidu Town, Kono - 1997	Untrained
11	Pte.	Thaimu Fofana	Koidu, Kono	Sgt. S. A. Junior (SLA)	1998	Koidu Town, Kono - 1998	Trained - SLA
12	Pte.	Mustapha Kargbo	Camp Rosos, Barcanu	C.O. Jaja (SLA)	1998	Kpendembu, Kalangba Chieftom - 1998	Trained - SLA
13	Pte.	Frederick Mansaray	Lunsar	Lt. Alaberna (SLA)	1999	Waterloo - 1999	Trained - SLA
14	Pte.	Adikalie Kamara	Gberta-Bana	RSM Kallawa (SLA)	1999	Kambia - 1999	Trained - SLA
15	Pte.	Ansumana Jawara	Yengema, Kono	Capt. Mandele (SLA)	1999	Sembala, Kabala - 1999	Trained - SLA
16	Pte.	Sulley Kamara	Nil	Nil	1999	Lunsar - 1999	Untrained - SLA
17	Pte.	Murray Kalpa	Okro Hills	Sgt. Bobby (SLA)	1999	Okro Hills - 1999	Trained - SLA

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**REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT - SIERRA LEONE
(RUF/SL)**

**NOMINAL ROLL OF TRAINED RUF/SL
AFRC/SLA CHILD COMBATANTS**

S/No.	RANK	NAME	REMARKS
1	Sgt.	Allie Brima	RUF Trained - 1991
2	Pte.	Boboh Brima	RUF Trained - 1994
3	Pte.	Foday Koroma	RUF Trained - 1998
4	Pte.	Justine Wilson	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1997
5	Pte.	Kassim Conteh	RUF Trained - 1997
6	Pte.	Hassan Bah	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1997
7	Pte.	Ansumana Pay	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1997
8	Pte.	Lamin Sankoh	RUF Trained - 1997
9	Pte.	Philip Wabber	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1997
10	Pte.	David Peeler	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1997
11	Pte.	Thaimu Fofana	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1998
12	Pte.	Mustapha Kargbo	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1998
13	Pte.	Frederick Mansaray	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1999
14	Pte.	Adikalie Kamara	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1999
15	Pte.	Ansumana Jawara	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1999
16	Pte.	Sullay Kamara	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1999
17	Pte.	Murray Kakpa	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1999
18	Pte.	Joseph M. Jalloh	AFRC/SLA Trained - 1998

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FM- LOG
TO - JPR. D.AF

28TH 04-99

INFO COPY OF MONITORED MSG. B/W
S/MAN AND UNUSAL STN TO SURRENDER WITH
ELEMENTS OF THE S.L.A. ON THIS ISSUE DIAL-
OGUE ENDED WITH PROMISED TO SEND PARCEL
TO S/MAN ON FRIDAY AT A SCHEDULE POINT
FOR COLLECTION @

[Signature]
21
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00008639

FM- THE LION

28TH 04-99

TO - S/MAN, BRIG. MAINT. BLACK JAH & CAFFA
INFO - LOG @

REF. MY DIR. RELATIVE MR. MOVT. TO Togo
I'M AGAIN RE-REINFORCING THAT YOU PEOPLE
SHOULD MOVE TO KAILAHU SO THAT HELI.
WILL PICK YOU UP FOR TRANSMISSION TO Togo
@ YR. DEL. IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR US TO
REACH A UNANIMOUS PROPOSAL FOR THE FORTH
COMING NEGOTIATION @ LET US FORGET ALL
DIFFERENCES AND COMPLY STRICTLY WITH
MY DIRECTIVES @ WHEN I COME ON THE GND.
I WILL SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS @ THE HELI WILL
PICK YOU ALL FM THE BORDER @ THE OTHER
BROTHERS WHO ARE PRESENTLY IN. @

[Signature]
21
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TO - THE LION
FM - BLACK JAH

01-05-99

INFO - ALL STNS

STREP MOVE TO 1000 @ 814, REF TO YOUR MSG
IN RESPECT OF SUBJ ABOVE, DELIGATION FM THIS LOC
HAVE FOUND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO TRAVEL TO VR LOC
DUE TO SECURITY REASON @ THE ROUTE LEADING TO
YOUR LOC IS PRESENTLY OCCUPIED BY THE EN @

I THERE FOR ADVISE THE UN TO MAKE A
PROPER ARRANGEMENT TO LIFT UP THE DELIGATION
FM. THIS I REMEMBER THAT THE NEGOCIATION/DIALOGUE
IS FOR EVER LASTING PEACE IN S/LEONE AS NOT
INDIVIDUAL MATTER BUT SHOULD INVOLVE REPRESENT-
NATIVES OF ALL STAKE HOLDERS @ ACCEPT FOR YOUR
INFO AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING @

00008640

of
01
05
99

FM - THE LION

TO - BLACK JAH, BAIL. MANI & GAFFA

SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

1ST-05-99

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO FOLLOW MY
DIRECTIVES DESPATCHED TO YOU RELATING YOUR
PARTICIPATION IN THE LOME CONSULTATION @ THE
CENTRE HELI. WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE TO PICK
PEOPLE UP FROM INSIDE S/LEONE @
YOU SHOULD REPORT TO KATLANTUN
WHERE YOU WILL BE TRANSPORTED TO
MAGREDOVA FOR ONWARD TRANS. TO MY LOC.
(LOME) @ STRICTLY COMPLY TO THIS ORDER
AND MAKE SURE YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE
CURRENT TALKS IN LOME @ ALSO OBEY MY

12131
9010

U
LAST ORDERS AND ~~AAKE~~ TRANSMITTED TO RIBIL
RELATED TO THE MOV. OF JOSEPH MORDA TO
KAILAHUN O HE SHOULD BY ALL MEANS REPORT
TO KAILAHUN WITHOUT DELAY O

DA 05-99
05-99

FM- THE LION

TO - LUG

00008641

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

04TH 05-99

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE TO SEND A
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT PERTAINING PRESENT
SIT. ON ALL THE F/LINES MORE ESPECIALLY TO
THE BO/FREE TOWN HWAY O

DA 05-99
05-99

FM- THE LION

05TH 05-99

TO - EQUALIZER, BRIG. MANT, BLACK JAH & GAFFA
THROUGH - PLANET

YOU HAVE VIOLATED MY DIRECTIVES GIVEN
YOU FOR MORE THAN THREE (03) DAYS O
YOU WILL BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR ANY ~~DOWN~~
DOWN TOWARDS THAT AXIS O

DA 05-99
05-99

FM- THE LION

05TH 05-99

TO - EQUALIZER, BLACK JAH, BRIG. MANT & GAFFA
THROUGH PLANET

I'M STILL INSTRUCTING THAT YOU
SHOULD MOVE TO KAILAHUN FOR MY POINT
(LONG) AS GEN. WILL BE AT KAILAHUN
TOMORROW TO RECEIVE YOU PEOPLE O

DA 05-99
05-99

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TO - THE LION
FM - LOG

061405-99

SUBJ - MARIO RESPONSE

SIR,

PER OUR LAST DISCUSSION I HAVE
ALREADY SENT FOR THE SAID ITEMS UP ON
RECEIVING IT I WILL DESPATCH IT TO YOUR
LOC O

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[Signature]
06
06
99

FM - THE LION

051405-99

TO - LOG

SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE TO DO ALL
WHAT YOU CAN TO DEFEAT KONO AND TONCO
MORE OVER YOU SHOULD TRY VERY HARD TO RECAPTURE
MILE-91 AND MASTARA WHILE AT THE SAME TIME
YOU RESUME IMMEDIATE OFFENSIVE TOWARDS KENEMA
AND BO O

ALSO MR. KAI GBANTIA AND PATRY (PRO)
SHOULD COME ALONG WITH GEN. IBRAHIM O

[Signature]
07
06
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THE LION

LOG

SUBJ - TWO RELIGIOUS GROUP READERS FM THE
RUF

1409

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90/2

FM THE LION

TO LOG

00008643

12TH 05-99

SUBJ- TWO (2) RELIGIOUS GROUPS FROM THE RUF/SL ZONES TO TRAVEL TO TOGO-LOME (1)

THE INTER-RELIGIOUS COUNCIL OF S/LEONE (I.R.C.SL) HAVE KINDLY ASKED THE LEADER IN PERSON CPT. FODAY SANKOH TO PLEASE SEND ~~THE~~ BOTH THE HEADS OF CRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS TO TRAVEL WITH GEN. IBRAHIM TO MEET ME IN TOGO AND TO MEET THE ABOVE NAMED GROUP ALREADY APPROVED BY MEC

(1) REV. M.S. ALPHA - BUEDU (1) THE C/MAN JUNGLE UNITED CRISTIAN COUNCIL (J.U.C.C)

(2) ALHAJI OMARU SESAY - NAMIMA (1) THE DISTRICT CHIEF IMAM OF THE RUF/SL LIBERATED ZONES. PLEASE ARRANGE FASTER FOR THESE PEOPLE TO COME WITH GEN. IBRAHIM (1)

MANY REGARDS TO ALL (1)

20 MRS

[Signature]
12
05
99

TO THE LION

FM SUPER MAN

12TH 05-99

SUBJ- INFORMATION

SIR,

GAFFA AND LT. COL. F.A.T. SESAY HAVE LEFT ^{AS} WITH A DELIGATION TO YOUR LOCATION VERY SOON YOU WILL RECEIVE THEM. I DID NOT GO BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY SITUATION ON THE GROUND. I'M DOING MY LEVEL BEST TO CONTAIN SITUATION TO OUR OWN ADVANTAGE (1)

TO 45

[Signature]
12
05
99

12134

90/3

FM THE HON
TO - LUG

12TH 05-99

SUBJ - DIR

00008644

BY MY DIR YOU ARE TO DISREGARD MY PREVIOUS
ORDERS PERTAINING THE MOVEMENT OF MR KALGANJA,
PAIKH AMARA AND THE RELIGIOUS HEADS O

2115 HRS ///

12TH 05-99
[Signature]

FM THE LEADER

TO - S/MAN

13TH 05-99

SUBJ - RESPONSE

REF YOUR LAST MSG DATED 12TH 05-99,
YOUR STAYING AT ORGT IS NOT APPROVED BY
ME O YOU ARE TO REPORT TO KALAHUN FOR
ONWARDS MOVEMENT TO MY LUG (LONE-TOGO)
AS PER MY PREVIOUS DIRECTIVE O

13TH 05-99
[Signature]

TO - THE HON

FM - CONCORD

14TH 05-99

SUBJ - INFO

SM

GEN. ISRAHIM HAS BEEN DESPATCHED
YOUR LOC. WITH \$20,000 US AND ALL
FROM MED ALSO SIR, YOU ARE TO GIVE US
20 WEEKS SO THAT WE CAN SEND YOU EXAM-
PLE OF A QUALITY AS WE WILL BE UNDERTAKING
A VERY SERIOUS MISSION ACTIVITY O

GREETINGS TO YOU FM ALL THE BROTHERS AND

P.T.O

12135
9014

SISTERS O

PSE. ACCEPT INFO FOR NGR. ACTION O

1104 HRS

17
05
99

00008645

FM- THE LION

TO - CONCORD

17TH 05-99

SUBJ- INFOS

AS PER THE RESULT FROM THE PEOPLES CONGRESS MEETING AT YOUR LUG, THE DELEGATES THE DELEGATES WERE NOT TO ENGAGE IN ANY NEGOCIATION/PEACE TALKS WITH THE GOVT. UNLESS I AM A FREE MAN. HOWEVER, THE DEVELOPMENT HERE IS GEARED TOWARDS MY RELEASE THROUGH POLITICAL DIALOGUES O III

I HAVE THEREFORE DESPATCHED BRIG. MAIR LAMIN TO BRIEF YOU AND TO GET THE VIEW OF EVERY BODY O HE IS TO RETURN WITHIN FOUR TO FIVE DAYS TIME TO ENABLE HIM TAKE PART IN THE FORTH COMING NEGOCIATION SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE ON THE 24TH OF THIS MONTH HE WILL GIVE YOU DETAIL BRIEFING UPON HIS ARRIVAL O

EXTEND MY REGARDS TO EVERY ONE O

2145 HRS

17
05
99

FM- THE LION

TO - BRIG. MORRIS KALLON

17TH 05-99

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE TO SEND A COMPREHENSIVE REPORT PERTAINING YOUR

P 20

12136
9015

THE ENEMY MOVEMENT WITH IN YOUR AREA
OF OPERATION ESPECIALLY IN THE NORTHERN
PROVINCE ①

00008646

2217 HRS

1999-05-25
05
99

FM- THE LION

1999-05-25

TO - LOG

SUBJ- INFO

REF YOU ARE TO INFORM ALL SOLDIERS AND
THAT THEY HAVE SIGNED A CEASE FIRE
AGREEMENT WITH THE S.L.P.P. GOVT. ON THE 26TH DAY OF
MAY 1999 WITH A HOPE OF CREATING AN APPROPRIATE
ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE FOR THE HOLDING OF THE
PEACE TALKS IN LOME - TOGO ①

BELOW LISTED ARE THE RULES BINDING THE CEASE
FIRE:

1. AGREE TO CEASE FIRE AS FM 26TH MAY 1999, THE DAY
THAT THE PRESIDENT EYADEMA INVITED FOREIGN MINISTERS
OF ECOWAS TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS PERTAINING TO SIERRA
LEONE. IT WAS ALSO FURTHER AGREED THAT THE DIALOGUE
BETW. THE GOVT OF S/L AND THE RUF WOULD COMMENCE
ON THE 25TH MAY 1999 ①

2. MAINTAIN THEIR PRESENT AND RESPECTIVE POSITIONS
AS OF THE 26TH MAY 1999, AND REFRAIN FROM
ANY HOSTILE OR AGGRESSIVE ACTS
WHICH COULD UNDERMINE THE PEACE PROCESS ①

3. COMMIT TO START NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH
INVOLVING ALL RELEVANT PARTIES IN THE DISCUS -

12137
9016

SIONS, NOT LATER THAN 25TH MAY 1999 IN LOME -
TOGO 00008647

- 4, GUARANTEE SAFE AND UNHINDERED ACCESS BY
HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO ALL PEOPLE
IN NEED, ESTABLISH SAFE CORRIDORS FOR THE PRO-
VISION OF FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO ECONOMIC
ZONES BEHIND RUF LINES, AND TO RUF COMBAT-
ANTS BEHIND ECONOMIC LINES ©
- 5, IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL ^{NON} COMBATANTS AND PRISONERS OF
WAR ©
- 6, RECALL THE UN SUBJECT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S
AUTHORIZATION TO DEPLOY MILITARY OBSERVERS AS
SOON AS POSSIBLE TO OBSERVE COMPLIANCE BY
THE GOVT. FORCES (ECONOMIC AND C.D.F.) AND THE
RUF INCLUDING THE FORMER A.R.R.C. FORCES,
WITH THE CEASE FIRE AGREEMENT ©

THIS AGREEMENT IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO
ANY OTHER AGREEMENT OR ADDITIONAL PROTOCOLS
WHICH MAY BE DISCUSSED DURING DIALOGUE
BETWEEN THE GOVT. AND THE R.U.F. ©

WITH REGARDS TO THE ABOVE LISTED RULES
SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENT, YOU THEREFORE
TAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS INTO CONSIDERATION

- 1, SET UP CHECK POINTS IN ALL PLACES UNDER YOUR
CONTROL ©
- 2, SEARCH ALL VEHICLES ENTERING YOUR ZONES FOR

12138

90/7

ARMS AND AMMO ○

00008648

3, YOU SHOULD LOOSE NO GROUNDS ALREADY HELD AS OF THE 26TH OF MAY 1999 ○

4, NO MIL. VEH OR PERG. SHOULD PASS THROUGH YOUR ZONES WITH ARMS AND AMMO ○

5, DO NOT HARMAS ANY CIV. OR TAKE ANY THING FM. THEM AS IT IS AGAINST THE OUR CODE OF CONDUCT ○

6, ANY ATTEMPT BY THE EN. TO INFILTRATE OUR POSITIONS AS THEY DID IN 1996, IS SERIOUSLY LIABLE TO REPEL AND PURSUE TO THE POINT OF ORIGIN

7, ALL SIRS. SHOULD KEEP TO THEIR TERRITORIES AND AVOID TOO MUCH OF PRES. MOST ESPECIALLY LET THE EN. ZONES

2100G

3,200 ALLOW HUMANITARIAN ORGANS TO PASS THROUGH YOUR AREAS/ZONES AS SPELT OUT IN POINT FOUR ONLY OUTSIDE OF THE AGREEMENT ○ BUT NOT WITH EXPLOSIVES AND AMMO ○
 MY BEST REGARDS AND GREETINGS TO ALL

THE AGENT ○

POLI

2125

1220
 05
 99

12139

9018.

TO- THE LION
FM- BRIG. KALLON

00008649

21ST 05-99

SUBJ- RESPONSE

SIR,

REF. TO YOUR ^{LAST} MSG. FROM KONO, MAGB-
ORAKA, MAKALI, MATODKA, MAJINGBI, MABONTO AND
OTHER IMPORTANT TOWNS ARE UNDER OUR CONTROL
IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE. ONLY SUPERMAN
AND OTHERS STILL CAUSING PROBLEMS AND HARK-
ASSING AROUND MY AREAS.

325 HRS

21
05
99

TO- THE LION
FM- SUPERMAN
INFO ALL STATIONS
SUBJ- RESPONSE

24TH 05-99

SIR,

YOUR MSG WAS RECEIVED AND ALL
CONTENTS BEARING FULL APPREHENDED.
I STAND TO RESPECT AND OBEY YOUR COMM-
AND AT ANY POINTING ^{IN} TIME. YOU ARE
HONOURED AS OUR LEADER AND COMMANDER
IN CHIEF OF THE RUF/SL.

IN MY OWN CAPACITY AS A BATTLE
GROUP COMMANDER APPOINTED IN YOUR PRE-
SENCE BY LT COL. J. P. KOROBA AN LOG, I
WOULD LIKE TO EXPLAIN THE ROLE I HAVE
PLAYED AND EVEN IN YOUR PRESENT
PRESENT ABOVE ALL, I HAVE ALWAYS
EXPRESSED LOYALTY AND DEDICATION TO

12140 9019

00008650

THE CAUSES THAT HAVE BLENDED US TOGETHER & THERE FOR ON NO ACCOUNT WILL I STAND TO CHALLENGE A COURSE THAT I KNOW STANDS FOR FOR OUR BENEFIT &

IF YOU COULD RE-CALL THERE HAS BEEN SERIES OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY PEOPLE TOWARDS OUR LIVES & EVEN BEFORE THE PHASE II (02) OPERATION STARTED, I WOULD HAVE JOINED THE OPERATION ALONG WITH YOU BUT BECAUSE OF FRACAS THAT ARISED BETWEEN MY SELF AND LOG, I COULDN'T JOIN UP NOT UNTIL LATER I JOINED OPERATIONS WITH THE LATE BROTHER PAPA TO ESTABLISH A JUNGLE WITH THE SOLE INTENTION TO EASE BURDEN ON TROOPS YOU WERE ADVANCING WITH &

OF COURSE SINCE THAT OPERATION, NOTHING ACTUALLY HAPPENED AGAIN BETWEEN MY SELF AND ANY COMMANDER & UNTIL YOU LEFT FOR THE ABIDJAN BEACE TALKS, I MAINTAIN MAINTAINED MY COMMAND AND BUT AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY & ZENO OF COURSE WAS CALLED UPON FROM MY JUNGLE TO TAKE OVER COMMAND AT ZOOGODA &

ZOOGODA FELL IN YOUR ABSENCE AND UP THE NOW ZENO IS AT LARGE & I LISTENED AND OBEYED THE INSTRUCTION SENT BY YOU TO JOIN FORCES WITH THE AFRC & BUT EVEN THAT AGAIN WAS MISCONSTRUCTED BY THE HIGH COMMAND ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE PLAF MAIN THRUST TO FIGHT THAT

12141
9020

00008651

I'M SURE CAN BE POSSIBLE REASON FOR OUR UN-WARRANTED WITHDRAWAL FROM F/TOWN WITH ALL THESE MISTAKES ON THE PART OF OUR COMMANDERS. I STILL TRIED VERY HARD TO MENTAIN MY HOLD ON KONO O AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT SINCE OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM F/TOWN THE ENEMY NEVER CAPTURED THE ENTIRE TOWN SHIP OF KONO (KONO) O EVERY COMBATANT IN KONO CAN ATTEST TO THAT O

FROM KONO, I ORGANISED OPERATIONS FOR KABALA, MAKENI AND F/TOWN O BUT BEFORE THAT THERE WERE LOT OF APPREHENSIONS FROM THE SEA TOWARDS THE R.U.F BECAUSE OF THE UNLAWFUL REPUTATION OF THEIR BROTHERS O UPON ARRIVAL IN THEIR MIDST, REF. YOUR MSG. AFTER THE MAY 25 COUP, I WAS ABLE TO EASE THAT TENSION AND THEY GAVE THEIR FULLEST CO-OPERATION THAT HAS REACHED US TO THIS POINT O

IN KINABUQU AGAIN AFTER THE ATK AND CAPTURE OF KABALA I WAS THREATENED BY LCU AFTER ALL MY EFFORTS O OF COURSE, THAT PROBLEM ACCORDING TO THE PEOPLE'S WAR COUNCIL WAS HAMMONISED O BUT WHEN WE GO AGAIN TO MAKENI AFTER A TENUOUS FIGHT AND CASUALTY A TROOP WAS ALSO ORGANISED BY BRIG MORRIS KALLON AND OTHERS TO HARM ME BUT BY GOD'S PRAISE I WAS ABLE TO ESCAPE THE PROBLEM THAT LED TO THE DEATH

12142
9024

00008652

OF RAMBO WAS NOT INTENTIONAL O AFTER YOU
TRIED TO SPEAK LOG ON ONE OR TWO OCCASIONS,
I WAS INSTRUCTED BY YOU TO TRY VERY HARD
TO KNOW FROM THEM WHY THEY DIDNT TALK
TO YOU O ON MY WAY TO MAREN, I WAS
AMBUSHED AND A MAJOR DIED FROM MY
GROUP O FROM THAT TIME THERE WAS A FINE
FIGHT THAT LED TO THE DEATH OF THE LATE
BROTHER (RAMBO) O INDEED HE WAS GIVEN A
GOOD BURIAL AT THE MAREN TOWN HALL O

ALSO, THE INFORMATION THAT I INSULTED
ALL C/SIGNS AND THAT I SEEMINGLY BECAME
AN ENEMY IS NOT CORRECT O IT WAS LOG THAT
ORDERED ALL STATIONS TO REFRAIN FROM TALKING
TO ME O BUT NEVER THE LESS I REMAIN
COMMITTED TO THE CAUSE O

SIR, TALKING OF MY MOVEMENT TO YOUR
POINT VIA RAILROAD CAN NOT BE IN THE INTERESTS
OF MY LIFE O ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THESE
BROTHERS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ELIMINATE ME
EXCEPT THAT THEY WISH TO SEE MY MANY
YEARS STRUGGLE GO IN VAIN EVEN WITHOUT SEEING
YOU O

CONCISELY I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION
THE LOYALTY OF ALL THE SWA/RUF OFFICERS AND
SOLDIERS TO OUR LIBERATION CAUSE O

YOUR BODY GUARD RAY, JACKSON, MICHIG
LIVING STONE, VALUE AND MANY OTHERS AND
EVEN PA-P'S BANDA AND BRIG ISSAC ARE WITH
US O UPON YOUR ARRIVAL SIR, YOU WILL

12143
9022

BE BRIEFED ABOUT ALL DEVELOPMENTS IN YOUR
ABSENCE O

BEST REGARDS O
2315 HRS

24
05
99

00008653

TO- THE LION
FM- PLANET
SUBJ- INFO

24-05-99

SIR,

REPORTS FM THE VARIOUS FRONT
LINES STATED THE FOLLOWING FOR TODAY O
MATOTOKA, MAGBAS AND RUKUPU WERE
ATTACKED BY THE ENEMIES TODAY IN THE NORTH
ERN PROVINCE O MATOTOKA ATTACK WAS REPEL-
TEDLY REPELLED BUT DETAILS FROM RUKUPU
AND MAGBAS IS YET TO FOLLOW O

ALSO SEMBEYEMA AND KATIBOMA
AROUND TONGO FIELD IN THE EASTERN PROVIN-
CE CAME UNDER ATTACK BUT NO DETAIL
REPORT YET RECEIVED FROM THEM O
THIS IS FOR YOUR INFO AND
NECESSARY ACTION O

2302 HRS

24
05
99

TO- PLANET INFO- THE LION
FM- SAVING BOMB (S/MAN)
SUBJ- RESPONSE

25-05-99

SIR,

YOUR MESSAGE YESTERDAY WAS WELL

12144 9023

00008654

RECEIVED AND UNDERSTOOD BUT SIR, I MAY FIRST
LIKE TO GET THE STATISTICS OF MEN FROM THE
FRONT LINE COMMANDERS FOR A PROPER HAND
OVERING ○ AFTER ALL I WILL REPORT TO YOUR
LOC ○

PSE. ACCEPT FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING ○

0900 HRS

25
05
99

FM- THE LION

TO- PLANET

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

25TH 05-99

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE TO SEND A
COMPREHENSIVE RESPOND MESSAGE CONCERNING
THE MESSAGE SENT BY SUPER MAN LAST NIGHT ○

I'M STANDING BY TO GET THE MESSAGE
THIS MORNING ○

1030 HRS

25
05
99

TO- THE LION THROUGH PLANET

FM- MR. HILTON FYLE

25TH 05-99

SUBJ- INFORMATION

SIR,

GREETINGS TO YOU OUR LEADER THIS
IS TO INFORM YOU THAT ON SATURDAY 12TH OF JUNE
1999, WE SHALL BE MOVING THE OFFICIAL LAUNCHING
OF OUR FM STATION AND THE GRADUATION CEREMONY
FOR THE STUDENTS WHO ARE GOING TO WORK THERE
WE ALL WANT YOU TO COME AND BE OUR GUEST OF
HONOUR ○ BUT IF YOU CAN NOT COME PLEASE APPOINT

12145
9024

SOME ONE TO REPRESENT YOU ○ WE SHALL ALSO
BE AWORING A SPECIAL PRIZE TO THE BEST RELIGIOUS
STUDENT ○ IT IS CALLED TODAY SANKSH'S PRIZE ○ IF
YOU HAVE ANY SPECIAL MESSAGE OR DONATION FOR
HIM, THAT WILL BE FINE ○

WE ARE ALL PRAYING FOR VICTORY AND FOR
YOU THE GREAT SURVIVAL ○

00008655

1155 HRS

25
05
99

F-SMILE

TO-PLANET

25TH MAY, 1999

SUBJ-DIRECTIVE

YOU ARE TO STRICTLY ORDER ALL SENIOR
OFFERS, COMDRS, ESPECIALLY LT COL JUMIR LION TO
DESIST FM ANY CONTACT WITH E.C.O.M.O.G. AND
UN-OBSERVERS ○ THIS IS STRICTLY PROHIBITED ○
THEY SHOULD TAKE COMMAND/ ORDERS FM THE
HIGH COMMAND AT D-H.Q. ○

THIS DIRECTIVE IS IN REFERENCE ~~TO~~ TO
THE INSTRUCTION INTERVIEW ON B.G.C. AT 1405 HRS
TODAYS DATE WHERE LIFSL/AFLC BLDS MET
WITH ECOMOG 40 MILES FM F/TOWN ○

THIS IS OUT OF COURTESY AND DOES NOT
CONFORM TO ORDERS OF THE HIGH COMMAND
AND ○ I AM SO MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT SUCH
BEHAVIOURS AS THE NEGOCIATION HERE IS IN
THE BEST INTEREST OF THE MOVEMENT ○ THEY
SHOULD HAVE NO DIRECT CONTACT WITH
ECOMOG AS THEY ARE ENEMIES THAT

12146 9025

HAVE CAUSED THE WAR TO BE PROLONGED ○
EXTEND MY SINCERE GREETINGS AND
APPRECIATIONS TO ALL ○

2245 HRS

25
05
99

00008656

TO - PLANET
INFO - LION
FM - TIMING BOMB

27TH - 05 - 99

SIR,

BELOW QUOTED IS A SITREP
FROM COL. KOMBA ○ FROM COL. KOMBA
TO - T/BOMB SUBJECT SITREP DATE
26TH - 05 - 99 ○ ON THE 26TH OF MAY, 1999
THE GUINEANS ATTACKED OUR POSITION
AT KUKUPR BUT THEY WERE REPELLED ○
WE GOT THREE (03) K.I.A., FIVE (05)
W.I.A AND THREE M.I.A ○ IN RESPECT
OF THE ABOVE SAY YOUR URGENT RESPOND
IS HIGHLY SOLICITED FOR FAST AND
SMOOTH OPERATION ○ SIR, I DESPATCHED
ONE HUNDRED (100) MAN POWER AS
RE-ENFORCEMENT FOR THE SAID
GROUND ○

MORE OVER SIR, I MAY LIKE
YOU TO SEND US ONE (01) GROUND
MISSILE AND A.A. ROUNDS AS WE ARE
HIGHLY IN NEED OF THEM ○

UN QUOTE ○ ACCEPT FOR YOUR
ADVICE ○

BEST REGARDS ○

2022 HRS

27
05
99

12147

9026

FM- PLANET 00008657 27TH 05-99
TO - TIMING BOMB

SUBJ- RESPONSE

YOUR MSG RECEIVED AND UNDER-
STOOD. YOU ARE TO FIRST WORK BY
THE DIRECTIVE GIVEN BY THE LEADER
FOR ME TO RE-ENFORCE. YOU SHOULD
DO THE HAND OVERING TO THE
NEWLY APPOINTED COMMANDER. WE
HAVE TO DO HIS ASSIGNMENT FIRST
AND SEND IN THE REPORT.

PLEASE TREAT AS VERY
URGENT.

BEST REGARDS
2045 HRS

27
05
99

FM SPARK

27-05-99

TO - PLANET

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE - TIMING BOMB IS
TO DELAY THE HANDING OVER AND TAK-
ING OVER FROM ~~THE~~ SPARK AND YOU SHOULD
CALL ME THROUGH THE OTHER SYSTEM.

BEST REGARDS

2049 HRS

27
05
99

FM THE LION

27TH 05-99

TO - TIMING BOMB

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU SHOULD DELAY
THE HANDING OVER TO SPARK ~~FOR SEE REASON~~

B/REGARDS

2054 HRS

27
05
99

12148 9027

TO - PLANET 00008658

05TH-06-99

INFO O/S - VISION ONE

FM - SURVIVAL

SUBJ - INFO

SIR,

BELOW ARE THE TOWNS WHERE
THE CEASE FIRE HAS BEEN VIOLATED BY THE
KAMAJORS AND THE NIGERIAN REBELS

- 5th June
- ① SHEGBWEMA AND MOBAI IN THE KALAMUN DIST
 - ② LATA, KAMADO AND KODU TOWN IN THE KONO DIST
 - ③ TONGO IN THE KENEMA DIST
 - ④ MATOTOKA AND MARENT IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

PSE. ACCEPT INFO FOR NEC. ACTION

BEST REGARDS

1214 HAS

JOUS
EX
99

TO - SMILE

FM - GAFSA

SUBJ - REPORT

SIR,

10-06-99

12149 9028

ID - SMILE

FM - GAFFA

11TH 06 - 99

SUBJ - REPORT

00008659

SIR,

I SAFELY ARRIVED ON BASE ON THE 09TH 06 - 99. ALL INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO BE PASSED ON TO SUPER AMAN HAS GONE THROUGH. THERE WILL BE A FORUM TOMORROW 12TH 06 - 99 INCLUDING ALL COMMANDERS AND SENIOR OFFICERS TO PUT ALL MESSAGES TOGETHER ADDRESSED TO THEM ESPECIALLY THEIR ORDERS FROM LOG AND ALL NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS.

BESIDES THAT I MAY BE VISITING ALL TARGETS TO TALK TO THE MEN PERTAINING ALL INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATIONS ABOUT HOW THE PEACE PROCESS IS GOING ON AND WHAT ARE OUR OWN STAND.

I SPENT TWO (02) DAYS IN ASUTAN, ONEHMAN IN GUINER AND JUST AFTER THAT I WAS IN OUR TERRITORY. I STARTED TALKING TO THE MEN RIGHT FROM KASABA AREA ABOUT THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE INSTRUCTION GIVEN. I WILL BE TALKING TO THE SIGNALLERS TO MAKE SURE THEY ERECT THEIR ANTENNAE PROPERLY FOR BETTER COMMUNICATION WITH YOU.

SIR, I WILL PUT THE FOLLOWING TO YOU AND ALL ACTIVITIES FOR AMWATH AND BABY - TGG. THE AUTHORITY SAID EXCEPT YOU INFORM THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR THEIR DOCUMENTS FOR THEM TO BE INFORMED ABOUT THEIR MOVEMENT.

12150 9029

24 June 12
25
29

00008660

12-06-99

12-06-99

12-06-99

~~SECRET~~

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFO AND
NECESSARY ACTION (4)

925423

$\frac{12}{66}$
 $\frac{99}{99}$

12151

9030

TO - SMILE 00000000008661

12TH 06-99

FM - CONCORD

SUBJ - STREAS

SIR

ON THE 10TH 06-99, 14 OF OUR MEN WHICH INCLUDES SEVERAL OFFICERS WENT TO TALK TO CIVILIANS IN OUR LIBERATED ZONES AT MASIN AND MARDINI AND THEY WERE ADVERTISED BY THE EN (ECOMOG TPS) THAT ARE DEPLOYED AT LODI-MASMAH. AFTER THE ARREST OF OUR MEN THEY WERE TAKEN TO LUNGI GARISSON AND WERE FORCEFULLY DISARMED BY THE ECOMOG COMMANDER THERE (LT COL. SON). LATER DESPATCHED THEM TO F/OWN. UP ON ARRIVAL AT F/OWN THEY WERE GIVEN ACCESS TO COMMUNICATION BY UNIMASIL AND THROUGH THE COMMUNICATION THEY WERE ABLE TO GIVE THEIR OWN VERSION OF STORY. I SPOKE WITH ONE UNIMASIL MAJOR AT WILDER FOREP GKS. WHO GAVE ME ASSURANCE THAT OUR MEN WILL BE WELL TAKEN CARE OF AND NOTHING WILL HAPPEN WITH THEM AND THEY WILL INFO GEN. GEORGIE.

SIR, I WILL INFO YOU THE LATEST UPON GETTING IN TOUCH WITH GEN. GEORGIE. THIS IS THE PRESENT ACT OF THE ECOMOG. I HAVE ACCEPTED INFO FOR YOUR REF. ADVICE.

1450 HRS

12
06
99

12152

9031

TO - SMILE
FM - CONCORD

00008662

14TH-06-99

SUBJ - RESPONSE

SIR,

BELOW IS DETAILED SCHEDULE FOR THE
BROADCASTING STATION ①

- 1, THE NAME OF THE STATION IS RADIO FREEDOM
- 2, THE OFFICIAL OPENING DATE WILL BE ON THE
21ST JUNE 1999 (NEXT WEEK MONDAY) ①
- 3, OPERATION DAYS - FROM SUNDAYS TO SATURDAYS
(EVERY DAY) ①
- 4, OPENING HOURS IN THE MORNING WILL BE AT
0800 HRS AND CLOSE DOWN AT 1100 HRS IN THE
MORNING ①
- ⑤ THE EVENING BROADCASTING WILL BEGIN AT 1600 HRS
AND CLOSE DOWN AT 2200 HRS IN THE NIGHT
EVERY DAY ① THE FREQUENCY IS 98.00 ①

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR NECESSARY INFO ①

0915 HRS

Smile $\frac{14}{06}{99}$

TO - SMILE
FM - CONCORD
SUBJ - REPORT

19TH-06-99

SIR,

THE KAMAJORS ATTACKED KANTIA
VILLAGE IN THE KAMBIA DISTRICT ON THE 16TH
OF JUNE 1999 ① WE SUCCESSFULLY REPELLED THEM
AND CAPTURED THE FOLLOWING FROM THEM

- ① TWO (02) SINGLE BARRELS
- ② 9-3 RIFLES - TWO (02)

12153

9032

00008663

ALSO I RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING ITEMS FROM
MEMUNA THROUGH THE BROTHER JUNGLE ①

② TWO (02) SATELITE TELEPHONES

③ 56 CASSETTES

④ ONE (01) RECORDED CASSETTE WITH YOUR VOICE
ON IT

⑤ THE CODED WORDS

SIR, THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION
AND NECESSARY ADVICE ①

1121 HRS

2019
26
19

TO SMILE THROUGH LOG

FROM TIME BOMB

INFO ALL STATIONS

21TH 06-99

SIR,

I HAVE LISTENED TO YOU AND ON
BEHALF OF THE NORTHERN JUNGLE, I WILL RE-
ASSURE YOU THAT OUR COMMITMENT AND DEDICATIO
N TO THE STRUGGLE WHICH WE HAVE STRUGGLED
FOR OVER YEARS REMAIN UNCHANGED ① MISTAKES
THAT HAVE BEEN DONE BY THE BROTHERS WHICH
I THINK NO HUMAN BEING INFALLIBLE AND AS
SUCH ARE SUBJECTS TO MISTAKE ①

NOT WITHSTANDING, I HAVE BEEN ABLE
TO CURTAIL THIS AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE
SENIOR OFFICERS ON THE GROUND ONE CAN PUT
EVERY MISADVENTURE UNDER CONTROL ①

PERMIT ME SIR TO INFORM YOU THAT

12154

9033

WHAT YOU HEARD YESTERDAY CAN NOT BE DISPUTED
OR CHALLENGED O

HOWEVER, BEFORE THE DIALOGUE THIS MORN-
ING WITH YOU, I HAVE ALREADY DESPATCHED A
FACT FINDING TO THE WESTERN END TO ASCERTAIN
WHAT WENT ~~WRONG~~ O

00008661

I WILL RE-ASSURE YOU AGAIN THAT THE ENTIRE
NORTH AND WESTERN JUNGLE ARE WITH YOU IN
SPIRIT AND ASPECT O PLEASE BE ASSUR OF OUR
FULLEST AND ~~UNRELENTLESS~~ SUPPORT OF A
FATHERLY LOVE IN THE INTEREST OF OUR STRUGGLE

BEST REGARDS O

2230 HRS

D. A. ²¹
~~Quinn~~ ⁰⁶
99

TO - THE LION INFO - CONCORD
FM - THE 1ST BDE HQ (C/S VULTURE) 22TH 06-99
SUBJ - REPORT O

SIR.

