



TRUTH,
RECONCILIATION
AND REPARATIONS
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THE GAMBIA

REPORT

VOLUME 11

2009 WITCH-HUNT EXERCISE

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A. OVERVIEW

1. **Yahya Jammeh** had a strong belief in superstition and supernatural activities. He used the powers of the state to carry out a state sponsored witch hunting exercise which he believed would purge the country of witches and wizard. The witch hunting exercise started in Kanilai and Sintet in 2008 and it was expanded to government institutions and surrounding villages in the Kombos in 2009. Gambian citizens were abducted from Sintet, Jambur, Essau, Barra, Makumbaya, Galoya as well as villages in Foni. Other reported Witch-hunting exercises occurred at the headquarters of the Gambia Armed Forces, NIA, GPF, Banjul Fire Brigade and the Abuko *abattoir* (*GAMTEL*).
2. The witch hunters carried out the exercise with the assistance of the APRC militia group, the green boys and girls, armed police and military officers. They wielded considerable power and authority in the different locations they visited which was demonstrated by compelling the compliance of local government authorities, security forces, villagers and victims. The victims were generally elderly, however, there was a rare case of a pregnant woman and a student. Victims were forcefully detained for several days and forced to drink bitter or unpleasant herbal concoctions believed to have been made from “Kubejara” a local hallucinogenic plant which is poisonous and very harmful to the body. Some victims were reported to have tortured to force them to comply with the witch hunters. The witch hunting exercise was one of the most widespread and heinous violation which targeted the older and less privileged members of society. For this reason, the TRRC held three public sittings in the most affected communities, in order to give the victims the opportunity to narrate their ordeal.
3. The hearings on the Witch-hunting went on from November 11 to December 5, 2019, during the 10th session of the Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (TRRC) with the largest number of witnesses heard. This theme was one of the longest recorded sessions with 39 sittings and 43 witness including those adversely mentioned.
4. During the hearings on this theme, the TRRC conducted sittings in line with its victim-centered approach in the most affected regions i.e. Jambur, Kombo South District, West Coast Region, Sibanor, Foni, West Coast Region and Essau, Lower Niuni District, North Bank Region., Some of the witnesses from the Gambia Police Force (GPF) HQ in Banjul and a few other witnesses from Makumbaya testified at the TRRC premises.
5. The Commission was able to grasp the nature, gravity and the various forms of violations suffered by the victims from different works of life.

B. SUMMARY OF WITNESS TESTIMONIES

3. Between 2008 and 2009, series of Witch-hunting exercises were conducted on the orders of **Yahya Jammeh** at different locations in The Gambia. This first witching exercise was said to have taken place in Kanilia (Jammeh’s village) after the death of **Jammeh’s Aunt** which he attributed to watch craft.

4. **Yahya Jammeh** then invited witch hunters led by **Tambajiro** to Kanilia to cleanse the village of witches. One of the elders of the village **Ceesay Bujiling** was given a concoction to drink. However, he did not react to the substance as expected. **Ceesay Bujiling** was later killed by the **Junglers**.¹ **Yahya Jammeh** latter confesses to **Saihou Jallow** (his close body guard) that he ordered his **Junglers** to kill **Ceesay Bujiling** because **Ceesay** was to ascend to the position of Chief Wizard in the Foni. To get to this position, **Ceesay** needed to eat a person of very high standing in the society and **Yahya Jammeh** believed that he was the target. **Yahya Jammeh** told **Saikou Jallow** that for this reason, he had to eliminate **Ceesay Bujiling**.²
5. **Tambajiro** head of the witch hunters, proceeded to Sintet (a village close to Kanilai), accompanied by **Solo Bojang** (one of the commanders of the Junglers), **Sulayman Manga** (Jungler) and **Toffee Manga**, police personnel and a large crowd of people dressed in black attire. They went around the village beating drums, using a mirror to search peoples' compounds looking for witches/wizards. They took down the names of the people identified as witches and confiscating "jujus" that were purportedly hidden or buried in the ground. Those whose names were taken down were forced to follow them.³ On this particular occasion, **Sulayman Manga**, who was reported to have been armed, would fire warning shots in the air when "jujus" were found in an individual's compound.
6. Shortly after the first witch hunt exercise, **Tambajiro** returned to Sintet with the same entourage as along with one **Sainey Tamba** and armed soldiers. They assembled residents of the village at the main yard of the Health Centre on the orders of **Jammeh**.⁴ Before he entered with his followers, **Tambajiro** was stood under a tree blew a horn. The area was subsequently sealed by armed soldiers who surrounded them and no one was allowed to leave the place. Witnesses testified that, **Yahya Jammeh** addressed the crowd through a phone that was connected to a loud speaker. He (**Jammeh**) directed them to light a fire on the coal pots they brought along and place some powdered medicine or leaves in it to burn.
7. After the fire was lit, and the medicine started to burn, it produced smoke which started to rise and cover the atmosphere, everyone present inhale it. Some people who were identified and targeted were standing directly over the coal pot and were forced to inhale the substance emanating from the smoke. Witnesses testified that while addressing the gathering, **Yahya Jammeh** accused them of being Wizards and eating their own children.⁵ The soldiers that were present treated the people with contempt and ensured that they stayed close to the smoke. Witnesses testified that at that point, they felt humiliated and were being suffocated by the smoke. However, they did as they were instructed because they feared **Jammeh**.⁶ The evidence suggests that Sintet was the only area that was visited by **Tambajiro** and his team in 2008.⁷

8. From the evidence, the witch hunting excise in 2008 was only conducted in Kanilai and Sintet under the instruction of **Yahya Jammeh**. According to **Ali Jallow**, Individuals who were accused of being witches were taken to the village *bantaba* (meeting place) and paraded in front of the village and subsequently forced to drink a herbal concoction purported to be a cure. The victims were subjected to humiliation and intimidation not only to themselves but their families as well.⁸
9. Individuals accused of being witches were paraded in the village *bantaba* and forced to drink concoctions to cure them from their perceived witchcraft. This further humiliation increase the apprehension, fear and embarrassment of the victims and their families. Witnesses were not certain as to where the witch hunters came from. Some said they were from Guinea Conakry⁹ while other said they were from Mali. However there is cogent evident that they were hired by **Jammeh** to cleanse the country of witches after **Jammeh** blamed witchcraft for his aunt's sudden death. This owed much to **Jammeh's** strong belief in superstition and supernatural activities.¹⁰
10. In 2009, **Yahya Jammeh** launched a nation-wide witch hunt. The witch-doctors were escorted and assisted by members of the Gambia Armed Forces (GAF), members of the Police Intervention Unit (PIU), the paramilitary wing of the Police, conventional police officers in some villages and the Green Boys and Girls.¹¹ In some villages, Alkalos (village heads) and other residents that were **Jammeh** and APRC supporters also accompanied the witch hunters. According to several witnesses, the security team was headed by **Solo Bojang**.¹² In other areas such as Essau and Barra, other senior members of the State Guards Unit, closely associated to **Jammeh** and the Junglers such as **Saikou Jallow** and **Salifu Corr** of the Barra Army Barracks were seen to take prominent roles in the exercise.¹³ The team also included a cameraman who took footage of the events so that **Jammeh** would be able to follow what was happening. This showed that **Yahya Jammeh** had overall responsibility for these activities. Particulars of individuals' alledged to be witches and wizards were also taken.¹⁴
11. The witch-hunters entered into villages and after rounding up those persons identified as witches and wizards, they were taken away to a secured location and forced to participate in ritual cleansing activities involving drinking and bathing in herbal concoctions. They travelled from village to village and had the backing of the state and its security apparatus. This was manifested by the fact that the victims were transported in state vehicles. The witch hunters wielded considerable power and authority in the different locations they visited which was demonstrated by how they commanded control and compelled the compliance of local government authorities, security forces, villagers and victims.

1 Testimony of Ebou Jarju 27th February 2020, linw964-994
 2 Testimony of Saikou Jallow 27th May 2021 lines 1093-1183
 3 Testimony of Ma Sanneh Camara;27th November, 2019; lines 59-70 ;page 4-5
 4 Testimony of Ma Sanneh Camara;27th November, 2019; lines 70-74; page 5
 5 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 137-309;page 8 -17; Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 119 page 7; Testimony of Ma Sanneh Camara;27th November, 2019; lines 74-170; page 5-9; Testimony of Lamin Badjie and Nyima Jarjue ; 28th November, 2019; lines 195-2224; page 12-14 (Lamin Badjie narrated that his father Bully Badjie the Founder of the Village, the Alkalo Sarsang Tamba and Mamading Sanyang were the target of the event); Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 77-105; page 5-6
 6 Testimony of Ma Sanneh Camara;27th November, 2019; lines 70-74; page 5
 7 Testimony of Lamin Badjie and Nyima Jarjue ; 28th November, 2019; Lines 225-228; page 14; Testimony of Matty

Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 106-113; page 6
 8 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 107-136 page 7-8
 9 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay 12/11/ lines 771-805; pages 42-44
 10 KAIRO NEWS – Jammeh's Fatal Witchcraft Cleansing by Musa Saidu Khan — March 26, 2014
 11 The Green Boys and Girls was a political movement, an informal wing of the ruling APRC party and it mainly operated as a militant group that engaged in intimidating and harassing those perceived to oppose Jammeh. Jammeh gave them the socio-political leverage to act with impunity despite their lawlessness and terrorizing of local communities across the country
 12 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 461-471; page 22;Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay 12/11/2009; lines 680-768 pages 37-42
 13 Testimony of Alhajie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 36-92,118 -132;pages 4-7,8-9; Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 149-197 page 8-10
 14 KAIRO NEWS – Jammeh's Fatal Witchcraft Cleansing by Musa Saidu Khan — March 26, 2014

12. The witch Doctors were dressed in bizarrely red, visibly scary and elaborate costumes plastered with ornaments. They wore hats adorned with “*jujus*”, animal hair, bells, cowries and mirrors and they looked mystic with supernatural powers.¹⁵ They also moved around with additional accessories such as horns, calabashes, horse tails, drums and mirrors¹⁶ which they pointed, twisted and turned at the victims in an inquisitive searching manner akin to reading or finding something before they were identified and accused of witch craft. After victims were unceremoniously picked out as witches or wizards, they were forcefully detained by the witch hunters and security personnel and removed from the security and privacy of their offices, homes, communities and markets¹⁷ or farms and away to an unknown destination with the assistance of their security entourage who facilitated their movements in the communities and enforced strict compliance through, threats, the sight of guns and ammunitions, force, beatings and torture.¹⁸
13. Some of the victims were deceived into thinking that the witch-hunters could cure/treat them of health problems.¹⁹ However, even those who voluntarily joined the exercise for such reasons were not allowed to leave afterwards when they wanted to. When the witch hunters started their exercise in Foni, Many villagers abandoned their homes to hide in the bushes to avoid capture and others fled to Casamance, Southern Senegal, to avoid being caught. Even after the exercise was over, some never returned home.²⁰
14. Victims who were caught, were assembled at village *bantabas* or other meeting points where the infamous Green Boys and Girls and the witch-doctors would beat drums, sing and dance. This process attracted a large number of spectators as those accused of being witches or wizards were brought and assembled by the witch hunting team and ritual ceremonies involving the slaughter of animals were conducted. Witnesses testified that a red cock and goat were selected due to their spiritual significance, slaughtered and their blood drained in a hole which was dug for that purpose. At Banjul Police headquarters (HQ), the ritual included not only the blood sacrifice of those animals but also swearing allegiance to **Jammeh** which was a different oath from their oath of office and considered idolatry and/or anti religion. After everyone was assembled, those from Banjul, Greater Banjul Area and Niumi were all forced into buses and transported to the former house of the late **Baba Jobe** in Kololi.²¹

15. The late **Baba Jobe** was a one-time close associate of **Jammeh** before his own victimisation and murder by the Junglers on the instructions of **Jammeh**. Victims from the Foni’s were driven to **Jammeh’s** residence in Kanilai under the escort²² of the Green boys, the military and/or paramilitary. The witch-hunters were transported to the same locations in separate state vehicles. The victims were generally elderly although there were some cases of pregnant and nursing women and a student. They were forcefully detained for several days and forced to drink bitter or unpleasant herbal concoctions believed to have been made from “*Kubejara*” a local hallucinogenic plant which reportedly has harmful effects on the body. This herbal concoction also included other local plants and it was believed to reveal and/or identify the true status of a person as a witch and wizard and cure/cleanse them of the perceived terrible witchcraft.²³
16. During the process of cleansing, victims were beaten, tortured, and subjected to horrific inhumane and degrading treatment at least one was raped and some died as a result of being subjected to this treatment. Apart from being forced to drink the harmful herbal liquid, victims were also forced to bathe in another smelly and repulsive herbal concoction whilst nude or semi-naked under humiliating and sexually abusive circumstances, especially for women. The herbal concoctions led to deaths, serious illnesses and other negative effects such as nausea, unconsciousness, intoxication and diarrhea. During their period of detention, the victims were held under unhygienic, inhumane and degrading conditions and some of them were denied water, food, toilet facilities, shower, changing clothes and medical attention amongst other deprivations.