RELEASE OF OWN TROOPS ARRESTED
WHILE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING O SUBJECT MATTER
BEARING YESTERDAY THROUGH THE ASSISTANT OF
UN MILITARY OBSERVERS IN S/LEONE O 14 OF
THE MEN WERE RECEIVED AND THE OTHER
~~THREE~~ WERE NOT RELEASED O THE SAID GROUP
NEVER COMPLAIN ON ANY ILL TREATMENT OR
HARASSMENT O

THE SAID OFFICERS ARE PRESENTLY
UNDER MESS ARREST AND INVESTIGATION IS
GOING ON O YOU WILL BE INFO OF ANY DEVELOP-
EMENT AFTER THE INVESTIGATION O

2004 HRS

D. A. ^{22ND}
~~Quinn~~ ⁰⁶
99

12155

9084

HAWKING

TO CONCORD

00008665

27th 06-99

INFO SMILE

FROM TIME 80MB

SUBJ INFORMATION

SIR,

TWO UNOMISIL REPRESENTATIVES VISITED LUNSAK YESTERDAY THE 26th JUNE 1999 BUT I ASKED THEM TO RETURN AND WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

SIR, PLEASE RESPOND QUICKLY AS THE CIVILIAN IN THIS AREA ARE IN DESPERATE NEED OF FOOD AND MEDICINE.

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFO AND NECESSARY ACTION.

BEST REGARDS

HDD HAS

27
27
99

TO SMILE

FROM CONCORD

27th 06-99

SUBJ REPORT

SIR,

MAKONI JUNCTION WHICH IS BETWEEN MASINGBI AND MAKANI WAS ATTACKED YESTERDAY BY THE KAMAJORS BUT THEY WERE REPELLED SUCCESSFULLY. SIMULTANEOUSLY ANOTHER ATTACK WAS CARRIED ALONG THE GUINEA BORDER ALONG KOND AXIS BY BOTH THE GUINEANS AND THE KAMAJORS IN A VILLAGE CALLED GBEREFEH BUT THEY WERE ALSO REPELLED ACCORDINGLY. NO KAMAJOR BADGES WERE CAPTURED INCLUDING VITAL DOCUMENTS.

12156 9085

00008666

FROM THE GUINEANS O

MORE OVER THE NIGERIAN ALFA JET IS
STILL CARRYING ON CONTINUOUS RAIDS IN THE
BELOW LISTED TOWNS O

- ① MADINA
- ② KAMAKWE
- ③ RUKUPA
- ④ MAMBOLD AROUND KAMBIA O

DETAILS OF THE AIR RAID WILL FOLLOW
LATER O

BEST REGARDS

1109 HRS

27
06
99

Fm- THE LION

28-06-99

TO - DR. WILLIAMS THROUGH CONCORD
SUBJ- DIRECTIVE O

YOU ARE TO GIVE A SPECIFIC LOC
TO THE UNHCR TEAM AS TO WHERE YOU
WANT THEIR PLANE TO LAND O THEY ALSO
NEED CLEARANCE FROM THE HIGH COMMAND O
THE TEAM CONSIST OF TEN DIFFERENT ORGANI
SATIONS EXCLUDING ANY LOCAL NGO O
PSE. ORIGINATE A MSG TO THEM
NOW CONCERNING THE LIGHT LOCATION AT
TIME - 1700 HRS O WE WILL FAX ANOTHER
CLEARANCE TO THEM FROM HERE (LONE)

BEST REGARDS O

1715 HRS

28
06
99

12157

9086

FROM - HERO
TO - SATELITE
SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

00008667

29TH-06-99

I ADVISE YOU NOT TO ALLOW THE
NIGERIANS, TOGOLAISE AND THE LIBERIAN DELIGATE
TO BE PRESENT WHILE STUDING THE DOCUMENT.
I SAY AGAIN, YOU SHOULD NOT ALLOW THEM
TO BE AROUND OR EVEN NOT TO INFLUENCE
YOU TO TAKE DESITION.

PLEASE STUDY IT PROPERLY AND YOUR
DESITION SHOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE
RUF, SLA AND THE PEOPLE OF S/LEDNE. ANY
DESITION TAKEN, PUT IT IN BLACK AND WHITE
WHICH SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL AND GIVE TO PA
ROGERS TO COME WITH IT WITH THE REST OF
THE DELIGATION.

TO RE-ENFORCE MY PREVIOUS ORDERS
MAKE IT A POINT OF DUTY TO RELEASE THE 10
NIGERIANS P.O.W TO THE DELIGATION. FINALLY
YOU SHOULD NOT ALLOW ANY BODY TO INFLUENCE
YOU AND YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS. HOPE TO
HEAR FROM YOU TUESDAY 29TH JUNE 1999
IN RECEIPT OF THIS MESSAGE.

0031 HRS

29
D.A. [Signature] 99

12158 9037
U

TO- HEAD 00008667 29TH 06-99
THROUGH SATARLITE C.W.
FM- DR. SS. WILLIAMS (O.S.M. CO-ORDINATOR)
SIR, 000087674 C.W.

BE INFORMED THAT SERIOUS CONTACT
WITH THE N.G.O STARTED SINCE 20TH 06-99 O
FOLLOWING MY PREVIOUS DIALOGUE WITH THE MSF
BRANCH IN TOGO, I'M HAPPY TO INFORM YOU
THAT WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS O MSF IS DUE
IN OUR KAILAHUN ZONE ON THE 07TH 07-99 O
DURING WHICH WE WILL CONDUCT A JOINT SURVAY
FOLLOW BY A MEETING O SIR ACCORDING TO
THE PLAN, A CF IS COMING ALONG WITH MSF ON
THE ABOVE DATE O 00008668

ALSO SIR, CONTACT BETWEEN THE UN RELIEF
STARTED ON THE 26TH 06-99 O ACCORDING TO PLAN
THEY ARE DUE IN OUR KAILAHUN ZONE ON THE
04TH 07-99 O WE ALSO PLAN TO CONDUCT A
SURVAY AND A MEETING WITH THEM ON RELIEF
ISSUE O SIR. IT HAS BEEN AGREED BY ALL
NGO'S INTERESTED TO ENTER OUR ZONE BY USING
HELICOPTER FOR NOW O

SIR, THE NGO ASKED TO USE THEIR LOGISTIC
IN ORDER TO ENTER OUR KAILAHUN DISTRICT BUT
THE MEANS IS NOT POSSIBLE NOW AS BOTH ROADS
JOKU AND SHEGBWEMA HIGH WAYS ARE PRESENTLY
OUT OF USE O ALL NGO HELICOPTERS ARE TO
EITHER LAND AT GBALAHUN OR BUEDU O THIS IS
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MANDATE GIVEN BY
THE HIGH COMMAND O

SIR I WOULD LIKE YOU TO MAKE THE

12159
9038

ROAD ISSUE CLEAR TO ALL THE NGD'S THAT IT IS
BECAUSE OF THE PRESENT HUDDLES LEADING INTO
OUR ZONES THAT I HAVE ASKED FOR THEM TO
COME BY AIR. ALSO, THEY SHOULD RESERVE
ALL THEIR LOCAL TASKS ON THEIR SIDE AS WE
HAVE QUALIFIED TASKS TO WORK WITH THEM.
SIR, THIS DECISION IS TO HELP EMPLOY ALL
QUALIFIED SKILL AND UNSKILL MEN AND WOMEN
ALL OVER IN OUR CONTROLLED ZONE. THIS IS
POLITICS TIME WE SHOULD START PLAYING POLITICS
FROM ALL QUARTERS NOW.

THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND NECESSA
RY ACTION SIR.

BEST REGARDS

00008668A 1140 HRS

129
86
99
DAP

TO - SMILE THROUGH CONCORD
FROM - MAJ. JACKSON SWARAY (RAY)
SUBJ - INFORMATION

01/20/99

SIR,

ALL YOUR ADVICES GIVEN CONCERNING
THE INFIGHTING IS NOT IMPLEMENTED ACCORDINGLY
AS I'M SPEAKING ROCKY-CO. IS ON THE
MOVE BECAUSE HE WAS ATTACKED BY TROOPS OF
SPARROW LAST NIGHT. EVEN YOUR BODY GUARD
MAJ. YAVAY WAS UNDER DURES AND CARRIED TO
THE ZONE OF SPARROW.

MORE OVER, 200 ULIMO FIGHTERS (ARMED
MEN) CHARTERED BY SSS ARE PRESENTLY AT
MAGEURAKA STANDING BY TO ATTACK BOTH LUNSA
AND MAKENI.

12160
9039

00008669

SIR, ACCORDING TO INFORMATION
CONCORD HAS DECIDED TO BASE AT KONO TO
RECEIVE YOU AND MAKE SURE HE DRIVEN OUT
SUPER MAN FROM MAKENI TO THE BUSH O
FURTHER MORE, I HOPE YOU WILL RECEIVING MY
INFORMATION FOR QUICK ACTION BEFORE IT
IS TOO LATE O

IF POSSIBLE SIR, I WOULD LIKE TO
SPEAK YOU FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING O
1915 HRS

DA Prince $\frac{01}{02}$
99

FROM - HERB

1st 07-99

TO - SATELLITE

INFO - TANGHEST, SUDDEN & MAJ. RAY

SUBS - DIRECTIVE

YOU SHOULD INSTRUCT SPARROW AND
TO LAUNCH ANY ATTACK ON MAKENI O THIS IS
TO REINFORCE MY INSTRUCTION THE LAST TIME
THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INFIGHTING O
REFERENCE MESSAGE FROM MY BODY
GUARD MAJ JACKSON SWARAY (RAY) WHICH
IS UNBELIEVABLE RELATING TO AN ALLEGED
ATTACK ON MABONTOR O INVESTIGATE AND
REPORT TO ME ACCORDINGLY O IF IT IS TRUE
THOSE INVOLVED SHOULD DESIST (INFIGHTING)
IMMEDIATELY O

SUPERMAN AND MAJ. JACKSON
SWARAY SHOULD REPORT TO MY LOCATION
FOR BRIEFING O

2400 HRS

DA Prince $\frac{01}{02}$
99

12161
9040

TO - SMILE
FM - CONCORD
SUBJ - RESPONSE
SIR,

03rd 07 - 99

00008679

REFERENCE TO THE MESSAGE SENT BY
MAJ RAY, MERCENARIES HAVE NEVER FOUGHT
ALONG SIDE THE AUF O THIS IS A CLEAR INDICATION
OF LACK OF RESPECT FOR COMMAND AND THE
INTENSION OF SUPERMAN TO ORGANISE ALONG
THE MAKENI AXIS TO CONTINUE CAUSING PROBL-
EM O

FURTHER MORE SIR, THERE IS MESSAGE
RELATING TO THE ACTIVITIES AND INTENSION
OF SUPERMAN AND HIS ALLIES O

① SPARROW REPORTED ON THE 30th JUNE 99
THAT HE HAD A DIALOGUE WITH BRIG. 55 O HE
STATED THAT HE WILL ATTACK SPARROW ON
THE 1ST JULY 99 O

② A MESSAGE FROM LT COL. GUERILLA STAT-
ED THAT ACCORDING TO CAPT. GABON, CO. ROCKY
CONTACTED FROM BUMBUNA AND SAID HE WILL
ATTACK MABONTOR AND MAGBURAKA O

③ MESSAGE MUSTERED BY 2ND BRIGADE
COMMANDER (COL SIG. REBEL) STATED THAT BRIG.
MANNI AND PA. DEMBA ARE IN ROUT TO KAYI-
MA AND THEIR ADVANCE TEAM IS ALREADY AT
ALKALIA O FOR YOUR INFOS SIR, THESE
BROTHERS HAVE INTENSION TO ATTACK
KONO AND ANY ATTEMPT WILL BE TREATED
VERY SERIOUS O

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR NECESSARY ACTION SIR

1145 PM

[Signature]
03rd
07
99

12162
904

FROM- SMILE TO

TO- CONCORD

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

00008671

04TH JULY 1999

INFO ALL STATIONS

REFERENCE TO MY LAST INSTRUCTIONS
ANY ATTEMPT BY ANY BODY TO ~~CREATE~~ INFIGHT-
TING WHILE THE PEACE TALKS IS ON-GOING IN
LOME WILL FACE THE CONSEQUENCES. ALL
COMMANDERS AND THEIR TROOPS SHOULD STAY
AT THEIR LOCATIONS. I WILL NOT TOLERATE
ANY ATTEMPT THAT WILL JEOPARDISE THE PRES-
ENT PEACE TALKS. THEREFORE, ALL COMM-
ANDERS ARE TO COMPLY STRICTLY TO MY
INSTRUCTIONS.

ALSO, REF. MY LAST MESSAGE
RELATING TO THE INFORMATION RECEIVED ON
THE 1ST JULY 1999, MY ORDERS ARE HERE BY
REINFORCED THAT SUPER MAN AND MRS. JACKSON
BWARAY SHOULD REPORT TO MY LOCATION
IMMEDIATELY.

I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO ALL COMM-
ANDERS THIS EVENING. I INSTRUCT ALL OPERATORS
ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE KONO AND NORTH TO
ERECT THEIR ANTENNAS FROM 18 - 24 FEET
FOR BETTER COMMUNICATION.

[Signature] 04
09
99

1130 HRS

12163
904

TO - HERO
FROM - SATRALITE
SUBS - INFORMATION

00008672

051107-99

SIR,

ACCORDING TO SPARROW THE KAMA-
JORS ATTACKED OWN POSITION AT MATOTOKA
THIS AFTERNOON BUT THEY WERE REPELLED
THERE WAS NO CASUALTY ON OUR SIDE

THIS IS FOR YOUR INFO AND NECE-
SSARY ACTION SIR

1940 HRS

[Signature]
04
07
99

FROM - SMILE
TO - SCORPION
SUBS - FLASH

051107-99

WITH REGARDS TO OUR LAST DISCUSSION,
YOU ARE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE
REQUESTED BROTHERS NAMELY COL. EDDIE
KANNEH, MAJOR SHEKU KUMBA AND ONE OTHER
OFFICER FROM YOUR POINT SUPERMAN, LT. COL.
CIBAIL MASSAQUOT ^{AND MR. MANI} SHOULD ALSO MOVE TODAY TO
KAILAHUN SO AS TO MOVE WITH THE DELIGATION
TO MEET ME AT LOME-TOGO

COL. EDDIE KANNEH, MAJ. SHEKU KUMBA
AND THE OTHER ONE PERSON FROM YOUR POINT
ARE TO MOVE TODAY TO FOYA AS THEY WILL
BE PICKED UP BY HELICOPTER TO MONROVIA
THEY WILL LATER JOIN PRESIDENT TAYLOR TO
MEET ME AT TOGO

1300 HRS - MANEL

1321 HRS - TEMPLE DEFENDER

[Signature]
05
07
99

12164
9043

TO - HERO

05TH-07-99

THROUGH SATELLITE

FROM - DR WILLIAMS (O.S.M. CO-ORDINATOR)

SIR 00008673

WE RECEIVED SIX (06) NGO'S FROM F/TOWN TO OUR ZONE FOR ACCESSMENT AND SURVEY. THE UNDER MENTIONED NGO'S WERE RECEIVED:

- ① NATHALIANE BRONCT - HEAD OF MISSION ACTION CONTRE LA FAIM (ACF)
- ② MERCEDES TATAY - HEAD OF PROJECT DOCTOR (MSF)
- ③ MARTHA CAREY - OUT GOING HEAD OF MISSION (MSF)
- ④ GIUSEPPE SODOLLO - PROJECT OF MISSION (INCOMING - MSF)
- ⑤ JEAN-GUY VAIAUX - LOGISTICS (MSF)
- ⑥ LAWRENCE JERDEVAL - REGIONAL CO-ORDINATOR (ACF) O

FOUR OF THEM LEFT BACK AT FOR F/TOWN TODAY AND TWO ARE STILL ON THE GROUND FOR ACCESSMENT O

ALSO SIR, WE ARE EXPECTING ANOTHER NGO'S TOMORROW O THE UNHCR AND THE W.F.P O WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THEM THIS EVENING FOR CONFIRMATION O WE WILL BE VERY GREATFUL SIR IF SISTER JOSEPHINE COULD REACH

12165

9044

THEM BY TELEPHONE TO GET CONFIRMATION FROM THEM TOMORROW ○

BEST REGARDS ○

2200 HRS ○

00008674

08
07
99

07-07-99

FROM - THE LEADER

TO - GEN. SAM BOCKARIE INFO ALL MEN/WOMEN
SUBJ - INFORMATION OF RUF/SL

INFORM ALL THE MEN AND WOMEN OF RUF/SL, THE CIVIL SOCIETY AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS THAT I WILL BE SIGNING THE PEACE ACCORD TODAY ○ I AND MY DELEGATION IN LOME HAVE NEGOTIATED IN GOOD FAITH AND HAVE REACHED A COMPROMISE ○ LAST NIGHT FOUR (04) HEAD OF STATES - PRESIDENT CHARLSE TAYLOR OF LIBERIA, BLAISE CAMPADRI OF BURKINA FASO, OBASANJO OF NIGERIA AND NYASINGBI EYADEMA OF TOGO MET WITH ME AND PRESIDENT ○ WE HAVE MANAGED TO REACH AN AGREEMENT FINALLY ○ I WILL BE RELEASED BEFORE THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORD TODAY ○

I WANT EVERY BODY TO TRUST MY LEADERSHIP ○ I WILL BE JOINING ALL THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS SO THAT WE CAN ALL WORK TOGETHER FOR CONSOLIDATING THE PEACE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF RUF/SL INTO A POLITICAL MOVEMENT ○ WE SHOULD REMAIN UNITED, DEDICATED

12166 9045

AND SINCERE TO THE MOVEMENT AND THE
PEOPLE OF S/LEONE O WE SHOULD GIVE
PEACE A CHANCE O 00008675

EXTEND MY REGARDS TO EVERYBODY
AND I WISH THEM ALL GOD'S BLESSING O
VERY SOON I WILL JOIN THEM O

WHEN IT IS ANNOUNCED THAT I'M RELEA-
SED THE SOLDIERS SHOULD NOT DISCHARGE
THEIR WEAPONS O FIRING MUST NOT TAKE
PLACE O EVERY SOLDIER MUST ABIDE BY THIS
DIRECTIVE O

REGARDS

1200 HRS

07
07
99

TO - SMILE

THROUGH CONCORD

FM - DR WILLIAMS SUB-WFDS.

09TH 07-99

Sir,

THE ASSESSMENT AND THE SURVEY
MISSION HAD BEEN COMPLETED BY BOTH MS.F
AND AC.F O ANOTHER ASSESSMENT WAS CARRIED
OUT ON THE 09TH 07-99 BY (7) SENIOR UN.
RELIEF NGOs AND THEIR PERSONNELS ARE
AS FOLLOWS:-

- ① MR. KINGSLEY AMANING - HEAD OF THE UN DELICAT
TION
- ② MR. MARK O. MOHAMED - UN. SECURITY
- ③ MR. ROBERT PAINTER
- ④ MR. LAKANGA TABAN - WFP
- ⑤ MRS. DEBURCA - UNICEF

12167 9046

- 00008676
- ⑥ MR. LUIS - UNOMIBIL
 - ⑦ MR. NATALIA ANAULT - ACF
 - ⑧ MR. WEBBER - CARE INTERNATIONAL
 - ⑨ MR. BAZIL TEZERA - MSF
 - ⑩ MR. ANDREW - WORLD VISSION

SIR, BOTH TEAMS WERE RECEIVED BY THE OSM AND WERE LEAD TO THE HIGH COMMAND RUF/SL ON THE GROUND. ACCORDING TO THEM THEY ARE NOW READY TO COME AND HELP OUR CIVILIANS. ○

SIR, THE TWO KEY ISSUE RAISED WERE TO OPEN THE KAILAHUN KENEMA HIGH WAY AS THE TRIP BY AIR IS VERY EXPENSIVE. ○ CONCORD PROMISSSED TO GET GET ORDERS SO AS TO FIX THE ROAD. ○ ALSO, THEY WANT TO VISIT AND ACCESS MAKENI. ○ CONCORD PROMISSSED TO INFORM YOU AND THE BROTHERS ALSO ON THE GROUND. ○

SIR, I'M ON THE STAND BY TO SEND THE OSM TEAM TO MAKENI IN ORDER TO ORGANISE THE OSM IN THE ENTIRE NORTHERN PROVINCE AND TO ALSO RECEIVE THE NGO ACCESSMENT TEAM. ○

SIR, I'M WAITING FOR YOUR ADVICE.

BEST REGARDS

0915 HRS ///

[Signature]
10/08/99

12168

9047

FROM - SMILE
TO - CONCORD

00008677

10TH 07-99

SUB - DIRECTIVE
INFO - DR. WILLIAMS

REF. THE MESSAGE FROM DR. WILLIAMS
DATED 10TH 07-99 YOU ARE TO OPEN THE
ROADS LEADING TO OUR LIBERATED ZONES AND
RE-CONSTRUCT THEM IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE
NGO'S TO REACH OUR PEOPLE WITH FOOD
SUPPLY AND DRUGS ○ MAKE SURE YOU ~~SEARCH~~
CREAT CHECK POINTS AND SEARCH ALL VEHICLES
THAT ENTER OUR ZONES ○

ALSO INSTRUCT DR. WILLIAMS TO GO
AHEAD WITH THE PROPOSAL MADE BY EXTENDING
THE RELIEF OPERATIONS IN THE NORTHERN
PROVINCE ○ DR. WILLIAMS SHOULD ALSO CONTACT
MSF AT 2000 HRS EVERY DAY ○ - EITHER MARINA
OR JOSEPHINE ○

BEST REGARDS
2235 HRS

Smile 10
07
99

12169
9048

TO - CONCORD THROUGH BRIG. ISSAH SESAY
INFO - SMILE

FROM - BRIG. KALLON 00008678 151107-99

SUBJECT - REPORT

SIR,

UPON THE INSTRUCTION BY THE LEADER FOR ME TO PROCEED TO MAKENI, I DID SO THREE DAYS AGO. UPON OUR ARRIVAL AT MAKENI, WE WERE HIGHLY RECEIVED BY BRIG. MANNIE, BRIG. GUDITH AND PA. DEMBA MARA. THEY TRIED THEIR LEVEL BEST TO BRING US TOGETHER BUT UPON THE ARRIVAL OF COL. GIBRIEL MASSAQUOI, LT. COL. NYA AND BRIG. ISSAC, THEY STATED THAT THEY WILL NEVER WORK WITH ME.

THEY PROVOKED ME A LOT, SAYING THAT I'M A REFUGEE. THEY DISARMED SIXTY (60) ARMS FROM MY MEN INCLUDING TWO R.P.G. TUBES WITH THREE ROCKETS AND THREE PACKETS OF AK ROUNDS. WITH ALL THIS, I WAS ADVISED BY THE ACTING PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF MAKENI INCLUDING MOST OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO BEHAVE AS A MAN AND KEEP TO MYSELF. THIS REASON GAVE ME THE CAUSE TO BASE AT TEKOR BARRACKS.

SIR, KINDLY TELL THE BROTHERS THAT WE ARE ALL THE SAME AND WE ARE ALL FIGHTING FOR THE SAME GOAL SINCE PEACE IS NOW ON THE WAY FOR US. SIR, PLEASE ACCEPT INFO FOR YOUR NECESSARY ACTION.

BEST REGARDS
1200 HRS

[Signature]
15
07
99

12170

9049

FROM - SMILE
TO - SPARROW

00008679

INFO - BRIG. MANNIE AND COL. ISSAC

SUB - RESPONSE

REF. YOUR MESSAGE DATED 15TH 07-99, IT WAS RECEIVED WITH GREAT PLEASURE. BY MY DIRECTIVE I ORDER THAT YOU STAY WHERE YOU ARE PRESENTLY AND TAKE NO ACTION. CONTINUE TO EXERCISE PATIENCE UNTIL MY ARRIVAL IN DUE COURSE. AS SOON AS I ARRIVE, THE ALMIGHTY GOD/ALLAH WILL SOLVE ALL THESE PROBLEMS. FOR COL. ISSAC AND MAJ MASSAQUOI, YOU SHOULD RETURN ALL RUF PROPERTIES (ARMS AND AMMO.) YOU TOOK FROM SPARROW'S MEN. I REPEAT, RETURN ALL ARMS AND AMMO YOU TOOK FROM SPARROW'S MEN. UPON RECEIPT OF THIS MESSAGE.

FOR COL. ISSAC
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH WE ARE NOT ENEMIES. I ADVISE YOU NOT TO BE STUPID OR TO BE MISLED BY ANY ONE IN PARTICULAR. MAJ GIBRIEL MASSAQUOI AND OTHERS. YOU ARE A VANGUARD OF THE RUF/SL, DON'T ALLOW YOURSELF TO BE FOOL BY ANY BODY. I WILL JOIN YOU VERY SOON.

RE-ELECT YOUR ANTENNAS AND CHARGE YOUR BATTERIES PROPERLY AS I MAY LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ALL IN THE EVENING.

BEST REGARDS

1327 HRS

15/07/99
1327 HRS

12171
9088

FROM - SISTER JOSEPHINE
TO - DOCTOR WILLIAMS
SUBJECT - INFORMATION

15TH 07-99

00008689

SIR,

THE MSF TEAM WILL BE WORKING
ON THEIR OWN, NOT UNDER UN AS THEY
CAME FIRST AND ARE NOT REGISTERED
WITH UN. THIS IS AN INDEPENDENT ORGANI-
SATION THAT WORKS BETTER BY THEMSELVES
BUT WE CANT TELL UN THIS. JUST INFORM
THE UN THAT THE MSF STARTED THEIR
WORK EARLIER THAN THEM AND SO WE
CANT MAKE NEW ARRANGEMENT NOW AS
WE HAD GIVEN THEM OUR MANDATE AND
THEY HAVE ALREADY STARTED WORKING. WE
HAVE TO PUT IT IN A DIPLOMATIC WAY.

I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO YOU
TODAY ON THIS MATTER.

BEST REGARDS

BOB

15
07
99

TO - SMILE

15TH 07-99

FM - SSS

SUBJ - INFORMATION

SIR,

SITREP RECEIVED FROM GOLD
TOWN AND MASINGBI STATED THAT THE
KAMAJORS ATTACKED OUR POSITION AT FUTANE
JUNCTION THIS EVENING AND THE FIGHTING IS
STILL GOING ON.

I HAVE INSTRUCTED BRIG. PETER VANDI

12172 9057

TO DESPATCH RE-ENFORCEMENT TO THE SAID
POINT TO REPELL THE ATTACK @ DETAILS WILL
FOLLOW UPON RECEIVING THE SAID STATIONS @

SIR, PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFO
AND NECESSARY ADVICE @

BEST REGARDS

2015 HRS

Signature

~~TO - CONCORD
THROUGH SSS
INFO - THE LION
FROM - SPARROW~~

00008681

16TH-07-99

~~SIR,~~

~~THE DIREC~~

TO - THE LION

16TH 07-99

INFO - SSS

FM - SPARROW

SUBJ - REPORT

SIR,

THE DIRECTIVE GIVEN BY YOU WAS
RECEIVED AND IMPLEMENTED @ I IMMEDIATELY
MOVED ~~WAT~~ MAGBURAKA WITH HONDA BUT I
LEFT SOME OF THE MEN IN THE BARRACKS AT
TEROR TO FOLLOW ME WITH THE TRUCK @ I
IMMEDIATELY MOVED WITH THE TWIN BARREL
TO EUTANE JUNCTION WHERE THE RAMAJORS
ATTACKED YESTERDAY AND PUT THE SAID AREA
UNDER CONTROL @

12173

9052

UNFORTUNATELY SIR, UPON MY ARRIVAL ON
BASE FROM FUTANE JUNCTION, I RECEIVED
A LETTER FROM MY MEN THAT LEFT IN
THE BARRACKS WHICH REVEALED THAT MAJ.
GIBRIL MASSAQUOI AND OTHERS SAID THEY
CAN'T ALLOW THEM TO MOVE WITH THE
TRUCK ○ 00008682

SIR, KINDLY ADVISE THE MEN AT
MAKENI TO ~~MOVE~~ ALLOW THE MEN TO MOVE
WITH THE TRUCK FROM THE BARRACKS ○

BEST REGARDS

1932 HRS

DA *Smile* ¹⁶/₀₇/₉₉

FM- SMILE

TO - MAJ. MASSAQUOI

16TH-07-99

INFO- SPARROW

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE ORDERED TO
RETURN TO LUNSAK WITH ALL YOUR MEN
WITHIN THE NEXT 12 HOURS ○ SPARROW'S
MEN ARE TO STAY IN THE BARRACKS AND
MAKE SURE YOU ALLOW THE TRUCK TO
RTN. TO MAGBULAKA AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE ○ I REPEAT, YOU SHOULD ONLY
GO TO MAKENI WHEN YOU ARE INSTRU-
CTED BY ME ○

FOR SPARROW, YOUR MEN ARE
TO STAY IN THE BARRACKS TILL FUTHER
NOTICE ○

TAKE NOTE AND GOVERN YOURSELF

2030 HRS

DA *Smile* ¹⁶/₀₇/₉₉

12174

9053

TO - CONCORD
INFO - SMILE

00008683

17TH 07-99

FROM - SSS

SUBJ - INFORMATION

SIR,

I MAY LIKE TO ~~DESPATCH~~ PROCEED WITH THE OSM PERSONNELS TO KONO AND SOME MATERIALS FOR THE KONO AREA AS THERE IS ENEMY THREAT FROM THE GUINEA BORDER AND THE HIGH WAY 0 UPON MY ARRIVAL AT ~~MARBA~~ KIDU I WILL DESPATCH THE OSM PEOPLE TO MAKENI AND I WILL RETURN AS FAST AS POSSIBLE 0

SIR, PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE FOR ADVISE

BEST REGARDS

DADO HRS

DADO 17
07
99

TO - CONCORD
THROUGH SSS

INFO - SMILE

FROM - SPARROW

17TH 07-99

SIR,

THE MAN POWER THE LEADER INSTRUCTED TO STAY IN THE BARRACKS ARRIVED AT MY LOC THIS MORNING (MAGBUKAKA) THE MEN MADE ME TO UNDERSTAND THAT AT AROUND 2000 HRS LAST NIGHT, COL. ISSACK, MAJ. CIBUL MASSABUDI, CO. MATHEW BABOO AND HUGE NUMBER OF ARME MEN INCLUDING ONE BARREL ~~BET~~ VIOLENTLY APPROACHED THE THEM AND ASKED THEM

12175
9057

00008684

TO LEAVE AND IF THEY DONOT LEAVE THEY
WILL OPEN FIRE ON THEM @ ACCORDING TO
THE MEN, DUE TO THE PRESURE FROM COL.
ISSAC, LT. COL. NYA AND MAJ. GIBRIL MASSAQUOI
AS THEY WERE ALMOST AT THE POINT OF
OPENING FIRE ON THEM, CAUSED THEM TO
LEAVE THE BARRACKS AS THEY AS THEY DO NOT
WANT TO CAUSE ANY PROBLEM @

TWO TRUCKS, ONE TRACTOR AND 80
BAGS OF RICE WERE LEFT IN THE BARRACKS
INCLUDING TWO HONDAS @ THEY ARRESTED MAJ.
GOBERGE AND TWO OTHER BODY GUARDS OF
BMG. ISSAH WITH ALL ITEMS IN THEIR POSSES-
SION @ AMONG THE ITEMS ARRESTED WAS 250
CARAT OF GOLD DUST WHICH I GAVE TO
MAJ. GEORGE GOBER @ ONE OF THE MEN SGT
ALPHA KARLBO MANAGED TO ESCAPE FROM
THEM WHILE THE OTHER TWO ARE STILL IN
JAIL WITH THE GOLD DUST AT MAKENI @
THE PROPERTY OF THE MEN, THE TWO TRUCKS,
THE 80 BAGS OF RICE AND THE TWO
HONDAS ARE STILL WITH COL. ISSAC AND OTHERS
AT MAKENI @

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE SIR FOR NECESS-
SARY ACTION @

BEST REGARDS

1610 HRS

17
07
99

12176
9085

00008685

FROM - COL. ISSAC

17TH - 07 - 99

TO - BSS

INFO - SMILE AND CONCORD

SUBS - INFORMATION

SIR,

THE COMMANDER AT LUNBAR RECEIVED TWO UNOMSIL AT 1400 HRS YESTERDAY
○ THE COMMANDER INSTRUCTED THEM TO PROCEED TO MAKENI BUT THEY SAID GEN SAM BOCKANG HAS TOLD THEM (UNOMSIL) NOT TO TRAVEL TO MAKENI AT ALL AS HE NEVER INSTRUCTED THEM TO SUPPLY EITHER LUNBAR, MAKENI OR KAMBIA ○

IN THIS REGARDS I'M ASKING YOU TO INFORM THE LEADER ABOUT THIS AS THE CIVILIAN POPULIST ARE IN NEED OF FOOD AND DRUGS ○ I'M AWAITING YOUR ADVICE ○

BEST REGARDS ○

16 15 HRS

[Signature]
17
07
99

FM - SMILE

07TH - 07 - 99

TO - BSS

INFO - CONCORD

SUBS - RESPONSE

REF YOUR MSG DATED 17TH JULY 99, YOU ARE GIVEN THE GO AHEAD TO TRAVEL TO KOND AND RETURN ○

BEST REGARDS

16 15 HRS

12177
9056

FROM - SMILE

00008686

17TH-07-99

TO - SUPER STAR (COL. ISSAC)

SUBJ - RESPONSE AND DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE ORDERED TO RELEASE THE TWO MEN (MAJ. GEORGE GOSBOR AND JR.) YOU ARRESTED YESTERDAY. YOU ALSO RETURN ALL THE PROPERTIES YOU TOOK FROM THE MEN THAT SPARROW LEFT IN THE BARRACKS. I ORDERED SPARROW'S MEN TO STAY IN THE BKS AND I'M STILL RE-ENFORCING MY ORDERS FOR THEM TO STAY THERE.

YOU AND MAJ. GIBBIL MASSACUON SHOULD RETURN TO LUNBAR AND STAY THERE IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT OF THIS MESSAGE. I MIND YOU THIS IS MY LAST DIRECTIVE I'M GIVING YOU PEOPLE. YOU ARE TO STOP CAUSING PROBLEM AND REALISE THAT I WILL GO BACK TO SIERRA LEONE.

REF. YOUR MESSAGE DATED 16TH-07-99 YOU HAVE NO BUSINESS TO DO WITH RELIEF ORGANISATION. TAKE NOTE AND GOVERN YOUR SELF.

1745

DA [Signature] 17
07
99

12178 9057

18TH-07-99

TO - CONCORD

INFO - SMILE

FM - SSS

00008687

SIR,

GOLD TOWN AND MASINGBI WERE
SIMULTANEOUSLY ATTACKED BY THE KAMAJONS
THIS AFTERNOON BUT I HAVE DESPATCHED
RE-ENFORCEMENT THERE TO CONTAIN SITUATION
I WILL FURNISH YOU DETAILS UPON RECEIVING
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT FROM THERE.

MORE OVER, I WOULD HAVE DESPATCHED
THE OSM REPRESENTATIVES TO MAKENI TODAY
BUT DUE TO THE CURRENT DEVELOPEMENT
FROM THE ABOVE TOWNS HAVE CAUSED THE
DELAYANCE.

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE INFOS FOR
YOUR NECESSARY ADVICE SIR.

BEST REGARDS

1911 HRS

18
07
99

FROM - SMILE

TO - BRIG MAAT

SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

1918 07-99

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE TO FIND
OUT ABOUT ALHAI A. B. KAMARA. HE IS MARRA-
GE TO ONE OF MY SISTERS (MARINTY) AT
MAKENI - BELAL MISSION. AWAITING TO RECEIVE
THE RESPONSE WITH IN 24 HOURS.

BEST REGARDS

19
07
99

12179 9058

THE SIERRA LEONE PEOPLE'S ARMY - SLPA
NORTHERN REGION - MAKENI

FROM - THE PEOPLE AND CHIEF DOMS OF BOMBALI
DISTRICT HQ. OF MAKENI

TO - CPL. FODAY S. SANKOH
THROUGH GEN. SAM BOCKARIE

SUBJECT - INFORMATION

SIR, 00008688

WE WISH TO CONGRATULATE YOU FOR
RETURNING PEACE TO SIERRA LEONE. YOU HAVE
SUCCEEDED IN HAVING THE GUN SILENT BUT WE
ARE STILL LEFT WITH THE GREATEST ENEMY OF
HUNGER AND NEED FOR MEDICATION. IT HAS BEEN
RELIABLE LEARNED FROM THE SLPA COMMANDER
IN MAKENI THAT GEN. SAMBOCKARIE HAS STOPPED
THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF FROM COMING TO THE
NORTH. IF THAT IS CORRECT SIR, THEN YOU
WILL COME AND FIND ALL OF US STARVED TO
DEATH. SO WE ARE KINDLY REQUESTING YOUR
TIMELY INTERVENTION WITH THE VIEW OF
ALLEVIATING THE ACUTE HUNGER AND MEDICAL
CRISIS THAT WE ARE FACING. WE HOPE TO
HEAR FROM YOU AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENI-
ENCE.

2212 HRS

[Signature] 18
02
99

12180 9059

TO - CONCORD
INFO - SMILE
SUBJ - INFORMATION
FROM - SSS

00008689

19TH 07-99

SIR,

ACCORDING TO REPORT RECEIVED FROM MASIKULI AND GOLD TOWN, OUR MEN HAVE REPELLED THE ENEMIES AND OUR MEN ARE PRESENTLY CHASING THEM TO WHERE THEY CAME FROM. PETER VANDI HAS PROCEEDED THERE TO MAKE SURE THE AREA IS SECURE.

MORE OVER, I HAVE DESPATCHED THE OSM REPRESENTATIVES TO MAGEWARA FOR UNWARRDS MOVEMENT TO MAKENI.

ACCORDING TO DR. WILLIAMS SIR, THE UNHER WOULD LIKE TO ENTER OUR ZONE BY ROAD THROUGH MANG JUNCTION, SHEGBWEMA AND DARU TO PENDEMBU. IN RESPECT OF THE ABOVE SIR, DR. WILLIAMS SUGGESTED FOR US TO PROVIDE DRIVERS FOR THEM UPON THEIR ARRIVAL AT OUR ZONE.

YOUR ADVICE IS NEEDED SIR ON THIS ISSUE.

8287 REGARDS
1650

[Signature]
19
17
99

12181
9060

FROM- SMILE

TO- SSS

00008699

19TH-07-99

SUBJ- RESPONSE

REF. YOUR MESSAGE DATED 19TH JULY 99,
YOU ARE TO CHASE THE KAMATORS TO WHERE
THEY CAME FROM O

CONTACT RONCORS TO RECEIVE THE RESPON
SE PERTAINING THE MOVEMENT OF THE NEG
O

BEST REGARDS

1030 HRS

[Signature]

TO- SMILE

20TH-07-99

FROM- BRIG. MANT

SUBJ- RESPONSE

SIR,

REF. YOUR SIGNAL MESSAGE DATED
19TH JULY 99, PLEASE BE INFORM THAT I MET
WITH THE SAID MAN (ALHADI A. B. KAMARA)
YESTERDAY O HE STAYS AT NO. 9 TURAY STREET
MARGENT WITH ALL HIS CHILDREN BUT LACK OF
FOOD AND MEDICINE O THEY ARE EXTENDING
THEIR SINCERE GREETINGS TO YOU AND ALL O
WAITING TO SEE YOU O

BEST REGARDS O

1130

[Signature]
20
07
99

12182
906

21ST 07-99

TO- CONCORD
INFO- SMILE
SUBJ- INFORMATION
FROM- DR. WILLIAMS
THROUGH - SSS

00008691

SIR,

I WILL BE GREATFUL IF THE PRESEN
COMMANDER IN MAKENI CAN PROCEED TO ~~MAGBURAKA~~
MAGBURAKA AND RECEIVE THE OSM DELEGATES
OR IF THE COMMANDER IN MAGBURAKA CAN
ACCOMPANY THEM AS FAR AS MAKENI WITHOUT
ANY MORLESTATION FROM THE BROTHERS AT
MAKENI. THIS IS BECAUSE ACCORDING TO
SPARROW, THE ROAD FROM MAGBURAKA TO MAKENI
IS COMPLETELY BLOCKED BY THE BROTHERS AT
MAKENI.

SIR, I'M AWAITING YOUR ADVICE AND
INSTRUCTION FOR THE BROTHERS AS THE NGO'S
ARE PRESENTLY SET TO MOVE INTO MAKENI
TODAY UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE OSM PERSON-
NELS THERE.

BEST REGARDS

735 HRS

[Signature]
21
07
99

21ST 07-99

FROM- SMILE
TO- BRIG MAWI
INFO- ALL ~~COMMANDERS~~
SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE ORDERED TO
OPEN ALL THE ROADS THAT LEADING TO MAKENI

12183
9062

ALSO PREPARE TO RECEIVE THE OSM DELEGATION
FROM KAILAHUN WHO ARE PRESENTLY AT MAGBU-
BARA O WORK WITH THEM ACCORDINGLY AND
GIVE THEM ALL NECESSARY ASSISTANCE TO
ENABLE THEM CARRY ON THEIR JOB SUCCESS-
FULLY O

00008692

FOR SPARROW, BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE
TO DESPATCH THE OSM DELEGATION TO MARGENT
TOMORROW WITHOUT FAIL O

ALL COMMANDERS ARE STRICTLY ADVISED
TO ABIDE BY THIS DIRECTIVE AS IT IS VERY
IMPORTANT FOR BOTH THE CIVILIANS AND
SOLDIERS TO START RECEIVING FOOD AND
DRUGS SUPPLY O

ACCEPT FOR NEC. ACTION
2113 HRS

* FM THE LEADER
TO ALL COMMANDERS
SUBT-DIRECTIVE

26TH 07-99

REF MY LAST MESSAGE DATED 26TH 07-99,
YOU ARE TO PREPARE TO HAND OVER THE POW'S AND
ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS TO I.C.R.2, UNIFORMS & OR
EQUIPMENT AT ANY TIME THEY CALL UPON YOU O

PHILIP PALMER, BEEN JALOH, FATIA MUSA,
DR. GARRIE AND EBESSAY JAMES SHOULD ALSO
BE RELEASED BUT YOU ARE NOT TO ALLOW
THEM TO GO ANY WHERE O THEY SHOULD STAY
AT THE HQ (SHEDU) TILL I ARRIVE
AT THAT LOC. O

1700 HRS

26TH 07-99
99

12184
9063

TO - CONCORD
INFO - ~~SSS~~ SILE
FM - SSS
SUBJ - REPORT

25TH 07-99

00008693

SIR,

REPORT RECEIVED FROM BANDATUMA
YAWEI REVEALED THAT, THE KAMAJORS ATTACKED
OUR POSITION THIS MORNING AT THE ABOVE MENTION
TOWN @ OUR MEN REPELLED THEM AND CAPTURED
THE UNDER MENTION ITEMS FROM THEM

- ① 6 ROCKETS OF R.P.G. AND 5 T.N.T'S
- ② 1 R.P.G TUBE
- ③ 5 PKTS OF AK. ROUNDS

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFO AND NECE-
SSARY ACTION @

BEST REGARDS
1904 HRS

DAF *Quinn* ²⁵/₀₇
99

TO - SMILE
FROM - SSS
SUBJ - INFORMATION
1 - SIR,

25TH 07-99

YOUR MESSAGE PERTAINING THE
RELEASE OF ALL P.O.W'S ~~WERE~~ WAS RECEIVED
AND NOTED @ ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDER AT FREE
TOWN HIGH WAY (BRG. BAZIE), HE IS ASKING YOUR
KIND PERMISSION TO CONTACT THE GUINEAN GOVT.
TO RELEASE THE ~~BALLANCE~~ ^{LOWE} ~~ECONOMOG~~ TROOPS
(SIERRA ^{LEONE} ~~CONTINGENT~~) WHO WERE ARRESTED IN
GUINEA WHILE ENROUTE TO SIERRA LEONE ABOUT
ONE MONTH AGO @ THEY ARE ABOUT 37 IN NUMBER @

12185
9064

ACCORDING TO BRIG. BAZIE, ONE OF THEM
MANAGED TO REACH THEIR LOC. AT FREETOWN
HIGH WAY AND PASSED ON THIS INFORMATION.
THE OTHERS ARE STILL UNDER ARREST AND TORT-
URE ☉

00008694

IN REGARDS TO THE RELEASE OF THE 3
GUINEANS AND 3 MALIANS WITH BRIG. BARZIL, HE
IS KINDLY ASKING FOR THE RELEASE OF THE POW'S
TO COINSIDE WITH THE RELEASE OF OUR BROTHERS
UNDER ARREST IN GUINEA (THE SIERRA LEONE
CONTINGENT OF ECOMOG) WHO WERE BASED IN
LIBERIA ☉

BEST REGARDS
2030 HRS

DA Quinn 25
07
99

FROM - THE LEADER

TO - SSS

25TH 07-99

INFO - ALL STATIONS

SUBJ - RESPONSE

YOUR LAST MESSAGE RECEIVED AND
UNDERSTOOD ☉ YOU ARE TO RELEASE ALL OTHER
POW'S WITH EXEMPTION OF THE GUINEANS AND MALIANS
AND MALIANS POW'S

I WILL TRY TO HANDLE THE MATTER
ACCORDINGLY AS REQUIRED ☉

ACCEPT FOR NEC. ACTION ☉

2100 HRS

DA Quinn 25
07
99

12186 9065

U

TO - SMILE
FROM - BRIG. MANT
INFO - CONCORD

00008695

26TH 07 - 99

SIR,

REF. YOUR MESSAGE DATED 25TH 07 - 99
IN RESPECT OF THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS
OF WAR AND NON COMBATANTS, WE HAVE
ONLY TWO GUINEANS AND ONE NIGERIAN AS
PRISONERS OF WAR & WE ARE WAITING THE
I.C.R.C TO RELEASE THE ONE NIGERIAN TO
HIM THEM AS PER YOUR INSTRUCTION ①
BEST REGARDS

DA Annie 26
07
99

TO - SMILE
FROM - SSS
SUBJ - RESPONSE

27TH 07 - 99

SIR,

REF. YOUR MESSAGE DATED 25TH JULY
1999, WE HAVE ONLY 12 NIGERIANS AT THE
HEAD QUARTER (BUEDU) AND ONE AT MAKEJO
THEY HAVE BEEN RELEASED ONLY WAITING FOR
THE I.C.R.C TO HAND THEM OVER & I
HAVE NOT RECEIVED ANY REPORT FROM LUSAK
DUE TO POOR COMMUNICATION &

BEST REGARDS

1159 HRS

DA Annie 27
07
99

12187 9066

TO - CONCORD

THROUGH SSS

00008696

27TH 07-99

INFO - SMILE AND LT. COL. JOHNEY P. KOROMA
FROM - BRIG. MANI, ARMY HEAD QUARTERS (MAKONI)

SIR,

REF. YOUR SIGNALS MESSAGE DATED
25TH JULY 1999, RELEASE OF POLITICAL AND
WAR PRISONERS & NOW THAT THESE PEOPLE
HAVE BEEN RELEASED IN RESPECT OF SUBJECT
MATTER, COULD LT. COL. J. P. KOROMA BE
PLEASE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO THE NORTH
FOR DISCUSSION OF PERTINENT ISSUE
RELATING TO THE PEACE ACCORD

YOUR CO-OPERATION IS
HIGHLY SOLICITED (1)

1800 HRS

27TH 07-99
D. A. Smile

FROM - SMILE

27TH 07-99

TO - BRIG. MANI

INFO - ALL COMMANDERS

SUBJ - RESPONSE

REF. YOUR MESSAGE DATED 27TH JULY 1999.
LT. COL. J. P. KOROMA IS TO WAIT AT HIS PRESENT
LOC. TILL I ARRIVE AT KAILAHUH YOU (BRIG. MA-
NI). EX-PRESIDENT JOSEPH MOMOH, COL. ISSAC
MAJ. GIBRIL MASSAQUOI SHOULD REPORT TO KAILA-
HUN AND WAIT FOR ME TILL MY ARRIVAL
AS THERE ARE VERY IMPORTANT ISSUES TO
BE DISCUSSED (1)

ALSO, VICTOR FOH AND ALL THE CONVICT-

12188

9067

ED PRISONERS THAT WERE RELEASED FROM PA.
 DEMBA ROAD PRISON ARE TO STAY AT KAILAHUN
 TILL MY ARRIVAL. VERY SOON I WILL BE AT
 KAILAHUN. 00008697

THE CHILDREN AND WOMEN THAT WERE
 ABDUCTED FROM F/TOWN SHOULD BE IMMEDIATE-
 LY RELEASED TO GO BACK TO THEIR RELATIVES
 0

BEST REGARDS 0

1954

DA Quire 27
 07
 99

TO - SMILE
 THROUGH - CONCORD
 FROM - SSS
 SUBJ - RESPONSE

27TH - 07 - 99

SIR,

REF. YOUR SIGNAL MESSAGE DATED
 25TH JUNE 1999, THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS
 OF WAR. THIS HEAD QUARTER ONLY HAVE 12
 NIGERIAN WAR PRISONERS AND ONE AT MAK-
 ENI. WE ARE PRESENTLY WAITING FOR THE
 I.C.R.C. TO HAND OVER THEM. FURTHER
 REPORT RECEIVED FROM FREETOWN HIGH WAY
 AND MAKENI STATED THAT THERE ARE THREE
 GUINEANS AND THREE MALIANS AT FREETOWN
 HIGH WAY AND TWO GUINEANS AT MAKENI.
 THE GUINEAN AND MALIAN WAR PRISONERS ARE
 STILL IN PRISON TILL WE HEAR FROM YOU
 AS PER YOUR DIRECTIVE. 0

AS FOR FAYIA MUSA AND HIS GROUP,
 THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN RELEASED AS PER YOUR

12189

9068

DIRECTIVE BUT THEY ARE PRESENTLY ON THE
GROUND WITH US FOR SECURITY REASON UNTIL
YOUR ARRIVAL O **00008698**

FOR THOSE POLITICIANS FREED FROM PADE-
MBA THEY ARE FREED O INFACI ACCORDING
TO THEM FROM PADEMBA, SINCE THEY HAVE
BEEN FREED BY US FROM PADEMBA PRISON, THEY
ARE NOW MEMBERS OF THE RUF/SL O

SIR, THIS IS FOR YOUR INFO AND NECESS-
ARY ACTION O

BEST REGARDS

2200 HRS

DA ²⁷ June ⁰⁷ 99

TO SMILE

88TH - 07 - 99

FROM THE COMMAND HQ. MAKENI

INFO - CONCORD AND ALL COMMANDERS

SUBJ - SITREP

SIR

TEXT OSITREP AS AT 18TH JULY 1999 O ONED
GENERAL AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY CALA BUT
TENSE AS KAMAJORS AND EBENTIS FROM MILE-
91 ATTACKED OUR POSITIONS AT KOLISOKOR
AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES ON THE 21ST JULY 1999
KILLED THREE CIVILIANS AND CARRIED ONE CAPT.
AGERITA AND ONE RSM. IBRAHIM AS

P.O.W O TWO O THREE UNOMSIL DELEGATES
ARRIVED MAKENI ON THE 18TH JULY 1999 ON
A FACT FINDING MISSION O THEY HELD A
MEETING WITH THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE NORTHERN REGION O SIR, RELIGIOUS BODY,

00008699

ELDERS OF THE CHIEFDOMS AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMANDER ASSURED THE ABOVE DELEGATES SECURITY. ^{AT 2 PM} HE REQUESTED AN IMMEDIATE FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLY FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH. THREE ON RETURN OF UNOMBI TO FREETOWN, REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVEN RELIEF AGENCIES WHICH INCLUDED WFP, CONCERN WORLD WIDE (CWW), CRISTIAN ESSENTIAL SERVICE (GES), ACF, MSF, CRS, UNICEF AND BISHOP BIGOSS. ARRIVED MAIKENT BY ROAD AND SOME BY HELICOPTER TO ACCESS THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. THE RELIEF AGENCIES HELD SERIES OF MEETING WITH THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND AND THE PEOPLE OF MAIKENT. THE CHIEFDOM COMMANDERS AND THE PEOPLE REQUESTED FOR AN IMMEDIATE FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLY AS THEY ARE DESPARATELY IN NEED. FOUR OF THE THREE MEN DELEGATION OF D.S.M FROM KAILAHUN ARRIVED MAIKENT ON THE 22ND JULY 1999 TO WORK IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE RELIEF AGENCIES. THEY EXPLAINED THEIR DUTY TO THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND BRIG. MANY OF FIVE OF ABOUT 150 TEACHERS FROM VARIOUS SCHOOLS ASSEMBLED AT OUR ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING AT 0900HRS ON THE 26TH JULY 1999 WAITING FOR TRANSPORT AS PROMISED BY UNOMBI TO ENABLE THEM TRAVEL TO FREETOWN FOR THEIR SALARIES. SHE OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIP.

12191

9070

CORDIAL & MORAL OF TROOPS SATISFACTORY &
THIS IS FOR YOUR INFO AND NECE-
SSARY ACTION SIR &

BEST REGARDS//

1840 HRS

00008700

To - SSS

INFO - SMILE AND CONCORD
FROM - SPARROW

28TH 04 99

SIR,

COL. BAI-BUREH AND MOST OF THE
BRIGADE OFFICERS ARE PRESENTLY AT MAKENI
SINCE THE 21ST JULY 1999 & REPORT RECEIVED
FROM THEM REVEALED THAT THERE IS NO PROB-
LEM, MOLESTATION NEITHER INTIMIDATION BETWE-
EN THE BROTHERS AND THEM BUT THE WORKING
RELATION SHIP IS NOT CORDIAL AT ALL IN RESPE-
CT OF THE MOVEMENT &

ALSO, I RECEIVED REPRESENTATIVES
FROM VARIOUS AREAS LIKE AMLE 91 AND YELE ON
THE 25TH 04 99 & THEY ARE PRESENTLY WITH ME AT
MAGBURARA & ACCORDING TO THEIR COMMANDER
THEY ARE MANY AND ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH
US & THEY ARE JUST AWAITING OUR POSSITIVE
RESPONSE FOR THEM TO JOIN US ALONG WITH
THEIR WEAPONS & THEY ALSO REVEALED THAT
THERE IS AN INFIGHTING BETWEEN THEM (THE GOWIS
AND THE KAMAJONS &

TO CONCLUDE SIR, BOTH THE SOLDIERS
AND CIVILIANS WITHIN AND AROUND MAKENI

12192

907H

ARE BITTERLY CRYING FOR FOOD AND MEDICINE. THE CIVILIANS ARE WELL ORGANISED AND WILLING TO WORK WITH US IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE, UNITY AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING FOR OUR COUNTRY.

BEST REGARDS///

11-2-10947

00008701

NAJ 29
07
99

TO - SMILE

29TH 07-99

FM - SSS

THROUGH CONCORD

SUBJ - REPORT

SIR,

ON THE 24TH JULY 1999, A PATROL TEAM COMPRISING OF TEN MENPOWER WAS DESPATCHED BY LT. COL. ABDUL GASSAMA TOWARDS THE GUINEA SIERRA LEONE BORDER TO EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE ON THE CURRENT PEACE AGREEMENT SIGNED IN LOME - TOGO. IT WAS NOT TOO LONG WHEN THE KAMAJORS CAME FROM GUINEA AND ATTACKED OUR MEN IN A VILLAGE CALLED GEDOR. OUR MEN WERE ABLE TO REPEL THE ATTACK AND CAPTURED THE FOLLOWING MATERIALS:

- ① ONE RPG TUBE
- ① SIX ART BOMBS AND FIVE TNT'S
- ③ 5 PACKETS OF AK ROUNDS
- ① ONE STICK GREENADE

THERE WAS NO CASUALTY ON OUR SIDE.

BEST REGARDS FROM EVERY ONE SIR.

1930 HRS

NAJ 29
07
99

12193

9072

TO-SSS

00008702

30TH 07-99

INFO-SMILE, CONCORD AND ALL STATIONS

FM-BRIG-BAZIL

SUBJ-SITREP

SIR,

AS AT 290800 HRS TO 300800 HRS
 JULY 1999 OALFAD GENERAL AREA CALM BUT
 TENSE AS THE ECOMOG PERSONNELS ARE IN
 THE HABIT OF KIDNAPING OUR MEN GOING
 ON FOOD FINDING INCLUDING MEN MOVING
 FROM LUNBARA TO MY LOCATION O BRAVO O
 MOST OF OUR MEN HAVE BEEN ARRESTED
 WHILE CROSSING THE HIGH WAY FROM LUNBARA
 TO OUR ZONE O BS MEN ARE PRESENTLY IN
 THE ECOMOG GUARD ROOM AT PORTFORD FOR
 REASON BEST KNOWN TO THEM O SIR, YOU
 ARE PLEASE REQUESTED TO CONTACT THE
 UNOMSIL FOR SAME O TREAT VERY IMMEDIATE
 FOR SMOOTH RUNNING OF THE CEASE FIRE
 AND THE PEACE ACCORD SIGNED IN LOME O
 DELTA O CIVILIANS AND MILITARY RELATIONSHIP
 CORDIAL O

BEST REGARDS//

1950 HRS

 DA
 30
 07
 99

TO-SMILE

30TH 07-99

THROUGH THE HIGH COMMAND

FROM-DR S.S. WILLIAMS

SUBJ-COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

SIR, THE UN AND OTHER NGO AGEN-

12194

9073

CES HAVE EXTENDED THEIR RELIEF ACCESS-
MENT MISSION INTO OUR CONTROL AREAS
OF MAGBURARA AND MAKENI. THE RELATION-
SHIP BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL NGO'S AND
THE OSM CONTINUE TO IMPROVE. SIR, THERE
IS SERIOUS SET BACK ON THE SIDE OF THE
OSM IN TERMS OF COMMUNICATION. AS THERE
IS NO SET. THIS ISSUE NEED AN IMMEDIATE
ACTION AS THERE IS NO GOOD COMMUNICA-
TION BETWEEN THE OSM AND THE NGO'S IN
FREETOWN. 00008703

SIR, IN AS MUCH AS THE NGO OPERATION
IN THE NORTH IS ON THE HIGH FACE, I REG-
RET TO INFORM YOU THAT THE NGO OPERATION
IN KAILAHUN DISTRICT AND THE WEST OF THE
EAST IS VERY SLOW AS COMPARED TO THE NORTH.
THIS IS PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE ATTITUDE OF
OUR MEN MORLESTATION, WASTING OF THEIR
TIME AND OFF LOADING. SIR, THE OSM WEL-
COM CHECKING FOR SECURITY REASON BUT
SHOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE.

SIR, THE OSM PERSONNELS SENT TO
MAKENI HAVE NO ACCESS TO COMMUNICATION.
FOR THIS REASON REPORT IS NOT COMING FROM
THEM SINCE THEY ARRIVED AT THAT POINT ON
THE 22ND OF 99. I HAVE MADE SEVERAL ATTEMPT
TO TALK TO THEM BUT TO NO AVAIL. ABOVE
ALL SIR I SHALL DON'T KNOW THE COMMANDER
AT MAKENI TO CO-ORDINATE WITH. LASTLY
SIR, THE COMMANDERS IN MAKENI ARE IN THE

12195

9074

HABIT OF COMMUNICATING DIRECTLY WITH THE
NGO'S IN FREETOWN (EVIDENCE OF THIS IS
THE 2ND 07-99 VISIT BY THE NGO'S TO MAKENT
O IT WAS CO-ORDINATED AND CLEARANCE WAS
GIVEN TO THE NGO'S O I HAVE JUST BEEN BREF
BY THE UN THAT SOME NGO'S HAVE BEEN
PERMITTED TO GO TO KABALA O

BEST REGARDS//

LIZZ

00008704

30
08
99
DA/June

FME SMILE

30TH 08-99

TO-DR WILLIAMS

SUBJ- RESPONSE

REF YOUR MESSAGE DATED 30TH 08-99, I GAVE
THE INSTRUCTION TO THE MEN AT MAKENT TO OPEN
ALL THE ROADS AND ALLOW THE NGO'S TO CARRY FOOD
AND DRUGS SUPPLY FOR THE PEOPLE AS THEY
ARE IN DEEPERATE NEED O

0901 HRS

31
08
99
DA/June

FME SMILE

TO- THE C/ALL SIGNALS COMMANDER

THROUGH SSS

INFO- ALL OPERATIONS AND OSM

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE, YOU ARE ORDERED TO
ALLOW THE OSM PERSONNELS TO USE ~~YOUR~~ ^{THE} SETS
TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE NGO'S WHEN EVER THEY
ARE IN NEED O

BEST REGARDS//

0857 HRS

31
08
99
DA/June

12196 9075

FM- SMILE

30TH07-99

TO- BRIG. BAZIL

00008705

THROUGH CONCORD

INFO- SSS AND ALL COMMANDERS

SUBS- RESPONSE

I RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE DATED 30TH07-99
AND I'M GOING TO TAKE ACTION. I WOULD LIKE
TO TALK TO YOU ALL TOMORROW 31ST07-99.

BEST REGARDS ///
0855 HRS

DA [Signature] 31
07
99

TO- SMILE

01ST08-99

INFO- CONCORD & SSS

FROM- SUPER STAR

SUBJECT- INFORMATION

SIA.

ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED
FROM MAKENI, THE D.D.R. AND THE WORLD BANK
REPRESENTATIVES ARRIVED AT MAKENI YESTERDAY
BY HELICOPTER. BUT WE NEVER HAD KNOWLEDGE
ON THEIR MOVEMENT SO I INSTRUCTED THEM
TO RETURN TILL THEY GET IN TOUCH WITH
YOU BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THIS POINT.
PLEASE ACCEPT FOR NECESSARY

ACTION.

BEST REGARDS ///
1930 HRS

DA [Signature] 01
08
99

12197

9076

TO=SMILE

00008706

03TH-08-99

INFO- CONCORD AND ALL STATIONS
 FROM- COMMAND HQ MARENI
 SUBJ- SITREP

SIX

ONE @ GENERAL AREA OF RESPONSIBI-
 LITY ~~ONE~~ @ TWO @ THE UN SECURITY AGENTS
 AND WORLD FOOD PROGRAMM (W.F.P) DELEGATES
 ARRIVED MARENI YESTERDAY ON ACCESSMENT TEAM
 ON FOOD FINDING @ THREE @ THE UNOMSIL DELEGATES
 ARRIVED THIS HQ AT ABOUT 1100 HRS TODAY TO
 FACILITATE THE VISIT OF THE WORLD BANK REP-
 RESENTATIVES TO MARENI BY HELICOPTER @ THE
 MILITARY HIGH COMMAND AT MARENI BAIG MANT
 IMMEDIATELY MOVED TO THE WUSUM FIELD TO RECEI-
 VE THE DELEGATES AS THEY HAVE ALREADY MOVED
 FROM FREETOWN @ HELICOPTER LANDED ABOUT
 1250 HRS BUT THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND REFUSED
 TALKING TO THE DELEGATES AS THE VISIT WAS NOT
 MADE KNOWN OFFICIALLY BEFORE TIME AS EXPECTED
 @ THE HELICOPTER WITH DELEGATES TOOK OFF FOR
 WHERE THEY CAME FROM AT ABOUT 1300 HRS @ FOUR
 INFO COLLECTED FROM SAME UNOMSIL MAJ KABLA
 REVEALED THE KIDNAPPING AND ABDUCTING OF
 OWN COMBATANTS BY ECOMOG TROOPS WITHIN
 PORT LOKO DISTRICT (HQ 22 INFANTRY BDE OF
 ECOMOG) @ MESSAGE DATED 301100 Z JULY REFERS
 AND ECOMOG ALFA-JET WAS REPEATEDLY FLYING
 OVER BUKUPRA AND OTHER RUE HELD TERRITOR-
 IES IN THE PORT LOKO DISTRICT @ FIVE @

12/98

9077

MILITARY AND CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIP VERY
CORDIAL ☉ MORALE OF TROOPS REMAIN SKY HIGH ☉
PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFO ☉

BEST REGARDS FROM EVERY ONE ☉
00008707

2029 HRS ///

JH Smile 03
08
99

FROM: SMILE

03 - 08 - 99

TO: COMMAND HQ MAKENI

INFO: CONCORD AND ALL STATIONS

SUBJ: RESPONSE

REF YOUR MESSAGE. HAPPY TO NOTE THAT YOUR
AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY IS CALM AND QUIET AND THAT
ASSESSMENT TEAM HAS VISITED. RESPONSE TO UNOMSIL
DELEGATES IS APPROPRIATE. ACCEPT NO VISITORS UNTIL
I AM IN THE COUNTRY, CERTAINLY NOT ECOMOG.

CONTINUE TO BE ON ALERT. I WOULD LIKE TO TALK

~~BEST REGARDS~~ TO ALL COMMANDERS TOMORROW WHEN
COMMUNICATION IS IMPROVE ☉

BEST REGARDS ///

JH Smile 03
08
99

2145 HRS

12199

9078

TO- CONCORD

FROM- SSS

04TH-08-99

INFO- SMILE

00008708

SUBJ- INFORMATION

SIR,

SOURCES FROM SATELLITE PHONE FROM GEN. JOSHI REVEALED THAT FOR THE PAST THREE DAYS, UNOMSIL AND BRIG. BAZIL HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT IN ORDER TO RELEASE SIX ECONOMIC WAR PRISONERS (TWO NIGERIANS, TWO GUINEANS AND TWO MALIANS) AS PER ARRANGEMENT. A DELEGATION COMPRISING OF DR. ROBERT GRAVEWIE SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISER UN, COL. MOTAKE, COL. ZAMIR AND THREE OTHER SENIOR UNOMSIL OFFICERS, MISS JACQUELINE CLEARD - UN BAD FIVE NGOs AND TWO UNICEF REPRESENTATIVES ACCORDING TO GEN. JOSHI OF UNOMSIL, THE OVERLAND CONVOY STOPPED BETWEEN MASIARA AND ROBERT WHILE A TACTICAL VEHICLE ENTERED. THE SAID COMMUNICATION LASTED FROM 1200 HRS TO 1320 HRS TODAY. ACCORDING TO SOURCES BRIG. BAZIL HAS DETAINED THIS TEAM AT MAGBENT VILLAGE ON THE RIVER ROBE BANKS IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, UNOMSIL IS REQUESTING THE SWIFT AND URGENT INTERVENTION OF THE LEADER AND HIGH COMMAND OF THE RUF. SA OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE PRESENT MISSION IN NEW YORK HAS BEEN INFORMED AND AN EMERGENCY MEETING HAS BEEN CALLED. ACCORDING TO GEN. JOSHI, THESE

12200

9079

00008709

PEOPLE SAID ~~THAT~~ WERE NOT INCLUDED IN
THE PEACE PROCESS THAT WAS WHY THEY
ARRESTED THOSE PEOPLE ○

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR NECESSARY
ACTION ○

BEST REGARDS
2001 HRS

[Signature] 04
08
99

TO - SMILE
INFO - EDNCORD
FROM - SSS
SUBJECT - INFORMATION

04TH 08-99

SIR, AS AT 2045 HOURS SOURCE FROM
GEN. JOSHI OF UNOMIGIL VIDE SATELITE PHONE
SUBJECT OKRA HILLS SITUATION REPORT
UPDATE ○ BISHOP BISHOP OF MARENI AND MISS
JACQUELINE CLEWARD THE UN PRO HAVE
BEEN RELEASED BY BRIG. BAZIL AND HIS MEN
THEY FURNISHED GEN. JOSHI WITH THE FOLLOWING
INFORMATION ○

- ① THE OTHERS ARE STILL BEING HELD BY BRIG.
BAZIL
- ② BRIG. BAZIL AND HIS MEN HAVE MADE THE FOLLOWING
STATEMENTS
 - a) THE AFRC/SLA WERE NOT RECOGNISED IN
THE LOME-TOGO PEACE AGREEMENT ○
 - b) LT COL. J. P. KORDOMA WHO IS THEIR LEADER
REMAINS UNDER CUSTODY OF THE RUF/SL
IN KATANKUN
 - c) THEY DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF

J. P. ISOROMA TO THEM AND ALSO REQUEST A DIALOGUE WITH HIM O

D) ALL ARRESTED HAVE BEEN STRIPPED OFF VALUABLES AND CLOTHING AND ARE BEING DENIED ACCESS TO COMMUNICATE WITH THEIR HEAD QUARTERS O 00008710

③ THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE NAMES OF THOSE ARRESTED BY BRIG. BAZIE AND HIS MEN

1. DR. ROBERT GRAVELLE - CANADIAN (SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISER UN)

2. MR. PIERRE ANTHONY - LOUIS (USA) UN

3. LT. COL. ZAMIR SOVERDGOV - KROGSTAI (UNOMSIK)

4. LT. COL. JUSTIN MUTALE - ZAMBIA (UNOMSIK)

5. LT. COL. HOWEL WILLIAMS - UK (UNOMSIK)

6. MAJ. KHAADIN - MALAYSIA (UNOMSIK)

7. MAJ. KRIVCHENKO - RUSSIA (UNOMSIK)

8. MAJ. I. RYLE - UK (UNOMSIK)

9. MAJ. J. MORELOW - UK (UNOMSIK)

10. MAJ. M. RAWLINGS - UK (UNOMSIK)

11. MAJ. P. ELLET - UK (UNOMSIK)

12. MAJ. G. GRADLET - UK (UNOMSIK)

13. SQUADRON LEADER F. CABR - UK (UNOMSIK)

14. CAPT. T. HICHALWE - ZAMBIA (UNOMSIK)

15. MAJ. A. MWALE - ZAMBIA (UNOMSIK)

CIVILIANS

1. MR. ADAKWA - CHANA

2. MR. JOHNSON - SIERRALONE S/LEONE

3. MR. CAMPBELL - S/LEONE

AND ALSO 17 ECONOMIC SOLDIERS ALL BELIEVED TO BE NIGERIANS O THE UN SECURITY

12202 9081

COUNCIL IS TO SIT ON THE CURRENT SECURITY SITUATION IN SIERRA LEONE ①

BEST REGARDS

2328 HRS

04
08
99

FM - SMILE

04-08-99

TO - BRIG. BAZIL

INFO-SSS 00008711

SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

REF. THE MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM SSS ON THE 04TH AUGUST 1999, BY MY DIRECTIVE YOU ARE ORDERED TO RELEASE THE PEOPLE YOU ARRESTED TODAY (THE UN AND THE OTHER DELEGATES FROM FREETOWN) ① I AM WORKING ON THE RELEASE OF THE MEN WHO WERE ARRESTED IN GUINEA AND THOSE AT PORT LOKO ①

NO BODY SHOULD TRY TO CAUSE PROBLEM BY GOING WITH THE IDEA THAT THE PEACE ACCORD SIGNED IN LOME IS NOT IN THEIR INTEREST ① THE MEN SHOULD DISCIPLINE THEMSELVES, SUCH ATTITUDE AMOUNTS TO BREAKING OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT AND IS A VIOLATION OF THE CEASE FIRE ①

NO BODY SHOULD TALK TO THE UNOMSIL OR ANY OTHER ORGANISATION WITHOUT CONSULTING ME ①

I WILL TALK TO YOU ALL TOMORROW IN THE MORNING ①

0808 HRS

05
08
99

12203 9082

TO- THE LEADER

00008712

05TH 08-99

FM- COMMAND HQ. MAKENI

INFO- GEN. SAM BOCKARIE

SUBJECT- SITUATION REPORT

SIR, ALFA @ SITUATION CALM AND QUIET @ BRANO @ THE HUMANITARIAN AID WITH FOOD SUPPLY FOR CHILDREN UNDER 5 ARRIVED MAKENI AT 1515 HRS ON THE 3RD AUGUST 1999 @ UNDMBIL ARRIVED TWO HOURS LATER WITH WORLD BANK REPRESENTATIVES FOR DISARMAMENT DEMOBILISATION AND RE-INTEGRATION @ THEY INFORMED THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND (BRIG. MANI) THAT THEIR MISSION WAS TO CENTRALISE ALL CHILD COMBATANTS FOR DISARMAMENT @ CHARLIE @ AT ABOUT 1400 HRS THE OTHER DAY, UNDMBIL ARRIVED AT MAKENI FOR ASSESSMENT @ SAME EDUCATED THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND ABOUT THE OUR OWN MEN ARRESTED BY ECOMOG @ ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THEM, THEY WERE 26 BUT NOT 25 @ AS PER REPORT 18 HAVE ALREADY BEEN RELEASED BUT 16 ARE CHILD COMBATANTS, TWO ESCAPED AND TWO WERE SENT TO FREE TOWN FOR VARIOUS CRIMES ^{THEY} COMMITTED AND FOUR ARE STILL HELD AS POWs @ DELTA @ BRIG. T. A. B. YAYAH (GUDITH) DEPARTED THIS HEAD QUARTER ON THE 29TH 07-99 WITH 200 ARMED MEN FOR FREETOWN HIGH WAT @ ACCORDING TO THE OFFICERS ON THE GROUND THE

12204 9088

ECOMOG HAVE ABDUCTED AND TAKEN THE
ARMED MEN. SOURCES FROM LUNBAR
STATED THAT BRIG. T.A.B. YAYAH DISARMED
SEVEN SUPPORT WEAPONS AND TWO
COMMUNICATION SETS. ACCORDING TO
THE OFFICERS ON THE GROUND (LUNBAR)
THEY OPENED FIRE DURING WHICH STAFF
SGT. SAMUEL GOT WOUNDED. THESE
MEN ARE ALSO SAID TO HAVE HARASSED
BOTH CIVILIANS AND SOLDIERS DURING THEIR
FOUR DAYS STAY AT LUNBAR. ECHO.
MILITARY AND CIVIL RELATIONSHIP REMAIN
CORDIAL. TROOPS MORALE REMAIN HIGH.

BEST REGARDS

2300 HRS

00008713

DE
58
99

12205 9084

TO-SMILE

00008714

05TH 08-99

FROM-SSS

SUBJ-INFORMATION

SIR,

AT 2015 HOURS ON THE 05TH AUGUST 1999, GEN. JOSHI CONTACTED ON THE SATELLITE PHONE AND CONFIRM THAT TWO PEOPLE HAVE BEEN RELEASED BY BRIG. BAZIL.

- 1, MR. PIERRE LOUIS - A UNITED STATES CITIZEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICER TO THE UN.
- 2, MR. KRISTO JOHNSON - A SIERRA LEONESE JOURNALIST.