C. WITCH HUNTING EXERCISE AT THE GAMBIA POLICE FORCE (GPF) HQ BANJUL

17. Witnesses testified that the GPF witch-hunt occurred on Wednesday 14, January, 2009 between the hours of 8:30a.m and 10:00am. **Mustapha Ceesay** claimed that the Witch Hunters arrived a day before, recorded some names of officers and the former IGP gave orders for all the men to attend the morning parade the next day when they were to return.²⁴ However, the former **IGP Ensa Badjie** testified that he received a call from former president **Yahya Jammeh** informing him that the witch-doctors and their entourage were on their way to the Police HQ and ordered total compliance with the instructions of the witch hunters and anyone who defies should be dismissed. A few minutes after the phone call, **Solo Bojang** and the group arrived. **Solo Bojang** re-emphasized **Jammeh** instructed over the phone. When he realized that the entire Police HQ was cordoned off by armed military and paramilitary men, he claimed that he had no choice but to comply with the instructions of the Witch-hunters in the face of such show of force.²⁵

15 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 94 -98; page 6; Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019;lines 37-50 pages 3-4 (the witness referred to the Witch Hunters as Batuta/Sorcerers/Magicians)

16 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 144 - 151; 164 - 169 pages 8 - 9 (The Witch Hunters were dressed in red “Chaya” (traditional big baggy trousers) and red trousers. Some were shirtless. Testimony of Ansumana Sarjo 20/11/2019 (The witness stated that the costume of the Witch Hunters was worn during wrestling matches and other cultural festivals) The Witch Hunter inspected his psalm and diagnosed that he was sick even though he disagreed with them which led to an altercation but they insisted on taking him for treatment

17 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 82 – 130; 254-258 pages 6-8, 14 -15 (the witness were all from the nearby village of Galoya but they were captured in Makumbaya under different circumstances. Lamarana Jallow was arrested at the market where she traded, Fatou Sowe and Sukai Jallow were captured from their houses in Galoya and taken to Makumbaya)

18 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 121-171, 267- 285; pages 8-11,16-17; Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 288-295; page 14; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 211-218-199; page 12-13; Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 298-344; page 14-16

19 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 192 - 209 pages 11-12 (Even though the witness Fatou Sowe voluntarily joined at first, she felt compelled to go along with it because of the armed presence of the group that came for her and Sukai Jallow

20 KAIRO NEWS – Jammeh’s Fatal Witchcraft Cleansing by Musa Saidykhan — March 26, 2014

21 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay 12/11/19 lines 1787-1800 page 96

22 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; 12/11/19 lines 1801-1807 page 96 - 97

23 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; 12/11/19 lines 1824 – 1841 page 98

24 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 145-151; page 8; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay 12/11/2019; lines 344-386; 428-488 pages 20-22, 24-27

25 Testimony of Ken Mendy 11/11/2019; lines 145-151; page 8; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; 12/11/2019; lines 294 -300, 344-386; 428-488 1758 – 1760, 1771-1786 1862 -1876 pages 14-15, 20-22, 24-27 94, 95, 96, 100; Testimony of Ensa Badjie; 13th November, 2019; Lines 372-487; pages 18-23

18. About 4 to 5 witch hunters came to the GPF HQ²⁶ accompanied by some Green Boys and armed paramilitary led by **Solo Bojang** who were sent to the GPF HQ on the instructions of **Jammeh**.²⁷ Some of the officers were forced to strip on the instructions of the witch hunters and subjected to a personal body and office search. The witch hunters pointed mirrors at the officers and around their offices in all directions²⁸. **Ken Mendy** stated that the witch hunters spoke in Fula and it was translated to him in Mandinka by **Solo Bojang**.²⁹
19. **Ken Mendy**, was also called to the former IGP's office and subjected to a similar body search in the presence of the latter and Commissioner **Edward Sambou**.³⁰ Once both of them were declared "clean"³¹, they escorted the Witch-hunters from office to office within the building. When they arrived in **Ken's** office, his Secretary, **Fatou Gaye** was diagnosed by the witch hunters as having an illness.³²
20. **Ken Mendy**, was instructed by the former **IGP Ensa Badjie** to write down the names of people who were identified as witches and wizards.³³ **Ken Mendy** listed ten (10) names. The evidence shows that several more people were pointed out as witches and wizards and their names taken down.³⁴ The list was handed over to the former **IGP Ensa Badjie** who claimed to have handed it over to former president **Jammeh**. However, the list remains unaccounted for and the former IGP, **Ensa Badjie** later explained that he had misplaced the list and did not in fact handed it over to **Jammeh** as he previously claimed but rather the names on the said list were read out to **former President Jammeh** during an early morning phone conversation which he and **former President Jammeh** had when **Jammeh** called him.³⁵
21. From the former IGP's (**Ensa Badjie**) office and the Administration Office, the witch hunters then moved to the Personnel Office which were all on the second floor. During drumming, chanting, singing and pointing of mirrors,³⁶ **Yahya Darboe** was identified by the Witch-hunters as an alleged witch and his name was taken.³⁷ The group then proceeded to the third floor which was housing the Information Technology (IT) office.³⁸ **Wuday Ceesay** and **Yusupha Saine**, the IT personnel, were also identified as witches.³⁹ The witch hunters were then led to the office of **F.R.I. Jammeh (FRI)** who was the Police Adviser at the time.⁴⁰
22. After the team of witch hunters went through all the offices within the Police HQ led by the former **IGP, Ensa Badjie, Ken** and other senior members of the GPF. Thereafter, the

former **IGP Ensa Badjie** instructed the **RSM Abdou Colley** to assemble the men in a parade⁴¹, where he addressed them about the purpose of the witch hunter's visit. He informed them that the witch hunters were sent by **Jammeh** to identify officers who were witches and wizards and for those picked out to be given dosages of a drink and also to bathe in a witchcraft cleansing ritual. He warned them to comply or be dismissed as instructed by **Jammeh**.⁴²

23. There was ritual singing, drumming continued, more people were identified at the parade ground.⁴³ They were then led to the office of Superintendent **Kumba Jatta**. He was pointed out and taken to his office, where he was searched and stripped of numerous jujus, which filled an entire plastic bag. The former IGP, **Ensa Badjie** testified that he was not present when **Kumba** was stripped of his jujus. However multiple witnesses testified that **Ensa Badjie** led them to **Kumba's** office. After stripping him of his jujus, **Kumba** was taken to the parade ground in a shameful and humiliating manner. The witch hunters brandished one juju that was taken off **Kumba** claiming that it was very dangerous⁴⁴. **IGP Ensa Badjie** described the said juju as an animal's paws.⁴⁵ Commissioner **Pa Silva** of the Banjul Police Station was also identified as a witch and his name taken down.⁴⁶

Ensa Badjie testified that he did not accompany the witch hunters when they escorted **Kumba Jatta** from the parade to his office and confirmed that he was not present when **Kumba's jujus** were taken off his body. However, **RSM Abdou Colley** testified that **Kumba** was not at the morning parade and that only two persons were identified there, which were **Mustapha Ceesay** and **Yaya Darboe**. He added that the former IGP led the witch hunters to **Kumba's** office. **Mam Jarra Jatta** daughter of **Kumba Jatta** also testified that her father, told them he was sitting in his office at Police HQ in Banjul when the former **IGP, Ensa Badjie** and the **RSM Colley** came into his office accompanied by the "Witch doctors" and plain-clothed officers.

24. More police officers were picked out from the parade and identified as witches in the midst of a ceremony of magic rituals which were repeated every time a person was supposedly identified as a witch.⁴⁷ After all the officers alleged to be "witches" had been identified and paraded, an altar was created within the premises of the Police HQ near the palm tree around the Licensing Office. The witch hunters dug a hole and slaughtered a red cock and a goat. The blood of the animals were then poured in the hole with an unknown liquid from a bottle. The "jujus" and charms that were confiscated from **Kumba** were also buried in that hole.⁴⁸ As the head of the Police, the former **IGP, Ensa Badjie** was the first person called to the altar and made to swear allegiance to **Jammeh**. Other Senior Officers followed suit.⁴⁹

26 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 145 - 151; page 8; Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 591 - 601; page 27-28

27 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 11/13/2019; lines 398 -442 20-21

28 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 442 - 455; pages 21

29 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 259 -262; 458-460 pages 6,21

30 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 49-50, 94 -98, 123-124,152-155; page 4,7,8,13

31 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 382-393;521-522 page 18,19,24

32 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 210 - 219; page 11

33 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 203 - 209; 220-237; page 9-10,11-12; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 948-1001; pages 51 -54 (Another discrepancy in the evidence of the witness as to how and when the names were taken down by Ken. The number of names he mentions taken down are also hugely disproportionate to the suggestions made by other witnesses. Ken who actually took the list only mentioned 10 names.)

34 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 602-608; page 28

35 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 748-767; page 34-35

36 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 237 -242; page 12

37 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 242 -252; page 12

38 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 300 - 304; page 15

39 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 892 - 947; pages 48-52 (Another discrepancy in the evidence in relation to how the witness was identified. Ken Mendy provides that he was identified in his office, the IT Unit.)

40 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 293 -321; page 14-15

41 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 559 - 562; page 26

42 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 625-637; page 29; 857-864 page 39; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 868 - 889 pages 47-48

43 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 638-645; page 29-30

44 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 507 -536, 645-696, 322 - 341; pages 15-16, 24-25,30-32; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1122-1153; page 61-62

45 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 645-662; page 30

46 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 352 - 374 ; pages 15 - 18

47 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 395 - 401; page 19

48 Testimony of Mam Jarra Jatta 14/11/2009; lines 246 -251; page 12

49 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 452-458; 477-480 page 21,22; Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2019; lines 770-777; page 35

25. **Abdou Colley** who was the Regimental Sergeant Major (RSM) testified that he and others kept themselves away from the altar. However, according to **Mustapha Ceesay** all junior and senior officers as well as the general policemen all swore an oath of allegiance to **Jammeh** at the altar.
26. These types of rituals are generally regarded as a form of idol worshipping, dark magic or satanic. At the end of the ceremony, those whose names were listed were taken to **Baba Jobe's** former residence in Kololi to be cleansed by spiritual washing and taking concoctions. Many of the police officers who testified viewed the witch hunting exercise at the police HQ as highly improper in a professional institution such as the police.⁵⁰
27. **Mustapha Ceesay** and **Darboe** who had been pointed out and later paraded as witches refused to go regardless of the consequence, **Ensa Badjie** threatened to dismiss them if they did not do so. But, they stood their grounds.⁵¹ **Mustapha Ceesay** was later punished for not complying with the former **IGP's (Ensa Badjie)** instructions as warned.⁵² He was later charged and marched by the **RSM Abdou Colley** to the former IGP's office, demoted and transferred to the provinces.⁵³ The charges against **Mustapha Ceesay** were only dropped after he complied with the instructions to go to Kololi.⁵⁴ The others were also forced to go to Kololi for cleansing.⁵⁵
28. The former **IGP, Ensa Badjie** testified that he visited **Baba Jobe's** house in Kololi and saw the conditions of people that were taken there, according to him: “ *it was horribly, indescribable*”. Elderly victims were maltreated, degraded and humiliated during their so-called treatment.⁵⁶ After two days, those who were taken returned to work. However, they each became ill. ⁵⁷ The Commission received evidence that **Kumba** who was a “*hefty, strong and healthy man in his fifties, had to be carried home by his children as he was too weak to walk on his own*”. His daughter **Mam Jarra** testified that he was in a vulnerable state, unable to speak or do anything for himself, in pain and suffering when he was leaving the Kololi residence. His condition deteriorated rapidly as he lost weight, got weaker, began to lose his memory, suffering from mental illness and later unable to do anything for himself.⁵⁸ Those who were identified as Wizards were also affected psychologically by the shame and stigma that came with been label a witch/wizard.⁵⁹
29. From the evidence, **Ensa Badjie** and other witnesses, it is clear that the witch-hunting exercise at the Police HQ was sanctioned directly by **Yahya Jammeh** to spiritually cleanse those he believed practiced witchcraft. It was also **Jammeh's** desire to ensure the loyalty

of the police and a deliberate effort to defeat any opposition in the ranks of the police force through spiritual means, employing the tactics of fear, intimidation and humiliation.⁶⁰ There were similar witch-hunting exercises in the military barracks and the NIA Headquarters using the same methods to achieve the same purpose guised in spiritual healing.⁶¹ However, not enough evidence has been gathered in respect of the targeting of the army and NIA in this whole saga.