ACCORDING TO THEM THE OTHERS ARE STILL UNDER THE ARREST OF BRIG. BAZIL WHO STATED THAT THEIR LEADER BRIG. ~~MR~~ LT. COL. J. P. KOROMA IS STILL UNDER ARREST AND DURESS. HE WAS UNDER DURESS WHEN SPEAKING TO ~~THEM~~ THEM THIS MORNING. THEY MAINTAIN THAT THEY WERE NOT PART OF THE LOME PEACE AGREEMENT AND DEMAND TO BE RECOGNISED. THEY SAID THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD ON TO THE PEOPLE TILL THEIR DEMANDS ARE MET. THEY ALSO ASKED FOR FOOD AND MEDICINE TO BE AVAILABLE FOR THEM.

GEN. JOSHI IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ~~FOREIGN~~ FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE VARIOUS

12206 9085

CITIZENS PLACED UNDER THE ARREST OF
BRIG. BAZIL ARE AGAIN APPEALING TO THE
LEADERSHIP AND THE HIGH COMMAND OF THE
RUF/SZ TO INTERVENE SWIFTLY AND MOST
URGENTLY TO BRING THIS MATTER TO A REST
○ THEY WILL CONTINUE CONTACTING THROUGH
OUT THE NIGHT ○

BEST REGARDS

DA ⁰⁵ ₀₁ ₉₉

2330 HRS

00008715

FM - SMILZ

TO - COL ISSAC

05TH 08-99

SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE I WOULD LIKE YOU TO
PROCEED TO C/S-VULTURE AND INVESTIGATE ABOUT
THE ARREST OF THE PEOPLE ARRESTED BY BRIG.
BAZIL AND MAKE SURE THAT THE PEOPLE ARE
RELEASED BUT NOT BY MEANS OF FORCE ○ I
REPEAT, DO NOT USE ANY MILITARY FORCE ○
CONVINCE THEM AS BROTHERS TO RELEASE THOSE
PEOPLE MAKE THEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE
ARE NOT BANDITS TO MAKE SUCH DEMANDS ○

BEST REGARDS

FROM - SMILE

05TH 08-99

TO - BRIG. BAZIL

SUBJ - DIRECTIVE

I AM STILL ADVICING YOU TO RELEASE THE
PEOPLE UNDER YOUR ARREST ○ THAT IS NOT PART
OF OUR MOTIVE TO HOLD PEOPLE AS HOSTAGES ○

12207 9086

AND MAKE DEMANDS ○ LT. COL. J. P. KOROMA IS
NOT UNDER ANY ARREST OR DURESS AS WE ARE
TELLING PEOPLE IN FREETOWN THAT HE WAS
UNDER ARREST DURESS THIS MORNING WHILE
TALKING TO YOU ON A FIELD RADIO ○

BEST REARDS 00008716 *DA Gume* ⁰⁵/₀₈/₉₉
2145 HRS

imm DTC - 060900 Z AUG. 99
FROM - BRIG. BAZIL
TO - SMILE
INFO - LT. COL. J. P. KOROMA
SUBJECT RESPONSE

TEXT ○ REF YOUR SIGNAL MESSAGE
DATED 05TH 08-99, YOU ARE HERE BY REQUESTED
TO RELEASE OUR LEADER ○ WHETHER HE TALK'S
UNDER ARREST OR DURESS HE SHOULD COME
TO OUR LOC. AND RELEASE THE HOSTAGES ○ FAL-
LURE TO THAT, WE ARE NOT READY TO SUBDUCE
OUR SELVES UNDER ANY OTHER COMMAND ○
ACCEPT FOR PROMPT ACTION

0920 HRS

DA Gume ⁰⁶/₀₈/₉₉

TO - SMILE
INFO - CONCORD
FM - ~~DA~~ MAJOR CI

12208 4087

TO - THE LEADER 00008717 07TH 08-99
INFO - CONCORD
FROM - MAJ. GIBRIEL MASSAQUOT
SUBJ - INFORMATION

SIR,

NO RUF/SL SOLDIER ON THIS SIDE
AND NOT EVEN ALL SLA SOLDIERS ARE INVOLVED
IN THE CURRENT ACT. MYSELF, CO. ISSAC,
CO. NYA AND OTHER SLA SENIOR OFFICERS
HAVE BEEN TRYING AND ARE STILL TRYING TO
SECURE THE RELEASE OF THOSE PEOPLE. I
WILL BE LEAVING THIS EVENING TO ESCORT
3 ACF NGO VEHICLES TO MAKENI AND AT
THE SAME TIME TO GET IN TOUCH WITH
BRIG. MANI WHERE EVER HE IS BECAUSE HE
(BRIG. MANI) SENT A MESSAGE THIS MORNING
TO ALL SLAS THAT NO ONE SHOULD^{BE} INVOLVED
IN SUCH AN ACT AS IT WAS THE WRONG
METHOD. ©

BRIG. BAZIE AND OTHERS INVOLVED
IN THIS ACT ARE ALL FORMER BODY GUARDS
OF THE FORMER N.P.R.C. CRIMINALS AND
ARE INJECTED IN THEIR BELIEFS^{WITH} DRUGS AND
POWER CONSCIOUSNESS. WHEN I LEFT
TOGO, I VISITED THEIR END AS YOU
INSTRUCTED. THEY BROUGHT UP THIS
SAME GRIEVANCES OF LT. COL. J.P. BOLOMA
STILL BEING DETAINED. PEACE MAY BE
TALKED TODAY AND THEY ARE CAPABLE
OF PROVOKING IT AGAIN, IF NOT CONSIDER-

12209

9088

00008718

RED THEM AS THEY SAID THEY WERE NOT
PROPERLY REPRESENTED, AND THERE FOR^{ASKED} THEIR
RESERVATION OF THE ABOVE @ I SPOKE TO THEM
SO AS TO CALM THEM DOWN AND I DEEMED
IT NECESSARY TO SEND THE MESSAGE ON THE
22ND JUNE 99 BUT^{9/5} MAUEL REFUSED TO RECEIVE
THE MESSAGE @

SO FAR FOR LUNSAK KAMBIA AND
MAMENT AXIS, WE ARE NOT INVOLVED IN THE
PRESENT ONGOING PROBLEM @ NO PROBLEM AS
I AM IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH THE OTHER
AXIS @ YOUR MESSAGE WAS RECEIVED FROM
COL. ISSAC AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE
MEANS OF SOLVING THE PRESENT PROBLEM @ I WILL
NEVER BE AN OBSTACLE TO YOUR ORDERS IN
CONNECTION WITH THE PROBLEM OF ~~THE~~ BRIG.
MDRMS KALLONT @

GREETINGS AND BEST REGARDS

- 2035 HRS

07
08
99

FM- SMILE

07TH 08-99

TO- ALL COMMANDERS

SUBJ- DIRECTIVE

BY MY DIRECTIVE ALL COMMANDERS ARE
TO ENSURE THAT MAXIMUM SECURITY IS PROV-
IDED FOR ALL RELIEF ORGANISATIONS @ I DONT
WANT TO HEAR ANY STORIES ABOUT LOOTING &
HARRASMENT OF THEM @

SUPERMAN BRIG. 55 AND MAJ JACKSON
SWARAY WILL BE ARRIVING BY HELICOPTER TODAY

12210 9089

AT MAKENI O PLEASE RECEIVE THEM PROPERLY O
ALL ROADS LEADING TO MAKENI AND LINKING
PROVINCIAL TOWNS SHOULD BE MADE ACCESS-
SIBLE, PROVIDE SECURITY TO AND FOR CIVILIAN
POPULATION O ONLY THIS WAY WILL THE MILITARY
WIN SUPPORT AND GOOD WILL OF PEOPLE O

BEST REGARDS ///

1205 HRS

07
08
99

TO - SMILE 00008719

10TH 08-99

THROUGH - CONCORD

FM - DR. SS WILLIAMS

SUBJ - REPORT

SIR,

WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR MESSAGE
GIVEN TO ME TO ONLY CONTACT NATIONAL AND
INTERNATIONAL NGOS TO BRING FOOD AND DRUGS
SUPPLY INTO OUR ZONE, I REGRET TO INFORM
YOU THAT THE SAID ORDER IS NOT IMPLEM-
ENTED IN MAKENI AS THERE IS NO COORDINATION
WITH THE HIGH COMMAND AND ME O THEY
ALLOW BOTH THE LD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
NGOS IN MAKENI WITH THEIR LOCAL PERSONNE-
LS O I AM NOW FINDING IT VERY DIFFICULT TO
STOP BOTH THE INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL NGOS
FROM ENTERING INTO OUR ZONES WITH THE
STAFFS WHOM THEY HAVE ALREADY EMPLOYED
FROM FREETOWN O

SIR, ACCORDING TO MR. ROBERT PINTÉ
(UN. 1), THEY ARE NOT READY TO EMPLOY

12211

9090

00008720

ANY BODY FROM OUR CONTROLLED ZONE O WE
ARE NOT TO TELL THEM WHO ~~WE~~ TO EMPLOY
TO WORK IN ~~OUR~~ OUR ZONE O SIR, AS REGARDS
THE ABOVE, IF WE ALLOW SUCH PRACTICE
FROM THE NGOs THEY WILL EMPLOY ALL THEIR
LOCAL STAFF IN FREETOWN LEAVING BEHIND
THE CAPABLE AND QUALIFIED CIVILIANS THAT
HAVE SUFFERED WITH US FOR THE PAST 8 TO 9
YEARS O

SIR, ANY ATTEMPT BY ME TO STOP
THE NGOs AND THEIR LOCAL PERSONNELS WITH
OUT YOUR SUPPORT WILL BE INTERPRETED AS
PREVENTING THE NGOs FROM SUPPLYING
FOOD AND DRUGS TO OUR PEOPLE O SO SIR
I NEED YOUR ADVICE ON THIS ISSUE AS
THE RUF IDEOLOGY SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN
O

BEST REGARDS

1258 HRS

MA/Anne ¹⁰₀₈
99

12212

9091

00008721

26TH 08-99

TO - SMILE

THROUGH - SSS

INFO - CONCORD

FROM - DR. S.S. WILLIAMS

SUBJ - INFORMATION

SIR,

OUR COMBATANTS AT OKRA HILLS AND LUN SAR WERE SUPPLIED WITH FOOD ON THE 14/15 AUGUST 1999. OUR CIVILIANS AT LUN SAR RECEIVED FOOD ALSO. FOOD DISTRIBUTION FOR MAKENI AND THE REST OF OUR ZONE IS NOT YET POSSIBLE DUE TO THE DISORDERLY CONDUCT OF OUR COMBATANTS AT OKRA HILLS.

THE MSF MADE THEIR FIRST TRIP BY ROAD FROM KENEMA TO PENDEMBU ON THE 07TH AUG. 1999. THEY WERE ABLE TO ACCESS JOJOIMA, BATWALLA, MUBAI, PEND-EMBU AND NGIEHUN CLINICS. ON THEIR WAY BACK TO KENEMA, THEY ALSO ACCESSED THE KUIVA AND SHEGWEWA HOSPITALS AND LEFT VERY FEW DRUGS TO THE ABOVE CLINICS. THERE ARE NOW PLANS FOR THE MSF TO OPEN THEIR OFFICES IN THE KAILAHUN ZONES AND TO START THE VACCINATION CAMPAIGN - NEXT WEEK. ACCORDING TO THEM ALSO THEY ARE NOW WILLING TO WORK WITH OUR PERSONNELS. FINALLY SIR, ACCORDING TO UN 1 (ONE) THEY WANT THE

12213 9092

IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE TO START
WORKING AND AS SUCH THEY ARE
EXPECTING SISTER JOSEPHINE TENGBEH
AND I TO JOIN THEM NEXT WEEK
TO FREETOWN ○

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR NECESSARY
ACTION SIR ○

28
08
99
DA [Signature]

00008722

1930 HRS

TO - THE LEADER
FROM - COL. ISSAC
INFO - CONCOORD
SUBS - INFORMATION

30TH 08 - 99

SIR,

THE FORUM WAS SUCCESSFUL
THIS MORNING ○ THERE WAS NO PROBLEM
AS ALL THE OFFICERS CO-OPERATED ○
AWAITING TO RECEIVE FURTHER INSTRUCT-
IONS ○

BEST REGARDS ///

30
08
99
DA [Signature]
2015 HRS.

12214 9093

TO - CONCORD
FM - SGS
INFO - SMILE
SUBJ - INFORMATION

00008723

31ST 08-99

SIR,

ONE HELICOPTER LANDED AT KANGAMA THIS AFTERNOON WITH FIVE UN. PERSONNELS. ACCORDING TO THEM IT WAS A REQUEST MADE BY LT. COL. J. P. KORMA FOR GEN. JOSHI TO ASSIST AIRLIFT HIS FAMILY FROM KANGAMA TO MONROVIA. BELOW ARE THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO

CAME WITH THE HELICOPTER.

1. MAJ. A. SOLANKEY - INDIAN
2. MAJ. GARRY BRADLEY - UK
3. PILOT GENNADY BELIYAYE - RUSSIAN
4. PILOT GENNADY GUPALO - RUSSIAN
5. ENGINEER GENNAY POLEKHAY - RUSSIAN

I HAVE APPREHENDED THEM INCLUDING THE HELICOPTER AWAITING TO RECEIVE FURTHER INSTRUCTION FROM YOU ON THE ABOVE ISSUE.

BEST REGARDS

1725 HRS

[Signature] 31
08
99

FM - SMILE

31ST 08-99

TO - SGS

SUBJ - RESPONSE

REF YOUR LAST MESSAGE YOU ARE TO RELEASE THE CREW TO GO BACK TO WHERE THEY CAME FROM WITHOUT DELAY.

1815 HRS

[Signature] 31
08
99

12215 9094

TO - SMILE

00008724

50ST-08-99

FROM - SSS

SUBJ - RESPONSE

SIR,

YOUR LAST DIRECTIVE WAS RECEIVED AND WELL NOTED ① BUT ACCORDING TO THE CREW THEY ARE NOT ABLED TO GO BACK THIS EVENING BECAUSE TIME IS TOO LATE FOR THEM TO FLY ①

SO SIR, I NEED YOUR ADVICE ON THE ABOVE ISSUE ①

BEST REGARDS

19 35 HRS

NA *Qu* ³¹/₀₈

TO - SMILE

6th September, 1999.

FM - COL ISSAC

THROUGH - PLANET

SUB - INFORMATION

SIR,

BE INFORM THAT THE GUINER SOLDIERS BASED AT PORT LOKO HAVE ASKED OUR MEN IN ORDER TO GIVE THEM WAY TO PASS WITH THEIR HEAVY WEAPONS TO GUINER. SO SIR I NEED YOUR ADVICE.

1510 HRS

Ady

12216

9095

YY UAWT - \$0's NUMBER
22 2937

00008725

69060 LSB - FOR MSF
99870 USB - FOR UNITED NATION RELIEF AGENCY
— 0 — — 6 — — 0 —

TO - SMILE
FROM - CONCORD
SUBJ - INFORMATION

10TH 09-99

SIR,

ACCORDING TO COL. ISSAC, HE
RECEIVED 2 UN. PERSONNELS FROM
FREETOWN YESTERDAY. ACCORDING TO THE
THEY WILL BE COMING WITH RELIEF
SUPPLY (FOOD AND MEDICINE)
FOR THE CIVILIANS ON THE
11TH SEPT. 1999.

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFO.

BEST REGARDS

1225 HRS

[Signature]
10
99

TO - SMILE
FM - COL. ISSAC
THROUGH - CONCORD

SUBJ - INFORMATION

11TH 09-99

SIR,

THE UN. RELIEF AGENCIES FROM
F/TOWN ARRIVED AT MAKENI WITH (60) SIXTY
TRUCKS OF RICE AND MEDICINE FOR THE
CIVILIANS THIS AFTERNOON.

BEST REGARDS

2130 HRS

[Signature]
11
99

12217 9096

paper 70g



between Sierra Leone - Liberia is closed until situation improved.

Faithfully Submitted.

Signed

00008764

Maj. JJ Kposowa

Gen adj.

App By Mr. M Kallan

ACK 1052 HRS 19/12/99

To: The RUFSL

Fr: Maj. Gen Sam Bockarie

Sub: Information and Resignation

Date: 14/12/99

On this day 14/12/99, as a result of the increasing tension within the RUFSL and in a bid to prevent more bloodshed in this our beloved country, I Maj Gen Sam Bockarie (Maskito) declared that, I'm no longer a member of the RUFSL.

I thanked all the gallant men and women of the movement for their nine years of struggle. May God bless and keep you all. I leave with a clear conscience knowing that I've always worked in the interest of the movement and it's my love for the combatants and civilians that has forced all these actions against me. I remained brave, strong and intelligent.

Signed

Maj. Gen Sam Bockarie

12219 799 1.049
TO:- THE LEADER FROM:- MR KOMBA GBUNDUMA
SIR

154010Z
D/ 10 JAN 2000

BE INFORMED THAT WE INTERCEPTED SOME GUINEAN TROOPS (ECONOMY)
YESTERDAY. ACCORDING TO THEM, THEY WERE HEADING FOR MILE 91 AND 80
AND THEY WERE TRAVELLING WITH THREE (3) ARMoured CARS, FIVE (5) TRUCKS
AND LARGE QUANTITY OF ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS. WE ARRESTED THE
THREE (3) ARMoured CARS AND THE THREE (3) TRUCKS, ONE TRUCK LOADED
WITH AMMO OF ALL SORTS. WE LATER RELEASED TWO (2) TRUCKS WITH
ALL THE GUINEAN CONTINGENT BACK ON ^{THEIR} BASE. FURTHER MORE, WE GOT
ANOTHER INFO THAT ANOTHER GROUP OF GUINEAN TROOPS UNDER UNITED
NATION ARRIVED YESTERDAY WITH TWO (2) TANKS TO REPLACE THE
SAID CONTINGENT THAT WERE HEADING FOR 80 AND MILE 91 BUT
WE LATER UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY HAVE RETURNED BACK TO GUINEA
AFTER RECEIVING THE INFO ABOUT THEIR MEN BEEN INTERCEPTED BY OUR
MEN. DETAILS WILL FOLLOW LATER SIR. ACCEPT THIS FOR YOUR INFO

00008779

BEST REGARDS
154010Z

TO:- SMILE FROM:- GEN IBRAHIM. DATE - 12 JAN 2000.

SIR,
WE ARE LEAVING FOR MONROVIA TODAY AS ALL OUR PROVISIONS
HAVE FINISHED. WE ARE NOT DOING ANYTHING FOR NOW. THE LONGER
WE DELAY FOR NOW, THE MORE WE ACCUMULATE LOSSES. WE HAVE
IDENTIFIED ALL THE PROBLEMS AND WE KNOW ALL THE NEEDS TO SPEED
UP THE PROCESS. SO WE ARE LEAVING TODAY TO SEE HOW TO PROVIDE
THEM NOW. ALSO SIR, WE HAVE TO SEE OUR FAMILIES URGENTLY TO
SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS AT HOME. SIR, ADVISE ON THE PRODUCTION
WE HAVE HERE WITH US NOW. WE WILL GIVE YOU EXCELLENT INFO
WHEN WE HAVE ACCESS TO COMMUNICATION. WE ARE ALSO PLANNING
TO GO TO MONROVIA TO PICK US AT THE BORDER TODAY OR
LATEST TOMORROW TO SPEED UP OUR MOVEMENT. SIR WE ARE
AWAITING YOUR RESPONSE.

BEST REGARDS.

12220

1.050

9099

TO: SMILE

FM: BRIG SUPERMAN

SUB: COMPREHENSIVE REPORT DATE 16/10/99

SIR, REF. TO MY LAST LETTER TO YOU EXPRESSING MY CONCERN OVER THE UNFRIENDLY SECURITY ATMOSPHERE THAT PREVAIL WITHIN LUNSA, MAKENI, AS WELL AS KAMAKWE AXIS WHILST I WAS AWAY. I CAME DOWN TO SEE HOW BEST I CAN HURRIEDLY CURTAIL ALMOST ALL SUCH UNFORESEEN SECURITY CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH I BELIEVE IF NOT PROPERLY ADDRESSED BY ME AT THIS MATERIAL POINT IN TIME CAN INTERFERE WITH THE DETAILS OF THE PEACE ACCORD ON WHICH YOU ARE ONE OF THE SIGNATORIES. UPON MY ARRIVAL IN MAKENI ON 14/10/99 I URGENTLY DECIDED TO SUMMON SENIOR OFFICERS MEETING WITH THE BROTHERS. I LEFT ON THE GROUND BUT IT WAS LATER AGREED THAT THIS KIND OF MEETING BEING POSTPONED TO THE NEXT DATE 15/10/99 & AN OFFICIAL LETTER WAS CIRCULATED TO ENSURE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF SENIOR OFFICERS CONCERNED.

00008845

UNFORTUNATELY THE MEETING DIDN'T TAKE THE SHAPE MYSELF AND THE OTHER OFFICERS WERE EXPECTING AS ALL THOSE SENIOR OFFICERS EXPECTED (PARTICULARLY THE EXSLA TO ATTEND SUCH A VIABLE MEETING TO TURN UP ON THE STIPULATED PERIOD OF TIME. A UNANIMOUS DECISION BY OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS WITH ME IN THE FORUM WAS TAKING TO ENSURE THAT WE GET IN TOUCH WITH REGIONAL COMMANDER RESPECTIVELY.

THE EVENT JUST ABOUT THE TIME MY PLANNING

12221

9/00

POWER APPROACH THE FLOOR ABOUT (P.E) COL M
YAMBA (REGIONAL COMMANDER) AND COL BAKAR (BRIGADE
COMMANDER) ALL OF EX SLA OPENED SUPPRESSIVE FIRE
AGAINST MY MAN POWER, HENCE ENSUED BETWEEN
BOTH PARTY ONLY TO SAVE ONES LIVED EVENTUALLY,
MY MAN POWER WERE VERY STRONG ENOUGH TO REEL
THEIR COMBATANT AT A DISTANCE AFAR OF COURSE
OUR REVOLUTIONARY BROTHER (A.H.S/L) FROM TEKO
BARRACK JOIN THE MOPING UP OPERATION TO HELP
PUTTING THE SITUATION UNDER PERFECT CONTROL

WHAT SEEMED TO BE MORE WORRYING TO ME AT THIS
POINT IS THE RAMPANT LOOTING OF CIVILIAN PROPERTIES
BY THIS SAME BROTHERS UNDER THE COMMANDERSHIP
OF BRIGADIER MORIS KALLOND

00008845

SUGGESTIONS:

I THEREFORE WOULD LIKE TO ADVISE FROM THIS POINT
THAT IN GOOD INTEREST OF EVERLASTING PEACE IN
THIS COUNTRY, YOU ENDEAVOUR TO FURTHER INSTRUCT
OUR BROTHERS WHO CAME FROM KAILAHUN AXIS THROU
GH KONO TO GO BACK TO THEIR NORMAL LOCATIONS
AS MY PRESENCE IN THE ENVIRONMENT IS QUITE
SUFFICIENT TO CALM ALL OTHER UNUSUAL SECURITY
HABIT WHICH WOULDN'T BE IN THE PLEASANT IMAGE
OF OUR MOVEMENT ESPECIALLY WHEN ALL ARE WATCHING
US

I AM PERSONALLY INFORMING YOU FROM THIS POINT ON
THE GROUND THAT THIS INFO CAN GUIDE YOU TO GIVE FURTHER
CONFIDENTIAL TO ALL OTHER PARASTATALS, NGOS
AS WELL AS THE CIVILIAN POPULACE TO FEEL TROUBLE
FREE FROM ANY INTIMIDATION WITH MY PRESENCE
ON THE GROUND ALL OTHER SECURITY ISSUE ARE
PUT UNDER CONTROL ACCORDINGLY AS A WAY

12222


9/01

OF RESTORING SANITY TO THE CIVILIAN POPULACE &
 ONLY THAT, WHOEVER IS READY AND WILLING TO TAKE TO
 MY STANDING ORDER WITHIN OUR LIBERATED ZONE (NORTHERN REGION) WILL BE ALLOW TO WORK WITH US
 AMICABLY UNTIL THE COMBATANT FINALLY SEE YOU
 ON THE GROUND SIR O 00008847

I THINK I CAN BETTER MEET THE COMMITMENT
 OF BEEFING UP THE SECURITY POTENTIAL OF THIS
 ENVIRONMENT MORE THAN ANY OTHER COMMANDER AS
 I HAVE STRONG CONFIDENCE IN THE NEUTRAL
 RELATIONSHIP THAT HAD EXISTED BETWEEN ME AND
 THE CIVILIAN AS WELL AS THE COMBATANT I LEFT
 ON THE GROUND

THE MAIN REASON WHILE I'M ADVISING ON THE
 SUCH WITHDRAWAL OF THIS TROOP IS THAT
 I WANT TO PERSONALLY AVOID ARM CONFLICT WITH
 THE BROTHERS WHO WOULD LIKE TO INFILTRATE
 MY AREA OF CONTROL WITH INDISCIPLINE & THE
 LOYAL COMBATANT AND MYSELF ARE BETTER IN PLACE
 TO CREAT AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONVINIENT FOR BOTH
 THE COMBATANT AND ESPECIALLY THE CIVIL POPULACE
 WITHIN OUR AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY SIR O
 ACCEPT FOR YOUR INFOS AND STREP SPEEDY
 ADVISE SIR O

BEST REGARDS!!

ZOUR REP 1625 HRS
 OFF 
 16/10/79

12223

9/021.051

FROM SMILE

001

TO SUPERMAN

SUB DIRECTIVE

DATE 16/10/99

REF TO YOUR MSG. YOU ARE HERE ACK. BUT YOU ARE TO CALL ME ON THE RADIO FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTION.

00008848

BEST REGARDS!!

Transmitted: 17:43 HRS

Signed: *[Signature]*

$$\begin{array}{r} 16 \\ 10 \\ 99 \end{array}$$

FM CONCORD THROUGH SMILE

TO SPARROW SSS

002

SUB INSTRUCTION DATE 16/10/99

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO SEND BRIGADE MORO KALLON TO MAGBOROKA ALONG WITH HIS SECURITIES TO TAKE COMMAND POST AT THE AREA

FROM SMILE TO: SSS/TB

003

SUB: INSTRUCTION DATE 18/10/99

YOU SHOULD ALLOW THE NGOS OPERATING AT YOUR AREA (MAKENI) TO USE THEIR FIELD RADIO TO ENABLE THEM REACH THEIR MEN ^{BY AIR} ALL PROPERTIES TAKING AWAY FROM THEM SHOULD BE HANDED OVER TO THEM. THIS INCLUDE COMMUNICATION SET, TELEPHONE AS THEIR BROTHERS HERE ARE GRUMBLING ABOUT HOW THEY HAVE LOST CONTACT WITH THEIR MEN. YOU SHOULD DESIST THIS HABIT OF LEADING AND HARRASSING PEOPLE MORE THE NGOS AS ITS TOTALLY AGAINST THE HOME ACCORD AND EVEN THE IDEOLOGY OF THE REVOLUTION. I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK WITH YOU PEOPLE ONCE MORE ON THIS ISSUE.

FIRM REGARDS!!

Transmitted: 17:50 HRS

Signed: *[Signature]*

$$\begin{array}{r} 18 \\ 10 \\ 99 \end{array}$$

MAKES
TRANSMITTED
TIP

12224

1.052

7992

FM: SMILE

TO: SURVIVAL

SUB DIRECTIVE

DATE 22/12/99

BY MY DIRECTIVE, YOU ARE TO WARN ALL SOLDIERS NOT FOR THEM TO TOUCH ANY OF THE LIBERIAN BROTHERS WHO ARE COMING TOGETHER WITH GEN. IBRAHIM AND OTHERS @ THEY ARE OUR BROTHERS

WE ARE NOT TO REVENGE FOR ANY REASONS. SAMSON AND OTHERS ARE COMING WITH GEN IBRAHIM AND THEY SHOULD BE WELL TREATED.

TREAT THE ABOVE WITH CARE

ARM REGARDS.

00008881

TRANSMITTED FOUR 16 HRS

SIGNED  22/12/99

FM: SMILE

TO: ALL SURVIVORS

SUB. DIRECTIVE

DATE 25/12/99

BY MY DIRECTIVE, ALL OF AREA ARE TO SUSPEND THE OPERATION OF ECONOMY AND UNAMSIL WITHIN THEIR AREA UNTIL FURTHER INSTRUCTION

THE LAME DOCUMENT WHICH WAS SIGNED EARLY JULY 7 NEEDS TO BE PROPERLY INTERPRETED OR ELSE, THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER DISARMMENT

STRUCTURES LAID DOWN FOR THE DDR PROGRAMME MUST BE MET WITH BEFORE DISARMMENT

REMEMBER THAT, THE LAME DOCUMENT WHICH WAS SIGNED IS TO GIVE PEACE TO OUR PEOPLE AT ANY RATE OF PRICE, PEACE MUST PUT NOT THE RUC TO BE DESITUTES OR VICTIMS OF PEACE

ARM REGARDS!!

TRANSMITTED 03 15 HRS

12225

1.054

9/04

TO: The Leader RUFSE
FROM: THE BLACK COMMANDER

Subj: INFORMATION.

Date: 2nd September, 1998.

About 11:00am to 12:00 this day today, I heard Brigadier Sam Beckarie. In the dialogue, I was accused very slow in operation and that I not virtually done anything since our withdrawal from Free Town. I was also accused of having huge quantity of diamond that is under safe keeping to my wife whom he referred to as idiot.

00009485

To this point, he threatened to kill my wife if she was here. Furthermore, he also accused me that the Juntas two that unanimously decided to preach ideology are not considered by him as Soldiers but bandits or Civilians. In did, I will like to make it very clear to the movement that I still remain Commander to the movement committed to the Leadership of Cpl: Feday .S. Sankoh and I will in my capacity as a Battle Group Commander in my ability to secure his release. Beside that, I am not working to satisfy any particular somebody wishes to deviate my attention from the above mention objective.

On the part of his accusation that I am in possession of diamond I also wish to make it clear to all Combatants that I have in did shed blood for this struggle and what so ever regulation that were put in place during our Leader staying with us still remain constant. I know that diamond fall among the lot of items consider as Government property.

Therefore, I always make sure that what so ever diamond I receive is always reported to Brigadier Sam Beckarie who is our present high in Command. Even recently, the diamond mining Group that was sent to Kona is placed under its own Commander from my staffroom. Beside, I have never been given mining contract to dig on behalf of R.U.F.S.L. like how some of them did within the nine months staying in Free Town. The Movement has not not intrusted diamond in my hands so that I could go out for any purchase of a single pin like other peoples I am a Combatant from the very crucial stage of this War. I have played released effort to see the success of the R.U.F.S.L. Therefore, I can never betray it. But I have noticed all my effort I have played seem not to be appreciated by Brigadier Sam Beckarie. Some action was displayed on me in Free Town, but he later spoke to me and I forget. I also want to make it, now he is threatening my Wife and my Family. I also want to make it clear to all Combatants that I am a very senior officer of the R.U.F. and that today's dialogue with Brigadier Sam Beckarie did not go down well with me. If any body could recall, Pa. Sankoh has never referred to the wife of a senior Officer as idiot on air as you all know that the air is monitored.

To prove my sincerity to the movement, I will in the shortest possible time furnish the entire Combatants with present strength of our power presently operating with me. But to say the fact, I will not report within his 72 hours stated time because, of the threat he has played on my life. If he has any charges for me, I appeal he reserve it until we meet face to face with our Leader.

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9/55

Oct. 15 1999 11:05PM

00009489

Revolutionary United Front

To - The Leader RUF S/L

From - Jackson Ray Swamy

Blackward Commander RUF/L

Date - 25/09/99

Sub - Suggestion and Advice

Sir

With your kind permission to ~~put~~ across the above subject as follows:

1. The problem between General Sam Bockarie (Mosquito) and Brigadier Denis Mingo (Supperman) should be properly look into as three (3) sides of my stories I mean the side of General Sam Bockarie (Mosquito), and the side of Brigadier Denis Mingo (Supperman) and the truth to avoid embarrassment from both side.
2. You are to look up to the combatants and the civilians

P.T.O.

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Oct. 15 1999 11:06 AM

PAGE 1

00009400

Under our Controlled area as
most of them are loyal to the
R.U.F./SL Movement.

3. The problem of ex-SLA should
be properly address as most
of them are loyal.
4. All Commanders / units heads are
to give you a Comprehensive
report and later called a
general forum which must be
followed by general forum to
address on issues.
5. Not to forget the problems
of food and medicines for the
Combatants and Civilians
behind the rebel Controlled as
you previously do.
6. To consider the families of
the later fighters who died
in the struggle.
7. Not to forget about the
Blackguards as security came

P.T.O

12228
9/07

Oct. 15 1999 11:07 PM

00009491

in doing things.

3. NOT to forget the school
teacher behind our area of
control and school materials
like books, pen and pencils.

9. To contact Mr. Mahmoud
at Freetown who was
struggling with us for a
latest information as we
are not there now.

Sir, your kind attention
is called to focus on this
problem for necessary action
at your own convinces.

Thanks with Regards,

Signed ~~James~~ 10/1/99

Jackson Seaway
Birkhead Commander
B.I.F.

12229

1.058

REVOLUTIONARY
OF S/LEONE - (PEOPLE'S ARM 2095

00009672

TO THE LEADER.

FROM THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS
SUBJ: SITUATION REPORT

Sir, on behalf of the entire Black Guard unit we are hereby taking this opportunity to make a summary report to let you know or understand the situation on the ground.

To start with, we thank the Almighty God as for your previous Concentration programmes to the entire movement that this is a Holy war which everybody within the movement have realised, because in your absent the struggle continues with lot of developments.

Sir, as you left us in 1996 to go and sign the Abidjan accord, lot of enemy pressure (Isaiah) was incited on us, but due to the dedication and loyalty of the Command you left on the ground, we were able to contain situation until the A.F.R.C. Cour'd'etat, wherein you instructed the High-Command for us (R.U.F.) to join the brothers in other to form the People's Army, and defend the sovereignty of our Mother land.

The external delegates who were with you in Abidjan also went over the media that they have applied the leadership of the R.U.F. and were to extend of insightful people, but due to their inexperience and the security experience of the High

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Command, we were able to trick them to come on the ground for us to work out all necessary modalities. They came through the Guinea/Sierra Leone border (Nongowa Ferry) and were finally arrested by us and brought on the ground in a locked up.

Furthermore, when we join the brothers, some of our senior officers and elders were given ministerial positions in the A.F.R.C Government. All the same things were not working well with the R.U.F. men. It was in which the High Command eventually decided to leave the city Freetown and decided to base in the provinces. Things were not put in a proper shape as the so called Honourables were just doing things as they like. There was no proper Command and Control until ECOMOG decided to make a final strike into Freetown, in which they succeeded in driving the entire A.F.R.C out of the city.

When Freetown fell in the hands of ECOMOG, the High Command therefore decided at once to move straight to our original base (Kailahun) and position the R.U.F. Combatants to the old former 1991 defensive points, which were NIUMA, BONBOITUN and JOJOIMA. These positions were seriously defended until when the ECOMOG forces moved to Kenema and Daru. From then, the forces had tried their level best to penetrate

00009674

the defensive position, but no chance had been given to them. In the North, the enemies captured Nakeni and tried to advance to Kono. Our men retreated and defended part of Kono.

Due to the security situation, the High Command and therefore instructed the then B.G.C. Brigadier Issah Sesay to try by all means to report with the former A.F.R.C. Chairman J.P.K. to Kailahun. As a result, J.P.K. and his body guards were brought to Kailahun as per instruction. They were welcome by the High-Command and other Senior officers, Junior Officers and the entire combatants held a forum and finally agreed to continue the struggle under one structure Command.

Immediately Freetown and the provincial Headquarters fell in the hands of ECOMOG.

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he briefed V. J. P. K. pertaining to the latest development, and met him personally.

As a result, J.P.K denied bitterly that he had brought no diamond with him whereas the High Command had gathered informations that J.P.K has brought lots of diamond with him, but he wants to keep it on his own without financing the movement as we are now under one umbrella. Therefore, the High-Command gave instruction to Brigadier Issah Sesay and Brigadier Mike Lamin for them to properly search J.P.K for diamond. After the searching lots or large quantity of diamond was taken from J.P.K and his body guard.

10 This development, the High Command was
able to receive the first satellite phone from
General Ibrahim which he was use to do some
important contacts with.

After General Ibrahim returned back to Faso, the High-Command also received a good carriage of diamond from Kono. He also

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send another good parcel to General Ibrahim in Burkina Faso for Ammunition and Arms as he had started making some important contacts for materials. The High Command therefore decided to hand over the small parcel of diamond to the B.G.C. Brigadier Issah Sesay in order for him to pass through the border and make his way to Burkina Faso and meet General Ibrahim to work out first modalities to get some needed materials for us.

Brigadier Issah Sesay left the base and travel along with Col Jungle [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He therefore return on base and gave the same report to the High-Command.

The joint security therefore ~~then~~ investigated the B.G.C and took statement from him. Later a forum was held pertaining this issue and the senior officers and elders suggested to suspend the issue until the arrival of the Leader.

Moreso, [REDACTED] continues to be helping hands with logistics which involves food and materials. [REDACTED]

The High Command later called Brigadier Denis Mingle (Superman) on a forum for a mission to be carried out to capture the whole

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of Kono. They came up with an agreement to apply some guerilla tactics to overrun the strategic positions in Kono district. A plan was drawn, but Superman never went with the plan and the mission fail without capturing Kono and over thirty (30) M.I.A on our side and also K.I.A.

After this said mission, Superman was able to put some men power together and proceeded to Kabala axis and created a jungle there.

In Sept 1992, the High Command called a Vanguarded Forum. He addressed the Forum and made all the vanguards to understand that they should tighten up their belts and officiate themselves as vanguards of the Revolution. Also as to how best they should operate to promote the good image of the struggle.

In this forum the High Command tried to constructively criticize the way Superman is behaving. The High Command made Superman available over the communication for a dialogue. In their dialogue, He criticize Superman for putting a Lebanese woman behind him which is delaying the operation. In fact to this the High Command therefore instructed Superman to report for a better plan-up, but he responded that he will not report to the Call. From that point, Superman started operating on his own.

フ

without taking any instruction or orders from
the high desk.

The High-Command, the War Council chairman and one S.L.A representative Col Eddy Sankoch took the trip to Burkinafaso. They met president Blaise Campore, and they were highly welcome. They took two weeks in Burkinafaso. They were given words of confidence and assurance by president Blaise that he will not let Col Eddy Sankoch down at all. The president told the High-Command to be very hard in command to uphold the movement until the arrival of the leader. In fact he instructed the High Command to forward the R.U.F. Issue to the O.A.U. as is the current. O.A.U. Chairman.

4.11 The Combatants were happy and agree to start the operation in capturing Kono. ~~the~~

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was given to the B.F.C Brigadier Issa Sesay. A huge quantity ^{of material} was given to the B.F.C and he immediately left for Kono. They also held a ~~brun~~ ^{brun} in Kono and succeeded in overrunning the entire Kono district and capture some ~~attillery~~ ^{artillery} weapons and huge quantity of Arms and Ammunition. The whole operation was therefore given to the Late Col Rambo who further extended the operation to Tonkolili and advance to Makeni. After the fall of Makeni, the Late Col ~~as per~~ ^{as per} instruction went and receive Brigadier Suprenant to join the operation.

They therefore extended the operation to port-also as far as Waterloo and Kambia axis.

Furthermore, Col Rambo also tried his level best to link up with the other brothers that entered Freetown, but the Freetown operation was not Co-ordinated as the said Commander Black ~~Sah~~ ^{Sah} was not going by the instruction from the High Command. When they retreated from Freetown, the L.F.C met them and told them to present a Comprehensive report pertaining the whole Freetown operation, but they deliberately fail to do so.

According to the Black Guards security information, they brought some diamonds and lots of Foreign Currency from Freetown, but they never presented anything to the High Command.

The late Col Rambo even arrested ~~SA~~ ^{SA} ~~and~~ ^{and}

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Thousand (600,000) U.S dollars from some of the
mer. From Freetown, and presented the said sum to
the B.F.C Brigadier Issa, and also some diamond.
Again there was instruction from the High
Desk for Lt Col Gibril Massagoi to report for
important enquiry and briefing, but he refused to
call for over four (4) good times.

As a result, there was an instruction from the
High Command to the B.F.C for Lt Col Gibril
Massagoi to be arrested and turn over.

The B.F.C further went along with the Late Col
Ramba and some Black guards as per instruction
to arrest Lt Col Gibril and Maj Nyar.

During this process, Superman and his men put
on stiff resistance and even open fire with
some R.P.G Bombs, therefore scatter the whole
group and killed some men and went to the end
of advancing to Makari and attack the
of the B.F.C and vandalize the whole compound
and took every thing in the compound including
the materials for operation and enough foreign
currency and diamond. He even extended in
raiding the compounds of some other senior
officers.

After some days, he came for the second time
and attacks Makari and killed Col Ramba and
some security personnel, fire some people but
but they missed to kill the B.F.C and chase
him all the way to Makali and missed.

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the second time.

According to security findings, most of the senior officers can not give any advice to contain that situation. Instead they keep on insisting to spark the situation.

According to Superman, he has vowed not to ever take command from the High Command.

In regards to the mining process, it is only recently that the authorities has given the go ahead for mining to be going on. Lt Col Kennedy is the overall mining Commander. They have been getting some small, small pieces which is in our big record books.

Another development is that one building movement one F.M radio station, and the station itself has been built up a hill in Daru. Also in ~~December~~ January, the High Command organised an operation for the Segheema to be captured in order to cut the supply between Daru Barracks and Kenema. The said operation went in smoothly, but unfortunately fail to capture. We have left another operation at hand to attack Kenema.

In Conclusion Sir, we are hereby submitting that the issue of Superman should immediately be put under control before he try to mislead our out struggle brothers.

Faithfully Submitted-

YOUR REVOLUTIONARY
(TUNAS) R.U.F.K

1239
1.063
9/09

Revolutionary United Front Of Sierra Leone
(People's Army Of Sierra Leone)
Ops. Segbwema.

Date: 31st August 1997

To: Cpl. Foday Saybana Sankoh
RUF/SL.

00009765

From: Major Francis M. Musa
District I.D.U. Commander
Kailahun.

Sub: Brief comprehensive report on all salient activities that took place in the absence of the leader from the 24th. March, 1996 to the 31st. August, 1997.

The leader, Cpl. Foday Saybana Sankoh left Zogoda on the 24th. March, 1996 for the Abidjan (Ivory Coast) Peace Talk. Brigadier Morris saw Kallon now, took over command at Zogoda in the absence of Lt. Col. Mohamed Taravally. Seventy-two hours later, Lt. Col. Mohamed Taravally arrived and took over command from Co. Morris Kallon as instructed by the leader before he left for Abidjan.

Lt. Col. Mohamed Taravally started fine but later he was wrongly advised by his bodyguards and late Capt. Daniel Wankeh (Ranbo, who was bodyguards commander to the leader). For instance, all kinds of civilians and standbys were now entering in and going out of Zogoda without proper security. The Camp Lion Training Base became a ground of revenge rather than for ideology. Lt. Titesu, Pujehun District I.D.U. Commander was killed in halaka at the Camp Lion Training Base sometime in July, 1996. All those who were involved including Major Junior Vandi, Major Mayepah, late Capt. Cebra, etc. were all demoted and removed from the training base to other areas of assignments. The lethargic or delaying attitude of Lt. Col. Mohamed Taravally in responding to instructions sent by the leader made the Kamajors to over-run our positions from the end of 1996 to early 1997.

While the peace talk was going on in Abidjan in 1996, Kamajors together with soldiers loyal to Tejan Kabbah continued to attack our positions with flimsy excuses that they were returning to their villages, defend and harvest their agricultural produce. The instruction given to Lt. Col. Mohamed Taravally by the leader to evacuate Zogoda and send some people to Pujehun and the rest to Kailahun was delayed until the enemies over-ran Koribondo Jungle, Bandavor, Zogoda, Keneby-pass, Across Moa, etc. A good number of both civilians and soldiers including good brothers like Capt. Augustine Koroma, Capt. Papa, Capt. Long By-pass, Lt. Shalelow, Lt. A.B. Dundas, etc. died in this incident. All our positions were over-run by the enemies with the exception of the Kailahun axis, Western jungle, Payama axis and Pujehun axis. Later on, Pujehun axis fell to the enemies. This was as a result of the lack of materials and disunity between the very citizens of this area - both civilians and soldiers. Thanks be to God and Major-General Sam Bockarie, because when he observed the cruel determination of the enemies to massacre us, he instructed that Payama jungle must be dissolved. This was done, as everybody crossed over to Burkina to put effort together to defend the original land of the RUF/SL rebels in Sierra Leone. At this juncture, the RUF/SL could only boast of the Western jungle and the Kailahun axis. A very big praise to Brigadier Denis Hinge and others who upheld this jungle up to the time the AFRC took over on the 25th. May, 1997.

Again, a very big thank you and praise to Major-General Sam Bockarie, Brigadier I. H. Sesay, Brigadier Peter B. Vandi, other devoted soldiers and civilians. If it were not the co-operation of these mentioned people under the commandship of Major-General Sam Bockarie, the enemies would have finally flushed us out of Sierra Leone. This was the time Capt. Palmer, Payia Musa, Deen-Jalloh and

9/10

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Jr. Barrie had told the SLPP government alot about the RUF/SL. They disclosed to the government that we are lack of ammunition, that we depend on the arms and ammunition we capture from the enemies. So they advised the Tejan Kabba government to concentrate on Kamajors with single barrels, knives and sticks to fight us, thinking that when we are suppressed, we would have accepted their government and betrayed the RUF/SL. Thanks to the Lord Almighty, with the help of Major-General Sam Bockarie, Brigadier I.H. Sesay and Brigadier Peter B. Vandi, these betrayers (coup plotters) were rounded up at the Sierra Leone-Guinea border somewhere around Koinadu. The information previously given to the enemies about the RUF/SL by these coup plotters triggered the enemies to suppress us in Ngiema axis attacking our positions including Ngiema HQ. twice or thrice every week. They used single-barrels, sticks and knives with limited automatic rifles to fight us, and hence we captured nothing from them anytime they were killed or pushed back. Major-General Sam Bockarie who was gifted by God worked very hard to save the movement. He sacrificed his life, went to Foya, contacted the Liberian soldiers and established strong relationship between the RUF/SL and the Liberian soldiers. Devoted soldiers and civilians freely offered cocoa beans, coffee beans, pistols, single-barrels, X-Bass tape, presentable dressings, etc. to the movement to be exchanged for ammunition. This ammunition was what we used to fight the enemies and with-held the Karkina axis until the AFRC took over the reigns of government of Sierra Leone from Tejan Kabba on May 25th. 1997 (Sunday) and called upon the RUF/SL.

We joined the brothers on May 29th., 1997. The following key positions were offered to the RUF/SL. Vice president - Pa Foday Sanneh, Minister of Trade and Industry - Major Eldred Collins, Minister of agriculture and Forestry - Kr. A.A. Vandi, Minister of Energy and Power - Major Lawrence Vermania, Minister of Lands and Mines - Mr. S.Y.B. Rogers, deputy Minister of Education - Major P.S. Beinda and deputy Minister of Lands and Mines - Brigadier Peter B. Vandi. Very minimal positions in the army were offered to the RUF/SL. Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Koroma was wrongly advised by prominent military men who were Kamajors and Tejan Kabba supporters. The RUF/SL was treated with infinitesimal dignity. Most advice given by our own authorities by them were not adhered to. Little attention was paid to security information from the RUF/SL securities. Recommendations were never attended to. On the whole, the brothers had no confidence in us. However, we accepted everything in good faith because we were instructed by our leader to take all orders and instructions from Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Koroma. This enabled the Tejan Kabba government supported by the Nigerian led ECOMOG and the Sandline International from Britain to overthrow the AFRC government in February, 1998. Tejan was to come together with the RUF/SL leader to Freetown on April 22nd. 1998 to regain presidency but the enemies did not wait for this time. The Nigerian led ECOMOG with British mercenaries attacked freetown in February 1998 and this extended to all the provinces and towns. Two displeasing incidents that took place while the we were in Freetown included the alleged misusing of nine million leones (10.9,000,000) by Brigadier Superman and the used of about forty-five million leones (10.45,000,000) on marriage ceremony by Major Eldred Collins.

Considering our military strength and the pressure that was put on us by the Nigerian led ECOMOG, we withdrew into the bush (parts of Kailahun and Kono districts) to re-organise ourselves and regain strength. We still continue to thank and praise Major-General Sam Bockarie, Brigadier I.H. Sesay, late Col. Boston Fleno (Rambo), Brigadier Superman, Brigadier Morris Kallon, Brigadier Peter B. Vandi and many others who stood firm and made sure that the enemies did not overcome us. The rampant promotion of soldiers served as incentives that motivated the combatants to double-up their efforts. The consultation, co-ordination and co-operation amongst senior officers and other ranks brought about the recapture of Joru jungle, Kono, Makeni, Magburaka, Sagbova, Tongo Field, Western jungle, Freetown and many other places from the hands of the enemies in early 1999. This drew the attention of the Western and

12241 9/11

see the RUF/SL rebel leader and sign the Lome Peace Treaty will lead to every lasting peace in this country as we can see for ourselves now.

During our withdrawal into the bush, security divulged that some former SLA soldiers were in possession of diamonds and foreign currencies which they wanted to use only to satisfy their personal needs. Some of them even wanted to escape with these wealth and left us struggling. Infact a good number of them with or without wealth escaped to Liberia and Guinea. Since in RUF/SL diamonds and foreign currencies are government properties, authorities decided to collect diamonds and foreign currencies in possession of individuals so that they could be used in the interest of the movement with priority to arms and ammunition. Some important items like mini satellite, Radio Freedom, etc. were acquired for the use of the movement. Small-small diamonds which only the higher authorities and the miners will account for, were collected from the workings done in Kono and Tongo Field but the proceeds according to my understanding were all used in the interest of the movement. In the course of promoting the movement, diamonds were also collected from Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Keroma himself. Rather unfortunate some of these diamonds and foreign currencies got missing in the hands of Brigadier I.H. Sesay in Liberia when he went to enter for ammunition for the movement. This is the number one grievance of Brigadier Superman, that Brigadier I.H. Sesay was not queried when he lost the diamonds and the foreign currencies but he missed the nine million leones in Freetown. He was brought to Quarterdeck. To be frank enough, Brigadier I.H. Sesay was the only strong man under Major-General Sam Becharie at that time who helped to put situation under control as the enemies were seriously pressing us. Taking Co. Iase off from whatever he was doing at that time and brought him for investigation would have done more harm than good because something worse than the lost of the diamonds and the foreign currencies would have occurred. Moreover, the collection of diamonds from some former SLA soldiers, money and diamonds from people who were in Kono when the former SLA soldiers (some of them) broke the bank in Kono, the failure of the authorities to provide Lt. Col. J.P. Keroma with vehicle and communication set may be responsible for the indifference that cropped-up between the men in the Western jungle and we on this side. Above all, they were expecting that we were going to subdue ourselves to them in our own territory like we did when we in Freetown which resulted to our retreat into the bush. If we have subdued ourselves to these guys, we would have moved from the "frying pot to the fire". The above points triggered the former SLA brothers presenting in the Western jungle to incite Superman to disobey Major-General Sam Becharie with unwarranted excuse that Major-General Sam Becharie insulted and condemned his Lebanese woman. This provoked escalated to a point that Brigadier Superman either all by himself or through giving orders killed Col. Eastern Plano (Rambo) by shooting him. Although about 90-95% of the SLA brothers including Col. Akim Turay, Lt. Col. Seriba, Lt. Col. Dumbuya, Lt. Col. Bakerr, Major Leather Back and many others are loyal to this movement, out of observations, the balance 5-10% are power conscious, materialistic and so can be incited by the politicians. Moreover, it will take some of them time to get use to some of the rules and regulations (ideology) binding the RUF/SL movement. Since we joined together with the brothers, crimes rates have axially increased.

Hence as you have come as our leader to join us all to make Sierra Leone a better place to live, you have to set your eyes sir, to wipe out all forms of corruptions and in the interim, you and all of us should be concerned about your security as the politicians would want to prevail on these power and material hungry men to do any thing to distort your good intention for

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WELCOME AND GOD BLESS ALL SIR.

Signed:  31-09-99.

Major Francis M. Musa
District I.D.U. commander
Kailashan.

cc: Chief of Defence Staff
Battle Field Commander
War Office
File.

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00012940

State House
Freetown, Republic of Sierra Leone

3rd October, 1997.

His Excellency
Charles G. Taylor
President of the Republic of Liberia
Monrovia
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

Your Excellency and Dear Brother,

I wish on behalf of every living Sierra Leonean and the Government of Sierra Leone to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for the staunch supportive position you took during your last intervention at the UN General Assembly on the pacific resolution of the crisis in our country. The people of this country shall be ever grateful to Your Excellency for your hand of brotherhood of understanding and friendship in this our moment of dire need.

Your Excellency, inspite of this and inspite of everything that we ourselves here in Sierra Leone are doing to avert disaster for our war-weary people, based on intelligence that we have received, Nigeria appears intent and bent on invading our capital city of Freetown and imposing their will on our people. For a succession of days the Nigerian component of ECOMOG occupying the Lungi International Airport has been indiscriminately shelling and bombarding Freetown on a nightly basis evidently in preparation for their invasion plan. We have no option but to defend our sovereignty and to protect our citizens from the carnage and wanton destruction that will be intensified by such an impending act of aggression by the Nigerians.

Your Excellency we need your help and we call on you to come to our rescue. Let us together defend Sierra Leone for in doing so we shall be

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defending each other and consolidating peace within our sub-region. We are cognisant of the tremendous constraints that you are currently confronted with at this material point in time. We however entreat you to support us with the following list of arms and ammunitions:

ARMS

2,000	AK 47 rifles
500	G3 rifles
300	RPG 7 tubes
100	60 mm mortar tubes
6	105 Howitzer guns

Ammunition

1,000 boxes	7.62x39 (CH)
500 boxes	7.62x51 (NATO)
1,000 rounds	60 mm mortar
2,000 rounds	105 mm Howitzer

Our Excellency, our situation is grave and our determination strong. It is our sacred duty to defend our country and to protect our people and to create the basis for lasting peace among all of our peoples.

The people of Sierra Leone shall be eternally indebted to you.

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- 3 -

Please accept my assurances of the highest esteem.



**MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
CHAIRMAN
ARMED FORCES REVOLUTINARY COUNCIL
AND HEAD OF STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF
SIERRA LEONE**

12246
Stage II Kono production

1.042

7980

Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Garatage	Percentage	Col.
02-03-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	3	1	05 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Forday	1	—	34 %	White
✓ — —	Komba Buah	2	—	05 %	Mix
03-08-99	Kai Forday	3	1	24 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Komba Buah	5	—	72 %	"
✓ — —	Mohammed S. Conteh	5	2	04 %	"
04-08-99	Kai Forday	1	—	15 %	White
✓ — —	Komba Buah	3	—	95 %	Mix
✓ — —	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	1	36 %	White
✓ — —	✓ ✓ ✓	10	3	28 %	Mix
05-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	9	74 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	16	5	65 %	Mix
✓ — —	Komba Buah	1	—	04 %	indus
07-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	1	19 %	White
✓ — —	✓ ✓ ✓	18	4	60 %	Mix
✓ — —	Komba Buah	4	—	50 %	"
✓ — —	Kai Forday	2	—	33 %	"
✓ — —	Sani Bochorie	1	—	42 %	White
Grand total of diamonds = 78 pieces ✓					
Grand garatage of Whites = 26 garat 95 %					
Grand garatage of industrial = 7 garat 17 %					

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12247
Staged/Kono Production

7981

Date	received From	No of Pieces	Garatage	Percentage	Color
08-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	7	3	36 %	White
08-08-99	Saidu Sam (Tefeya production)	1	1	52 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	1	47 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	2	70 %	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	14	5	80 %	Mix
	Tefeya total and garatage =	17	11	49 %	
	" " Gold weighed		8 gm		
09-08-99	Komba Bush	2	—	13 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	3	—	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	1	28 %	industrial
10-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	13	2	72 %	Mix
11-08-99	Sam Bocharie	15	8	54 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	—	46 %	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	2	80 %	White
12-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	11	4	20 %	Mix
14-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	9	2	40 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	3	28 %	Office
		9	3	85 %	Mix

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7982

Date	received From	NO. of Pieces	Garbage	Percentage	Color
16-08-99	Sam Bockarie	1	—	14 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S' Conteh	1	7	—	indus
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	3	74 %	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	2	62 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	10	4	—	"
18-08-99	Sara Bockarie	2	—	88 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S' Conteh	8	1	95 %	Mi
19-08-99	Tamba Konobay	1	4	15 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	5	1	75 %	Mi
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S' Conteh	1	3	05 %	indus
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	11	3	05 %	Mi
21-08-99	Tamba Konobay	4	—	90 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S' Conteh	2	—	40 %	"
23-08-99	Tamba Konobay	6	1	60 %	"
24-08-99	Mohamed S' Conteh	1	—	42 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Konobay	5	—	80 %	Mi
25-08-99	Sam Bockarie	3	—	78 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S' Conteh	2	—	88 %	"
26-08-99	Mohamed S' Conteh	1	—	28 %	indus
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Bockarie	4	—	75 %	Mi
28-08-99	Mohamed S' Conteh	1	—	27 %	orange

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7983

Date	Received From	No. Pieces	Caratage	Percentage	Color
30-08-99	Sam Bockarie	1	—	05%	industrial
31-08-99	Sam Bockarie	1	—	13%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	1	05%	Mix
01-09-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	—	46%	"
02-09-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	—	76%	"
04-09-99	Sam Bockarie	3	—	20%	"
07-09-99	Kai Foday	1	—	05%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	3	40%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ —	1	1	38%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ —	10	2	58%	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Koro boy	1	6	70%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ —	1	5	42%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ —	1	3	26%	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ —	23	7	32%	Mix

8-9-99 Ground total and caratage of White = 81 pieces 54 gram 78
Total and weight of Colored and industrial = 131 pieces 66.6

Ground total of diamond = 212 pieces

Ground total weight of Gold = 8 gram (P)

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Stage 13 Kona production

12250

7984

Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Weight	Percentage	Color
08-04-94	Kai Foday	4	—	88 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Konoboy	5	—	76 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S'Conteh	11	2	20 %	"
09-04-94	Tamba Konoboy	3	—	92 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	2	—	30 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S'Conteh	14	3	55 %	"
13-04-94	Tamba Konoboy	3	—	50 %	
11-04-94	Foundling diamond	1	—	08 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	1	—	05 %	Coffe
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Konoboy	3	—	50 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S'Conteh	12	4	06 %	"
13-04-94	Tamba Konoboy	3	—	35 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S'Conteh	11	5	95 %	Mix
14-04-94	Kai Foday	4	4	58 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S'Conteh	1	1	52 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	—	10	2	30 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	—	1	—	22 %	Coffe
15-04-94	Tamba Konoboy	7	1	—	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	1	—	22 %	indist.
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S'Conteh	9	2	75 %	Mix

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7985

Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Barrel	Percentage	Color
16-09-99	Tambou Koroiborg	1	4	27%	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	2	—	26%	indust.
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	1	—	08%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	8	15%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	3	1	02%	Mix
18-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	6	1	78%	White
20-9-99	Sam Bockarie	1	2	96%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	2	34%	Mix
21-9-99	Kai Foday	2	—	25%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	5	1	60%	"
22-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	2	—	20%	"
23-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	—	80%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Bockarie	1	10	40%	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	1	—	15%	"
25-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	—	10%	White
27-9-99	Sam Bockarie	1	1	08%	"
28-9-99	Sam Bockarie	1	0	24%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	—	75%	"
29-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	1	40%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Bockarie	3	—	75%	Mix

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7986

Date	received From	No of Pieces	Percentage	Color
30-9-99	Kai Forlay	1	—	40% Coffe.
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	1	20% White
02-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	7	1	68% "
04-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	3	12% "
05-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	—	52% indust.
06-10-99	Sam Bockarie	1	5	75% White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	1	—	06% "
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	—	68% White
07-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	8	3	75% "
09-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	2	—	90% indust.
11-10-99	Grand total and percentage of diamond			
	5 pieces of Whites and total percentage = 19 : 40%			
	2 pieces of Orange and total percentage = 14 : 72%			
	14 pieces of Whites and total percentage = 3 : 10%			
	162 pieces of industrial and total percentage = 61 : 40%			

11-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	2	11%	Mix
12-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	—	28%	indust
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Bockarie	1	—	34%	"
13-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	2	—	64%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Bockarie	1	—	15	"

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7987

Date	received From	No of Pieces	Garatage	Percentage	Color
14-10-94	Sam Bockarie	1	5	33%	Coffe
✓ / ✓ / ✓	✓	1	-	25%	industrial
✓ / ✓ / ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	2	20%	"
✓ / ✓ / ✓	✓	7	2	33%	Mix

16-10-94 Ground total of diamond = 19 pieces
 Ground total garatage = 13 Garat 63% ind.
Stage 11 Home Production

Date	received From	No of Pieces	Garatage	Percentage	Color
16-10-94	Mohamed S. Conteh	2	1	-	industrial
✓ / ✓ / ✓	Sam Bockarie	2	-	30%	"
18-10-94	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	6	28%	"
19-10-94	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	3	45%	White
✓ / ✓ / ✓	✓	1	1	20%	"
✓ / ✓ / ✓	✓	4	2	55%	industrial
✓ / ✓ / ✓	Sam Bockarie	1	-	25%	"
20-10-94	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	1	20%	White
✓ / ✓ / ✓	✓	3	2	70%	Mix
✓ / ✓ / ✓	Sam Bockarie	1	-	60%	Coffee
21-10-94	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	-	23%	industrial
23-10-94	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	1	03%	"
28-10-94	Sam Bockarie	1	-	10	"

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7988

Date	Received From	No. of Pieces	Gross Weight	Percentage	Color
02-11-99	Combatant 2 nd Bde	6	1	40%	industrial
02-11-99	Sami Beckharic	2	—	45%	"
07-11-99	Steven Monyakh	1	1	10%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	3	—	50%	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	Sami Beckharic	1	—	30%	"
10-11-99	Steven Monyakh	5	1	40%	"
10-11-99	Steven Monyakh	1	1	40%	White
✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	5	3	80%	industrial
17-11-99	Steven Monyakh	4	—	50%	"
16/11/99	Ground total and weight of diamonds 14 pieces of Whites weighed 17 grams 87% 36 pieces of industrials weighed 12 grams 95%				

Stage 15 Koro production					
Date	No. of Pieces	Gross Weight	Percentage	Color	
28/12/99	12 pieces	4	20%	Mix	
29/12/99	6	3	54%	"	
30-12-99	10	5	04%	"	
31-12-99	22	17	54%	"	
1-1-2000	16	5	25%	"	
					00007860

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7989

Date	No. of Pieces	Grade	Percentage	Color
02-01-2000	11 pieces	4	07 %	Mix
03-01-2000	18	17	42 %	"
04-01-2000	36	19	97 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	1	3	70 %	White
05-01-2000	20	10	45 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	1	14	66 %	White
06-01-2000	7	3	45 %	Mix
07-01-2000	9	3	60 %	"
09-01-2000	6	1	80 %	"
10-01-2000	3	1	08 %	indist.
✓ ✓ ✓	1	1	61 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	1	14	85 %	indist.
11-01-2000	1	7	93 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	15	4	28 %	Mix

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7990

	No. of Pieces (Approx.)	Group
8-79 - 8-8-99	1562	
9-8-99 - 15-09- 10 -8-99	301	8 Grams
14-07-99 - 30-08-99	48	
02-10-99 - 28-10-99	17	
02-11-99 - 10-11-99	28	
08-12-99 - 31-12-99	32	
1-1-2000 - 11-1-2000	116	

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1.239

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Stage II Koro production

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Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Caratage	Percentage	Color
02-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	3	1	05 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Friday	1	—	39 %	White
✓ / -	Komba Buah	2	—	05 %	Mix
03-08-99	Kai Friday	3	1	24 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Komba Buah	5	—	72 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohammed S. Conteh	5	2	04 %	"
04-08-99	Kai Friday	1	—	15 %	White
✓ / -	Komba Buah	3	—	95 %	Mix
✓ ✓ /	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	1	36 %	White
✓ / ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	10	3	28 %	Mix
05-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	9	74 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	16	5	65 %	Mix
✓ ✓ /	Komba Buah	1	—	04 %	Industrial
07-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	1	19 %	White
✓ ✓ /	✓ ✓ ✓	18	4	60 %	Mix
✓ / /	Komba Buah	4	—	50 %	"
✓ / /	Kai Friday	2	—	33 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sara Beckorie	1	—	42 %	White

Grand total of diamonds = 78 pieces ✓

7-8-99 Grand caratage of all whites = 26 carat 95 %

Grand caratage of industrial = 7 carat 17 %

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Stage 12 Koro Production

Date	received from	Wet Recs	Garutage	Percentage	Color
08-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	7	3	36 %	White
08-08-99	Saidu Sam (Tefeya production)	1	1	52 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ / /	1	1	47 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ / /	1	2	70 %	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ / /	14	5	80 %	White
	Tefeya total and garutage =	17	11	49 %	
	" " Gold weighed		8 gm		
09-08-99	Komboa Buah	2	—	13 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	3	—	White
✓ / /	✓ / /	1	1	28 %	industrial
✓ / /	✓ / /	13	2	72 %	Mix
10-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	15	8	54 %	Mix
11-08-99	Samu Becherie	1	—	46 %	orange
✓ ✓ /	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	2	80 %	White
✓ ✓ /	✓ / /	11	4	20 %	Mix
12-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	9	2	40 %	"
14-08-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	3	28 %	Coffee
✓ ✓ /	✓ / /	9	3	85 %	Mix

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Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Grading	Percentage	Colour
16-08-99	Sam Backorie	1	—	14 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	1	7	—	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	3	74 %	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	2	62 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	10	4	—	"
18-08-99	Sam Backorie	2	—	88 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	8	1	95 %	Mix
19-08-99	Tamba Korobay	1	4	15 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	5	1	75 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	1	3	05 %	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	11	3	05 %	Mix
21-08-99	Tamba Korobay	4	—	90 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	2	—	40 %	"
23-08-99	Tamba Korobay	6	1	60 %	"
24-08-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	1	—	42 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Korobay	5	—	80 %	Mix
25-08-99	Sam Backorie	3	—	78 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	2	—	88 %	"
26-08-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	1	—	28 %	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Backorie	4	—	75 %	Mix
28-08-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	1	—	27 %	orange

9/22

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Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Weight	Percentage	Color
30-08-99	Sam Bockarie	1	-	05%	industrial
31-08-99	Sam Bockarie	1	-	13%	White
✓✓✓	Mohammed S. Conteh	3	1	05%	Mix
01-09-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	3	-	46%	"
02-09-99	Mohammed S. Conteh	3	-	76%	"
04-09-99	Sam Bockarie	3	-	20%	"
07-09-99	Kai Foday	1	-	05%	White
✓✓✓	Mohammed S. Conteh	1	3	40%	"
✓✓✓	✓	1	1	38%	"
✓✓✓	✓	10	2	58%	Mix
✓✓✓	Tamba Koro boy	1	6	70%	White
✓✓✓	✓	1	5	42%	"
✓✓✓	✓	1	3	26%	orange
✓✓✓	✓	23	7	32%	Mix
Grand total and percentage of White = 81 pieces 54 gram 78%					
8-9-99 total and weight of Colored and industrial = 131 pieces = 66.66%					
Grand total of diamond = 212 pieces					
Grand total weight of Gold = 8 grams (G.M.)					

9/23

12262

Stage 43: Kono production

Date	received From	No. of Pieces	Quantity	Percentage	Color
08-09-99	Kai Foday	4	—	88 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Konokey	5	—	76 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	11	2	20 %	"
09-09-99	Tamba Konokey	3	—	92 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	2	—	30 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	14	3	55 %	"
10-09-99	Tamba Konokey	3	—	50 %	
11-09-99	Foundling diamond	1	—	08 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	1	—	05 %	Coffol
✓ ✓ ✓	Tamba Konokey	3	—	50 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	12	4	06 %	"
13-09-99	Tamba Konokey	3	—	35 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	11	5	95 %	Mix
14-09-99	Kai Foday	4	4	58 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	1	52 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	10	2	30 %	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	1	—	22 %	Coffol
15-09-99	Tamba Konokey	7	1	—	Mix
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	1	—	23 %	inclusion
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	9	2	75 %	Mix

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Date	received from	Nr. of Piers	Barrel	Percentage	Color
16-09-99	Touba Korokey	1	4	27%	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	2	—	26%	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	Kai Foday	1	—	08%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	8	15%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	3	1	02%	Mix
18-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	6	1	78%	White
20-9-99	Sam Boekarie	1	2	96%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	2	34%	Mix
21-9-99	Kai Foday	2	—	25%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	5	1	60%	"
22-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	2	—	20%	"
23-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	—	80%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Boekarie	1	10	40%	orange
✓ ✓ ✓	✓	1	—	15%	"
25-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	—	10%	White
27-9-99	Sam Boekarie	1	1	08%	"
28-9-99	Sam Boekarie	1	0	24%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	—	75%	"
29-9-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	1	40%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Boekarie	3	—	75%	Mix

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9/25

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Date received from Net Price Country Location Color					
30-9-99	Kai Forlay	1	—	40%	Coffee
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	3	1	20%	Mix
02-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	7	1	68%	"
04-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	3	3	12%	"
05-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	3	—	52%	industrial
06-10-99	Sam Backarie	1	5	75%	White
✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	1	—	06%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Mohamed S. Corteh	3	—	68%	Mix
07-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	8	3	75%	"
09-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	2	—	90%	industrial
11-10-99	Ground total and percentage of diamonds				
	5 pieces of Whites and total garbage = 19 : 40%				
	2 pieces of Orange and total garbage = 14 : 72%				
	14 pieces of Whites and total garbage = 8 : 10%				
	162 pieces of industrial and total garbage = 61 : 40%				
11-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	4	2	11%	Mix
12-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	1	—	28%	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Backarie	1	—	34%	"
13-10-99	Mohamed S. Corteh	2	—	64%	"
✓ ✓ ✓	Sam Backarie	1	—	15%	"

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Date	received From	No of Pieces	Carat Weight	Percentage	Colour
14-10-99	Sam Bockarie	1	5	33%	Coffee
✓✓✓	✓	1	-	2.5%	industrial
✓✓✓	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	2	20%	"
✓✓✓	✓	7	2	33%	Mix

16-10-99 Ground total of diamond = 19 pieces
 Ground total geratage = 13 Carat 63% industrial
 Stage 14. Kono Production

Date	received From	No of Pieces	Carat Weight	Percentage	Colour
16-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	2	1	-	industrial
✓✓✓	Sam Bockarie	2	-	30%	"
18-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	4	6	28%	"
19-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	3	45%	White
✓✓✓	✓	1	1	20%	"
✓✓✓	✓	4	2	55%	industrial
✓✓✓	Sam Bockarie	1	-	25%	"
20-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	1	20%	White
✓✓✓	✓	3	2	70%	Mix
✓✓✓	Sam Bockarie	1	-	60%	Coffee
21-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	1	-	23%	industrial
23-10-99	Mohamed S. Conteh	3	1	03%	"
28-10-99	Sam Bockarie	1	-	10	"

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Date	received From	No of Pieces	Carat	Percentage	Colour
02-11-99	Combatant 2nd Bde	6	1	40%	industrial
02-11-99	Sam Bocharie	2	—	45%	"
08-11-99	Steven Mungah	1	1	10%	White
✓✓✓	✓	3	—	50%	industrial
✓✓✓	Sam Bocharie	1	—	30%	"
09-11-99	Steven Mungah	5	1	70%	"
10-11-99	Steven Mungah	1	1	40%	White
✓✓✓	✓	5	3	80%	industrial
11-11-99	Steven Mungah	4	—	50%	"
16/11/99	Ground total and weight of diamonds				
	14 pieces of Whites weighed 17 carats 87%				
	36 pieces of industrials weighed 12 carats 95%				

Stage 15 Koro production

Date	No of Pieces	Caratage	Percentage	Colour
28/12/99	12 pieces	4	20%	Mix
29/12/99	6	3	54%	"
30-12-99	10	5	04%	"
31-12-99	22	17	54%	"
1-1-2000	16	5	25%	"

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Date	No. of Pieces	Baratage	Percentage	Colour
02-01-2000	11 pieces	4	87 %	MIX
03-01-2000	18	17	42 %	"
04-01-2000	36	19	97 %	"
✓ ✓ ✓	1	3	70 %	White
05-01-2000	20	10	45 %	MIX
✓ ✓ ✓	1	14	66 %	White
06-01-2000	7	3	45 %	MIX
07-01-2000	9	3	60 %	"
08-01-2000	6	1	80 %	"
10-01-2000	3	1	08 %	industrial
✓ ✓ ✓	1	1	61 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	1	14	85 %	industrial
11-01-2000	1	7	93 %	White
✓ ✓ ✓	15	4	28 %	MIX

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	No. of Pieces (Diamond)	-	Good
2-8-99 - 8-8-99	1562	-	8 Grams
9-8-99 - 15-09-99	301	-	
14-09-99 - 30-08-99	48	-	
02-10-99 - 28-10-99	17	-	
02-11-99 - 16-11-99	28	-	
28-12-99 - 31-12-99	32	-	
1-1-2000 - 11-1-2000	146	-	
	<u>2134</u>		

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11/25/11
Expended + 10,915.00

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RESTRICTED

Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone
2nd Brigade Headquarters
Kono Axis

00015401

SUBJECT: FORUM MINUTE
DATE : 11th December, 1998.
TIME : 11 am

CHAIRMAN: Colonel ISSA H. SESAY - Battle Field Commander - (RUF/SL)
The forum was commenced on the 11th December 1998 at around 11 am

THE OPENING PRAYERS OF BOTH CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS:

The Christian prayers was said by Captain Patrick Jusu and the Muslim prayers by Captain JK Bangalie

WELCOME SPEECH BY COLONEL FB VANDY - 2ND BRIGADE ADVICER

The 2nd Brigade adviser welcomed the BFC, the BFI and all authorities present in the forum. He appealed to Officers and men to forgive and forget about the past and implement all instructions given by the BFC in the interest of the Revolution. He faithfully expressed that the mission will be accomplished by God's power.

INTRODUCTION OF IN-COMING OFFICERS - BY MAJOR SAMUEL JABBA

The introduction of all in-coming Officers was done by Major Samuel Jabba, Adjutant to the BFC as follows:

- i) Colonel Issah H. Sesay
- ii) Colonel Merison Kallon
- iii) Lt-col. Foday Lansana
- iv) Major M. Fembah
- v) MAJOR Victor Kamara
- vi) Major Samuel S. Jabba
- vii) S/Capt. Mohamed Kamara and bodyguards

INTRODUCTION OF HOST OFFICERS - BY MAJOR CHRIST A. MANNAH

The introduction of Host Officers was done by Major Christ A. Mannah - Overall I. O. Commander as follows:

- i) Colonel Boston Flomo - 2nd Brigade Commander
 - ii) Colonel P.B. Vandy - 2nd Brigade Adviser
 - iii) Lt-col. Akim Turay - 1st Battalion Commander
 - iv) Lt-col. Vanicious Varney - 2nd Battalion Commander
 - v) Lt-col. Kailondo S. Banya - 3rd Battalion Commander
 - vi) Lt-col. Andrew B. Kamara - 4th Battalion Commander
 - vii) Major Lansana Conteh - 2nd Brigade Major
 - viii) Major Alpha Momoh - 2nd Brigade Adjutant
 - ix) Major Amara Salia - 2nd Brigade Operational Comdr
- and all Officers present.