30. **Ensa Badjie** testified that after the incident, **Yahya Jammeh** called him around 3:00a.m and 4:00a.m one morning and he (**Ensa**) gave him the names of those identified as witches. When asked about the list, he stated that he had misplaced it. According to him, during the phone call, **Jammeh** told him that anybody who did not comply with the orders should be immediately sacked.⁶²
31. **Ensa Badjie** denied the allegations made by some of the officers, that the witch Hunters were there under his instructions, stating that he was only executing **Jammeh's** orders as the head of the Police Force. He highlighted that **Solo Bojang** and the witch-hunting group led the way and that he merely took them around. According to him, he only followed them to account for his men who were his responsibility. When they get to an office, he stood by the door and watched the activities of **Solo** and the witch hunters who went round all the offices and identified those accused of witchcraft. He also claimed that **Yahya Jammeh** instructed him to write down the names of those identified as witches.⁶³
32. He further stated that a few days after the incident, **Yahya Jammeh** called and he informed him that everyone complied except one officer **Mustapha Ceesay**. **Jammeh** then gave an order to dismiss **Mustapha Ceesay** with immediate effect. He instead gave orders for to charge **Mustapha Ceesay**. He demoted him (**Ceesay**) and transferred him to a remote location. This was done three days after the incident. He indicated that he knew the witch hunting exercise was unlawful, but that everyone was afraid of **Jammeh** and no one dared disobey him.⁶⁴
33. He was confronted with **Mustapha Ceesay's** statement, in which is stated that on 16th January, 2009, he (**Ensa Badjie**) was informed that certain police officers refused to go to **Baba Jobe's** former residence, **Ensa Badjie** personally took the list and started calling out the names and ordered them to board the truck and go to Kololi. **Mustapha Ceesay** also indicated that **Ensa Badjie** asked him and **Yaya Darboe** to write a personal statement and thereafter instructed that they be charged. **Ensa Badjie** argued that **Mustapha Ceesay** was a Sergeant at the time so he could not directly deal with him or give him orders, as that is breach of the chain of command. He claimed the command could not be directly from him to a Sergeant. However, he agreed that there were instances when an IGP addressed police officers directly. He emphasised that he addressed the Police Officers only on Mondays at the parade ground. When it was suggested that he would also address junior officers if they were charged and then brought before him for orders, he responded that before they came to him, they went through the chain of command starting from their own station officers (S.O.s) to

50 Testimony of Abdou Colley 11/11/2009; lines 866 -881 pages 41-42
 51 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1363-1418 pages 73-76
 52 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2009; lines 920-938; page 42
 53 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 479 - 493; page 21 - 22; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1419 -1563 pages 76-83
 54 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1561 – 1578 pages 84-85
 55 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2009; lines 504-506; page 23
 56 Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1648 – 1664; 1671 – 1687 pages 88, 89-90; Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2009; Lines 865-894 pages 39-40
 57 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2019; lines 293 -321; 494 – 499, 609 – 629, pages 22, 29; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1627 – 1647, (Superintendent Kumba was one of the victims who returned to work in bad condition and they were informed he had been vomiting in Kololi during his treatment. Apart from the humiliation and shame, one could see that he was in physical pain and weak).
 58 Testimony of Mam Jarra Jatta 14/11/2009; lines 353-363; page 17
 59 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2009; lines 622- 646, 660 - 662 -321; page 29, 30; Testimony of Mustapha Ceesay; lines 1588 – 1598; page 85-86

60 Testimony of Ken Mendy; 11/11/2009; lines 665 – 687, 710-725; pages 30-31
 61 Testimony of Ensa Badjie 13/11/2009; lines 382-393; page 18,19; Testimony of Mam Jarra Jatta 14/11/2009; lines 277-294 pages 14
 62 Testimony of Ensa Badjie; 13th November, 2019; Lines 755-767 page 34
 63 Testimony of Ensa Badjie; 13th November, 2019; Lines 524-537,577-585; pages 24-25,27
 64 Testimony of Ensa Badjie; 13th November, 2019; Lines 900-912; page 41

the Commissioners or to the Deputy Inspector General (DIG) before they were referred to him. He claimed that he only looks at the charges on the file and he would take a decision based on the recommendations and in such an instance, the officer would appear before him to receive the final order. He agreed that in the case of **Mustapha Ceesay** he did not recall any orders being issued. He was not aware of **Yaya Darboe** being charged and later his charges being dropped. The only person he could remember whose report was given to him and who had refused to go was **Mustapha Ceesay**.⁶⁵

34. **Ensa Badjie** denied ordering the arrest of any person in connection with their refusal to participate in the witch hunt. He stated that he was not aware and explained that even the Minister of **Interior Ousman Sonko**, who was his superior, was aware of what was going on but he did not dare take any actions. He added that if he went to the Minister of Interior, he would just say: “*Hey! Me, I cannot be part of this*”, this was why he (**Ensa Badjie**) could not refuse the order. He further claimed that he tried to protect them in the best possible way he could and that if he had enforced **Jammeh’s** directive, **Mustapha Ceesay** would have been dismissed.⁶⁶

35. The RSM **Abdou Colley** who was also the Disciplinary Officer of the police testified that he had no role in the punishment of **Mustapha Ceesay**, RSM said that, the former IGP, **Ensa Badjie** made the decision, and no charge sheet was forwarded to him. However, **Mustapha Ceesay** testified that the RSM marched the officers to the orderly room with charge sheets.

D. SUMMARY OF WITNESS TESTIMONIES FROM FONI

38. The 2009 witch-hunting happened on a day when most of the villagers were attending a naming ceremony in Sintet.⁶⁷ On the morning of the witch-hunt, villagers could hear the sound of drums beating and singing from a nearby area called Bako⁶⁸ where the witch-hunt had begun and some people had already been identified as witches and detained.⁶⁹ Later, soldiers and members of the PIU surrounded the village.⁷⁰ Several people were captured in the morning from Sintet. **Ali Jallow** narrated how they stormed into the Imam’s compound, broke down his gate and got hold of his wife and started shouting “*where are the sons of witches living in this house hiding*”. They also abducted his father, his grandmother, his brother and his wife as well as other people from his house.⁷¹ The witch hunters dispersed

65 Testimony of Ensa Badjie; 13th November, 219; Lines 914-991 page 41-45
 66 Testimony of Ensa Badjie; 13th November, 2019; Lines 1069, 825-864,900-907 page 3648
 67 Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 125-143; page 7-8
 68 Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 67-72; page 5
 69 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 315 -321, 517-518 page 18 and 28 (The witness testified that people from a nearby village Baku informed them that the Witch hunters were there and they could later hear the sound of drums and singing coming from that village. Victims were also captured there and brought to Sintet
 70 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 102- 115; page 8
 71 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 330 -321 page 18. Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 385-402; pages 21-22 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 317-333, 524-540; pages 14-15, 23 (the witness describes the appearance of the Witch Hunters as being dressed in a red attire with a pointed hat (sometimes adorned with cowrie shells, animal hair or mirrors) and other accessories such as cow tails, mirrors (used to point at/and/ or search individuals and their homes resembling Magicians from Guinea which is consistent with the description provided by other witnesses in this theme. Although the Witch Hunters were speaking the witness who was Fula himself could tell that they were foreign Fulas); Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 188 -206; page 10; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 124-128; page 8

within the village⁷² led by **Solo Bojang**⁷³ and his team of armed soldiers, paramilitary officers and Green Boys and Girls who assisted the witch hunters to capture their victims. They forcefully dragged and beat up people who were mostly elderly men and women⁷⁴.

39. The witch hunters wore red attires adorned with mirrors and cowries and juju. This strange and unconventional dress terrified most of the villagers. **Dado Bah** stated that the sight of these strange men sent her pregnant daughter-in-law into shock which led to high blood pressure resulting in the premature birth and loss of her baby. Her family members wailed and cried when she was captured and being taken away, as they did not know what would happen to her, fearing that she would be killed or beaten.⁷⁵

40. It was reported that the team of Witch-hunters were sent on the instructions of Jammeh⁷⁶ to identify and capture witches and wizards.⁷⁷ Some Witnesses even claimed to have had their names read from a written list.⁷⁸ The people that ran into their homes were pursued and their doors broken down to get to them and when caught, they were dragged on the floor and beaten during their capture.⁷⁹

41. **Matty Sanyang** testified that a mentally ill person **Malangai Gaye** was beaten so severely by **Solo Bojang** that he sustained serious injuries on his head resulting in blood oozing profusely from various parts of his body. He was vomiting blood and subsequently died from his injuries.⁸⁰

42. Some victims also had their belongings seized. ⁸¹ Victims were taken by foot or boarded on a pick-up truck which was transporting those arrested⁸² to the Bantaba. This was an area under the two big “*Taba*” trees situated near the village health Center and the Alkalos residence around Fula Kunda. A bus and a military truck were waiting to transport male and female victims respectively as the Green Boys and Girls drummed, sang and danced whilst the victims boarded the vehicles.⁸³

72 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 102- 115; page 8
 73 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 377- 389; pages 17
 74 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 288-307, 334-372 pages 15-16
 75 Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 92-119; page 6-8 (The Witness explained how the sight of these strange men sent her daughter in law into shock and then high blood pressure leading to premature birth and loss of her baby. Also members of her family started wailing when she was taken away not knowing what will be done to her and fearing that she may be killed or beaten)
 76 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 76-77, 92-108; 143-155 pages 156-272 5-6,7-8-12 (The witness stated that the green boys worked for Jammeh; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November 2019;lines 87-95; page 7; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 73-74; 161-176 page 10
 77 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 193-194; page 12
 78 Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 283-287,313-315; page 14,15; Testimony of Buba Jarjue; 27th November, 2019; Lines 384-387; page 17; Testimony of Lamin Badjie and Nyima Jarjue; 28th November, 2019; Lines 344-610; page 20-34 (The witnesses narrate how Bulli Badjie was the first person targeted on that list and because he escaped to Darsilarmi and later to Cassamance, they arrested his wife and daughter in law and her 3 month old baby for a week at the Sibanor Police Station under very poor conditions. Tamsir the OC ordered their arrest and detention and they were forced to produce Bulli or remain in detention. They believe it is because they were unable to get bulli that is why they arrested and kidnapped held the whole veillage to ransom aat Kanilai
 79 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 121-171,267-285; pages 8-11,16-17; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 211-218-199; page 12-13; Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 288-295; page 14
 80 Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 298-344; page 14-16
 81 Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 300-306; 359 -373; page,15 17-18
 82 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 212-238; page 13-15; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 186-199; page 11-12
 83 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 391-405; pages 16-17; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 116-120, 301-303 ; page 8,11 (The witness reported that there were two buses loaded with victims); Testimony of Jarra Kolley; Lines 207 -209; page 12

43. Many people who were identified as witches and wizards were captured⁸⁴ from Sintet and its surroundings⁸⁵ including visitors.⁸⁶ Some managed to escape to Casamance.⁸⁷ Some visitors were also captured and forcefully made to drink the concoction to supposedly cure them from ill health.⁸⁸
44. **Nyima Jarju** testified that her father in law, **Bulli Badjie** who was the Alkalo of Sintet fled to Casamance with her husband **Lamin Badjie** before the arrival of the witch hunters in their compound. Consequently, she and her three month old child along with her mother-in-law were arrested and detained at Kalagi police station by the officer in command **Tamsir Bah**. She stated that while at the station, O.C called **Tamsir** and asked his men to lock them inside the cell. In the afternoon, they spread a carton to sit on and in the evening, they gave them mat to lie down. She had to take off her head tie and spread it on the mat for the child and used her wrapper to wrap the child. The following morning, which was on a **Wednesday**, **O.C Tamsir** came and said, *“Fatou Bojang and Nyima Jarju, where ever **Bulli Badjie** is, if you do not tell us you will remain here.”* The witness confirmed that they were detained in the cell for about a week with the baby⁸⁹
45. Those captured were made to wait in vehicles from morning to evening without food or water.⁹⁰ Whilst waiting, a ceremony was performed by the witch hunters in between the two big trees near the health centre where a hole was dug by the Green Boys. A red male goat was slaughtered and its blood buried.⁹¹
46. Two vehicles were filled with people in Sintet, to the extent that some passengers were made to sit or stand on the floor because all the seats were occupied. The victims were then transported to **Jammeh’s** residence in Kanilai.⁹² When they arrived, they were assembled and detained in a covered sitting area or “Bantaba” with steps/benches, near the crocodile pool where the mosque and a small building is located.⁹³ They were made to sit on the bare floor.⁹⁴
47. The men were separated from the women and their names were written down.⁹⁵ Most of the victims were elderly and from different ethnic groups. ⁹⁶They were provided food and told that the medicine would be overpowering if taken on empty stomach. Some people however refused to eat.⁹⁷ They were stripped off their belongings, including monies and

84 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 156 pages 8; Testimony of Alagie Ma Sanneh Camara; 27th November, 2019; lines 265-266; pages 13; Testimony of Buba Jarjue; 27th November, 2019; Lines 111-113; page 6

85 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 452 -474; pages 25-26 (The witness stated that almost half of the village was captured, he later gave an estimate of about 30 elders then he said 50 and that was just from Fula Kunda); Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 223-233; 161-176 page 13 (Victims were captured from these surrounding villages Busunyai, Kambumbu and)

86 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 622-29 page 35; Testimony of Buba Jarjue; 27th November, 2019; Lines 194-189; pages 9; Testimony of Jarra Kolley; lines 248- 260; page 14

87 Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 232-237; page 14 (Most of the people who heard the news early and had an opportunity to run came from the same tribe as Jammeh); Testimony of Buba Jarjue; 27th November, 2019; Lines 117-122; pages 6

88 Testimony of Alagie Ma Sanneh Camara; 27th November, 2019; lines 253-259 pages 12-13

89 Testimony of Lamin Badjie and Nyima Jarju 28th November 2019 page 33 line 465-597

90 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 420-421; pages 18

91 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 483-499 page 27; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 242-258; page 14-16

92 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 523 page 29

93 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 334-335; page 20

94 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 471 – 487; pages 20-21

95 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 341- 354; page 20-21

96 Testimony of Matty Sanyang; 28th November, 2019; Lines 378-385; page 5-6; Fatouwitness mentioned that most of the jolas were warned in advance and they managed to flee as a result many of them were not captured

97 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 323- 330; pages 19-20

mobile phones.⁹⁸ Thereafter, they were called one after the other one by **Solo Bojang** who escorted them to the small room that resembled a toilet. ⁹⁹

48. In that room, there were two big pans containing different herbal concoctions, one for drinking and the other for bathing.¹⁰⁰ As soon as they entered the room, they were given a cup filled with ¹⁰¹ a herbal concoction. Witnesses stated that the concoction was made from leaves of two plants known locally as “Kubejaro” and “Talo” which had an unpleasant taste and intoxicating properties. The effect of the liquid on the victims caused them to faint, fall¹⁰² and become delirious, not fully aware of their surroundings. Victims described becoming unconscious and motionless like corpse in some instances.¹⁰³ Some witnesses stated that they were forced to drink two big cups of the concoction¹⁰⁴. They described the substance as a liquid having a strange taste, thick and slimy, which was ¹⁰⁵ mixed with uncrushed leaves, bark of trees, roots and other herbs. After drinking the concoction, they were forced to chew and swallow the residues.¹⁰⁶ **Dado Bah** stated that the water used to mix the herbs was fetched from the crocodile pool to mix the medicine with which they were forced to drink through intimidation and pressure.¹⁰⁷
49. After forcing them to drink the first concoction, victims were then forced to strip naked by the witch hunters and made to bath in the other herbal concoction which had an unpleasant odor.¹⁰⁸ **Fatou Camara and Jarra Colley** described the whole ordeal as embarrassing and undignified to be bathed by men as young as their grandsons.¹⁰⁹ The liquid was also splashed on their faces and eyes which caused burning sensations in their eyes, causing them extreme pain and discomfort.¹¹⁰
50. After taking the concoction, some were intoxicated and unconscious for a day following the treatment, victims were later forced to confess to practicing witchcraft.¹¹¹ Some who did not show any sign of being affected by the concoction were beaten, insulted, mocked and held at