SHORT SPEECH BY THE 2ND BRIGADE COMMANDER - COLONEL BOSTON FLOMO

Colonel Boston Flomo thanked the BFC and the BFI for their effort towards the Revolution. He expressed with confidence that on behalf of the 2nd Brigade, he is ready to implement and accomplish all missions that will be given to him in the name of the Almighty.

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He stressed on Unity and advised all Officers to know each others problems. He asked for the co-operation of everyone and that all should make sure that the present mission at hand be accomplished in the name of God.

THE 2ND BRIGADE ADJUTANT'S EXPRESSION ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE MEN

He mostly deliberately deliberated on the possession of documents for the present ranks carried by men as we all know that our present ranks determine the responsibilities we carry,

PURPOSE OF THE FORUM - WAR PLAN BY THE BFC

The BFC thanked God for making it possible for us to hold the present forum. He said before the war plan that he has a message for all brothers. He expressed that from the origin of this war we had had no supply to this tune and that all we had depended on have been captured materials which will not easily accomplish our missions. He explained to the forum that thirty-one drums of fuel were used to construct the Air Field. He advised on unity and oneness in the Revolution which will lead us to success. He concluded that we need Kono and therefore we are to discuss on document and implement all that will be discussed in the forum as the mission have been given to the 2nd Brigade Commander - Colonel Boston Flomo and that we are to take all orders from the 2nd Brigade Commander. He revealed that there are uniforms up to 500 and boots for the men. He aonly strictly advised the Vanguarders to govern themselves accordingly and take all command from the mission Commander and that no one should provoke situation and that any one who sabotages will undergo full military discipline.

The BFI appealed to all Battalion Commanders to be ready to move and not to stay in the bush and further said we need Yengema. He appealed to all Officers and men to forgive him for the past and asked for fresh operation to advance forward. He refered to the present mission as ' A do or die mission ' and ' operation free the Leader '. He concluded that all Officers should take orders from the mission Commanders, and pray that God be with us in our operations.

The BFI suggested that we work on the number of men for the operation thus:

1ST BATTALION

70 Armed Men
one 103 missile
one 50 calibre
one GMG
one Mortar Gun

2RD BATTALION

200 Armed Men
two 50 calibre
one basuga
one GMG
Two Mortar Guns
Two Ground missiles

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R E S T R I C T E D

1ST BATTALION
75 Armed Men
Two GPMG
One Mortar Gun

1TH BATTALION
100 Armed Men
One GPMG
One Bazooga
One Mortar Gun

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2ND BRIGADE
100 Armed men
One GPMG
One Bazooga
One Mortar Gun

AK RIFLES
545
Two 103 Missiles
three 50 calibres
Eight GPMGs
Six Mortar GUNS

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE FORUM

1. No looting until the mission is accomplished.
2. All Government properties should be reported to the mission Commander
3. Ammunitions are to be used on main targets and that we should use our Guerilla tactics (Bypasses)

APPOINTMENTS

Lt-col.	Kailondo	S.	Banya	-	Mission Commander
Lt-col.	Vanicious		Varney	-	Adviser
Lt-col.	Foday		Lansana	-	Artillery Adviser
Major	Victor		Kamara	-	Deputy mission Commander
Major	Andrew	B.	Kmara	-	Ambush Commander
Major	Bakarr		Bangura	-	Operational Commander
Major	Amara		Bockarie	-	Deputy operational Commander
Major	Amara		Salia	-	Re-inforcement Commander
Captain	Ibrahim		Mneh	-	Artillery Commander
Captain	Mohamed		Kannah	-	Deputy Artillery Commander
Lieutenant Vnady			Mohamed	-	Master Chaser

VOTE OF THANKS BY THE BFI

The BFI thanked everyone present in the forum and appealed for unity and co-operation for the present mission at hand to be accomplished.

CLOSING PRAYERS

Muslim prayers by Captain Vnady S. Koroma and Christian prayers by the 2nd Brigade Adjutant Major Alpha Momoh. It was lastly discussed that deputies for said mission would be appointed when all missionaries would or are gathered. The forum ended in a good atmosphere.

Compiled and written by Signed: _____:
2nd Brigade Adjutant
Major Alpha Momoh

Approved: _____:
Adjutant to the BFC
Major Samuel F. Jabba.

CC copy to:
B.F.C.
B.F.I.
2ND BRIGADE
FILE.

R E S T R I C T E D

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BATTLE FIELD COMMANDER - RUFFEL
00015487 8054

①
REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE
DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS.

2nd December, 1998.

FORUM WITH THE EXTERNAL DELEGATES LED BY THE
OF DEFENCE STAFF.

This meeting was summoned by the High Command Brigadier San Bechario (CDS-RUFSL) in order to acquaint members present with report on the external mission they went on. Venue-water works and time was 1323 HRS GMT.

In attendance were:

1. Brigadier San Bechario
 2. Mr. S.Y.B Rogers
 3. Col. Edward Kanneh
 4. Maj. Lawrence Momandia
 5. Major Junior Vandi
 6. Maj. Mohamed S. Banya
 7. Lt. Col. Rashid Sandi - External delegates
- Col. I.N. Kogay RUF and members of various units were also in attendance. The meeting was opened with a short Muslim and Christian prayers.

The Chairman CDS- Brigadier San Bechario welcomed every one who attended the forum. He told us all that the forum was intended to brief us on the mission they had gone through. The CDS appointed Mr. SYB Rogers to give a salute report about the mission.

Mr. SYB Rogers extended his heart felt thanks to all persons in attendance. Pa Rogers wasted no time to tell us the mission was a very big success through our blessings and co-operation. According to Mr. SYB Rogers, this plan of sending out people to seek our welfare at the international front was not hand. Many of these people failed us but God Almighty blessed this very outstanding effort made by the CDS and indeed the success was very great interspersed of what they were able to receive. Mr. SYB Rogers stated further that since the 1997, May 25 coup, RUFAL was invited to join our brothers (AFRC) but he lamented that the MERGER was unsuccessful because there was no common understanding or ideology. He reiterated that indeed "God is behind our movement so that we shall not be disgraced". He admonished that we must reckon with the efforts played by the high command when it deserves praise. It is the sole right of the senior command structure and all combatants to defend the civilians. This is the reason why he, as Chairman of the

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Peoples War Council and an elder among us he confirmed it as his primary duty to advise and educate the higher authorities as to what they must do. Let no one feel or say that Brigadier Mesquite is doing things on his own, we must come together and consult even with ourselves and the high command on problems we don't understand". Pa SYB Rogers pledged his sincere thanks and credit to the CDS for his leading role in the external mission they went on: Indeed the CDS' effort was very excellent. Pa SYB Rogers noted with profound gratitude the effort applied by our host govt. on the other side for granting us the in-let and exit facilities even with escort. It was very surprising to note that according to Pa SYB Rogers, most heads of States have been thinking that the RUF/SL had been in disarray since the kidnapping of our Dear Leader. It was therefore good and a blessing in disguise to us all that the young Brigadier himself, who has held the garrison strongly against the enemies went to see some of the Heads of Stateⁱⁿ person.

In every body's delight, there are friendly countries who have been wishing to receive serious minded people that will seek RUF/SL interest abroad.. Pa Rogers lamented that we were disappointed by most of the past external delegates who squandered RUFSL funds and made no head way so as to open our way to success. 'They have met their fate' says Pa. Rogers. "The people's sin has fallen on them". The mission extended to Burkinafasse where they (delegates) were warmly received and attended to. All discussions with the Burkinabe authorities were highly fruitful. There was however a diplomatic test on the CDS to prove his ability and seriousness as a commander on the ground. The CDS behaved excellently and maturedly to the admiration of his excellency, *Campore*. The Brigadier has done a very historic job for the RUFSL movement. He has signed a rich contract for us and with our support, given to him and the movement, we shall do every thing possible to promote this struggle. The WAR COUNCIL Chairman made it public that people have been meeting him on the note that the CDS is intending to take the leader's power, According to Pa Rogers, he advised every one not to think of the CDS in that way. He Pa SYB Rogers told us that he has examined the Brigadier in and out and has not suspected the least of such intention in the Brigadier. We must give the Brigadier all fervent support, so as to encourage him (Brigadier) for his great sacrifice. Pa Rogers concluded by thanking Col. Isaac Sesay the RUF/Ag. CDS and all authorities who held the ground and frontlines strongly while the CDS and delegates were out.

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Next to speak was Col. Eddie Kanneh (SLA Rep). The young Colonel thanked every body for their courage to attend the forum. According to the Colonel, all the trip was very successful. He dilated on how at several times he faced embarrassment on account of his association and deep commitment to the NUPSL. He made us understand that since his familiarity with our Brigadier or CDS, he, (Col. E. Kanneh) sees the CDS as a man who does not want to get involved into politics and that he has known the CDS to be far sighted person who can predict with possible results. He therefore asked all and sundry not to picture the CDS the way, other people are classing him to be (i.e Power Hungry). He warned that there must be solidarity among us all. He commended Pa SYB Rogers for his fatherly part he is playing in the movement. Col. Isaac Sesay for his gallant part he played in the absence of the CDS for keeping the ground under control. He asked us to remember outstanding external friends of his movement like General Abraham. "Let us mobilize, unite, be conscious" and "I leave a general warning that no one must take revolution lightly to avoid subversion. We must care for the junior ranks and I hope and pray that this movement shall continue to live and prosper in good fate" - concluded the young Colonel. The Chief of Defence Staff, Brigadier Sam Becharie buttressed the speeches of Pa SYB Rogers and Col. Eddie Kanneh. He threw light on some important things however for the general understanding of those who attended the meeting. In the first place, the CDS told us that they were not financially strong to make the trip as successful as it turned out to be. He said that in the first attempt, they stopped half way and heard about the shocking news on Focus about the trial and Death sentence passed on our Father and Leader Opl. Foday S. Sankoh. The CDS made hasty preparation and returned back to the brothers as to launch offensives against the govt. of Tejan Kabbah for the release of our Leader. The CDS congratulated Col. Jungle and General Abraham for their sincerity and honesty in delivering the parcels that were given to them for our father across. The CDS said the father showed him the parcels and said that he was keeping the parcel until we enter and get more so as to be able to purchase reasonable quantity of whatever we want. The CDS reiterated that if we work hard and remain united, victory will be on our side" According to the CDS, he took along Major Lawrence Womandia because he can speak


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French and it was the delegates intention to visit France - Countries and even Libya. The GDS said due to copious arrangements Col. Eddie and Pa Rogers had at hand he did not hope he would see them to make the trip as planned but "God Greatly Helped Us, we Pa Rogers and Col. Eddie and we made the trip together". The GDS concluded that the trip was a big success on the whole. The Brigadier told the forum that he was able to formally hand over our struggle and petition about our Leader to the President of Burkina Faso, who is the current Chairman of O.A.U so that as O.A.U Chairman, he will step in and mediate Peace between us and the SNPP govt. He warned that now is the time to work together to secure the release of our leader and to avoid funny things like gossips that will lead to disunity among us. The GDS admonished and placed a curse on any one who should plan to mismanage the small legislation they had laid down their lives for in the interest of the struggle. The Brigadier informed us that he went with a two and half carats (2 1/2 carats) diamond and some other ^{items} which he gave as present to a senior security - Benjamin in order to facilitate easy access to all chances for the undelayed success of our mission. The GDS concluded by thanking every body both missionaries and those who

The Battle Field Commander - Col. Isaac Issay thanked the delegates. He promised that we shall put our efforts together to consolidate our strength for victory. We are to strike for the release of our Leader and the victory of our movement. "A commander will feel good when he attacks and captures rather than been called to join with others - it will make no prospect". The Field Commander extended many blessings to all those who joined the GDS to bring us the expected good which will bring success for us all. Col. Isaac Marego thanked the GDS and delegates for their grand effort. He advised every body to work hand in hand for the victory of RUFEL. We are not fighting for Pa Samson or the Brigadier but our selves and our country Sierra Leone for victory and peace. This the RUFEL Leader has been telling us all along.

Col. Mike Lamin, thanked the GDS and the delegates who went with him on the mission. "We as RUFEL must consider this gesture as a brilliant challenge and we must do some thing impressively in return of the challenge". He warned that we must not talk on how the material was channelled to our base for security reasons.



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Col. Morris Mallon - Thanked the CDS and delegates for the great effort. He stated in the first place that for the person or persons who go about saying that the CDS wants to take the Leadership of RUFSL, Col. Mallon noted that except such people do not construe them selves in a way to be understood without grudge or malice but the second in command appointment was given to the CDS by our Leader himself and that it is natural that he shall succeed our leader after long years of the Leaders services to the movement and the Nation. He compared a combatant's risk of life to that of an external delegates own, by which he stated that the latter own risk of life was far more greater than the combatant because he does not know the enemies around him. Col. Mallon warned all persons to put to good use what the CDS has fought hard to get for the movement.

Chiefdom Commander, J.V. Samuka thanked the CDS and delegate and prayed for God's blessing for them. He juxtaposed Tojan Kabba God hearing prayers as a chance now gracefully given to the RUFSL.

Pastor A Ipha on behalf of the Christian group thanked the CDS and delegates. He threw in a proverb which says "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown". He prayed fervently to Almighty God for our senior officers, junior officers, against the enemies and grand success of the RUFSL. Pastor A Ipha invoked the spirits of Taburaka and Jehaja, the Great God.

Major E. Collins stated that the CDS was killed two birds with one stone ie solved Political and military Problems. The CDS announced a senior officers meeting from where arrangements were to be done for full scale operations.

Meeting ended in harmony.

Signed: *[Signature]* 4/98
Joint Security Env.

cc: CDS - RUFSL.
WFC "
War Council "
Col. Mike "
Overall M.P & IEF Commander
File.

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9/37

Sierra Leone Peoples' Army (SLPA)
4th Brigade Lima Strike Force H/Quarters
Take Barracks,
Kakumli
October, 1999.

00015506

SUBJECT: MEETING/Forum

TIME: 1400 hrs.

A G E N D A

- (1) PRAYERS
- (2) SELF INTRODUCTION
- (3) SECURITY GENERAL
- (4) CENTRALIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION
- (5) ISSUING OF PAPERS
- (6) DIVISION OF MATHI INTO SECTORS
- (7) COMBINED SECURITY AND CONTROL
- (8) TIME FOR PARADE AND DUTY.

After the prayers and introduction, the Chairman, Col: Augustine Oboe in his opening remarks informed about purpose of Forum. He explained that the Forum was called to organize well, spell out our responsibilities, more especially security of Kakumli and the entire movement. The Chairman also informed all officers to:-

- a. To enhance free movement of civilians.
- b. To stop soldiers from harassing civilians.
- c. To promote the movement both internally and externally.

3. SECURITY GENERAL:- Under security general, the Chairman requested for comprehensive nominal roll of all units man-power and how they were deployed since 3rd April, 1999.

For the first unit M.P., the Commander Lt-Col: Bature responded that they had made several deployments, but requested for ample time to get round and compile comprehensive nominal roll of the M.P. unit not later than Saturday.

He also informed that deployments were made at Brigade and Battalion level as well as Army Headquarters (HQ).

Briefing the floor, the Deputy Over/All M.P. Commander Lt-Col: Jallah informed command structure within M.P. remains the same as before April the 3rd again. From the Provost Marshal, to Deputy Over/All M.P. Commander, Col: M.K. Karami, C.O. Traffic for Army Headquarters.

For Brigades:-

1. 1st Brigade - Kakumli
2. 2nd Brigade - Lunsar

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3. 3rd Brigade - Kambia/Kamukwa Axis.
4. 4th Brigade - Okra Hill.

The Chairman advised all M.P.'s to report at Agriculture to do necessary settlements.

Under I.D.U., the Commander Lt-Col: Bangalia informed that IDU personnel were deployed at every check point, Battalions and Companies, and the structure remains the same as before 3rd April, 1999 crisis. The personnel and both soldiers and civilians.

I.D.U. Commander also informed about recruitment made by the Brigade I.D.U. Commander Capt: Anah.

The Commander also requested for ample time to compile comprehensive nominal.

The Chairman also advised him to meet at Agriculture on Saturday for settlement.

Under G-5, the commander Lt-Col: Karama Kinde informed that he had covered Bumbali District, part of Tumbulili District and Kambia District and had also appointed G-5 Agent there. The Commander requested for the ample time to nominal roll of G-5 personnel in the various areas.

The Liaison officer to give report on Saturday at Agriculture.

Lt-Col: Bangura, Commander Revolutionary Anti-Sabotage Students (RASS), his functions similar with functions of welfare Commander, the Chairman, H.H. Also advised him to meet together with the welfare Commander at Agriculture to do necessary settlement.

4. CENTRALIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION:- Under the Centralization of Administration, the Chairman advised all officers to co-operate fully with centralization of command.

The Deputy Over/All M.P. Commander, Lt-Col: M.Y. Jalloh, in his contribution advised to use old structures before April 3rd crisis. He also suggested all units' reports be directed to the Over/All Security Commander, and then he'll contact the High Command for take and see action or advice.

For the Brigades, he advised all reports to be directed to the Brigade Commander.

The Chairman advised M.P. post established at entrance of the market to stop in-flow of soldiers there. He also advised M.P. detachment at the prisons, each check point and Pailay Junction check point.

5. ISSUING OF PASSES:- For the issuing of passes, a particular officer has to be in-charge of signing the passes of soldiers and his office should be at the Centre of the town. The G-5 should take care of civilians passes, and should

on signatoring. All passes prepared should have recommended from Senior Officer.

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On both soldiers and civilians passes the time to leave and time return should be indicated.

All documents in the Brigade should be signed by the Brigade Adjutant and Brigade Commander.

6. DIVISION OF WAKEMI INTO ZONES:- Four (4) Zonal areas have been identified, and commanders appointed.

Every Zone has to have Senior officer to advice, and representative of Joint Security. Each Zonal Headquarters should serve as station (Police), and all reports from the Zones should be directed to the Zonal Commanders. The Zonal Commander to the Headquarters Commander, from Headquarters Commander to Over/All Security Commander and finally the High Command.

NAMES OF ZONAL SECURITY COMMANDERS

- a. Majors Mohamed Mansaray - Zone I security
Areas of control:- (i) Main Magburaka Road.
(ii) Makama and Bopolon Axis.
- b. Lieuts Frankly K. Samba - Zone II Security
Areas of control:- (i) Teko Axis.
- c. Majors Daniel Monicoh - Zone III Security.
Areas of control:- (i) Kabala Road
(ii) Water Works Axis.
- d. SGT/APT: Gibril Turay - Zone IV Security.
Areas of control:- (i) Main Lunear Road
(ii) Looking Town Axis.

7. TIME FOR PARADE AND DUTIES:- For Muster Parade :

- Time for Prayers - 7:45 am
 - TIME for duty - 8:30 am
 - Time chosen to off - 4:30 pm, but could go beyond that time.
- The Chairman advised strongly against lateness.

8. ANY OTHER BUSINESS (A. O. B):-

1. Majors Jabba suggested to raise fund through due collection for example, But the Chairman advised to leave one collection with Chiefs and his people, and we only request from them certain percentages convenient to them to maintain our men.
2. Lieuts Sesay report serious harrasement on civilians in the Samba Chief-dom.
3. Lt-Col: Bangura informed some soldiers at Kabari assigned with the mother of the Leader, but was requested by the Chairman to come along with the OMA and the soldiers.

The Forum ended with prayers .

Forum minuted by Headquarters Commander.
Lt-Col: A.M. J4

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REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE RUFSL
THE OFFICE OF THE HEADQUARTER COMMANDER
2ND INF BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS - BOMBALI DISTRICT
MAKENI

SUBJECT: FORUM

DATE: 12th February, 1990

TIME: _____

A G E N D A

1. Prayers - Muslim and Christian
2. Mutual understanding amongst officers
3. Responsibilities of Officers
4. General security within(AOR)
5. Punctuality
6. Excessive use of vehicles and motor bikes by unauthorised Holders
7. General Muster(Morning Parade)
8. Closing Prayers

The Forum fully commenced later in the afternoon after thorough advice by the BFC to strike common understanding amongst us - disregarding association with either SLA or RUF.

Lt. Col. Augustine Gbao, addressing the floor advised also to desist from identifying oneself with either SLA or RUF, rather, he expressed that we carry one identity as brothers. He cited peoples Army' as General Name for both Forces. It is about time' he said, to come together and fight back for our Liberation.

Moreover, he identified consultation, co-operation and co-ordination as basis of methodology required to gain progress.

However, to create atmosphere of better understanding, he suggested every Friday to be holding Forums to iron out and to maintain balance in the operation. Lt. Col. Titus, deliberating on mutual understanding emphasised to deassociate from the practice of identifying with a particular Force(SLA/RUF). He contended that we constitute same Force with same ideology fighting for same Goal. He strongly advised officers against inciters who might want to upset operations by their sabotage methodologies.

Talking about responsibilities of officers, Lt. Col. Titus disclosed too many floating officers within the township. He requested for knowledge on the actual strength of officers and personnels in Makeni Township.

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thus issue it that any soldier or officers moving along the street without document of assignment endorsed by recognise authority should be arrested. There should be no floating officers, he emphasised strongly. He therefore, alerted the H/Q Commander, M.P. Commander, 2nd Bde Adjutant to effect full operation along that line; properly screening every Personnel.

Additionally, Lt. Col. Augustine Gbao observed Task Force non functional regarding security on the ground. Lt. Col. Titus, thus suggested Lt. Col. Abu - Task Force Lt. Col. Augustine Gbao advised very strongly all zonal Commanders to implore efficiency in their discharge of duties. He identified, unnecessary firing, harrassment etc as their main security concern in their areas of control. He warned that any problem arising from any zone shall be settled through the reprimand of the particular zonal Commander. Moreover, addressing security advised against self designed patrol, or personal patrols. He suggest centralised system by which everyone would involved under properly structured command. He advised any officer sending men out on mission to give them authentic document.

Furthermore, to foster co-ordination for better operation, general muster was suggested every morning at the Administrative H/Quarters.

Reminding the floor on security, the deputy overall M.P. Commander suggested every officer to have balanced security to discourage association with a particular force and create the basis of foundation on which we shall build reliable confidence in our interaction and determination to succeed.

In the cause of deliberation, report were put to the board by Lt. Col. K.S. Banya and Major Bakarr against Doctor Jinnah for not attending to them for quite sometime, now. Immediately, Doctor Jinnah was called to account. In his response, he inform about the Devolution and deconcentration of wounded soldiers making the job difficult. Unanimously the board suggest to centralised them but advised to contact authorities with whom wounded soldiers live.

The Admin-Co-ordinator, advising on security suggest to deploy 5 to 6 miles of the township particularly on the routes leading to the enemies, behine TEKO BARRACKS and MAGBURAKA were the main areas identified for such deployment.

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On the area of punctuality, Admin-Co-ordinator disclosed negligence on the part of officers. He warned against late coming, making it very clear problems created on account of that.

Buttressing deliberation on attendance, Lt. Col. Augustine Gbao suggested 8:30am as time for all officers to be in for prayers and other necessary settlements. Additionally, the Admin-Co-ordinator warned strongly against failure to meet required time.

The Admin-Co-ordinator, addressing excessive use of vehicles informed the board about previous instruction issued by the High Command denouncing use of vehicles by officers without legal assignment. He ordered all such vehicles parked under command of logistic Commander calling it authoritative command subject to no debate.

Under AOB the deputy overall M.P. Commander informed to have lost certain Government properties during raid at his resident. According to him, he lost 2 Gem Stones and some gold dust.

Lt. Col. Augustine Gbao suggest to have Board of enquiry to be handling matters and taking decision on them. Now that problem seem imminent amongst us.

As parts of the many settlements we are to do, we resolved to meet Brigadier Mani at 6PM same day. He ended up with prayers, with everyone confident of Major break through.

- 3 -

1. Major A.M. Jimmy - Headquarters
2. Capt. Patrick Jusu - 3rd Bde. Command
3. Major Christ A. Hannah - C/A IC Commander
4. Capt John T. Lesay -
5. Major Alpha Monoh - 2nd Bde. Adjutant
6. Lt. Col. E.S. Sanga - 3rd Battalion Commander
7. Major Bakarr Bangura - 2nd Bde. Strike Force Commander
8. Lt. Col. T. Yamba - Col. G/S.
9. Lt. Col. A. Mansaray -
10. Major J. Moscray -
11. Major J.R.K. Bangali - 2nd Bde. IDU Commander
12. Capt. George T. Aruna - 2nd Bde. IDU Gen. Commander
13. Capt. Emmanuel S. Sovula - 2nd Brigade G-5 Commander
14. Capt. Abukarr Briam - Adjutant to Gen. Bropleh
15. Capt. Mohamed Besar - WIC (BFI)
16. Major Phoronko Foray -
17. Lt. Joseph S. Apakima - Task Force
18. Capt. D. Monicon - Zone III Security Commander
19. Capt. J. Nyunelly - Zone IV Security Commander
20. Cdr. Emmanuel Sanga - 2nd Bde. G-5 Adjutant
21. Capt. Gybiru Desay - District IDU Commander
22. Major Samuel B. Jobba - Adjutant to BFO.
23. Major Christopher Mohamed C/A G-4 Commander
24. Major Mohamed T. Jalloh - C/A Dep. IDU Commander
25. Lt. Col. Ibrahim L.L. - Chief Admin Officer
26. Capt. Koroma Rindo - 2nd Bde. G-5 Commander
27. Lt. John Hannah - 2nd Bde. I.C. Adjutant
28. Capt. Felix M. Moriba - 2nd Bde. G-4 Adjutant
29. Capt. Fomba Rima - 4th Battalion Armourer Commander.
30. Capt. Justina A. Bangura - 2nd Battalion Armourer
31. Capt. Morris V. Lamin - 2nd Bde. Armourer Commander.

FORM. MINUTED: 12

Signed: 02 99

HEADQUARTERS COMMANDER

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SIERRA LEONE PEOPLE'S ARMY.
ARMY HEADQUARTERS - MAKENI
NORTHERN REGION - MAKENI

To:- The O/All Security Commander
From:- The O/All I.D.U. Commander
Sub:- VISITATION OF THE LEADER CPL. FODAY SAYBANA SANKOH, REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND ECONOG SECURITIES.

Sir,

The long awaiting Leader and Chairman Cpl. Foday Saybana Sankoh visited Makeni on Sunday 14th November, 1999. His visit in Makeni follows a 10 days of Intensive preparation by the G-5 Civil Wing and the Security Forces.

2. On Sunday, about 210 hrs. a helicopter gun ship and a white helicopter landed with International Communities Rep, and Econog High Commands.
3. At about 2:15 hrs. the Paramount Airlines helicopter landed with the Leader wherein civilians were jubilating, singing cultural songs and longing to see the Leader. A guard of honour parade was mounted wherein he visited the scene for inspection and left for his seat. Due to the number of soldiers present on the field, he instructed all soldiers to assemble at the Town Hall and wait for him, so that he will be chanced to talk to the people. Soldiers left the field immediately upon the introduction of the Leader with the exception of the Securities only. The Leader talked briefly to the people and departed for his lodge to have a rest.
4. On Monday 15th November, 1999, at 12:00 pm, the Leader, and the entire delegates and members of G-5 departed Makeni for Magburaka.
5. On Tuesday 16th November 1999 at 5:30 p.m., the delegates and the Leader arrived back to Makeni from Magburaka.
6. On Wednesday 17th November, the population in Makeni stormed the Wusum Field to see the Leader and hear the message from him.
7. At 12:35 p.m., the Leader arrived on the Field with the delegates, after addressing the Soldiers at the Town Hall Grounds. There was an applause of jubilation from the crowd. They entered the pavilion and took their various seats. After the brief speeches and introduction of some personalities in Makeni the chair was turned over to the Leader and Chairman, Cpl. Foday Sankoh.
8. In his keynote address to the people of Bombali District, Cpl. Foday Sankoh expressed on behalf of the RUF/AFRC and the government of Tejan Kabba for the warm welcoming accorded him and his entourage in Makeni. The Leader was accompanied by ECONOG Officers, Gen. G.A. Kpamber, Unconsil Commander Col. Josie, the State house Police Analyst, Mr. Patrick Foyah, the adviser and Chairman, Mr. Kallon, RUF Spokesman Mr Eldred Collins and the SLA Warrior Col. Akim - (Wartanker). Their arrival in Makeni was fostered on Friday 12th November 1999 by the arrival of 100 ECONOG troops under the Command of Lt. Col. Madye, brought a sign of relief in the Township that Chairman Foday, Sankoh will visit Makeni.

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The Leader took the Microphone whereby he introduced (4) journalist amongst them were Chris Johnson and Kelvin Lewis. He further emphasised that the war is finished and that Peace has come to our beloved land Sierra Leone. He said there will be no more war, and the RUF is not prepared to wage any other war, his mission in Makeni and Tonkolili is to explain the Togo-Lome Peace Accord which the RUF/AFRC and President Tejan Kabba have signed.

10. He further apologised to all for the atrocities which the Kamajors, RUF/AFRC have committed against the innocent people and the violation of human rights and pleaded for forgiveness and to turn to a new chapter in the history of Sierra Leone in which peace and reconciliation will move this Country ahead.

11. He further lamented on the developments of this Country and blamed those who have conspired with Politicians to deteriorate the Country to where it is.

12. He also ^{denounced} the principles of Nepotism that ^{had} been practiced by other Leaders of this Country, and further said that his visit is a clear indication for Peace and confidence building. He said the struggle was a national issue, to liberate and eradicate corruption in this Country which caused people unable to feed themselves and to manipulate all Sierra Leoneans from this civilised slavery.

13. He also said that the Revolution which he launched in 1991 forced the A.P.C. Government to re-introduce the Multi Party system, and told all combatants to transform into a political wing and must be ready to hand over weapons to ECOMOG and U.N. Disarmament team at anytime he instructs us to do so. He also blamed the educated people of this Country, the ~~orbed~~ politicians and their allies from the time of Independence. He also said that taking the Arms from us doesn't mean that our mouths are kept shut and ~~said~~ this is the time we are to get in full fledge with politics, which he refers to us ^{as} the real battle.

14. He also ^{called} on Unomsil observers with for absolute intention for peace in Sierra Leone. ~~He~~ commented that though war is bad, but the most important issue is what the people will gain after the war, and promised that the RUF/SL will surely wipe tears of sorrow from the people of this Country and that the wealth of this Country must be in the hands of the people of Sierra Leone.

5. He further went to say that the RUF still stands to be the name for our new party and that its symbol should be a Lions' head with green colours and he will ever tolerate any Commander for any ^{turner} attack in this Country. He added and I noted "We are to respect the customs and traditions as a basis of the Revolution." He also said that he instructed Brigadier ^{Gen.} Issa J. Sesay to come in Makeni on 15th. He said complains of looting harassment and other violations of human rights have been going on from certain members within the SLA. This motivated ~~me~~ to instruct Brigadier ^{Gen.} Issa to come and put situations under control within Makeni and the North as a whole.

Moreover, the ECOMOG Commander Gen. G.A. Kpambr said the war is over. He said in the past years Sierra Leone was in 'Bush shaking' but now no more bush shaking. ECOMOG and RUF/AFRC combatants are no longer enemies but friendly brothers developing Sierra Leone. He advised combatants to lay down arms to reconstruct the Country. He further said that it is high time for Government to reopen schools, hospitals, to rehabilitate electricity water supply and agriculture. In this areas he said Unomsil, ECOMOG ^{are} ready to help when peace is guaranteed in Sierra Leone. He also advised the combatants to ~~put~~ hand in hand with ECOMOG for peace in Sierra Leone and commented that they too are eager to go back home and see their families.

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17. Moreover, the Unosil Commander Gen. Josie centralised his speech on disarmament and reconciliation. The UN he said are ready to help this Country back to its normal roots but all depends on us, and to embrace the peace accord which Teyan Kabba, Chairman Foday Sankoh and the people of Sierra Leone have signed in Togo-Lome on July 7th 1999. He said the D.D.R. Programme will be implemented according to the Lome Peace Accord. He congratulated the great solidarity for Peace which the people of Makeni has shown.
18. Moreover, the G-5 Personnel Mr. Benjamin Kargbe noted that the visit of Cpl. Foday Sankoh in Makeni has been celebrated on (4) occasions. The people of Makeni he said, has celebrated the molestation harassment and intimidation and persisted to live in harmony with his combatants. The people of Makeni were greatly hopeful that the DDR Programme would be successfully implemented in the North?
19. The people of Makeni, he said had suffered the greatest degradation for the fact that they had all been branded as rebels and rebel collaborators. He thanked Pa. Sankoh for sending Brigadier Issa Sesay in Makeni who has done all his best to maintain security in the Township.
20. Mr Kargbe pleaded on behalf of the G-5 Central Command in Makeni to necessitate the retrieval of properties belonging to Missionaries that are still in the hands of Combatants.
21. Talking on behalf of the combatants, the Battle Field Commanders (B.F.C.) Brigadier Issa Sesay confirmed their loyalty to Chairman Sankoh and their commitment to the Home Peace Accord signed by the Leader and Chairman and the Tejan Kabba Government. He commented that they are ready to work with the ECONOM brothers to bring lasting peace in Sierra Leone. He however urged the authorities not to rush with the DDR Programme before the Welfare of the Combatants. He expressed on the absence of the former AFRC Chairman Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Koroma from Pa Sankoh's team, and he was expected to talk to the SLA Brothers who are numerous amongst the RUF Combatants here.
22. He also appealed to ECONOM, Unosil and the Government to address the problems of the combatants and their families. A spokesman for the S.L.A. combatants Cpt. E.T. Amara disclosed that there are over two thousand S.L.A. Soldiers among the RUF Combatants. They were all moving in harmony, and there was *mutual* understanding and respect for each other. He further said that they are unhappy about the absence of their Leader Lt. Col. J.P. Koroma "Papay Sankoh and Jhonny Paul Koroma are the same. They are working together, and anything said by Cpl. Foday Sankoh will be accepted by all SLA Soldiers in Makeni and the North as a whole."
23. The vote of thanks was delivered by the G-5 District Chairman Mr. Denis Kamara praised the Commanding Officer of the G-5 Lt. Col. Hindolo Koroma, whom he describes as the strong pillar behind the success of the visit of the Leader and Chairman Foday Saybana Sankoh in Makeni. The meeting ended with prayers in Muslim and Christian ways, and everybody returned to their various homes.

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24. On Thursday, the 18th November, 1999 and at 1:00 p.m., the Leader, Cpl. Foday Saybana Sankoh departed from the lodge, walked through the heart of the town and arrived at the Wusum Field, where he made additional and farewell address to the people of Makeni. The entire populace of Makeni pledged to the Leaders that their security maintained by the RUF is fully guaranteed and that they don't need ECOMOG Force here. The Leader made this appeal to the ECOMOG High Command and International Community here and added that minus ECOMOG's presence, in Makeni the RUF is committed to the disarmament process. The Leader at the end of his speech, handed over the Guinean ECOMOG, the one 40 barrel missile Guns that was disarmed from them by the RUF around the Kambia area to prove to the ECOMOG contingent and United Nation representatives that we are ready to be disarmed at anytime. The Leader introduced former Head of State, Joseph Saidu Momoh to the people of Makeni and casted a lot of blame on him for his stubbornness in prolonging the war.

25. At the end of the whole exercise the Leader was air lifted in an helicopter together with the former President, Joseph Saidu Momoh to Freetown. They were followed by all the ECOMOG Forces back to Freetown.

Faithfully, Submitted

Handwritten Signature
SGDs:.....
OVERALL I.D.U. COMMANDER
NORTHERN REGION.

CC:- The HPC
" The BOS
" EPI ✓
" Admin. Co-ordinator
" M.P. Commander
" I.O. Commander
" File

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SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE

OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR

FREETOWN – SIERRA LEONE

00015616

SOLEMN DECLARATION OF CORNELIA ADEKUMBI PATRICIA DAVIES

DECLARANT: CORNELIA ADEKUMBI PATRICIA DAVIES
DECLARED AT: FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE
DATE: 17 NOVEMBER 2005

On 17 November 2005, I, Cornelia Adekumbi Patricia Davies, employee of the Ministry of Health and Sanitation, Youyi Building, Freetown, do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

1. During 1998 I worked for the Cabinet Secretariat in Freetown, Sierra Leone. About October 1998, I was attached to the Attorney General's Office as a stenographer.
2. As part of my duties at the Attorney General's Office, I transcribed an audio cassette recording that was played during the matter of *The State -v- Cpl. Foday Saybana Sankoh* at the High Court of Sierra Leone (hereinafter "the Sankoh Trial").
3. On 17 November 2005, Joseph Saffa, a senior investigator from the Office of the Prosecutor (hereinafter "the OTP"), Special Court for Sierra Leone, showed me a 2 page transcript marked by the OTP with the numbers "00009636" & "00009637" (hereinafter "the transcript").

Date: 17.11.05
Declarant: *[Signature]*

17 November 2005
Witness: *[Signature]*

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4. Having been shown the transcript and after reviewing its content, I hereby state that this is the transcript I prepared as part of the Sankoh Trial in October 1998, which was admitted into evidence during the Sankoh Trial. Attached hereto and marked "ANNEX CD1" is a copy of the transcript.
5. On 17 November 2005, Joseph Saffa, also showed me a Maxwell ELN 90 audio cassette marked by the OTP "Original, T0000267" (hereinafter "the audio cassette").
6. Having been shown the audio cassette and after listening to the recording on it, I hereby state that the audio cassette contains the same recording that was played during the Sankoh Trial and admitted as an exhibit in the Sankoh Trial. I was present at the High Court when this recording was played, the content of which I transcribed as set out in ANNEX CD1.
7. I make this solemn declaration by virtue of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court of Sierra Leone, conscientiously believing that the statements contained herein are true and correct in every particular.

Cornelia Adekumbi Patricia Davies

Cornelia Adekumbi Patricia Davies
Freetown, Sierra Leone

Declared at Freetown,)
This 17th day of November, 2005,)
before me)
)
)

Joseph Saffa
Joseph Saffa
Senior Investigator
Office of the Prosecutor
Special Court Sierra Leone

Note: Pursuant to Rule 91 of the *Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the Special Court for Sierra Leone* a person who knowingly and wilfully makes a false statement in a written statement which the person knows, or has reason to know, may be used in evidence in proceedings before the Special Court may be liable to a maximum penalty of 2 million Leones or a term of imprisonment of 2 years, or both.

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ANNEX CD1

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Davies
Cornelia Adekumbi Patricia Davies
17 November 2005

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EXH. "C" 1

D.

To all RUF Combatants: am writing it to all RUF Combatants, People's War Council of high command and all Combatants and the RUF. You know, the gallant and Field Commander of RUF. Your Leader Corporal Foday Sankoh and the RUF I am now instructing you to disregard all previous instructions and orders and stop all attacks and take defensive and don't go on the defensive. All, do not go on the offensive, I repeat, do not go on the offensive be on the defensive. All instructions, former instruction and operations should be cancelled. All Commanders should be on the defensive. At this moment you have to work with the brothers in Freetown, in the provinces and the entire army of the Sierra Leone Military Forces and allow working together to bring peace in Sierra Leone. They ask me to work with them so that peace could prevail to our beloved motherland. So I will like you all to work with them as brothers we are no more enemies. The Enemies are the Politicians not the Soldiers, presently. The Field Commander and all Commanders, you always get instructions from me through Major Koroma. They are our brothers let no one fool you. You have to work with them to put situation under control, especially in the Western Area. You the Field Commander instruct the other Commander MINGO to stand by for any reinforcement needed by Major Koroma for any eventuality. We have to defend our sovereignty. You are to act on these orders immediately. Do not delay and you will hear me over the media, BBC and VOA only support the present operation in Freetown. Thank you all. My absence in Sierra Leone is of the blessing of God. RUF; arms to the people; power to the people; and wealth of our people should be in the hands of the people. RUF, brave, strong, intelligent, Bai Bureh, Jagua, Kailondo you are the children, victory, grant to them. Lets keep the revolution with our brothers, peace be with you. I will join you very soon. I say again

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~~00009637~~ C-W

this is your Leader and Commander-in-Chief of the RUF Corporal Foday Sankoh.

Thank you all

"This portion is being translated into
English as it was in Creole"

My brothers, that is all I have to tell you. You should take great care, work with the brothers, I hope they will not disappoint you and disappoint the other ranks who stand behind them today. You know we stand for peace, this can be achieved. Thank you.

Bowie
Transcribed by - Miss Cornelia Adakumbi Patricia
Davies - Stenographer

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Annex B.8

Documents Certified in
Annex C.5

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HEADQUARTERS
NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA
GBARNGA CITY, BONG COUNTY R.L.

00028870

Office of the
SR. MILITARY ADVISOR
ARMED FORCES OF THE NPFL

30 September 1994

SUBJECT: SITUATION REPORT & RECOMMENDATION

TO : His Excellency
Charles G. Taylor
CHAIRMAN & C-I-C
NPFL
Republic of LIBERIA

FROM : LT-GEN. Samuel G. Varney
Sr. Military Advisor
Armed Forces of the NPFL
LIBERIA

1. I have the honour most respectfully to submit to your good offices the following Situation Report and recommendation from the frontline for your official information and persual.
 - a. MG'S. Edward T. Zaymay, Robert G. Paye, Augustine Wehyee, George Tpkpa, and Peter Saider, all Special Forces commandos NPFL, led thirty armed men on yesterday by way of bye-passes unto the UN Compound Gbarnga, upon their arrival it was discovered that LPC is posted at the UN Compound a company size well armed with caves bags on their backs. While maneuvering to a suitable position, LPC open suppressive gun-fire and began to dispatch a bye-pass team against NPFL that hit as far as the garage approaching Welcome Gate in Gbarnga City. NPFL received two wounded soldiers who were evacuated at the rear. Immediately thereafter, LTG. Yeatin dispatched men within Gbarnga City for the next course of action.
 - a. It has been keenly observed that LPC is using Coco-yah Road to bring in her re-inforcement from Buchanan into Gbarnga. Moreover civilians captured by NPFL on yesterday confirmed that two trucks load of LPC reinforcement came into Gbarnga few days ago by way of the same route as mentioned above.
 3. There is a tape recording cassette captured from enemies in possession of LTG. Benjamin Yeatin, that the Kpelle people in Gbarnga are wholeheartedly supporting the enemies forces that are in Gbarnga presently.
- ✓

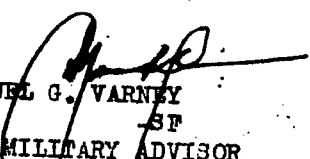
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- 2 -

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4. The 100 un-armed men requested for by LTG'S JOE TOUH, and JOHN L. TEAH, to assist combatants who are tired or retreating from the frontline arrived in Palala on yesterday headed by LTG. Oldpa Zogbay.
5. The Radio Station in Gbarnga has been burned down by enemies forces.
6. LTG. John L. Teah, LTG. Joe K. Touh, and LTG. Benjamin Yeatin dispatched men on yesterday to set up an ambush so as to block enemies infiltration by way of Coco-yah Road.
7. Predicated upon the above mentioned and for the successful re-capturing of the entire Gbarnga City and its environs, I humbly request for sufficient rockets and ammunitions to be used within the frontline in the most possible time.

Most respectfully submitted,


SAMUEL G. VARNEY
LTG. SF
SR. MILITARY ADVISOR
ARMED FORCES OF THE NPFL

12298 1.108 9/57

FOR

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Journalists Arrested in Sierra Leone

Monday, June 14, 1999; 5:49 p.m. EDT

00028914

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone (AP) -- West African soldiers defending Sierra Leone's government have arrested two journalists in a raid on the editorial offices of a newspaper, an international press freedom group said Monday.

A pregnant secretary was also reportedly beaten in the attack.

The Paris-based watchdog group, Reporters Without Borders, said the Nigerian-led force known as ECOMOG claimed to have seized weapons and ammunition during the June 10 raid at Freetown's Independent Observer.

Newspaper employees said the soldiers planted the ordnance inside their offices.

The journalists, Sorie Sudan Sesay and Jerry Tryson, were beaten and arrested by the soldiers, who also seized computers and other publishing equipment, Reporters Without Borders said.

The paper's managing editor, Jonathan Leigh, was arrested several weeks ago after writing an article critical of the West African force and the officer who led the subsequent raid and arrests.

Reporters Without Borders demanded ECOMOG release the journalists and requested an investigation into the February murder, allegedly by ECOMOG troops, of Juma Jalloh, a journalist with Freetown's African Champion newspaper.

The West African contingent, composed largely of Nigerian troops, is the main fighting force defending Sierra Leone's elected government as it engages in peace talks with a rebel movement the United Nations has accused of widespread atrocities.

More than 5,000 people perished during an assault on the capital in December and January by the Revolutionary United Front.

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12299 110 9/58

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE
Executive Mansion
Monrovia, Liberia

Mr. Harris
HOLD
00028767
file

TO : U - 50

FROM : U - 52

SUBJ : AS STATED BELOW :

DATE : October 4, 2000

Sir:

Please be informed officially that the below listed Personnel have been selected to be in readiness to escort and protect HIS EXCELLENCY Dakpannah Dr. Charles G. Taylor, President of the Republic of LIBERIA on a Official visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Bokina Faso and the Gambia on Friday, October 6, 2000.

THOSE CONCERNED ARE:

1.	Hon.	Joseph M. Montgomery	...Dep. Dir./Operations
2.	"	Adolphus Taylor	...Dep. Dir./NSA
3.	"	Edward K. Thomas	...Asst. Dir./Operations
4.	B/Gen.	Edwin Charles	...ADC
5.	B/Gen.	Marie Pargames	...
6.	Inspt.	Ocebio N. Dehmie	...Chief of Protective Services
7.	Inspt.	William Dennis	...Special Attendant
8.	"	Charles Kollie	...Commdr./Bodyguard Unit
9.	"	Patrick Paye " " "
10.	"	Ben Wolo " " "
11.	"	Charles Cooper " " "
12.	"	Eric Lawrence " " "
13.	"	Cyrus Johnny " " "
14.	"	Benson Lloyd " " "
15.	Hon.	David Norris	...Butler/President
16.	LTC.	James Garrison	...Cameraman/President
17.	Inspt.	Anthony Paye	...Advance Team Commander
18.	Maj.	Edwin Cassell	...Motorcade Commander
19.	Capt.	Teddy Holder	...Anti-Terroism Unit
20.	"	Sabastian N. Lahai " " "

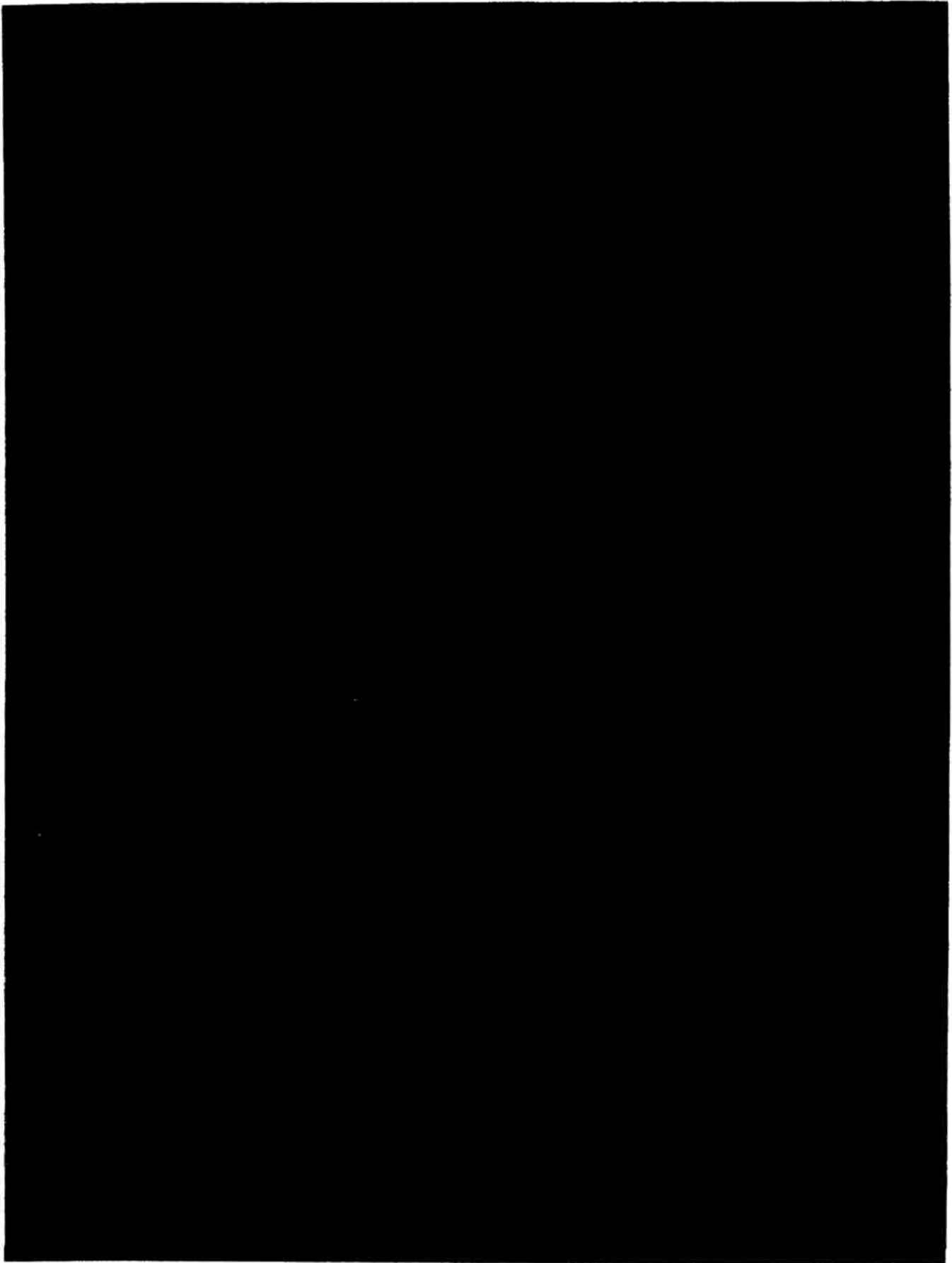
Henceforth, same is submitted for your attention and necessary action.

(18) Regards,

MOTTO: Courage, Discipline, Loyalty, Reliability & Sacrifice

12300

1.111 9159



12301
112 9160

N° 385

BENEFICIAIRE

NOM : SURE

PRENOMS : Jean Michel

QUALITÉ :

MOTIF : Raison service

OUAGADOUGOU, LE 13/1/1967
P.O. 5



00028795

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BUREAU FASO
COORDINATION DU FRONT

CARTON
A LA ZONE DE L'ENTENTE

VALABLE DU 13 JAN. 1989
AU 12 JAN. 1990

00023796

12303 1.113 9162



State House

Sierra Leone Republic of Sierra Leone

Ref: CONF. H/58

1st November, 1997.

Your Excellency
Mr. Charles G. Taylor
President of the
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

00028799

Your Excellency, Dear Brother,

On behalf of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), the Government and People of Sierra Leone and on my own personal behalf to thank you very sincerely for the understanding, guidance and support that you have been rendering me and my Government as we go through this our most difficult and trying moment. I express our special gratitude for your stance at the many negotiations with the Committee of Five where your firm and broad voice of reconciliation helped in penetrating the wall that may have shrouded and derailed the cause of peace. Permit me to commend your worthy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Monie Capton, whose guiding intervention, I am told, contributed immensely in shaping the outcome of the meeting.

Your Excellency, I wish to assure you that our ultimate aim as a government is the restoration of peace, stability and normalcy to our country. I firmly believe that they are attainable only through the pursuit of this noble goal within the shortest possible time frame. It is our fervent hope that all parties and witnesses to the Conakry Accord with the Committee of Five will demonstrate equal commitment and willingness to end the suffering of the four million inhabitants of this my senselessly distressed country.

12304913

John Paul Koroma

- 2 -

Your Excellency, you have drunk from the bitter cup of adversity in the same manner as your brothers and sisters in Sierra Leone are doing now. Help us as best as you can to liberate ourselves from the slavery of outside interference. The solution of the problem of Sierra Leone is in Sierra Leone. As always we count and rely on your support and understanding.

Please accept, Your Excellency, my commitment of continued esteem.

John Paul Koroma

00028800

**MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
CHAIRMAN OF THE ARMED FORCES
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND
HEAD OF STATE OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SIERRA LEONE.**

12305 1.114 9/64

00028931



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

820 SECOND AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

MFA/1-3/192/'98

June 12, 1998

Mr. Minister:

I present my compliments to you and wish to inform that on June 10, 1998, Ambassador William Bull met with Ambassador Dahlgreen of Sweden, Chairman of Security Council Sanctions Committee on Sierra Leone.

Ambassador Dahlgreen provided information from the Secretariat which contained the following:

1. There are reports that many of the fighters supporting the former junta in the east of Sierra Leone are in fact Liberian nationals;
2. After clashes with junta elements, ECOMOG believes it has identified some of the combatants as Liberians;
3. ECOMOG has reportedly captured more than 100 fighters in the vicinity of Kailahun and in Kono district; and
4. According to ECOMOG in Freetown, there are 65 persons in its custody at Pademba Road prison who are considered to be of Liberian origin and who were taken prisoners during combat.

In this connection, he requested that Government institutes a thorough investigation of the matter and submit its findings to the Sanctions Committee within thirty (30) days.

In response, Ambassador Bull reiterated Government's position that Liberia will not support the destabilization of Sierra Leone, a sisterly state. The Government of Liberia deplored such unfriendly acts by Liberians who were acting on their own, for purely economic gains. Moreover, the Government of Liberia had made several appeals for the United Nations to deploy an Observer Group on the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border to monitor the situation.

The Mission shall await Government's response on the matter.

With sentiments of esteem.


Christian M. Wisseh
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

H.E. Mr. Monie R. Caplan
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Monrovia, Liberia



PERMANENT MISSION OF
THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

TEL (212) 696-1886
FAX (212) 696-4084

245 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

Mr. Jonathan Taylor,
Minister for Presidential Affairs
Monrovia, Liberia

30 January, 2001

00028775

Dear Mr. Minister,

On instruction of my Government, I have the honour to forward herewith, as a matter of urgency, the attached letter from His Excellency, President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, addressed to His Excellency, President Charles G. Taylor of Liberia. Due to communication problems between our two capitals yesterday, the President's office was unable to fax the letter directly to Monrovia.

Please accept, Mr. Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sylvester Ekundayo Rowe


Ambassador

Deputy Permanent Representative (Political Affairs)

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Sierra Leone
Republic of Sierra Leone

00028776

January 29, 2001

His Excellency
Dakpansh Dr. Charles Ghankay Taylor
President of the Republic of Liberia
MONROVIA

Your Excellency,

I refer to our telephone conversation yesterday, January 28, 2001. As I informed Your Excellency, the package consigned to you is ready for collection at Lungi with exemption from customs examination. My Ambassador to Liberia should have conveyed this information to Your Excellency by now.

With regard to Sam Bockarie alias Maskita, your Foreign Minister is reported to have said in New York that the continued stay in Liberia of this former RUF Field Commander and other high ranking members of the RUF is as a result of the failure of the Sierra Leone Government to request their surrender to the Government of Sierra Leone.

As I told Your Excellency yesterday, that statement does not represent the true position, as it exists between our two Governments with regard such matters. There is a Mutual Non

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Aggression Security Treaty since 1986 which imposes an obligation on Mano River Union State to take all measures necessary to surrender to another member state of that Union all persons found on the territory of that other state who threaten the security of any member state.

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Your Excellency may recall that we reiterated these provisions when the three of us, that is Your Excellency, President Lansana Conte of Guinea and myself met in Bamako under the auspices of President Alpha Oumar Konare. I had expected that the Government of Liberia would comply with its obligation under that Treaty, and to have surrendered the said Sam Bockarie alias Maskita and the other members of the RUF now resident in Monrovia.

My Government still wishes that Your Excellency's Government, in compliance with its treaty obligation to indicate its willingness to surrender these people to the Sierra Leone authorities and to state the time of surrender. I did assure Your Excellency that the men would be treated justly under the terms of the Lome Peace Accord.

While waiting for a positive response on this matter, please accept Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest esteem.

A. P. K.

ALHAJI DR AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

12309

1.121

9/68

COMBINED JUNTA AND R.U.F FORCES
of the Republic of Sierra - Leone.

Randall Street
Zone 2
P.O. Box 5261

00028837

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THE ROSTER OF THE SPECIAL FORCES COMMANDOES
DECEMBER 7, 1999

00028847

1. Dr. Charles Ghankay Taylor - President/R.L
2. Hon. Enoch M. Dogolea, Jr. - Vice President/R.L
3. Mr. Alfred S. Mehn
4. Hon. Tiagen M. Wantee
5. Hon. Isaac S. Mussah
6. Hon. Dopoe G. Menkarzon
7. Hon. Benjamin Yeaten
8. Hon. Joe K. Touah
9. Col. John L. Teah
10. M/Gen. Samuel G. Varney
11. Hon. Francis G. Menwon
12. Col. Edward T. Zaymay
13. Maj. Sam T. Slehsee
14. Maj. Peter Saikpedeh
15. Amb. Moses Z. Blah
16. Ltc. B. Mitcheal Paygar
17. Col. Anthony Kurmahum
18. Etc. George D. Mansue
19. Ltc. Albert G. Paye
20. Maj. Robert G. Paye
21. Hon. George K. Tokpah
22. Cpt. Sylvester K. Willor
23. Ltc. Titus K. Menlee
24. Mr. Paul Vaye
25. Mr. William Wongbaye
26. Hon. Paul B. Nimely

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- 2 -

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27. Maj. Peter Worleah
28. Col. James D. Glassco
29. Hon. Johnson Leamah
30. Ltc. Solomon Serwah
31. 1Lt. Peter Tahn
32. Cpt. Cooper Mensahn
33. Maj. Joe G. Doe
34. Maj. Henry Keidiah
35. Mr. Wormen Kerpeh
36. Mr. Tarkpor Gweh
37. Cpt. Edward K. Mlehn
38. Mr. D. Sirgarwain Meanyen
39. Maj. Charles G. Touwon
40. Ltc. John Z. Decee
41. Cpt. John B. Wonnah
42. 1LT. John Workai
43. Mr. George T. Wowoah
44. Maj. Alphanso Suomie
45. Mr. Jessie M. Gbehymue
46. Ltc. J. Yeani Keizou
47. Mr. Saye Boayou
48. Cpt. James L. Boayou
49. Hon. Medonald Boam
50. Maj. J. Brooks Gonkarnue
51. Maj. James G. Siaway
52. Cpt. Cooper B. Dailah
53. Mr. Cooper B. Saye

00028849

54. Maj. Cooper Woyah
55. Cpt. Gonlee Voahn
56. Mr. Henry S. Gaye
57. Mr. Austine D. Gweh
58. Mr. Nuah M. G. Leagbaye
59. Mr. Joseph Miamen
60. Cpt. Peter Q. Duo
61. Ltc. John Ne Duo
62. Maj. Johnny T. Chea
63. William Sumo (Mr.)
64. Maj. John S. Grugbaye
65. Mr. Joseph Keiyigar
66. Cpt. Prince Bargue
67. Col. Prince Barclay
68. Cpt. Moses P. Kwemie
69. Cpt. Patrick T. Quakar
70. Mr. Victor Gensee
71. Mr. John Dolo
72. Maj. Arthur N. Guahn
73. Col. Morris G. Myers
74. Cpt. John D. Wopleh
75. Mr. Y. Babbit Beh
76. Cpt. Sammy G. David
77. Mr. Mangou Menlor
78. Amb. Jeba Saysay
79. B/Gen. Peter Sum
80. 1Lt. John S. Serweah
81. Col. Oliver S. Counsil
82. Mr. G. Moses Mahn
83. Mr. Alex Kwamie
84. Mr. Edwin Lassah

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1.124

9/72

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE
EXECUTIVE BRANCH
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

Hon. Benjamin D. Yeaten
SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE
Executive Branch
Monrovia, Liberia

00028801

Sir:

In per your directive to submit to you the complete
number of men of the SSS, LCU and the Special Border
Patrol Unit, I have with submit same for your review.

Sir, at present, we have a total manpower of 3,122.
This includes SSS, LCU and Special Border Patrol Officers.
Please see detail below:

SSS	-	1,212
LCU	-	1,090
SPBU	-	449
GRAND TOTAL	-	<u>3,122</u>
Total		3,122

Submitted By: [Signature]

Col. Iona Kapu Jallah
CHIEF OF FINANCE

12314
9/73

COMPLET ROSTER FOR THE
388, 889 AIR BORDER PATROL
UNIT.....

Dec. 4, '99

00028802

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Benjamin D. Yeaten/DIRECTOR | 57. Pvt. Isaac Jabbeh | |
| 2. Col. Victor L. Hixley | 58. 2/Lt. Jantu Kanadekai | |
| 3. Maj. John L. Bohlen | 59. Pvt. Joseph Borlu | |
| 4. Lt-Col. Stanislaus Beary | 60. L/Lt. George Freeman | |
| 5. 1/Lt. J. Abal Sackie | 61. Pvt. Refleh Nyennish | |
| 6. Capt. Victor Drayton | 62. Maj. Lono Murphy | |
| 7. 1/Lt. David Jabbeh | 63. Pvt. Jones Balish | |
| 8. Col. Robert Pofina | 64. " Brother Davolo | |
| 9. 2/Lt. Andre Gata | 65. " Emmet Metzger | |
| 10. Col. Johnson Beh | 66. " J. Ash Wilson | |
| 11. 1/Lt. James S. Cooper | 67. 2/Lt. Gyidish Ash | |
| 12. Cpt. Lawrence Morris | 68. Cpt. Elizabeth Smith | |
| 13. Col. Kessely M. Kukuly | 69. Col. George C. Kollie | |
| 14. 2/Lt. James L. Marshall | 70. Pvt. Julius Kruah | |
| 15. Sgt. Mayson M. Togb h | 71. " Rocksonolor | |
| 16. Pvt. Alfred E. Bentley | 72. " Arde Radio | |
| 17. 2/Lt. James M. Kollie | 73. " Sam Kesselly | |
| 18. " Christian Harris | 74. " Marvin Lawson | |
| 19. Maj. Aaron J. Smith | 75. 1/Lt. Philip Tye | |
| 20. Col. Stephen D. Tarppeh | 76. Pvt. Grando Hne | |
| 21. Cpt. Alexander Marley | 77. " Francis Ash | |
| 22. Lt. Christopher Owen | 78. " Darlington Smith | |
| 23. 1/Lt. Jolo T. Leay | 79. " Ruth Ash | |
| 24. Col. Miss J. Kromah | 80. " Irving K-i Cooper | |
| 25. " Letha G. Yates | 81. 1/Lt. Robert Wollo | |
| 26. " Matthew A. Thompson | 82. L/Col. Blowene Kyne | |
| 27. Maj. Alexander M. Kotr | 83. 2/Lt. David Banks | |
| 28. 2/Lt. Check Sheriff | 84. Pvt. William Akoi | |
| 29. L/Col. Lasina Freeman | 85. " Mac Gando | |
| 30. " Sherman L. Brown | 86. Col. William Kerkula | |
| 31. Maj. Albert Cummings | 87. Pvt. Jeimory Keita | |
| 32. Cpt. Borbor S. Koon | 88. Col. Joseph M. Montgomery -D/OPR | |
| 33. 1/Lt. Forneh Kpatey | 89. " Zackariah B. Russ -D/TIG | |
| 34. 2/Lt. Andrew Nyekan | 90. " Zwanah B. Johnson -D/ADM. | |
| 35. Pvt. George Kpabaruoi | 91. " Emmanuel Z. Lackay -D/TIG | |
| 36. 2/Lt. Linzoe Gray | 92. " Emmanuel Ndebe | |
| 37. 1/Lt. Josephine Bantee | 93. " Amos Guoiguoi | |
| 38. Cpt. Martha Goll | 94. 1/Lt. Thomas Nyenger | |
| 39. 2/Lt. Matilda Jallah | 95. Col. Joseph Jangar | |
| 40. Pvt. Robert P-t | 96. " Richard Saleiba | |
| 41. Cpt. Morris Nyei | 97. " Richard Mendien | |
| 42. Pvt. Nathaniel Hixley | 98. " Peterson Harbish | |
| 43. 1/Lt. Samuel Koffe | 99. " Thompson Danflec | |
| 44. Pvt. Tommy Togb h | 100. " Isaac Plomo | |
| 45. Mr. Christein Jah | 101. " Jimmy Kessehtue | |
| 46. 1/Lt. Frank Kamars | 102. " Leo Westoe | |
| 47. Pvt. Anthony Langkeh | 103. " John Grikolo | |
| 48. Sgt. David Fulbeh | 104. " Charles L. Gaye | |
| 49. Pvt. Euan Farly | 105. 2/Lt. Mohammed Kaba | |
| 50. " Theofelix Robeh | 106. Maj. William Jarbia | |
| 51. " Beejay Johnson | 107. " Mohammed Jabatsh | |
| 52. " Davali Doe | 108. " Mohammed Kamars | |
| 53. " Alfred Kungu | 109. " Foster Kannah | |
| 54. 2/Lt. Brown Blash | 110. " Korboi Johnson | |
| 55. Pvt. George Kanan | 111. " Leah Marlee | |

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9/74

238. 2/Lt. Joe B. Lewis
239. Sgt. Soluiho Passawe
240. 2/Lt. Alexander Gray
241. Cpt. David Aleh
242. Ltc. Gloria Brown
243. Maj. Mary Bohlen
245. " Thomas O. Swen
246. 1/Lt. Alfred Johnson
247. Col. Lawrence Mulbah
248. " Christain B. Harris
249. Cpt. Benjamin Morgan
250. " Jerry Kenyongar
251. " Morris Williams
252. Maj. Charles Seton
253. Cpt. Emmanuel Dossen
254. " Emmanuel Eleh
255. 2/Lt. Anthony Dweh
256. Cpt. Albert Gittens
257. Pvt. Dennis Barweah
258. 1/Lt. Charles Wallace
259. " Gabriel Wilson
260. 1/Lt. Samuel Baker
261. Cpt. John Faye
262. 2/Lt. Minnah Gibson
263. " Michael Parr
264. Cpt. James Tambay
265. " Larry Thompson
266. Sgt. Hudson Deedor
267. Ltc. Tweh Nolor
268. Cpt. Frederick Nunneh
269. " Theophilus Davies
270. Sgt. Nulu Gee
271. Col. Jackson Joe
272. 1/Lt. Garrison Aleh
273. " James Kimars
274. Cpt. Samuel Fanciah
275. Sgt. Emmanuel Nelson
276. 1/Lt. Mamadee Kamara
277. Maj. William ueartis
278. Sgt. William Toe
279. Col. John Notty
280. " Bankollie Dwana
281. " Stanley Bedell
282. Ltc. Erving Carter
283. Maj. Augustine Solomon
284. Ltc. Ben Banks
285. Capt. Alfred Yerven
286. Maj. Michael Jebboe
287. Col. Dexter Tika
288. 1/Lt. Benjamin Kamara
289. Maj. David Martoray
290. Ltc. Betty Broh
291. Maj. Charles Kamara
292. Cpt. Amos Gbagalo
293. " Jerry Iyegon
294. Col. Arthur Kerkuloh
295. Maj. Sekou Sama
296. Cpt. Sam Teah
297. " Lester Faye
298. 1/Lt. Minnah Kulodee
299. Sgt. Jelleh O. Fyzack
300. 2/Lt. David Davies
302. Sgt. Robertson Pour
303. " Junior Larmouth
304. " Francis Mannah
305. 1/Lt. Anthony Bonar
306. Sgt. Lawrence Mulbah
307. 2/Lt. Victoria Grant
308. Pvt. James Dwalu
309. Sgt. Francis Browne
310. Cpt. Napoleon Govego
311. Pvt. John Scotland
312. " Jeh Deah
313. 2/Lt. Philip Danroh
314. Pvt. James J. Korzubah
315. Sgt. John Idorbor
316. Pvt. James Kula
317. 2/Lt. Nessesah Diahyou
318. " Solomon Dyer
319. Sgt. David Roberts
320. Cpt. Ansumana Johnson
321. 1/Lt. George Ooker
322. Maj. Nathaniel Wilson
323. 1/Lt. Martin Brown
324. Pvt. Momo Kamara
325. Pvt. Samuel Walker
326. Cpt. Joseph Massaroui
327. " Augustine Korvan
328. 2/Lt. Philip Imah
329. **Maj. Roseline Lewis**
330. Robert G. Beer /AST/ OIR/TS
331. Col. Ocebio Behnie
332. " Mohamed Adams
333. " Vasco Bulgar
334. " William Dennis
335. " Amos Duomie
336. " Richard Flomo
337. " Miway Lamph
338. " Edwin Lewis
339. " Austin Gray
340. " Dehlein Gbof
341. " James Coslin
342. Maj. Fayiah Taylor
343. Cpt. James Neuville
344. " Paul Gobehy
345. 1/Lt. Chayee Byes
346. 2/Lt. Doelise Brownell
347. " Charles Lowon
348. " George Nulu
349. Sgt. Charles Cooper
350. 1/Lt. Abraham Teah
351. Cpt. David Nimely
352. Col. Benjamin Mason
353. Ltc. Joseph Mazane
354. Cpt. Herbert Checks
355. Maj. Adolphus Sampson
356. Cpt. Sampson Keyse
357. " Rudolph Bogba
358. Maj. Othello Guie
359. 2/Lt. Moses Gbelee
360. Cpt. John Verdier

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-6-

RANK:	NAME:	RANK:	NAME:
601. Capt.	Abraham Hannah	661. 1/Lt.	Franklin H. Paye
602. "	Bruders J. Sheriff	662. "	Calvin L. Malley
603. 1/Lt.	Edison J. Kamara	663. "	Anthony Morris
604. 2/Lt.	Constance Akop	664. Capt. xx	Edwin K. Williams
605. "	Lance G. Beer, Jr.	665. "	Blake Hove
606. "	Sam Collins	666. Lt/Col.	John E. Lema
607. Capt.	Chadrick Lynntee	667. Capt.	Emmanuel Sene
608. 1/Lt.	Victor Singbay	668. 1/Lt.	Jankubah Fofana
609. "	Franklin Johnson	669. "	Jankubah V. Marley
610. Sgt.	Cyrus P. Junior	670. "	Geabrah P. Lerneh
611. Capt.	John Moore	671. 2/Lt.	Abolaye Kromah
612. 2/Lt.	Jallah Kolubah	672. "	Varlee Talieb
613. Col.	Jolly S.C. Lukuly	673. Maj.	Charles E. Kouadio
614. "	Adolphus J. Lolo	674. 1/Lt.	Peter Baye
615. 1/Lt.	Alvin M. Taylor	675. "	George Kai
616. "	Robert J. Gibson	676. CPT.	Joseph K. Tokpah
617. "	Samuel Lee	677. Pvt.	George Larmouth
618. "	Morris Roser	678. Lt/Col.	Moses G. Duch
619. "	Clarence W. Cooper	679. Maj.	Wilson M. Morris
620. "	Bois J. Cambri	680. "	Augustine D. Yeanmie
621. "	Thomas Smith	681. "	Cooper B. Mabeah
622. "	Henry Hoff	682. Capt.	Jerry B. Kerkulah
623. 2/Lt.	Oliver A. Blacum	683. "	John B. Konneh
624. Lt/Col.	Yessan H. Nyamouai	684. "	Matthias K. Kahn
625. M. J.	Amos G. Young	685. "	Peter C. Sunnyday
626. "	John A. Bittig	686. "	Emmanuel G. Mowah
627. Capt.	Amos H. Monah	687. 1/Lt.	Annie Lombaye
628. Lt/Col.	Patrick O. Baye	688. "	Joseph J. Kennedy
629. Capt.	Wardue L. Bass	689. "	Samuel J. Barseh
630. Capt.	Johnny K.M. Haebe	690. "	David Moore
631. "	Emmanuel Lallan	691. 2/Lt.	Baye L. Monsaye
632. Maj.	Jackson Yrah	692. "	Peter Mellicoon
633. "	Steve Hone	693. "	Jankulay Queongbaye
634. Capt.	Francis Nye	694. "	Albert G. Lenneth
635. "	Newton Nyemneh	695. "	Pitus A. Bufford
636. Maj.	Moses Harris	696. "	Harvie J. Gbarbes
637. Capt.	Dominic Leal	697. Sgt.	Jerry N. Kerkulah
638. Lt/Col.	James P. Jarbo	698. "	Lahn Kpahn
639. 2/Lt.	Boniface Brownay	699. "	Moses Acquoi
640. 1/Lt.	Robert Brownay	700. "	Alfred G. Sumo
641. Lt/Col.	Robert Johnson	701. Pvt.	Shiaka Kromah
642. Capt.	Robert H. Jayson	702. 2/Lt.	Eric Thomas
643. "	Allice Bulor	703. M-sgt.	Francis P. Singbe
644. Lt/Col.	John J. Kenedi	704. Pvt.	Abdulai Kromah
645. Capt.	Augustine Wynn oe	705. "	Augustine Landeh
646. "	Johnny N. Lollie	706. "	Obediah Nimely
647. PFC.	Julius Grah	707. "	Eric J. Grimes
648. CPL.	Oliver Lorty	708. Sgt.	Emmanuel J. Kennedy
649. Sgt.	Sam Lilla	709. M-sgt.	Dieh M. Bernard
650. CPL.	George Blo o	710. Sgt.	Jacob Thomas
651. Pvt.	Johnston J. Gwile	711. CPL.	Koilyah Jallah
652. PFC.	William H. Waco	712. PFC.	Rufus Johnson
653. 2/Lt.	Joseph Loo	713. Capt.	William Jimmy
654. 1/Lt.	Jacob Loo	714. "	Jerry G. Morris
655. 2/Lt.	Alvin Lallan	715. "	Patrick R. King
656. Lt/Col.	Augustine Macroni	716. 1/Lt.	Azarriah Keibah
657. "	Alate Fofana	717. Capt.	Ferkai J. Morris
658. M. J.	Samuel Kamba	718. "	Baye Guanu
659. "	Samuel Kamba	719. "	Spannkpa E. Mabandi
660. Capt.	Samuel Baye	720. "	Alfred G. Barnley

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<u>RANKS:</u>	<u>NAME:</u>	<u>RANKS:</u>	<u>NAME:</u>
1706. 1/Lt.	Moses G. Dailah	1766. CPL.	Prince Jorsiah
1707. 2/Lt.	Martin Brown	1767. "	Sahe D. Walker
1708. "	Jeremiah M. Gongor	1768. Sgt.	Alvin Longbaye
1709. "	Adolphus Karjay	1769. "	Prince B. Johnson
1710. Sgt.	John J. Somo	1770. "	Morris Maladi
1711. "	Aaron Polbert	1771. "	Charles B. Geh
1712. "	John G. Moore	1772. "	Morris Saysay
1713. "	Oliver J. Beh	1773. "	Ernest N. Lartor
1714. "	Arthur Bartuah	1774. "	Constance Merlekabrh
1715. "	Stephen Y. Solo	1775. "	Arthur Karsay
1716. "	Alvin Benson	1776. "	Darkoni Eamah
1717. "	Eric M. Thompson	1777. "	Sam Saye Luogon
1718. "	Jesseh Touch	1778. Pvt.	Matthew Lantoe
1719. "	Joe J. Nana	1779. Capt.	Isaac D. Garner
1720. "	Moses Y. Hills	1780. 1/Lt.	Gray L. Dennis
1721. "	Enoch Menwon	1781. "	Felisco G. Decee
1722. "	Abraham Mulbah	1782. 2/Lt.	Washington Delamo
1723. "	Augustine Gogbaye	1783. "	Hemehtorbor Grugbaye
1724. "	Emmanuel Mambuyah	1784. "	Cooper A. Brooks
1725. "	Bono G. Kapa	1785. Sgt.	Genicia Z. Gibson
1726. "	Stephen Shern	1786. "	James H. Komo
1727. CPL.	Anthony Sahway	1787. "	Junior C. Jackson
1728. "	Zaire Suahn	1788. Col.	Joe K. Touch - Asst/Lt.
1729. "	Sampson Leangpaye	1789. Lt/Col.	Arthur Saheeb-Saah
1730. "	Joshua D. Derzer	1790. Maj.	Andrew N. Kikis
1731. "	Othello L. Gongor	1791. "	Jackson L. Ezo
1732. Pvt.	Bonkerley D. Gongbaye	1792. "	George K. Toknah
1733. CPL.	Morris D. Karnea	1793. "	Robert A. Paye
1734. Pvt.	Romeo Marvch	1794. "	John O. Mulbah
1735. "	Peter G. Miabab	1795. "	Joe G. Doe
1736. "	Sam M. Gbor	1796. "	John Grugbaye
1737. "	Melvin J. Quoi	1797. "	Alphonso Soumie
1738. "	David M. Johnny	1798. "	Peter Sakpaier
1739. "	Anthony Karmie	1799. Capt.	Kankandel Mantees
1740. "	Amos K. Kollie	1800. " "	Anthony G. Gueh
1741. "	Ernest Tokay	1801. "	Foley W. Johnson
1742. "	William Bartuah	1802. Maj.	Janet W. Jackson
1743. "	Kla J. Lomafora	1803. Capt.	William C. Menwon
1744. "	Anthony G. Mono	1804. "	Edward L. Mowoch
1745. "	John V. Flomo	1805. "	Prince Brown
1746. CPL.	Bennie Doelaksh	1806. "	Peter G.C. Kwehmie
1747. Pvt.	Prince P. Mulbah	1807. "	Amos Elegaye
1748. Sgt.	Lunny-Bo, Howe	1808. "	John M. Tokpah
1749. "	Francis Sando	1809. 1/Lt.	Bartuah Gbor
1750. "	Anaret Tengbeh	1810. "	Sando Musah
1751. "	George K.S. Mansahn	1811. "	Jerry A. Lolemon
1752. "	Jack P. Gerson	1812. "	Peter G. Bain
1753. "	Charles King	1813. "	Peter Karkor
1754. "	Christopher L. Paye	1814. "	Josiah G. Paye
1755. "	Jackson Lomay	1815. "	Francis Zune
1756. "	Harold Bayon	1816. "	Koko reh
1757. "	Joseph Tongor	1817. "	Ericson Earlee
1758. "	Augustine Cooper	1818. "	Zanay-Tay Zamay
1759. "	Julius Johnson	1819. 2/Lt.	Harris A. Johnson
1760. 1/Lt.	Morris Quie	1820. "	Morris J. McCul
1761. Sgt.	Moses I. Kohnstank	1821. "	Joseph D. Kollie
1762. "	Otia Kurbakeh	1822. "	William John
1763. "	Nelson H. Toelay-Zoe	1823. "	Jerry Sackie
1764. "	William Guput	1824. "	Barious D. Peiki
1765. "	David A. Linton	1825. "	George Kaidii

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Your Excellency

Despite the extended lapse in direct contact, I can assure you of my continued activity in the ultimate interests of you and your Government.