98 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 505-515; pages 22; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 356-358; page 21

99 Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 402-406 page 19

100 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 499 -505 pages 22; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 468- 473; page 27

101 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 562-566 pages 24

102 Testimony of Fatou Darboe; 27th November, 2019; line 337-354,382-391,451-469; page 16-17,18, 21-22

103 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 530 -543,595 – 602; pages 29-30, 33 (The Witness narrated how his father was unconscious after his release and was not moving so people assembled at his house thinking he was dead started to morn him); Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 550-561; page 24;(The Witness narrated that after he was given the concoction to drink he could no longer tell where he was or what he did. Everything went black and he fell unconscious); Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 323- 330; pages 19-20; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 383-388, 477-502; pages 27-29; Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 404 – 407, 408-507 pages 19-24 (the Witness testified that he was not intoxicated by the medicine even after he was given to drink about 7 times); Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 417-419; page 23

104 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 464-467;489-491 page 27,28

105 Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 486-492 page

106 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 372-380, 459-463; pages 22,26-27

107 Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 349-363;page 20

108 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 518-523, 571-573; page 22,24; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 369-372, 424-458; pages 22,23-26

109 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 443-455; page 25; Testimony of Jarra Kolley; lines 293-302; page 16

110 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 380 381; page 22-23; Testimony of Jarra Kolley; lines 304-310; page 16-17; Testimony of Matty Sanyang; 28th November, 2019; Lines 417- 419; page 20

111 Testimony of Fatou Darboe; 27th November, 2019; line 473 – 490; page 22-23; Testimony of Matty Sanyang; 28th November, 2019; Lines 507-545; page 24-25

gun point ¹¹²On the other hand, those who confessed were released.¹¹³ Some claimed to have spoken to **Jammeh** directly through **Solo Bojang's** phone, and he accused them of being witches and killers.¹¹⁴ Many victims sustained injuries from falling down on bare concrete floors as a result of being in a delirious state. Others sustained injuries from the beatings and torture. Victims generally suffered pain, hardship and other health complications during their detention and after their release as a result of the harmful side-effects of the drugs taken and the manner in which they were treated. ¹¹⁵

51. Some of the villagers managed to escape taking the concoction and left the same day they arrived. **Dado Bah** stated that she managed to escape without taking the concoction.¹¹⁶ Others were released after two days.¹¹⁷ Some family members of the people abducted had to bribe the Witch Hunters with money before their relatives were returned back to them¹¹⁸. **Matty Sanyang** testified that some family members that came for their loved ones were beaten.¹¹⁹ The commission heard that many victims who took the concoction were behaving strangely after they were released. Some victims could not even recognise their loved ones.¹²⁰
52. In addition to their subsequent deteriorating health,¹²¹ most of them sought conventional and/or traditional treatment without any success while some reported that they were denied medical treatment at state hospitals because of the fear of being arrested if they admit any of the victims.¹²² Some victim's health deteriorated to the point that they did not have the strength to work and consequently lost their livelihood.¹²³ Furthermore, they suffered social stigma as a result of the false accusation levelled against them.¹²⁴ Witnesses told the Commission that many victims died as a result of the effects of the concoction¹²⁵, for some, it was due to

112 Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 417-436, 464-471; pages 20, 22
 113 Testimony of Fatou Darboe; 27th November, 2019; line 473 – 513; page 22-24
 114 Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 504-562 page 23-26
 115 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 630-644 page 35-36; Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 650 – 653, 716-722 pages 28,30
 116 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 526 529 page 29; Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 677-679 pages 29; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 307-343,364--387; page 17-19,20-22 (;Testimony of Jarra Colley; 27th November, 2019; Lines 96-144; pages 6-9
 117 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 544-546 page 30 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 677-679 pages 29; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 487-488; page 28; Testimony of Jarra Kolley; Lines 223-227; pages 12-13
 118 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 565-594, 719-727 page 31-33, 40
 119 Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 548-557; page 25-26
 120 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 602-615 page 33-34
 121 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 639 – 644,649-651 page 35-36; Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 692- 719,741-743; pages 29-30, 32 (The Witness stated that even those who survived the treatment are like dead men and women walking); Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 599-604 381; 647 – 654, 662-690; page 22-23, 34, 38, 37, 38 (The witness testified that many victims suffered, eye problems, internal problems, ulcer, dysentery, high blood and pain in their bones); Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 582-610 page 27-28; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 386-398 page 22; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 427-430; page 24
 122 Testimony of Matty Sanyang; 28th November, 2019; Lines 563-587; page 26-27 (The witness testified that her Aunt Samsang Camara passed away after she was denied medical treatment at Bwiam Health centre a state facility)
 123 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 757-765; pages 32; Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 655-661 381; page 22-23, 34, 37; Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 611-614; page 28; Testimony of Fatou Darboe; 27th November, 2019; line 522-537 ; page 24-25; Testimony of Buba Jarjue; 27th November, 2019; Lines 271-354; pages 12-16; Testimony of Jarra Kolley; lines 270-292 page 15-16
 124 Testimony of Fatou Darboe; 27th November, 2019; line 516-521; page 24; Testimony of Buba Jarjue; 27th November, 2019; Lines 470-483 page 20-21;
 125 Testimony of Ali Jallow; 25th November 2019 lines 645-703 page 36-39; Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 735-743 pages 31; Testimony of Mustapha Fanneh 26th November, 2021; lines 621-626 page 29; Testimony of Fatou Darboe; 27th November, 2019; line 337-354 page 16-17;Testimony of Alagie Ma Sanneh Camara; 27th November, 2019; lines 498-514, 541-550 pages 23-24, 25 (The Witness testified that roughly 13 people died including a person called Sansang who he claims was confused with Sarsang the Alkalo who was the person who should have been given the Medication but he escaped); Testimony of Buba Jarju; 27th November, 2019; Lines 73-91, 407-445 page 4-5,18-19

the injuries they suffered from their torture. Before they were able to recuperate from their ordeal, they were forced to harvest groundnut on **Yahya Jammeh's** farm and asked them to exchange bags of salt for rice in their condition which they were unable to do.¹²⁶ Many witnesses described how they were forced to work on **Jammeh's** farms as Laborers for years without pay.¹²⁷ For many of the victims, **Jammeh** is responsible and is to blame for their condition and/or the deaths of their loved ones, having given orders for the witch-hunting exercise to be undertaken.¹²⁸

53. **Karamo Sanneh** testified that roughly 12 to 13 people died from the effects of the treatment including his own brother's wife who did not utter a word after being released by the witch hunters until she took her last breath.¹²⁹ His Protected Information Sheet (PIS) was tendered as **Exhibit 100**, which contains the names of 17 victims of the Sintet witch-hunt.
54. The PIS of **Fatou Camara** also tendered **PIS Exhibit 101** containing the names of eleven (11) Mandinka victims of the witch-hunt and nine (9) Jola victims making a total of twenty (20) victims.
55. The PIS of **Matty Sanyang** was tendered **PIS Exhibit 102** listing nine (9) witnesses including those who passed away, those who were battling with illnesses, including a boy who was also forced to drink the concoction when he came looking for his father in Kanilai.
56. PIS for **Jarra Colley** was tendered **PIS Exhibit 103** listing six (6) victims taken from Sintet including four (4) deceased.
57. Investigations revealed that witnesses were not comfortable to name the individuals that were victims of the witch-hunting exercise because many of the families were not willing to come forward as a result of the stigma associated with being labelled as a witch and the fear of being persecuted by **Yahya Jammeh's** supporters.

LIST OF VICTIMS FROM SINTET INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:-

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Ali Kumba Bah | 2. Ali Metta Bah | 3. Binta Bah |
| 4. Bojel Bah | 5. Dado Bah | 6. Dado Bah (2nd dado) |
| 7. Egeh Bah | 8. Jabou Bah | 9. Kumba Bah |
| 10. Metta Bah | 11. Nyappa Bah | 12. Samba Bah |
| 13. Alieu Baldeh | 14. Ali Njappa Baldeh | 15. Fatou Camara |
| 16. Faye Camara | 17. Masanneh Camara | 18. Sansang Camara |
| 19. Ousman Ceesay | 20. Fatou Darboe | 21. Molifa Dibba |
| 22. Burama Dibba | 23. Mustapha Fanneh | 24. Ali Jallow |

126 Testimony of Fatou Camara; 26th November, 2019; Lines 604-629 381; page 22-23, 34-35 (Danyan Touray died as a result of the concoction, Sansan Camara died soon after taking the concoction due to running stomach)
 127 Testimony of Matty Sanyang; 28th November, 2019; Lines 48 - 76 page 4-5
 128 Testimony of Karamo Sanneh; 25th November 2019 lines 724-729 pages 31; Testimony of Dado Bah; 26th November, 2019; lines 393- 403; page 22-23 (The victim's mother passed away a couple of weeks after she was captured by the Witch Hunters and given the concoction to drink)
 129 Testimony of Matty Sanyang;28th November, 2019; Lines 614-638; page 28-29

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 25. Kaddy Jarju | 26. Musa Jawo | 27. Bintanding Manjang |
| 28. Sutaring Manjang | 29. Satou Manneh | 30. Tombong Njie |
| 31. Karamo Sanneh | 32. Matty Sanyang | 33. Abdoulie Sowe |
| 34. Jaieh Sowe | 35. Manlafi Tamba | |

E. WITCH HUNTING IN KOMBO NORTH DISTRICT, WEST COAST REGION

58. During the regional hearings in Jambur, victims/witnesses from the Jambur and Makumbaya Witch-hunt in 2009 testified on their individual experiences of the Witch Hunt in those two areas which followed more or less the same trend with some differences which will be highlighted below.

MAKUMBAYA WITCH-HUNT

59. Although witnesses could not recall the exact date of the witch-hunt in Makumbaya, there are reports that it occurred on the 9th day of March, 2009.¹³⁰ During the witch-hunt in Makumbaya, local victims as well as those from surrounding areas such as Busumbala, Galoya (**Fatou Sowe**) who was captured by the witch hunters was a petty trader at the market in Makumbaya although she was resident in Galoya¹³¹ and **Kumbuneh** were forcefully captured from their homes, markets farms/rice fields, roads, garage and neighborhoods by the same team of witch-hunters, soldiers and the green boys and girls described previously by the victims of the Banjul Witch hunt.

60. Many victims were under the impression that they were being taken to their deaths because of the manner in which they were forcefully captured. **Sonna Bass** narrated how she was grabbed by the neck, dragged by the hand by the witch doctor along the public highway whilst she was half naked in a humiliating and degrading manner, at that point she thought that she was going to be killed.¹³² Where victims resisted capture they were subjected to beatings by the green boys.¹³³

61. Some victims were tricked into going with the witch hunters after they were told that they were sick or that a spell had been cast on them by a witch.¹³⁴ **Ansumana Sarjo** stated that one of the Witch Hunters read his palm and informed him that he had an illness they could cure. He was reluctant to go with them but his friend managed to convince him to go with them, telling him that if he refused the witch hunters would summon the Green Boys to beat him. As an elder in the community that would be embracing for him.¹³⁵ **Fatou Sowe**

130 [Refworld | Gambia: 'Witch hunt' shows worsening human rights](#) (Kebba Saneh from Makumbaya told IRIN that he was among several villagers who were forcefully abducted from home by a group of armed soldiers and some civilians on 9 March. He said "I was forced to drink drugs which made me unconscious. There was no way we could try to escape.")

131 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 29-30, 39-41; page 3; lines 61-67, 89-98,104, 108-116, 318 – 332; pages 4,5,6,7,16-17 (the Witch Hunters held on to her hand and took her with them forcefully); Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 14/11/2009; 107 -108; 117, 155 – 157, 201 – 213; 217 -222, 250-258, 273 – 289; pages 7, 9, 12, 14, 15-16

132 Testimony of Sonna Bass 14/11/2009; Testimony of Fatou Fatty 18/11/2019; lines Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 440-461; pages 23-25

133 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 82 – 130 pages 6-8

134 Fatou Sowe explained that even though she was told that they were going to heal her, she developed more health problems after the so called treatment)

135 Testimony of Ansuman Sarjo

explained that even she was told that they were going to heal her, but she developed more health problems after the so-called treatment.¹³⁶

62. Some people, in particular the Jolas in the community hid in the bush. They had received information about the arrival of the witch hunters. Some of the victims who tried to run away were chased and captured.¹³⁷ After they were captured, the victims were assembled at the centre of the village where big green Gambia Public Transport Corporation (GPTC) buses were parked near the Alkalo's compound¹³⁸ while the witch doctors and Green Boys and Girls were participating in a ceremony of chanting, singing, clapping, dancing and drumming which was heard throughout the village whilst more victims accused of witchcraft were being captured by other witch-hunters dispersed around.¹³⁹

63. According to witnesses, the entire process was filmed on camera by one **Morro Ceesay** from Faraba.¹⁴⁰ Victims were then forced on board the waiting buses which were full to capacity with elderly people. There were people from Makumbaya and other surrounding villages. One witness estimated that between 50-60 people may have been on board. **Ansumana Sarjo** provided a list of people he recognised on board the bus which he did not want to reveal in public. Witnesses told the commission that on that afternoon, between the hours of 2pm and 4pm, they were taken to **Baba Jobe's** House in Kololi.¹⁴¹

64. When they arrived in Kololi in the evening around 4pm - 5pm, victims were led by their captors to an open hall their names were recorded and their belongings, valuables and cash confiscated when they were being admitted into the compound. They were also offered food and told to eat otherwise they would die. They were placed in a big sitting area, divided into groups, lined up in a queue, called one after another, taken to a small room which resembled a bathroom or toilet and forced to drink an unpleasant/bitter tasting medicine which they believed to be "Kubejara".

65. The men were separated from the women for this process and the men were first called. The medicines were stored in big pan or bucket containers and given to victims by the witch hunters in a big one litre tin cup filled to capacity. In some cases they were ordered to chew the remnants of leaves in the cup. **Ansumana Sarjo** explained that the witch doctor rushed at him to slap him but he managed to block it in time. He was reprimanded and told he must ingest everything when he locked his teeth to avoid drinking those particles which he later spat out. As a result he was forced to drink a second cup.¹⁴² Witnesses said that the taste of the medicine was unpleasant and bitter and in some cases it was so harsh that it caused soreness in the mouth.¹⁴³

136 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019

137 Lamarana Jallow

138 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 14/11/2009; 275 – 289; 348 – 354 page 15-16, 19 (The Alkalo was named Sakarr Kujabi); Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 122 - 136 pages 7-8;

139 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 137 - 139 pages 7-8; Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 14/11/2009; 290 – 258;

140 Testimony of Ansumana Sarjo 20th November 2019 page 23 , line 413- 416

141 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 140 – 171 pages 8 – 9; Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 14/11/2009; 309 – 314; 322 – 327; 362 – 368; pages 14, 17 – 18, (she found Alasana Jarju, Danjan Sowe, Wurry Manneh and Therese Gomez (TRRC Witness) on board the bus. After she was abducted and placed on the bus, she stated that "I had gone there prepared to die" just like her husband had died and leave her children as orphans)

142 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 179 – 181; 202-206; page 10, 11 (the witness was in the last group of people to drink the herbal mixture); Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 395-402; 422 – 430; 467 – 471, 475-476; pages 21, 22 -23, 24-25; Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 638 -662; pages 32-35 (the witness describes the concoction as a green bitter liquid which induced her to vomit after she ingested it.

143 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 912-926 page 47

66. The first batch of victims that were taken away and given the medicine were brought back into the big room where they were all gathered. Witnesses said that it was a terrifying sight to see those who were carried back unconscious and motionless laid on the ground like corpses. One witness, **Therese Bass**, narrates how she fearfully stared at the bodies which she believed had been killed by whatever was in the room they were brought out from, but unfortunately there was no escape for her. **Sonna Bass** also described how victims fell to the ground after drinking the medicine and were no longer in control of themselves. In fact some victims failed to recover from that state until they died.¹⁴⁴ **Ansumana Sarjo** stated that those who first drank the concoction came out hanging their necks like sick chickens. He said that after he drank the medicine, he fell into a state of limbo between life and death and only managed to regain consciousness the next morning around ten (10) am.¹⁴⁵
67. Some victims were intoxicated, vomiting, dizzy, falling down, suffering blurry vision, hallucinating and behaving as if they had lost their minds.¹⁴⁶ Victims were not allowed to drink water or eat any food after drinking the medicine so as not to dilute its strength and lessen its effects.¹⁴⁷ However, it was believed that the medicines potency was diminishing as time passed because those who drank last were not affected as much as those who drank first. **Ansumana Sarjo** explained that he was one of those who drank last. He believed that the people before had already drank the most potent part of the medicine before they arrived.¹⁴⁸
68. Victims were also stripped naked and bathed in a similar herbal concoction. Some victims describe the concoction used to bath them as green, fermented and very smelly.¹⁴⁹ One witness explained that the concoction made her body itch. **Ansuman Sarjo** testified that an old man that may have been about 100 years was asked to strip in front of him and because he was not allowed to leave the room, so he had to face the other way out of respect to avoid seeing the old man's nakedness.¹⁵⁰ Female victims were asked to undress and bathe in front of the witch hunters who were male. **Fatou Sowe** explained how the medicine was poured and rubbed all over her body by a boy young enough to be her son. Another witness **Sonna Bass** explains how she was embarrassed and humiliated by a young person as young as her grandson seeing her nakedness and bathing her.¹⁵¹ Another humiliating experience by the witnesses was being escorted to the toilet by the Green Boys who stood by and watched as they (female victims) squatted to urinate.¹⁵²

144 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 606- 618, 627-632; page 32,33; (the witness was unconscious the entire night after she drank the concoction and she regained consciousness in the morning. She also observed that those who took the concoction fell down unconscious and motionless like corpses); Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 289 - 293 pages 15 (after they made her to drink this Concoction she lay down there motionless. Those who drank first were more severely affected than those who drank last)

145 Testimony of Ansuman Sarjo 20/11/19, line 567-581

146 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 247 -249, 483 – 485; pages 13,25 (the witness said the herbal drink “got to her head”); Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 403 page 21

147 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 404 to 406; page 21; Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 824-845; pages 42-43; ; Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 866-881; pages 45

148 Testimony of Ansuman Sarjo 20/11/19 page 29 line 562-556

149 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 900-911; pages 46-47

150 Testimony of Ansuman Sarjo 20/11/19 page 28 line 492- 496

151 Testimony of Sonna Bass 14/11/19 lines 410 - 411, 415-416 page 22 (The witness stated in unbelief and confusion how men could bath women. She further stated that. Convention dictated that even when a mother is sick her daughters would bathe her and not her sons

152 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 line 251 -254, 266 -274 page 16; Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 408 – 409; pages 21-22 (The witness said she was escorted by a small boy and asked to urinate in his presence)

69. One of the reported effects of the medicine was that it made some victims hyperactive and out of control. Consequently, these victims were moving around so much so that the green boys that were placed in charge of them would kick them with their military boots to trip them up intentionally causing them to fall down. The Green Boys also slapped, kicked and beat victims causing various injuries.¹⁵³ Some victims were beaten so mercilessly by the Green Boys that it caused their eventual death.¹⁵⁴ The witch hunters were aware of the torture that was being carried out by the Green Boys but said or did nothing to stop it.¹⁵⁵
70. The victims were taunted by the Green Boys who would asked them how many people they had eaten. In some cases they threatened and beat victims into confessing that they were witches.¹⁵⁶ Victims were subject to forced detention during the course of the treatment.¹⁵⁷ Some of victims were released on the same day, after they took the medicine whilst the effect was still on them. They were not assisted by their captors and had to make their way home on their own¹⁵⁸ leading to some very strange and dangerous behavior in certain instances and more pain and suffering for victims.¹⁵⁹
71. Some victims spent the night at the Kololi residence they were taken to because they were either not conscious or were not in a position to go home due to some adverse effects associated with the medication.¹⁶⁰ Those who drank the medicine first and where more adversely affected by the medicine spent the night and those who drank the medication last were sent home because the medication affected them less. Those victims who spent the night had to sleep on the bare floor.¹⁶¹
72. On the second day, those who remained there for the night were made to drink and bath with the medicine (s) again. They were not given an opportunity to take a clean bath after being bathed with the smelly concoction or change their dirty clothes. Some of them were also not given food or drink during this time nor were they given an opportunity to pray. When victims were departing, those items that were confiscated from them were not returned. They were released around 7pm in the evening and reached Makumbaya late at night.¹⁶²
73. **Ansumana Sarjo** testified that as soon as the engine of the vehicle started, something ignited in him and that was the last time he felt “any peace in his body”. He started running along the aisle of the bus, saying that the driver was not a good driver and that he was going to kill them. He had to be restrained in his seat by one of the passengers. When he alighted off the bus, the back of his clothes were all torn and ripped off and by the time he arrived home, he had lost his shirt and shoes somewhere along the way, someone returned it to him the next

153 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 lines 214 – 230, 254 – 265, 275 – 285; pages 11 – 12, 13, 14; Testimony of Fatou Fatty 18/11/2019; lines 157- 226 pages 8-9-11 (The witness testified that her mother came back home with an wound on her mouth and a broken teeth. She suffered dizziness and would fall down sometimes. She also exhibited signs of mental illness. Her mouth went limp and she was not able to talk or communicate properly until her death. After she was taken to the hospital, she remained in that state until at the time of her death.)

154 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 line 288- 317; 399 – 409 pages 21; Lansana Darboe died a year after he was beaten and Danjang Sowe died one week after she became consciousness as a result of drinking the herbal concoction; Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 533 – 556; pages 28-29;

155 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 line 307 - 314 pages

156 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 714-735; 762-809 pages 37-38,39-42

157 Testimony of Sonna Bass 14/11/2029 lines 501-502; page 26

158 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; 496 -501; 21-22

159 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2009 line 342 – 371 pages 17 - 19 (); Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 567 – 572 pages 29-

160 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2019; line 338 - 342 pages 17

161 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 14/11/2019 line 431 - 442 page 23;

162 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 951- 976 page 50-51

day. When they arrived in Makumbaya he had no strength left in him. He passed by a shop to buy bread and attaya for his family for dinner but while walking home, the loaf of bread felt as heavy as a bag of rice, and he had to use both hands to carry it on his head. When he arrived home, he asked his wife to brew the *attaya* (green tea) while he ate the entire loaf of bread. He asked for another loaf, which he finished and was still asking for more.¹⁶³

74. **Therese Gomez** narrated that she did not know how she got home because she was so intoxicated from the medicine. It was narrated to her by members of her family that when she arrived at home she was frantic. At first, she tried to snatch her daughter’s infant baby but when her daughter saw the manner in which she was behaving she refused to allow her to touch the baby. Subsequently, she took a bucket and said she was going to her garden that night and her brother’s wife held on to the bucket and prevented her from going. She then went inside her room, brought all her cloths, put them outside and said that she was going to launder them and again her brother’s wife took the clothes away and returned them to the house. When day broke, she went to the fire to warm some water to take a bath and instead placed her hand inside the fire. Her family took her away from the fire and put it off. This continued until the morning. She said that for the next three days, she could not have peace of mind and if it was not for her sister-in-law, she may not have been alive to tell her story after that first night, because at that time she was overcome by the medicine and she did not know what she was doing, but her family understood her and were patient with her through it all.

75. After the release of the victims, they suffered a range of symptoms and mental/physical health complications¹⁶⁴ ranging from headaches,¹⁶⁵ stomach aches,¹⁶⁶ vomiting, joint aches and blurry vision,¹⁶⁷ even though they were in good health before the so called treatment.¹⁶⁸ Witnesses told the Commission that they were not informed of the reasons they were taken to Kololi and made to drink the herbal concoction.¹⁶⁹ However, they suffered the stigma associated with being branded witches in their close knit communities which led to social harassment and exclusion in more serious cases.¹⁷⁰

76. The incident had a serious impact on the lives and livelihood of victims and their families. Many victims lost their means of earning a living because they were no longer fit enough to work.¹⁷¹ They were forced to spend what little money they had on medical treatment although it failed to cure them or did little to alleviate their suffering.¹⁷² Some people also died from health complications related to either drinking the liquid concoction or being tortured during the process of detention and treatment. The victims accused the former **President Yaya Jammeh** of sending the witch hunters to carry out their activities and said that they hold him responsible for the deaths, their pain, suffering and injuries.¹⁷³

163 Testimony of Ansumana Sarjo 20/11/2019 line 721-869
 164 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 390-397; pages 18-19
 165 Testimony of Therese Gomez; 14/11/2009; line 396 - 398 page 24
 166 Testimony of Therese Gomez; 14/11/2009; line 396 - 398 page 24; Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 469-471 page 26; Testimony of Ansumana Sarjo 20/11/2019
 167 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 473-475 pages 26-27
 168 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines; 14/11/2019; lines 119 – 127 573 – 574; 579 -583; 488- 490 pages 7-8,30, 25-26
 169 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines; 498 – 500; 26
 170 Testimony of Therese Gomez;14/11/2019; line 372 – 376; 384 – 398; 422 - 442 pages 19, 20-21; 24 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 597 – 611; page 31
 171 Testimony of Ansumana Sarjo
 172 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2019; line 410 - 419 pages 22
 173 Testimony of Fatou Sowe, Lamarana Jallow and Sukai 19/11/2019; lines 741-752; pages 38-3

77. Those who died among the victims captured from Makumbaya include **Danjan Sowe** who according to witnesses, was unconscious, motionless and speechless after she was forced to drink the herbal concoction until she died a week later, as well as **Lansana Darboe** who was beaten so mercilessly that he died shortly after his ordeal and one **Kemo**.¹⁷⁴

LIST FROM MAKUMBAYA AND BAFULOTO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Amadou Bah | 2. Mariam Bah |
| 3. Sonna Bass | 4. Wuday Ceesay |
| 5. Dusu Fatty | 6. Banna Gomez |
| 7. Therese Gomez | 8. Lama Jallow |
| 9. Sukai Jallow | 10. Ansumana Sarjo |
| 11. Fatou Sowe | |

WITCH-HUNTING IN JAMBUR

78. The witch-hunt in Jambur occurred on the 28th January, 2019.¹⁷⁵ It was similar in nature and pattern to the previous ones in terms of how victims were forcefully abducted and beaten in the process.¹⁷⁶ As in what happened in Makumbaya, some people were told they were sick and whether they agreed or not with the diagnosis or whether they wished to go and be treated or not, they were forced to go. In fact some victims did not know that the sickness that they were being treated for was witchcraft until much later.¹⁷⁷

79. It was the same team of witch hunters assisted and led by **Solo Bojang**¹⁷⁸ and his security detail of soldiers, and Green Boys led by one **Ali Ceesay** of Latriya.¹⁷⁹ In Jambur, the witch-hunting team gained the cooperation of the **Alkalo Kebba and Juju Bojang** who led the group as they went from house to house identifying certain individuals to them for arrest.¹⁸⁰ Initially the youth of the village joined the witch–hunting team until they saw that their own mothers and fathers were also being arrested after which their participation diminished.¹⁸¹ The homes of victims were also searched for Jujus.¹⁸² **Alieu Mbye** testified that he was at a

174 Testimony of Therese Gomez 14/11/2019; line 288- 293, 399 - 406 pages 15, 21 Testimony of Sonna Bass lines 538 – 539 page 28;
 175 Testimony of Abdoulie Bojang; 21/11/2019; lines 495-505; page 23
 176 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 292–305; 17-18; Testimony of Fatou Fatty 18/11/2019; lines 107-112; page 6 (the witness states that her mum Nyima Coteh aka called ‘Bouy Coteh’ was a one of the victims o Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 244 to 245; page 11f the Witch Hunter from Jambur who were forced and threatened with physical force if they refused to go with the witch hunters); Testimony of Alieu Mbye 21/11/2019; lines 142 – page 8; Testimony of Masireh Bojang;20/11/2019; Lines
 177 Testimony of Momodou Kah Bojang; Line 59,328-340; page 4,15
 178 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 92-93; pages 5-6 (the witness stated that Solo Bojang hit his gate with the butt of his gun); Testimony of Alieu Mbye; lines 90-110-189-191; page 5-6, 10
 179 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 128-134; 171 – 174; pages 8-9, 11
 180 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 85-86; page 5; Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 342 -346, 360-376; page 15,16-17; (the Alkalo accused the witness and his invited quests of meeting to destroy or oppose Jammeh’s government; Testimony of Alieu Mbye 21/11/2019; lines 90- 189-190;pages 5 10
 181 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang
 182. Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 351 page 16; Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 270–274; page 16

friend's house when he was confronted with the witch-hunting team who asked him to lead them to his house. Upon arrival there, the witch hunting team searched his house with their mirrors until they noticed a juju hanging on the top of a door and asked the witness to give it to them. He refused saying that he met the juju there and this led to an argument between him and the witch hunters.