Since your brother ~~John~~ ^{John school} managed to ~~re-establish~~ ^{re-establish} contact with me in the past few days, we have had several long and fruitful discussions on achieving the objectives which are all such.

In consequence I must advise that for the present it is of vital importance that as Chairman you should remain in your present strategic place. If you were to contemplate travel in the belief that this would expedite certain matters I would ask that you reconsider such a move. It is my view that this would have a detrimental effect on morale. Those of us that you trust can ensure that your directives are followed in neighbouring countries. Be assured you are not without friends.

In the case of your family, the bearer of the letter will explain in more detail, the proposals for ~~the safe~~ ^{their} transit to the country in question. No insurmountable obstacles are envisaged and you are assured of their safety.

As far as any parcels are concerned, arrangements have already been made in Asia for their disposal and distribution in accordance with your directives. This is a new contact, totally trustworthy and honest, of the same extraction as your envoy originally sent to Asia, who incidentally is here with me in the house.

Nevertheless whilst full security will be in place for their transfer from you to here, I must advise

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that they be split into at least 2 or 3 parcels to be released at intervals after completion of the first operation.

~~Finally~~ We will get on the communications problem which ~~has been~~ has outlined. This will not present any ~~problem~~ difficulty.

Finally it is the nature of guerrilla warfare that the cause often seems lost when it isn't. Time and again liberation movements have swept to ultimate victory on a string of defeats. ~~never forget~~ The AFRC will succeed because the cause is just.

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Fail to do let
Today not let

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For your information, after the Raasah meeting, the pronouncement by Tejan Kabba here has been very bad against your Govt. First of all on Television he said if you sent people to light fire here others may do it with you some other time and is what is going on now with you. He said you asked him to send C.I.O.s to join John to work for Mosquito.

On the 4th of March, there was a meeting between the British and the President's Commanders here (4) of them one called Kia-Dee. They were to resolve the matter between the Kamajors who are pulling out of Liberia because their demands are not met with provisions arrangements between CDF and Alhaji Koroma after the last meeting. Your men on the ground need to put more pressure.

They also said your Ground troops can't make it up with them and therefore you are using more of helicopter gunship. The British have said by the 20th of this month, they will supply them with chasers (sams). In the meeting, the American Ambassador's military chief here was present who also ~~promised~~ promise given them anti aircrafts through their training unit in Guinea. The British helicopters (Blue-Black) two of them were engaged in transporting Ammunition for the President into Guinean town of Masanta on the 5th and 6th respectively. This is because the President's office said they were short of Ammunition and.

The troops of Bropleh have also now been supplied with new British L.A.R.s. All the borders of Sierra Leone should be manned carefully especially the forest areas. Be also informed that 33 Liberians were brought by either Koroma or Ellen into Guinea according to

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to sources they were from various part of the region and are currently training in Masanta area. There will also be a meeting in Guinea on the 17th between the desident commanders, Koroma, the British officials and Guineans ^{to find} as the way forward. The Guineans are bitterly complaining about their presence in the Masanta Region and the British who went in there said it will be imposible to have a full scale training base in their so called area of the desident as they are only engage in hit and run.

There are now serious plans by American officials, British and the Sierra Leone Govt to indict you to face the Special Court in Sierra and if you refuse they call you elsewhere and if you refuse, they will class you as a criminal. That is the latest plan.

Bropleh wants to move in but the Govt. is afraid yet that you have Mosquito and in case of any back fire, Mosquito will be sent by you to destabilize S/Lea.

They want to use the libians in prison here to give evidences against you for war crimes.

Greetings to you and tell your men to put more pressure as Kanajors are moving out on daily basis. Mr Kia-see claims to be the logistic officer for the desident.

Your son.

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JUNE 20, 1998

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TEH QUIAH MEETS DR. LIST

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Mr. Teh Quiah today met with Dr. Kathryn List of the Political Section of the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia based upon an invitation extended him by Dr. List. He was accompanied by Mr. Daniel P. Saypol, his tribesman. The meeting was held in the Staff Canteen of the Embassy.

According to Dr. List, she had a lunch meeting with Mrs. Neade Kobbah Wureh, Former Member of the Council of State and former Secretary General of the erstwhile LPC this week, and during their meeting, Wureh informed her (Dr. List) that she (Wureh) had given each former fighter of the faction not more than L\$3,500.00 to do petit business and a little more money to the officers, as a result of which LPC was formally dissolved and she did not know why Mr. Quiah still has these ex-fighters together on Camp Johnson Road. Dr. List said her invitation was to ask subject to give peace a chance, develop programs for the ex-LPC fighters, and encourage them to do small businesses with the money allegedly given them by Mrs. Wureh. Dr. List added that during their meeting, Mrs. Wureh blamed Roosevelt Johnson for having all the former ULBD ex-fighters conglomerate on Camp Johnson Road as if the faction was still active.

Mr. Teh Quiah thanked the U.S. Diplomat for her concern for peace in Liberia and told her that Mrs. Wureh "lied" to her. "In fact", Mr. Quiah told Dr. List, "all the money we made as a faction during the war was deposited by Dr. Koley into Mrs. Wureh's personal Bank Account in Ghana and Europe from which she is now a businesswoman in Accra and Monrovia". He added that anytime Mrs. Wureh is in Monrovia, the LPC ex-fighters want to hunt her down, but he has been stopping them "for the sake of peace".

Dr. List informed Mr. Quiah that Mrs. Wureh told her (List) that she (Wureh) turned down President Taylor's offer to take a job in government. Dr. List told Teh Quiah to encourage Mrs. Wureh to make her contribution to Liberia by identifying herself with the Government like Former INTG Chairman Ruth Sando Perry. Mr. Quiah then elected to brief Dr. List on the "security situation" in the country as well as the status of the alleged six missing Krahn fellows.

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ON THE SECURITY SITUATION

Mr. Teh Quiah told Dr. List that the general government is not sincere about peace in the country. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He also charged that Mr. Maurice Cooper of Mamba Point has been the Coordinator of the arms distribution.

On this week Tuesday morning, at about 2:30 A.M., Mr. Quiah alleged that well armed Government security men infiltrated Camp Johnson Road, and when they were chased by ex-fighters, these men ran on Broad Street, Crown Hill (opposite the YMCA Building) where they were using long range communication radios and using NPFL "long time" codes which [REDACTED] knew. Since then according to him, his men have gathered more information on the arms distribution, even coming from old NPFL "Friends" who are tired of fighting. [REDACTED]

Mr. Quiah concluded.

[REDACTED] This will just be in self-defence.

Dr. List then suggested that instead of preparing for a full-scale war which would throw Liberia back another 4-5 years, why couldn't he (Quiah) take the matter up with people who could reach the President, but he noted that he just couldn't understand why these "NPFL people think they can win any war here". He promised to reach Bishop Francis on Friday, 26 June 1993, as well as some Human Rights advocates. "I want to avoid war", he stressed, "but it seems as if another war would have to be fought here since our President does not want to train his men to live by our democracy", he emphasized.

ON THE SIX (6) MISSING MEN

Mr. Quiah informed Dr. List that the missing men "are dead and buried". He said information available "to us confirm that they were killed in two groups" and "buried between Kakata and Bong Mines". He said that also available to him and others of the Krahn tribe, especially the Grand Cede.

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action Committee is a note allegedly written by one Farfint Kamara in Director Benjamin Yeaten's office, introducing the missing men to the group which carried out the act as "these are the men we talked about" as well as a signed call card of Director Yeaten. He suggested that Kamara should be investigated. He also noted to the U.S. Embassy Official that Government's fuss with ECOMOG is to distract attention from the murders, but said this is not the way to go about it. "Taylor's brother was sent to provoke ECOMOG while Government was already having standby generators for Police to man the checkpoints", he concluded.

Dr. List told Mr. Quiah, in response to help in reducing tension by recommending solutions to Government as to how to solve the problem. But Mr. Quiah was quick to respond and said that the President's hand is made up and would therefore not listen. He said even Former Councilmen met with the President recently "and he raged hell with them", so "what's about poor me". He said if the President wants peaceful co-existence, he will have it beyond measure, but arms issued to NPFL people can not solve the nation's problems. "People are fooling the President. He does not want the National Conference to go on", Mr. Quiah concluded.

ARTHUR DENNIS, ASSISTANT MINISTER OF INFORMATION/ADMINISTRATION

Upon leaving the Embassy following two hours of meeting, Mr. Quiah met Mr. Dennis at the Embassy Gate. He told him (Quiah) that Solicitor-General Theophilus Gould said that he (Teh Quiah) was importing mercenaries into the country and that he (Gould) would bring back two of the missing people (men) to the country on next Monday, 30 June 1998 to prove to the Liberian people that the people are not dead. Mr. Quiah only said to Hon. Dennis that "Gould is confused".

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COMMENT

From all indications, every effort is being made by various groups and individuals to undermine the successful holding of the All Liberian Conference. All the negative Perceptions are taking root and will negatively affect the immediate socio-economic future of this country. Government's Public Relations' Machinery must become more aggressive, more proactive and more responsive to the negative propaganda against the Government.

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HARRIS KERRULAH

(A VERBATIM REPORT)

00023198

we were twenty-four (24) former ULIMO J fighters contacted at the end of 1997 by Mr. Madison Wison and Teh Quiah to go to Sierra Leone for training to come back to Liberia to overthrow the Liberian Government. Some of those contacted were: Harris Kerrula, Roland Karlay, Action Kollie, Anthony Gave, Ben Morris, William Konah, Emanuel Farlay, Easan Dea, Cummings Tottay, and Yellow Jacket, all company commanders of ULIMO J, while Morris Harris is the B.F.C. and is presently in Sierra Leone with three thousand (3,000) men undergoing training in Daru Barracks. The men are waiting for Moses Mangulu, commonly called "One More War" in Sierra Leone. Harris Kerrula and the rest of the men left Liberia for Sierra Leone on February 3, 1998 by an BOYACOG truck marked SV-82 and SV-36 driven by Major Tondio (only name known) who was the Commander at Bo Katerside in Liberia.

The first group of ULIMO J men to leave for Sierra Leone were a hundred and eighty (180) in number. Each man including my men received seven hundred and twenty United States dollars. The 180 men left Liberia for Sierra Leone in December 1997 just before Christmas. Harris Kerrula came back to Liberia on March 9, 1998, and left the rest of the men in Daru Barracks. I came back with Michael Takolo.

As for arms and ammunition, there are lots of arms and ammunition somewhere in the bush in Teini, Cape Mount County. I am sure, they are still there. There are six (6) Infantry Mortar guns, including some M-47 about seventy, and sixty LP2s. There are also arms and ammunition on Camp Johnson Road, opposite Gen. Roosevelt Johnson's residence, but I will have to meet Michael Takolo to give me more information on the arms. There are also arms and ammunition at Teh Quiah's residence on Camp Johnson Road. There are also arms in Suahin, Bomi County, Camp Alpha, Lofa, Eringe, Bomi and Gbarra. They are all heavy weapons. But I will not show the real place until Government gives us something good. Because, I have not been lucky to meet with honest people who will promise and do what they say.

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In December, 1997, Madison Wion had a meeting with us and Lincoln at his office on Center Street, where he Madison told us that Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was expected to attend. But Mrs. Sirleaf did not attend the meeting. Mr. Madison told us that the whole overthrow exercise is sponsored by Mrs. Sirleaf. The money Mr. Madison gave us was brought to him by one Mr. Brown (only name known) and one Shooky, a Lebanese boy, a sponsor of ULIMO II who lives in Maple Point. I can identify him. He gives us rice and other food items. I helped to bury all the arms and ammunitions near roads where vehicles can ply, but will not show them to anyone until the Government gives us something good, because Benjamin Yeaten made me to enter into some agreement, and when the arms were discovered, he only gave me small money and fifty trousers with small items. And I was not satisfied.

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GEORGE DWCH

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On June 24, 1998, between the hours of 1930 and 2200, a meeting was convened at the residence of Mr. George Dwch of the disbanded ULIMO-J on Camp Johnson Road.

The meeting, held under the cover of darkness with Mr. George Dwch as Chairman, brought together several ex-fighters of the defunct ULIMO-J, ULIMO-K, LEC and the Lofa Defense Force.

During discussions, the attendants resolved to begin the cleaning of their hidden military hardware in Monrovia to have them (hardwares) in good order for use to overthrow the Government of Liberia. Chairman Dwch then warned all officials and members present at the meeting to start thinking about combat as he (Dwch) announced that the attack on GCI shall kick off the ground any time from now and July 15, 1998, depending on signals from D. Roosevelt Johnson, Albert C.V. Kromah and others (not named) who are yet on standby out of Liberia for the attack stressing that it (the attack) must begin before the Government's scheduled conference.

Prominent among those who attended the aforesaid meeting were Amah Youlo, Madison Wion, Teh Quiah, Amos Cheyes, Prince Siko, Kannah Saigbeh, Philip Ealleh, Charles Dehn, Former Chief of Staff/ULIMO-J along with some ULIMO-K and Lofa Defense Force representatives whose names source is yet not familiar with.

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Thank you.

Congressman Frank Wolf

House Armed Services Committee
Special Oversight Panel on the Merchant Marine
Vessel Operations under "flags of convenience" and National Security
Implications

00028950

June 13, 2002

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and the rest of the committee for giving me the opportunity to testify on an issue of vital importance both to the long-term stability of West Africa and to our country's national security interests. Mr. Chairman, I am specifically here to talk about Liberia, its maritime flag registry, and its relationship to Liberia's despotic President, Charles Taylor.



Today I want to focus on several issues. First, I want to outline for the committee the record of Charles Taylor and why it is urgent that our government take all steps to deny Mr. Taylor the means to maintain his grip on Liberia. Also, I want to discuss the implications that Liberia has for our national security interests in light of Mr. Taylor's relationship with international arms dealers and even terrorist networks, including al Qaeda. Finally, it is critical that we are able to guarantee that the Liberian flag registry revenues are transparent and are going toward the needs to the people of Liberia, who have suffered so much. If we cannot guarantee this, it should be shut down.

Because of the time limitation, I will only be able to offer you a brief glimpse into these issues. Therefore, I would like to submit additional information to the committee including several news reports and excerpts from three United Nations Security Council reports on the Liberian Sanctions that outline the connections between Charles Taylor, his revenue from the Liberian maritime flag registry, conflict diamonds, the humanitarian disaster in West Africa and international terrorism. Read in their entirety, these reports and investigations lead to one conclusion -- in the past the Liberian flag registry has been implicated in contributing to the continued reign of Charles Taylor, the leader one of the most brutal, murderous and dangerous regimes in the world. In short, there is blood on the flag, Mr. Chairman.

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Mr. Chairman, Charles Taylor's rise to power has been characterized by violence. In Polish author Ryszard Kapuscinski's work, *The Shadow of the Sun*, the chapter on Liberia is titled, "The Cooling Hell." Kapuscinski describes coming upon children from Charles Taylor's infamous Small Boys Units, child soldiers that Taylor recruited to fight for his insurgent group during the Liberian civil war. Kapuscinski writes:

"I haven't walked a hundred meters and I'm already surrounded by small boys with swollen faces and bleary eyes, sometimes missing an arm or a leg. They beg. These are former soldiers from Charles Taylor's Small Boys Units, his most frightful divisions. Taylor recruits small children and gives them weapons. He also gives them drugs, and when they are under the influence, he makes them attack. The stupefied youngsters behave like kamikaze fighters, throwing themselves into the heat of the battle, advancing straight into flying bullets, getting blown up by mines. When they become addicted to the point of uselessness, Taylor throws them out. Some of them reach Monrovia and end their short lives in ditches or on garbage heaps, consumed by malaria or cholera, or by jackals."

After Charles Taylor became the president in 1997, his ruthless tactics did not change. Mr. Chairman, this is a picture taken while I was traveling with my colleague Tony Hall in December 1999 in Sierra Leone. This 2-year-old girl was just one of the many victims of the Revolutionary United Front otherwise known as the RUF. It is a criminal insurgent group started and supported by Charles Taylor which terrorized civilians in Sierra Leone by engaging in mass amputations, murder, rape and torture. Taylor's interest in promoting and supporting the RUF insurgency was driven by greed -- Sierra Leone's vast diamond resources. Victims told us that when the RUF would arrive in a village, they would ask their victims if they wanted a long sleeve or a short sleeve and amputate accordingly.

The civil war in Sierra Leone took nearly 100,000 lives and left almost 2 million people as refugees. Finally, after United Nations and British intervention, today the situation seems to be temporarily stabilizing as Sierra Leoneans recently participated in elections. For Taylor's culpability in Sierra Leone, the UN Security Council finally voted to place sanctions on Liberia, which remain in effect today.

For years, though, Charles Taylor's trail of misery was thought to be confined only to a small corner of West Africa. Only recently though, we learned that the terror of Charles Taylor went beyond West African shores. In November, *The Washington Post* and several other media

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outlets outlined in detail how the RUF in Sierra Leone transferred "blood" diamonds to al Qaeda operatives in Liberia who then traded them for cash in the European diamond market. These terrorists include Ibrahim Bah, a Libyan-trained former Senegalese rebel who is cited as the Sierra Leonean rebels' primary diamond dealer. Charles Taylor himself is directly implicated in these reports for taking commissions on all deals made between the RUF and the al Qaeda network.

Taken together, all of these facts point to an inescapable conclusion. Not only will the people of Liberia and West Africa continue to suffer as long as Charles Taylor is in power. But, the importance of preventing Charles Taylor from obtaining sources of revenue to run his international criminal enterprise is now a matter of national security. As long as Charles Taylor has access to the financial resources, the people of West Africa will continue to be threatened by wars, humanitarian disasters and misery.

Which brings me to the issue at hand for this committee - the relationship between Charles Taylor's criminal state and the Liberian flag registry and its implications on our national security.

The United Nations and several news reports have revealed that the revenue obtained from the Liberian flag registry and the company that runs the registry, the Liberian International Ship and Corporate Registry, known as LISCOR, made payments that violated the UN sanctions on Liberia.

Also, the United Nations has reported that LISCOR was set up precisely so that Charles Taylor would have immediate access to the flag registry funding. While estimates vary, according to the October 2001 UN report, the flag registry accounts for approximately 50 percent to 75 percent of Liberia's annual revenue.

The distinction between whether this money goes to Liberia and its legitimate needs or Charles Taylor and his international criminal enterprise is of immense importance. If the flag registry can be effectively audited and "ring fenced" and these funds used for legitimate purposes, then I believe the flag registry should be saved. But so far, as the UN reports and the many news stories indicate, that has not happened. Instead, the revenue from the registry is still controlled by the "Executive Mansion," meaning Charles Taylor.

Besides the troubling consequence that the exploitation of the flag registry has for Liberia's people, the UN reports also indicate that the

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lack of transparency surrounding Liberian finances may have troubling national security implications for the U.S. government as well. For instance, the UN reports document how certain portions of the flag registry revenue were channeled to the notorious arms dealer, Victor Bout, who has connections to the Taliban, al Qaeda and Abu Sayyef, the radical Muslim group in the Philippines.

Finally, the UN reports implicate the registry in playing a role in facilitating the illicit trade in conflict diamonds through the use of shell companies that trade in the so-called "blood" diamonds. The UN's December 2000 report states that "a physical check of the Monrovia street addresses given by most of these firms revealed that there were no such companies, and no such addresses. Courier firms in Monrovia, however, have in the past been instructed to route correspondence for these addresses to the International Trust Company (ITC), which in January 2000 changed its name to the International Bank of Liberia Ltd. Since then, mail addressed to the companies in question has been forwarded to the newly established Liberian International Ship and Corporate Registry (LISCR) which now handles the Liberian maritime registry. This means that if the companies in question are more than shells, they are not physically present in Liberia, and none of the diamonds in question were either mined in, or passed through, Liberia."

Mr. Chairman, I believe that if we can get guarantees that the Liberian flag registry can be put to legitimate uses for the people of Liberia, it should be preserved. But this notion cannot ignore an undeniable reality of today -- Charles Taylor runs Liberia as a personal fiefdom, deciding what to do with the revenues from all state ventures.

Just last year his personal control was codified in a new law that states, "The President of the Republic of Liberia is hereby granted the sole power to execute, negotiate and conclude all commercial contracts or agreements with any foreign or domestic investor for the exploitation of the strategic commodities of the Republic of Liberia." It is not surprising that Liberia is often referred to as Charles Taylor Inc.

Mr. Chairman, I want to close by leaving the committee with a final thought. Since my visit to Sierra Leone, I have been deeply concerned amount the plight of the citizens of that region. Looking at the little girl in this picture, it is unconscionable that anyone could justify a business relationship with Charles Taylor. But beyond this humanitarian concern, the links between al Qaeda and other international terrorist activity and Charles Taylor put this entire matter in a new light. We need a guarantee that Charles Taylor can no longer exploit this

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resource. A financial relationship no longer just supports a brutal African dictator causing misery for a far away people; It tacitly supports a terrorist organization dedicated to the destruction of the United States.

Thank you for allowing me to testify and I welcome any questions you may have.

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**Statement of the Hon. Frank R. Wolf, a Representative in
Congress from the State of Virginia
Testimony Before the Subcommittee on Trade
of the House Committee on Ways and Means
Hearing on Conflict Diamonds
October 10, 2001**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to testify today about the issue of conflict diamonds. I appreciate your committee taking the time to hold this important hearing and I also thank Chairman Thomas for his willingness to facilitate the passage of conflict diamonds legislation before the end of this session.

For nearly two years now, I have been supporting the efforts of my friend and colleague, Tony Hall, who has truly been the champion in bringing Congress's attention to the severe consequences of diamonds that fuel civil conflict in several of Africa's most troubled areas including Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. His efforts have brought the world's attention to people blessed to live in areas rich in diamond resources, but who have been cursed by the violent conflict that these diamonds have caused.

I also want to recognize and thank the Bush Administration for working with us on developing effective legislation to address this problem, specifically the State Department and the Office of the United States Trade Representative. I especially appreciate their efforts in light of recent circumstances, and the attention that the Administration is dedicating to the critical needs of our nation's security matters, both at home and overseas.

In the interest of allowing the Committee and the Administration to have as much time as possible at this hearing, I will be brief. I just want to emphasize why I believe we need legislation such as H.R. 2722, introduced by Congressmen Houghton and Rangel with support of Congressman Hall and myself, before Congress adjourns this year.

As this committee is aware, the U.S. is involved in multilateral negotiations with over 40 other nations at what is known as the "Kimberly process." While it is undoubtedly difficult to have so many nations agree on a system of such a complex nature, our passage of legislation facilitates this international system. We import almost 70 percent of the world's jewelry diamonds. We therefore have a unique responsibility to address this issue and take steps to only import clean



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diamonds, untainted by the blood of innocent victims. Legislation that requires clean diamonds will spur the many nations interested in maintaining their imports to the U.S. into making such a system a reality.

At the same time, the legislation has the necessary flexibility for the Administration to meet its international trade requirements under the WTO and more importantly, enough flexibility for the Administration to delay its implementation as the global system becomes a reality. Our staffs are ready to continue working with the Office of USTR to meet their concerns.

A second reason why this legislation is so important is for the diamond industry itself. While I do not purport to speak for the NGOs on their future plans, I do believe that failure to pass legislation will result in a significant consumer backlash in the near future. This will be especially true as new conflicts develop or old ones resurface. For instance, Angola's conflict rages on and recently the UNITA rebel group has shown signs of again heightening the violence. Given the importance of diamonds for places such as South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, it is critical that we act to protect the legitimate trade before it is too late and the image of a diamond is tarnished forever.

Finally, I would like to address the issue of conflict diamonds in relation to recent events. As President Bush has stated so eloquently, the scope and reach of global terror networks such as Al Qaeda will require our fighting them on all fronts. One of these will be on the financial front and the Treasury Department has already taken steps in this direction.

Diamonds are easy to launder and court testimony after the World Trade Center bombing in 1993 indicates that Al Qaeda has financial interests in the diamond trade. While it is impossible to know how closely tied in this group or other groups are to those who trade in conflict diamonds, it is significant that such connections may exist.

According to the State Department, the RUF rebel leaders in Sierra Leone are a terrorist group. Many of their leaders have connections to traders of conflict diamonds in Lebanon [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In short, there is a global network of "bad guys" out there. Passage of this legislation will at least impart some accountability to a highly launderable item and make it more difficult for any criminal or terrorist organization to use it as a financing mechanism.

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I would like to end with one closing thought. Members of this committee are some of the strongest and most eloquent advocates for free trade, globalization and international commerce. You point to the great economic opportunity that increased commerce offers for both our country and developing nations as well. I share and understand this basic principle.

However, too often the argument of free trade and globalization is framed too simplistically --you are either for or you are against. Rather, I believe that cleaning up the diamond trade offers unique opportunity to address the issue in more realistic terms -- international commerce with accountability. The benefits of the diamond trade need to reach the people on the ground that live in these regions. If we can successfully address the issue of conflict diamonds, human rights, labor conditions and the general welfare of people living in these conflict areas will improve.

Again, thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify here today. With the Chairman's permission, I will submit my entire written testimony for the record.

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of the organization.

REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE

5th May, 1992

His Excellency
CIC Charles Gbarkay Taylor
President, P.P.A.A.C.
Gboraga, Liberia

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Dear Brother:

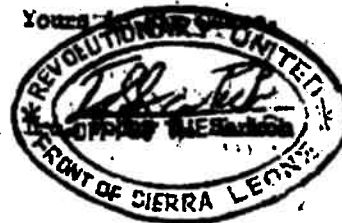
I am thanking you very much for the brotherly help you are rendering me in my liberation struggle. This struggle itself has reached a crucial and sensitive stage wherein I cannot afford to give up. However, there is an urgent need to sit and discuss issues on the current development in Sierra Leone and also on the deployment of RUFDC at the borders. These events are crucial and we need to address ourselves to them. I am therefore requesting an audience with you before I leave.

I appreciate the five boxes of AK-47 rifle ammunition and the ten boxes of RUC gun rockets which I should receive from you today. But I have just received a radio message from General Jusu that our men have encircled the Darn barracks and they are awaiting materials to do the final assault. I believe that what you have offered is not enough to carry out the "Operation Capture Darn". So I am asking you in the name of the Almighty God to kindly increase the number of boxes of AK-47 ammunition to (20) twenty and that of the RUC rockets to (12) twelve plus some borretta rounds. This will sustain me for some time while awaiting the long term supply that you have promised me. Moreover, it will boost the moral of my fighters who are in top form to advance on the enemies.

Lastly, today I am a common laughter because of lack of vehicle for my mobility. My only jeep is in the garage beyond repairs. I do ride on a Toyota truck for a long distance journey or on a bicycle for lift here in town. Such practices pose a high risk to my security. But I have no alternative. I am asking you to arrest this situation by providing me even a second hand pickup to enhance my mobility.

While anticipating your usual consideration, I would be grateful to you for your continued support in my struggle to liberate my people.

Kindest regards,



PROCLAMATION ~~ORDERS FOR~~ KONO DIST.

Annul
that All Govt./Private, Properties be under the Command of RUF which includes, Kenema, Kailahun and other parts inclusive.

In view of this, it is necessary for us to set an Economic Recovery Committee. which will be responsible for the security of the Companies, Govt. and Private Properties. This Committee should comprise Seven members (4 Kono District Citizens) and 3 Soldiers. The target Commander, the Over-all Commander, and a member of the High Command which will be appointed by the C.I.C. and the Secretary.

SARAN

Functions

1. Secure all properties of the above named sectors.
2. To ~~advise~~ or make a report to the leader of the Revolution of all Captured items for accountability.
3. To advise on the economy of captured material to the leader of the revolution for prompt re ~~formation~~ redress.
4. To take care of all abandoned mining equipments of both Govt. Liberians and foreign.
5. To allow no one to claim properties of any ~~Captured~~ ^{remove} kind of the liberated zone.
6. To mobilize the workers as well as the people

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THE SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE

THE PROSECUTOR
—v—
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

Annex B

TO THE

PUBLIC

**DEFENCE'S REPLY TO THE PROSECUTION'S MOTION FOR ADMISSION OF
MATERIAL PURSUANT TO RULES 89(C) AND 92*bis***

ANNEX B
DEFENCE'S REVIEW OF THE AUDIO AND VIDEO MATERIAL

OTP's EX#	DEFENCE ACCEPTS THAT SOURCE MATERIAL MAY BE ADMITTED PURSUANT TO RULE 92 BIS	DEFENCE SUMMARY OF VIDEO CONTENT
1. 132	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant. Large parts of the video footage is in Krio with no translation and there is opinion evidence in the footage which is inadmissible.	<p>This is a video on the situation of Kono after the RUF/AFRC retreat. The footage is taken from SLBS-TV. It has a video footage of situation in Kono, the building and houses that has been destroyed or burned down, and some scenes where the people are building a camp for 'refugees.'</p> <p>There are some scenes containing interview footage of civilians, the town chief, and the camp chairman which were done in Krio with no English translation. Some of them presumably refer to some actions of the AFRC army. However, once again, these interviews were done in Krio, therefore it is difficult to fully understand the meaning. There is interview footage in English of the Task Force Commission of the ECOMOG which contains opinion evidence.</p>
1.129	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant.	<p>The source of this footage cannot be identified. It is 35 minutes footage with a narration. The video shows footage of some ex-child soldiers and amputees' testimonies. It is mostly shows the rehabilitation of the ex-child soldier and reunification with his families.</p>
1.130	No as the Prosecution have failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant and it contains information going to	<p>This video is about the use of mercenaries in the Sierra Leone conflict by the Sierra Leonean government. It opines that the conflict is about diamonds it criticises the UN peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone and accuses the RUF, the Sierra Leonean army, splinter rebel groups and the mercenaries of committing crimes in Sierra Leone. It also contains information going to the acts or conduct of the accused.</p>

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ANNEX B
DEFENCE'S REVIEW OF THE AUDIO AND VIDEO MATERIAL

OTP's EX#	DEFENCE ACCEPTS THAT SOURCE MATERIAL MAY BE ADMITTED PURSUANT TO RULE 92 B/S	DEFENCE SUMMARY OF VIDEO CONTENT
	the proof of the acts or conduct of the accused.	
1.219	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant and it contains information going to the proof of the acts or conduct of the accused.	This is a BBC documentary about "blood diamonds." It commences by explaining rock stars and fashion model's obsession with diamonds. It covers the rebels using Sierra Leone diamonds to fund their military activities. It shows amputees in Sierra Leone who were injured by rebels for allegedly possessing diamonds. It also seeks to make a connection with the Al Qaeda terrorist group who allegedly bought diamonds in Sierra Leone and Liberia to fund their terrorist activities in Kenya and the United States of America. The video makes a number of unsupported and far-fetched allegations about the defendant.
1.224	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant and it contains information going to the proof of the acts or conduct of the accused.	This is a compilation of a series of video recordings pertaining to the war in Sierra Leone. It contains information going to the acts or conduct of the accused.
1.125	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate	Footage from RUF showing the army training and marching. The footage shows a scene where Foday Sankoh gives a proclamation to a group of armed soldiers that shout the

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ANNEX B
DEFENCE'S REVIEW OF THE AUDIO AND VIDEO MATERIAL

OTP's EX#	DEFENCE ACCEPTS THAT SOURCE MATERIAL MAY BE ADMITTED PURSUANT TO RULE 92 B1S	DEFENCE SUMMARY OF VIDEO CONTENT
	which parts of the video are relevant	word "RUF". This goes to the proof of acts and conducts of the accused since the prosecution allege that Foday Sankoh was engaged with Charles Taylor in the joint criminal enterprise allegation.
1.338	No as the prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the audio tape is relevant	This is a compilation of 11 audio tracks covering the war in Liberia, interviews with the accused, and three interviews with Sam Boukarie. It contains information going to the proof of the acts or conduct of the accused.
1.339	No as the prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the audio tape is relevant	Audio tape of Foday Sankoh issuing instructions to the RUF to cease operations.
1.330	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant.	Documentary entitled "Return to Freetown." Shows the after effects of the RUF's method of abducting children and training them to become killers. The presenter takes the viewer on a journey with three children who have been allowed to return to their families. One of them is a girl who was abducted by the rebels when she was 7 years old, she did not want to leave because she saw the rebels as her family. Very evocative and moving account of the atrocities committed during the war.
1.128	No as the Prosecution has failed to indicate which parts of the video are relevant and moreover the video	Documentary entitled "Killing Democracy." Poor quality recording designed to be deliberately shocking. Gives a brief overview of the RUF's fight for power. Numerous eye-witness accounts of the tactics of the rebels, as well as seeing murder and torture actually being filmed. There are several parts of the documentary that could go to prove the acts or conduct of the defendant. For example, a former commander of ECOMOG

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ANNEX B
DEFENCE'S REVIEW OF THE AUDIO AND VIDEO MATERIAL

OTP's EX#	DEFENCE ACCEPTS THAT SOURCE MATERIAL MAY BE ADMITTED PURSUANT TO RULE 92 <i>BIS</i>	DEFENCE SUMMARY OF VIDEO CONTENT
	has significant inadmissible information going to prove the acts or conduct of the accused	describes that when the Liberian crisis started, Charles Taylor said that as Sierra Leone agreed for ECOMOG to use their territory against him, he would make sure that Sierra Leone had a taste of civil war. It is alleged that in 1991, Charles Taylor sent troops into Eastern Sierra Leone and told them to start their crusade. It is also alleged that Sonkoh was friendly with Charles Taylor for a long time. Furthermore, the ECOMOG commander later describes how Charles Taylor talked about the "greater Liberia" and how this was his dream, Charles Taylor allegedly laid claim on damaged areas and said that Eastern Sierra Leone actually belonged to him. It is also stated that the war was started, introduced and sustained from outside Sierra Leone and Charles Taylor had a large part in supporting the rebellion.