80. The witness was asked to bring the juju down, at gun point by **Solo Bojang** who threatened to shoot him if he did not comply. He was also advised by one of the Green Boys to do as he was told to avoid trouble. So he brought it down and when he gave it to the witch Hunter, the witch-hunter declined to accept it and ordered him to hold it and go with them to the *bantaba*. When they arrived at the *bantaba*, others were already there, sitting on the ground. He was then asked to go around in circles and raise and brandish the juju in the air, which according to him he refused to do. He further narrated that he told them that he would rather die than to be asked to do such a perverse thing by associating himself with witchcraft.¹⁸³
81. **Omar Bojang's** house was also searched and something was retrieved underneath a concrete slab in a detached bathroom where he bathed. The witch hunters claimed that it was a bad juju that he had put there. The witch-hunters accused him of making dangerous juju and said that people like him were the reason why the youth in Jambur were not making any progress in life. Even though he tried to protest by asking why he would put bad juju in his own bath, the Witch-hunters turned a deaf ear and ordered him to go with them.
82. They also interrogated him about his visitors who came to pay their last respects to him on the death of his Mother but the Alkalo who was also there, lied to the Witch-hunters and the Green Boys that **Omar Bojang** and his guests were expatriated from Casamance making bad juju with the intention of toppling **Jammeh** and his leadership.¹⁸⁴ However, witnesses explained how the witch-hunt campaign was therefore used as a method to punish perceived opposition to **Jammeh's** administration because Jambur was a UDP stronghold. **Abdoulie Bojang** also testified that he believed the Jambur witch-hunt was politically motivated because the position of Alkaloship which was determined by the communities was politicised.
83. A prayer ritual and charity ceremony was performed at the village cemetery by the witch hunters. The witch-hunters escorted some senior elders to the graveyard where the son of Imam **Bubacarr Bojang** was forced to dig a pit and slaughter a red cock and a red he-goat and their blood emptied into the pit. **Bubacarr** was then asked to recite "Surtatul Iklas" (a Chapter in the Quran) 17 times before being ordered to beat a ritual drum decorated with jujus, charms, mirrors and glasses for another 17 times. The witch hunters buried the red cock in the pit together with a red bottle believed to be containing ritual or spiritual water. The witch hunters however, went away with the slaughtered goat.¹⁸⁵ Afterwards it was declared that anyone who betrayed **Jammeh** would be cursed.¹⁸⁶
84. Those arrested were later taken to the *bantaba* around 2 to 3 pm where they were asked to sit

183 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; 21/11/2019; lines 86- 266; page 5-13
 184 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2009; lines 29-125 pages 3-8; Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 258-269; pages 15- 16
 185 Fabakary B. Ceesay; 26th March 2014 [KAIRO NEWS – Jammeh's Fatal Witchcraft Cleansing](#)
 186 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2009; lines 230 to 238; page 11

on the bare ground whilst other victims were brought to join them.¹⁸⁷ Those who had Jujus seized from their person or their houses were asked to go around the *bantaba* and brandish the said juju in the presence of everyone.¹⁸⁸ The Commission was told that even the imam had his tablet seized by the witch-hunters.¹⁸⁹

85. Around 5pm, they were boarded on a bus and taken to **Baba Jobe's** House in Kololi and they were there till the next day. The experience of victims at Kololi is similar to what was narrated by those from Makumbaya.¹⁹⁰ They were given the concoction to drink in a filthy, smelly and unhygienic room and the cup used to scoop it was one used for the toilet.¹⁹¹ **Sainey Ba Bojang** explained that after he drank the concoction he tried to jump up to get hold of the light bulb and that was when they caught him. He became unconscious thereafter and woke up the next morning trying to give lunch to his children who were not there. He later realized that he was hallucinating and that himself was not aware of what was happening.
86. As in the previous Witch-hunts the medicine produced similar negative health effects¹⁹² although the health complications from the medicine varied from victim to victim¹⁹³ **Masireh Bojang** testified that as soon as she drank the medicine, her stomach started to hurt and she was in so much pain that she was rolling around on the floor. She testified that another woman by the name of **Nanny Bojang** had to stay near the toilet all the time due to acute diarrhea. **Momodou Kah Bojang** explained that as soon as he drank the medicine, he started to urinate continuously. He still has this problem and sometimes feels intense pain from his waist down to his feet and when this occurs, he is unable to walk and has to be carried.¹⁹⁴
87. **Fatou Fatty** testified that her mother could not speak, her tongue was limp and her words were unclear. She remained this way until her death, unable to communicate with her children even though at the time that she was taken away to Kololi, she had no trouble communicating.¹⁹⁵ **Alieu Mbye** stated that what happened at Kololi was "very, very sad because those old women and men, really suffered there. The drug had some mental or psychological effects including hallucinations. They were talking to themselves like mad people and saying things that were not real. In describing the state of the people after taking the concoction, **Alieu Mbye** said, "someone was there who was attempting to bring down the light bulb. Someone was there shouting saying 'let no one eat his couscous'".
88. The drug also had some physical effects. Many of them could not even get up to reach the toilet and therefore some people urinated on themselves while some had diarrhea.¹⁹⁶ After he drank the medicine and he was released to go home, he got very sick to the point of being incapacitated. Conventional medicine did not do much for him so he tried traditional

187 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 382-389; page 17
 188 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; 21/11/2020; lines 199; page 10
 189 Fabakary B. Ceesay; 26th March 2014 [KAIRO NEWS – Jammeh's Fatal Witchcraft Cleansing](#)
 190 Fatou Fatty narrated how her mother came back from the Witch-hunt with a wounded mouth and broken teeth which she believed must have been caused by the fall after she drank the medicine
 191 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; lines 21/11/2019; lines 334-365; page 16-17
 192 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/01/2019; lines 293-296; page 14; Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 383-386; page 22 (witness also said he was urinating a lot. He denied that the medicine made them loose their minds or made them speak incomprehensible things even though it had an intoxicating effect and some went unconscious; Fatou Fatty stated that Kubejaro made people go mad
 193 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 390-397; pages 18-19; Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2009; lines 473-475 pages 26-27
 194 Testimony of Momodou Kah Bojang; 20/11/2019; lines 258-259, 302-311; page 12,13
 195 Testimony of Fatou Fatty 18/11/19 line 194- 258
 196 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; 21/11/2019; lines 416-456; page 20-21

treatment. The medicine they gave him made him vomit and he saw living organisms walking about in his vomit. Thereafter, lumps also developed all over his body.¹⁹⁷ Victims also suffered the social stigma attached to the accusation of Witchcraft in their communities.¹⁹⁸ **Momodou Kah Bojang** testified that he was angry at being wrongly accused of witchcraft because of the stain to his reputation. The incident had an impact on the whole Community of Jambur because it was a close knit society where most of them were related to each other and it was used as a political tool to divide them.¹⁹⁹ The witnesses blamed **Jammeh** for the Witch-hunt and the associated hardship, pain, suffering, injuries and death.

89. The most extensive list of people captured at Jambur was given by **Alieu Mbye** as the number recorded by Sol after they drank the concoction at Kololi.²⁰⁰ **Abdoulie Bojang** recorded about 62 names of individuals captured at Sintet²⁰¹. According to the witness, 32 survived and 18 died shortly after the incident.²⁰² The witness also submitted a Foroya Newspaper Article from 9th to 10th February 2009 with the headline “Jamburians Narrate Their Ordeal: the article indicated that 60 individuals were abducted including the Imam and Elders.

LIST OF THOSE WHOSE DEATHS ARE ATTRIBUTED TO THE WITCH HUNTING EXERCISE IN JAMBUR

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Lamin Dandang Bah ²⁰³ | 2. Momodou Kumba Bah ²⁰⁴ |
| 3. Dembo Jaring (Jariatou) Bojang ²⁰⁵ | 4. Ma Sabou Bojang |
| 5. Adama Camara. ²⁰⁶ | 6. Saikou Camara |
| 7. Lamin Cham | 8. Mangikey Cham |
| 9. Mbanyick Cham ²⁰⁷ | 10. Bui Korteh/ Burie Coutra |
| 11. Korsa Darboe | 12. Wassa Darboe ²⁰⁸ |
| 13. Mamba Jamba ²⁰⁹ | 14. Lamin Jammeh (Senior) ²¹⁰ |
| 15. Kaddy Jatta | 16. Kaddy Makung Jatta ²¹¹ |
| 17. Mamadou Kumba | 18. Kebba Saidy ²¹² |

197 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; 21/11/2019; lines 518-564; 24-26
 198 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 398-423; pages 19-20
 199 Testimony of Abdoulie Bojang; 21/11/2019; lines 637- 672; page 29-31
 200 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; 21/11/2019; lines 289-303; page 15
 201 Testimony of Abdoulie Bojang 21/11/2019; lines 563- 635; page 26-29
 202 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 390-402; page 17-18 (Abdoulaye Bojang recorded the number); Testimony of Abdoulie Bojang; 21/11/2019; lines 552 -638; pages 25-29;
 203 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 554 - page 31 (the victim was the grandson of the witness); Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 402, 409-410; page 19
 204 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 559 – page; 31; Testimony of Momodou Kah Bojang; lines 386 – 388; page 17 (the witness stated that the victim died of stomach complications)
 205 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 553 - page 31 (the victim was the nephew of the witness. Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 402, 409-410; page 19; Testimony of 21/11/2019; lines 664-666; page 30 (the victim was the Chairman of the VDC)
 206 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 403; page 19 (The victim was the wife of Saikou Camara above in footnote 122)
 207 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 403; page 19
 208 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 402, 413-414; page 19
 209 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang line 405-406 p.19
 210 Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 403, 407-408; page 19
 211 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 552 - page 31; Testimony of Momodou Kah Bojang 20/11/2019; lines 389-391; page 17 (Victim died after she ingested the concoction)
 212 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 528-533; page 23 (the victim died in Cassamance where he was from shortly after the treatment)

LIST OF SICK VICTIMS

1. **Amadou Tijan Saidy Kartong**
 2. **Na Amie Bojang – ²¹³**
 3. **Momodou Kah Bojang ²¹⁴**
 4. **Sainabou Sanneh – disabled²¹⁵**
 5. **Ma Sirreh/Sirreh Bojang – incapacitated²¹⁶**
 6. **Karamo Bojang**
 7. **Arafang Yahya Bojang –**
 8. **Lamin Touray²¹⁷**
 9. **Amadou Tijan Saidy²¹⁸**
90. There was one case of rape reported by **Kemo Nabou Bojang** who wrote a statement on behalf of his mother **Sainabou Sanneh** stating that his mother was abducted by Witch Hunters in Jambur, taken to Kololi and raped by the Witch Hunters.
91. According to the testimony of witnesses, there was as general feeling of helplessness and people had no help or place to turn to.²¹⁹ After the Witch Hunt in Jambur, the Youth were angry about their parents being accused of Witchcraft, taken away, drugged, humiliated and maltreated. The **Alkalo Kebba Bojang** was largely blamed and he also claimed that those youths who blamed him burned down his home. Although it is not clear whether these accusations are valid or not and if they did it in vengeance for what happened to their parents. One **Morro Gassama** was arrested and detained by the police for three months as a result of this accusation.²²⁰
92. **Anusmana Sarjo** was arrested and taken to the Police HQ after he granted an interview to **Halifa Sallah** about his experience during the witch-hunting campaign and was later detained at the NIA where he was interrogated by the former IGP after he (the former IGP) arrested **Halifa** and brought him to the NIA and detained him there for covering the story of the witch hunt at Makumbaya. During his detention his statement was taken, but when he tried to give a narration about the green boys he was asked to keep quiet about their activities. He was released shortly thereafter and asked to make his way home without any assistance. He had no money for transport and was able to get back home at dawn only with much difficulty.²²¹
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- 213 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 566 -569; page 31; Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 415-416; page 20; Testimony for Momodou Kah Bojang 20/11/2019; lines 392-393; page 17
 214 Testimony for Momodou Kah Bojang 20/11/2019; lines 258-311; pages 12-14
 215 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 570 – 573; page 32
 216 Testimony of Dembo Mamo Bojang 18/11/2019; lines 593 - page 31; Testimony of Sainey Ba Bojang 19/11/2019; lines 419-420; page 20; Testimony of Masireh Bojang 20/11/2019; lines 12-38; pages 2-3
 217 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 534 – 544; page 23 (the victim was seriously ill in hospital during the time testimony was given by the witness)
 218 Testimony of Omar Bojang; 18/11/2019; lines 545-553 pages 23 -24; (The victim is now hard of hearing which was not the case before the treatment).
 219 Testimony of Alieu Mbye; 21/11/2019; lines 546-549; page 25
 220 Testimony of Momodou Kah Bojang; 20/11/2019; lines 351-378; page 16-19
 221 Testimony of Anusmana Sarjo 20/11/2019 (

93. After the witch hunting exercise in Jambur, some victims were interviewed by **Halifa Sallah**, leading to their arrest and detention. **Ansumana Sarjo** from Makumbaya testified that he was arrested and taken to the office of the former IGP and later detained at the NIA after he gave an interview to **Halifa Sallah** about his witch-hunting ordeal. He also testified that whilst he was detained at the NIA, **Halifa Sallah** was also arrested.²²² .
94. The witness stated that **Yahya Jammeh** called him former IGP **Ensa Badjie** and instructed him to go after **Halifa Sallah** because he had a recorder. He refused to carry out the order for about a week, then **Jammeh** called him and cautioned him that if he (**Jammeh**) gave a directive and the former IGP refused to implement it, he would “*regret the day his mother gave birth to him*”. **Ensa Badjie** said that was why he ordered the arrest of **Halifa Sallah**. According to him, **Yahya Jammeh** sent men to verify if indeed his orders had been carried out. He said that he handed **Halifa Sallah** over to the former Director of the NIA, **Louis Gomez**, and informed him that **Jammeh** asked him to hand over **Halifa** to the NIA and they should await further directives from **Jammeh**. **Halifa Sallah** was later charged with spying and sedition. However, the case was withdrawn.²²³

F. WITCH HUNTING EXERCISE IN ESSAU AND BARRA LOWER NUIMI

95. The witch hunt exercise in Essau and Barra was conducted on Sunday the 8th day of February, 2009.²²⁴ It is also believed to have been conducted on the instructions of the former **President Jammeh**.²²⁵ It took a similar path as the previous ones, albeit with its own peculiarities.
96. As in most of the cases, victims who were accused of being witches and wizards were mainly elderly.²²⁶ However, pregnant women, nursing mothers and children were not spared.²²⁷ Victims were captured from their homes and other public areas in Essau and Barra²²⁸ by a similar team of witch hunters from Guinea and their entourage of Gambian Soldiers, Green Boys and Para Military.²²⁹ The team was headed by prominent soldiers from the State House including **Solo Bojang, Saihou Jallow and Salifu Corr** based in Barra who were all believed to be part of **Jammeh’s** notorious hit and torture squad known as the Junglers.²³⁰ A cameraman was also part of the entourage.²³¹

222 Testimony of Ansuma Sarjo; 20th November, 2021; Lines 721-787, 821-874; pages 39-43, 45-48
 223 [Refworld | Gambia: ‘Witch hunt’ shows worsening human rights](#); 18th March, 2009
 224 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 110-115; page 6; Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 55-100; pages 4-6
 225 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 110-115; page 6; Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 137-163; pages 7-8; Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 291-311 page 14-15
 226 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 449-452; page 21; Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 115-117; pages 6
 227 Testimony of Neneh Babou (As a result of the treatment, she experienced pain and suffering and later lost her baby) and Sankung Balajo and Mba Jai Drammeh (narrated how she lost her step daughter who was the mother of suckling twins and other children as a result of the concoction she drank); Lamin Jobarteh
 228 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines ...; pages ...
 229 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 121-147,151-163 pages 7-8-9; Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 123-154; pages 7-8
 230 Testimony of Alhajie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 36-92,118 -132;pages 4-7,8-9; Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 149-197 page 8-10
 231 Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 200-202 page 10

97. The witch hunters, similar to the other regions used their special mirrors to search compounds and people and identify purported witches and wizards.²³² In some cases they seem to be looking for particular individuals who were either listed or not.²³³ In other cases they searched for items buried under the ground which they unearthed and the victims were forced to brandish those items whilst they paraded them in the streets for everyone to see.²³⁴ Some victims were also taken away voluntarily for treatment although after they agreed they were not allowed to change their minds and were subsequently detained against their will.²³⁵
98. However in this region the local Police Station, it’s Officer **Commanding (OC) Jawo** and his officials were also involved in assisting the Witch Hunters and their team. The security apparatus was present to enforce the instructions of the Witch Hunters and secure their victims.²³⁶ They beat those who did not comply.²³⁷ **Lamin Ceesay** was one of those who was slapped several times, severely beaten, gun butted, handcuffed and shoved inside the bus by **Saihou Jallow** and a group of about 10 -15 Green boys including **Omar Jawo**, the OC Barra Police Station because he dared to object to his parents being taken away.²³⁸ He sustained injuries to his nose and mouth. In that commotion his parents and some other elders managed to escape and he was taken instead.²³⁹ The Witch Hunters and their group were based at the Bantaba where vehicles were parked and their victims (captured from around the village), brought to the Bantaba.²⁴⁰ There was drumming, singing and dancing going on at the Bantaba by the Green Boys and Girls.²⁴¹
98. There was a big, wide, long “MAN” bus parked at the Bantaba not far from the Station. It was filled to capacity and the victims were boarded and transported to Barra²⁴² escorted by the soldiers, Green Boys and the witch hunters.²⁴³ The bus departed around five (5) pm.²⁴⁴ when they arrived at Barra, they were taken to Fort Bullen, Barra by the ocean front²⁴⁵ by **OC Jawo, Saihou Jallow, Salifu Corr** and other military and security personnel.²⁴⁶ Other people who were arrested by the Witch Hunters at Barra as alleged witches and wizards were marched to the bus to join those who were brought from Barra on board the bus.²⁴⁷ Those who were captured in Barra included **Pa Alagie Tabora Manneh, Mary Taal, Rohey Faye and Alhajie Baboucarr Faye**.²⁴⁸

232 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 146-166; pages 8-9
 233 Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 284-291,322-328; page 14, 15-16
 234 Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2021; Lines 57-258, 328-370 pages 4-13,16-18; Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 333-371; page 16-18
 235 Testimony of Jainaba Sonko; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 84 -205; page 5-10; Neneh Babou
 236 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines ...; pages ...
 237 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 167-187; page 9-10
 238 Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba Jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 421-450 page 20-21
 239 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 222-269; pages 11-13; Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 126-221;pages 7-10 (The witness was able to identify his assailant Saihou Jallow as Picture No. 1, from 5 pictures numbered one to five that were shown to him exhibited as 105)
 240 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 148-149 page 8;
 241 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 215 218; page 11; Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 117-129; page 7
 242 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 183-185, 272-280, pages 9, 13 and 14-15; Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 214-216; page 11; Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; Lines 319-322; pages 16
 243 Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 482-485; pages 22-23
 244 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 196 -200; page 10; Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 222-223; page 10; Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 473-481; pages 22
 245 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 234; pages 12
 246 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 291-303; page 13-14; Testimony of Sankung Balajo and Aja Mba jai Drammeh; 4th December, 2019; Lines 473-481; pages 22
 247 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 236-287; page 11-13
 248 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 214-276; page 13-17

99. **Alhajie Baboucarr Faye** whose father was captured by the Witch Hunters, taken to **Baba Jobe's** residence and made to drink the concoction, was asked to report to the Barra Police Station. He testified that when he arrived, the Station was heavily guarded by military personnel. When he arrived he was arrested by **OC Jawo** with the assistance of other police personnel including one **Pa Wally Njie** a Police Sergeant who then handed him over to **Salifu Corr. Corr** later collected him in a pick-up truck with other armed soldiers and drove him to Fort Bullen where he met the others arrested in Barra. He was subsequently detained there in a sheep pen under poor conditions which was secured with an armed guard.
100. **Lamin Ceesay** was made to alight from the bus in Fort Bullen and he was the only one who remained there with about 20-30 soldiers.²⁴⁹ **Saihou Jallow** took him to a small room and he was asked to say his last prayers at gun point. Afterwards, some more soldiers were called, they held his hands and his legs and whilst he was suspended in the air, all of them (about 20-30) beat him with canes, sticks and pipes all over his body. When they were finished with him, he was injured and bleeding from his mouth and other parts of his body, and his clothes were soaked in blood. This was all done in the presence of **OC Jawo** who kept insulting him during the entire process for having the audacity to interfere with the process and say that his parents will not be taken.²⁵⁰ After **Lamin Ceesay** was released to go home, **Captain Jatta** (who was in charge of the Barra Barracks) came to apologise on behalf of his men who were assisting the Witch hunting team, saying that he had no other choice.²⁵¹
101. Witnesses estimate that the number of victims on the bus was about 50-100.²⁵² Subsequently they were brought to **Baba Jobe's** residence in Kololi around 8/9pm.²⁵³ according to witnesses²⁵⁴ the residence was manned by armed guards including the green boys, to prevent those detained there from escaping.²⁵⁵ Just like the other victims of the Witch-hunts who were identified as witches and wizards, they were made to queue, their names were taken down and their properties seized.²⁵⁶ The victims were all detained in the big hall regardless of whether they were men or women.²⁵⁷ They were offered food and although some refused, they were advised that eating would mitigate some of the effects of the medication. They were later called out one by one into a small room or building resembling a toilet and forcefully given the concoction to drink.²⁵⁸ The witch hunters were assisted by soldiers and green boys who would force compliance.²⁵⁹ The commission was told that even if victims could not finish the quantity given to them, they were forced to finish it and even chew and swallow the remaining leaves and other remnants in the cup.²⁶⁰
102. Witnesses testified that the bitter herbal concoction²⁶¹ was contained in a large container
- 249 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 430-442; page 25
 250 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 287-361; page 13-16
 251 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 370-394; page 16-17
 252 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 443-462; page 25-26
 253 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 260-295; pages 12-14 (The Witness husband was detained for 5 days at Baba Jobes house); Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 320-331; pages 15-16
 254 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 329-335; page 16
 255 6 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 336- 347; page 16
 256 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 467-486; page 27-28
 257 Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 306-308; page 15
 258 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 501 to 503; page 29; Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 306-308; page 15
 259 Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; lines 447-455 Pages 21
 260 Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 306-308, 312-323; page 15-16
 261 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines ..; pages ...

measured in big cups and given to victims to drink.²⁶² Witnesses described the intoxicating effect it had on them²⁶³. Furthermore, some suffered from diarrhea²⁶⁴, others vomiting or nausea,²⁶⁵ while some rolled around groaning, and exhibiting other symptoms.²⁶⁶ Witnesses said that after they drank and bathed in it, they were monitored by the Green Boys who were listening to anything they had to say.²⁶⁷ Like the previous victims, the concoction affected their state of health.²⁶⁸ Some of the victims were also beaten and maltreated after they took the concoction and started behaving strangely. Some of them were asked to walk and when they could not do so properly, due to the intoxicating effect of the medicine, they were beaten. They sustained injuries as a result that affected their health.²⁶⁹ A nylon bag was put over the head of the Alkalo of Barra who was over eighty (80) years old in his intoxicated state whilst being questioned after being given the concoction to drink twice.

103. **Jainaba Sonko** also stated that she was restrained by two men in civilian clothes whilst a third held a plastic bag over her head until she started to shiver and become dizzy²⁷⁰ they were also pushed over and deliberately made to fall.²⁷¹ The victims who did not exhibit any symptoms from the drug or did not appear to be intoxicated where released the next day.²⁷² The others were detained over several nights.²⁷³ Those who appeared intoxicated by the medication were given a second dose of the medicine.²⁷⁴ The effect of the medication on them was shocking and gruesome. Many became unconscious²⁷⁵ while some vomited on themselves, others urinated and defecated and were found in very humiliating circumstances.²⁷⁶ They were detained under very poor conditions and made to sit and lie on the bare floor.²⁷⁷
104. After the victims were released, they were given fares to go home²⁷⁸ but the combined effects of the concoction and maltreatment lead to the death of some victims.²⁷⁹ Others developed serious long term health complications.²⁸⁰ Responsibility for those conditions and deaths were attributed mainly to **Jammeh** by victims.²⁸¹ It is clear from the evidence heard by the

262 Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 309-314; page 15
 263 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 431 to 435; page 19
 264 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 431 to 435; page 19
 265 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 715-720; page 40
 266 Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 289-299; page 14; Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; lines 244-246 Pages 21
 267 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 456-472; pages 21-22
 268 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 346-354,367-372; pages 17-18
 269 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 302-362; pages 15-17; Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 338-392; page 16-19
 270 Testimony of Alhajie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 135-195page 9-12; Testimony of Jainaba Sonko; lines 246-266; pages 12-13
 271 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines ..; pages ...
 272 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 513-515 ; pages 24
 273 Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines ..; pages ...; Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 423-427; page 20
 274 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 572-633; page 33-35
 275 Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 331-347, 393-413; page 16-17,19
 276 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 656-702; page 37-39; Testimony of Jainaba Sonko; lines 364-368; pages 12-13
 277 Testimony of Jainaba Sonko; lines 355-368; pages 17; Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 439-446; page 21; Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2021; 423- 434; page 20
 278 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 704-710; page 39-40
 279 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 390-399; pages 18-19; Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 497-564; page 23-26
 280 Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 730-915; page 40-50; Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; lines 596-642, Pages 27-29
 281 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 400-417; pages 19-20

commission that the witch-hunt exercise had a serious impact on victims and their families.²⁸² A special case is that of **Ali Marr** who was captured with members of his family including a sick brother (who was carried away in a wheel barrow) and a sister. He left behind his sick son and a donkey which was invaluable to his livelihood and by the time he returned, both his sick son and the donkey had died because he could not leave anyone behind to care for them. Within a short period of time, his parents also died.²⁸³ Victims like **Marr** blame **Jammeh** for their ordeal.²⁸⁴ **Lamin Ceesay** provided a list of 32 names of victims who had been captured in Essau and Barra and taken to Kololi in **PIS Exhibit 106**. The list of 32 names included 8 deceased.²⁸⁵ **Buba Jarjue** also tendered a PIS with a list of 17 names of those that were captured and taken to Kanilai.

105. **Lamin Jorbateh** the 16 year old that was abducted had this to say about the stigma he faces after the incident: *“Some students were looking at me and they were even pointing at me, saying that look at this man he is also a wizard and that they took him away, they said they took me away. Even later on if I have any argument or issue with somebody in the class that is what they always tell me. I cannot concentrate when I am in class because I think when I go out how people will look at me, how they will approach me. Because I know that one day, they will even say things to me”*²⁸⁶. The witness latter dropped out of school as he could not cope with the stigma and that also affected his mental health
106. **Omar Jawo** was the Officer Commanding Barra Police Station and the most Senior Officer on the ground during the Barra/Essau Witch-hunt. Witnesses testified that he arrived in the community with a convoy of double cabin vehicles carrying **Solo Bojang** from the State Guard, **Salifou Corr** and **Saikou Jallow** (both soldiers close to Jammeh and posted at Barra) pulled up at the entrance of the Barra Police Station (Station). He also saw four to five witch-doctors dressed in red with mirrors. According to **Omar Jawo**, he was approached by **Solo Bojang**, who said he had been sent by **Jammeh** to Barra and Essau the north bank to catch the witches and wizards.” He was surprised because he was not aware of any laws at the time about witches and wizards. He then called then Police Commissioner **Kebba Jammeh** about the situation. The commissioner told him that the same group had come to Police HQ the previous week and that the former IGP, their superior, had complied with their orders. **Kebba Jammeh** advised him to comply with the Witch Hunters and he protested that this was an unlawful order. However, he admitted that carrying out unlawful orders was unlawful in and of itself. He said he was given an indirect order from Solo to participate in the operation. According to him, in those years when someone said ‘**Jammeh said this**’ you are not even to question”. He said that under the previous regime, even if you did not want to do something, you must do it. Officers had to be loyal to avoid suffering.
107. The witness admitted that he was the most senior police officer in the region and gave the whole witch-hunting process an official stamp of approval. However, he insisted that he was an unwilling participant in the arrest of the late Alkalo **Kenbugul Faye**, **Lamin Ceesay**,

282 Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 418-436; pages 20; Testimony of Tabara Jobe Jawo; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 537-589; pages 25-27; Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; lines 244-246 Pages 21

283 Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; lines 568-603; Pages 25-26

284 Testimony of Ali Marr; 4th December, 2019; lines 643-655 Pages 23=24

285 Testimony of Lamin Ceesay; 2nd December, 2019; lines 129-135 444 -483; pages 7, 19-21; Testimony of Amie Njie; 2nd December, 2019; Lines 79, 110-116, 272-280 pages 5,6-7, 13 and 14; Testimony of Jainaba Sonko; lines 300-304; page 15; Testimony of Adama Gassama; 4th December, 2019; Lines 48-51; page 3- Testimony of Alagie Baboucarr Faye; 3rd December, 2019; Lines 911-915; page 50

286 Testimony of Lamin Jorbateh 5th December 2019 page 31, line 558-563

elderly men, pregnant and nursing mothers, and a 16-year-old boy. Although witnesses testified that he seemed to have happily complied, but he denied those allegations.

108. **Jawo** stated that he was powerless to stop the Witch-hunt. When it was put to him that he was not forced to participate and that he was more than an innocent bystander, his response did not clarify to what extent he participated in the arrest of **Alhajie Faye** and **Lamin Ceesay**. He did acknowledge that he was in **Sankung Balajo’s** compound with the witch hunters when he was arrested and that he was present for the arrest of others. However, he portrayed himself as part of a group, which he said included **Salifou Corr**, **Saikou Jallow**, and the Witch-hunters. He accepted that he was the only person in the group with the statutory power to arrest, and that he participated in an illegal activity, but he argued that the conditions were forced on him.
109. When he was asked about **Lamin Ceesay’s** torture, he responded that he only saw **Lamin Ceesay** and **Saihou Jallow** after **Lamin Ceesay** was already in handcuffs and he heard noise of a scuffle when he got down from his vehicle. He denied being present. He was not present when **Lamin Ceesay** was being beaten. When he was confronted with the testimony of **Lamin Ceesay** that he was present when he had his altercation with **Saikou Jallow**, he denied it. Contrary to the evidence of **Lamin Ceesay** and other witnesses, he denied that he saw soldiers, **Lamin ceesay** or his injuries afterwards. **Jawo** agreed that **Lamin Ceesay** was taken to Fort Bullen and he was present there but denied that he participated in his beating there. He later denied that he was in the Fort itself but rather in the general vicinity. He denied insulting **Ceesay** or telling him that he was disobeying **Jammeh**. In response to whether he called **Alagie Faye** to his office to lure him into getting arrested he said that he actually did it to protect him from being publicly disgraced. He also testified that he accompanied the accused to **Baba Jobe’s** house in Kololi and saw victims in very bad conditions there.
110. Despite the evidence from witnesses in all the Witch hunts who consistently testify having been beaten, **Saihou Jallow** denied that ever occurred except on one incident involving **Solo Bojang** and his Aunt in the village of Karo. He also denied that he beat and tortured Lamin Ceesay, stating that he was not present in Essau. According to him, he subsequently went to Barra after he was informed about the arrest and released those detained at Fort Bullen. **Saihou Jallow** admitted to only **two (2)** deaths during the witch hunting exercise whereas the evidence indicated about forty one (41) deaths are attributed to the witch hunt. The evidence suggests that he may have been trying to reduce the gravity of the witch-hunt and in particular his individual responsibility and participation in it. He stated that he tried to stop **Jammeh** from pursuing the Witch-hunt because people were dying as a result of drinking the herbal concoction, but **Jammeh** refused to stop because of the influence of **Solo Bojang**.
111. **Jawo** admitted that he participated in the arrest of innocent Gambian civilians and in branding them as witches and wizards and he admitted that it was unlawful to corral people and accuse them of witchcraft.
112. The evidence from witnesses indicated that at least forty one (41) people across the affected communities died from the impact of the treatment although it is likely that the victims far exceeded that formal number but due to the stigma of being branded a witch in Gambian culture, many declined to testify or were unaccounted for. All of the victims that testified as well as others mentioned in their testimonies suffered serious short and long term health complications in addition to living with the stigma of being labelled a witch in their local

communities and ostracized. Only one witness reported a case of rape during the witch-hunting exercise. The witch hunting exercise targeted elderly men and women in various communities, the youngest victim of the witch hunt was 16 years old.

113. The witch hunting incidents in the various regions resulted in serious human rights violations and abuses against a large proportion of victims. The fact that one was accused of being a witch is a violation, given that the individual was stigmatized by society and treated with contempt. Additionally, people were being taken forcefully from their homes with armed men and been assaulted. In the Gambian culture, it is a shameful thing for an elderly person to be seen naked by young people. The witch hunting exercise exposed elderly men and women to this humiliation. The hallucinating effect of the concoction they were forced to drink led to temporal insanity for some victims. The effects of the herbs also caused permanent damage to some witnesses. From the force of the witch hunting and the entourage that ensured its success, it can be said that it was a state sponsored witch hunt. It is evident from the testimonies and statements of witnesses and victims that the orders for the 2008 and 2009 Witch-hunt came directly from the former **President Yahya Jammeh** himself.
114. However, many others who played various roles in the Witch Hunt were also mentioned by witnesses. It is also evident that the violations were personally orchestrated by these individuals with the knowledge of **Jammeh**. The Witnesses who testified as to the 2008 witch hunt in Sintet confirmed that the witch hunting team lead by the **Witch Doctor Tambajiro** and **Solo Bojang** were sent by Jammeh. In fact, some witnesses also stated that Jammeh spoke directly to them during the smoking ritual ceremony and personally accused some of those identified as Wizards. **Saihou Jallow** admitted that without a shadow of a doubt, **Jammeh** ordered the Witch-hunts in Kanilai, Karone, Dorbong, Bajaga, Sintet, Makumbaya and Jambur and was responsible for the suffering of hundreds of Gambians who were identified and labeled as witches and given the concoction leading to some deaths. He was also in charge of the witch hunts.
115. The former IGP gave the impression that he was an innocent bystander or a mere subordinate under the forceful command of **Jammeh** the Commander in Chief as he puts it during the witch hunting exercise at the Police Headquarters rather than taking a leading role or being **Jammeh's** accomplice and tried to extricate himself from responsibility even though some inconsistent statements suggest that he had more control over the situation and knew much more than he was letting on.. From the evidence, it can be deduced that there was a desire attempt to cover up the impact of the witch-hunt and conceal the gravity of what really happened especially in the provinces.
116. The fact that **Halifa Sallah** was arrested, detained and his recorder destroyed when he tried to uncover the story is also a clear indication of the intention from the government to conceal evidence and ensure that what really happened did not come out. Some of the evidence also points to the fact that the witch-hunt was used to persecute personal enemies and execute personal vendettas against individuals with impunity as in Sintet whose Alkalo was targeted and Jambur, which was considered an opposition territory. The testimony of the witnesses were also corroborated by reliable media sources including the Foroyaa newspaper in which **Halifa Sallah** reported that he was arrested on March 15, 2009 by the former IGP and later detained at the NIA in connection with his probing and speaking out against the witch-hunt after he was accused of meddling or interfering with the issue.

G. FINDINGS

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

1. Former **President Yahya Jammeh, Solo Bojang**, the security forces, witch hunters and Green Boys are all individually and collectively responsible for ordering the persecution, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, inhumane and degrading and sexual gender-based violence treatment of hundreds of persons, leading to about forty one (41) deaths during the 2009 witch-hunting exercise. These persons have been incapacitated and many are still suffering from physical and mental ailments as a result of the concoctions they drank and the terrible treatment meted out against them. Branding them as witches and wizards has resulted in them being stigmatised and discriminated against for the rest of their lives.
2. **Yahya Jammeh** is held responsible for the forced labour of several people in the Fonis and other areas in his home village Kanilai. Some individuals who assisted him deserve special mention and must also be held responsible for their role in the witch-hunts. These are:
3. **Solo Bojang** and those soldiers who participated in the unlawful beating of his aunt/stepmother after accusing her of witchcraft thereby resulting in her unlawful death.
4. **Tambajiro, Solo Bojang, Sulayman (Solomon) Manga** and **Toffee Manga** are held individually and collectively responsible for ordering the persecution, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, inhumane and degrading treatment of hundreds of persons during a series of Witch-hunts in Sintet in 2008 under the instructions of **Jammeh**
5. **Saihou Jallow** unlawfully assaulted, and tortured **Lamin Ceesay** and participated in the Essau and Barra witch hunts under the instructions of Jammeh.
6. **Ensa Badjie**, participated in the Banjul Police Force witch hunt with the security forces, witch hunters and Green Boys under the instructions of **Jammeh** and he should be held responsible for ordering the persecution, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of police officers during the 2009 witch-hunting exercises who have been incapacitated, sick and are suffering, in pain, stigmatised and branded as witches and wizards for the rest of their lives.
7. **Omar Jawo** as the most senior member of the police in the North Bank Region participated in the Witch-hunt **and** unlawful arrests, detention, assault and beating and torture of **Lamin Ceesay** leading to the persecution, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of hundreds of persons, leading to 40 deaths or even much more during the 2009 witch-hunting exercises who have been rendered incapacitated, sick, suffering, in pain, stigmatised and branded as Witches and Wizards for the rest of their lives.
8. **Tamsir Bah** the OC of Sibanor Police Station in 2009 unlawfully arrested and detained **Nyima Jarju**, and her mother-in-law **Fatou Bojang** in 2009 during the Sintet Witch Hunt.
9. From the testimonies of witnesses, the drinking of the concoction administered by the Witch hunters and assisted by the green boys has led to death and life threatening diseases.
10. The witch hunt exercise brought out to the open an entrenched belief in the notion of witchcraft, witches and wizards resulting in the stigmatization and discrimination against victims.

H. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the evidence gathered, the Commission recommends the following:-

1. The prosecution of **Yahya Jammeh, Solo Bojang** and **Saikou Jallow** for the murder, manslaughter of forty one (41) individuals (**Jamburr (18), Sintet (13), Makumbuya (2),** and **Essau (8)** who died as a result of being targeted and forced to drink toxic concoctions which resulted in all the deaths.
2. The prosecution of **Yahya Jammeh, Solo Bojang, Ensa Badjie, Tambajiro, Saikou Jallow, Omar Jawo** for the inhumane and degrading treatment and torture inflicted on the victims during the witch hunting exercise.
3. The referral of **Tamsir Bah** to The Gambia Police Force high command for disciplinary measure for his role in the unlawful arrest and detention of **Nyima Jarju**, her baby and her mother-in-law **Fatou Bojang** in 2009 during the Sintet Witch Hunting exercise.
4. **Ensa Badjie, Omar Jawo** and should be banned from serving in the security services or holding any public office in the civil service or government in general.
5. Consideration be given to passing of legislation to criminalise labelling individuals as witches because of the societal stigma attached to it.
6. Training of security personnel to be able to know and appreciate the negative impact of witchcraft in society and how damaging it is to persons being accused of being witches/ wizards.
7. The National Council for Civic Education (NCCE), Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education (MOBSE) and Civil Society Organizations engage in advocacy and awareness programmes to sensitize the public and local communities to change the mindset and attitudes regarding the stigma attached to Witch Craft so as to remove negative impacts against persons accused of being witches, wizards and witchcraft.
8. That guideline be provided to prevent security forces being used to carry out unlawful orders.

