Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (TRRC) Digest, Edition 4
The Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (TRRC) is mandated to investigate and establish an impartial historical record of the nature, causes and extent of violations and abuses of human rights committed during the period of July 1994 to January 2017 and to consider the granting of reparations to victims and for connected matters. It started public hearings on 7th January 2019 and will proceed in chronological order, examining the most serious human rights violations that occurred from 1994 to 2017 during the rule of former President Yahya Jammeh. While the testimonies are widely reported in the press and commented on social media, triggering vivid discussions and questions regarding the current transitional process in the country, a summary of each thematic focus/event and its findings is missing.

The TRRC Digests seek to widen the circle of stakeholders in the transitional justice process in The Gambia by providing Gambians and interested international actors, with a constructive recount of each session, presenting the witnesses and listing the names of the persons mentioned by witnesses during testimonies and – as the case may be – their current position within State, regional or international institutions.

Furthermore, the Digests endeavor to highlight trends and patterns of human rights violations and abuses that occurred and as recounted during the TRRC hearings. In doing so, the TRRC Digests provide a necessary record of information and evidence uncovered – and may serve as “checks and balances” at the end of the TRRC’s work.

After each release, the Digests are translated into Fula, Jola, Mandika and Wolof, and transmitted over local radio stations. In addition to translation and transmission of the Digests, ANEKED and The Point Newspaper facilitate panel discussions which aim to engage journalists, activists, victims, politicians and the general public to expand on the themes of the sessions, the trends and patterns arising as well as how the country can learn from the findings to prevent such atrocities in the future (#NeverAgain).
DISCLAIMER

The current publication IS NOT a document emanating from the TRRC. It is produced by ANEKED and The Point Newspaper.

The information in this publication has been compiled from live testimonies given at the TRRC hearings. Great care has been taken to accurately represent the verbal testimonies, however errors cannot be fully excluded.

Please note that the culpability of any person mentioned by witnesses during testimonies in relation to human rights violations committed can only be established by a competent court and all are presumed innocent until proven otherwise.

Discrepancies and conflicting testimonies are highlighted at the end of the Digest.

CORRECTION STATEMENT

In the first edition of the Digest, it was stated under the profile of Mamat Cham that he was taken to Mile 2 and after about 3 to 4 days, to the National Intelligence Agency headquarters by a group led by Daba Marenah where he was interrogated and ultimately released.

ANEKED and The Point Newspaper would like to correct this and state that Daba Marenah DID NOT lead the group that arrested Mamat Cham, but rather he was arrested along with Mamat Cham and Lawyer Antouman Gaye in March 2006.
OVERVIEW
The fourth session of the TRRC ran from 8\textsuperscript{th} to 25\textsuperscript{th} April 2019. The hearings during this session further discussed circumstances surrounding the 22\textsuperscript{nd} July 1994 coup, and the alleged 11\textsuperscript{th} November 1994 failed coup. The session particularly focused on the circumstances surrounding the extrajudicial killing of the then Minister of Finance Ousman Koro Ceesay in June 1995, allegedly by the Council members and started looking into the 1996 incident at Denton Bridge involving supporters of the United Democratic Party, UDP. The arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture of witnesses were also discussed.

The session also saw Sanna Sabally, one of the most high profile alleged perpetrators mentioned thus far appear before the Commission. Sanna Sabally’s appearance came after he was served with a Notice of Adverse Mention in Dakar, Senegal and subsequently accepted the invitation to come to testify before the Commission. No conditions or guarantees of amnesty were attached to his appearance. In addition to the subject matters mentioned above, Sanna Sabally also described the torture including sexual violence he and other detainees, both male and female, suffered in detention.

During the fourth session of the TRRC hearings, 14 persons testified including 7 persons mentioned by witnesses during testimonies (two of whom were later victimised through their arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture for one), 4 victims (including one woman) and 3 witnesses to the events discussed.

In the course of the session, the human rights violations reported include:

- Arbitrary arrest and detention
- Torture including rape
- Extrajudicial killing
- Detention under inhumane and degrading conditions
- Denial of justice

Two persons testified via video conferencing/skype.

During the session, 42 persons were mentioned by witnesses in relation to human rights violations committed, namely:

- **Khalipha BAJINKA**: Former bodyguard of Yahya Jammeh. Accused of participating in the torture of Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara.

- **Lamin Kaba BAJO**: Minister of the Interior in 1995. Member of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council, AFPRC. Accused of having participated in the denial of justice concerning the case of Ousman Koro Ceesay by not investigating his death. Serving as President of the Gambia Football Federation at time of mention.


- **Lamin S. CAMARA**: Former bodyguard of Edward Singhateh. Accused of participating in the arbitrary arrest of Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara.

- **Lamin COLLEY**: Former Lance Corporal and medic of the Gambia National Army, GNA. Served in the army as Warrant Officer Class 2. Dismissed at time of release of this publication. Accused of deliberately killing Fafa Nyang on 11\textsuperscript{th} November 1994.

- **Malafi CORR**: Former corporal in the State Guard. Accused of being part of the team that tortured Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara. Deceased.

- **DABO** (first name not given): Accused of participating in the torture, including rape of two women close to Sanna Sabally.

- **Zakaria DARBOE**: Former orderly of Sanna Sabally. Accused of having tortured detainees.
-Baba DRAMMEH: Accused of participating in the torture (rape) of two women close to Sanna Sabally.


-Bala GIBBA: Accused of shooting Fafa Nyang.

-Dembo GIBBA: Former driver to Sanna Sabally. Accused of participating in the torture of detainees on the night of 6th September 1994.


-Batch Samba JALLOW: Former Lance Corporal and former driver to Edward Singhateh. Accused of arbitrary arrest of Alagie Kebbeh following the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup, of participating in the torture of Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara and of captured soldiers on 11th November 1944. Said to be from Farato.

-Buba JAMMEH (aka Kanilai): Cousin to Yahya Jammeh and a former soldier in the Gambia National Army, GNA. Accused of arbitrary arrest of Alagie Kebbeh following the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup.


-Yahya JARJU: Former superintendent at Mile 2 Prison. Accused of attempting to poison and kill Sanna Sabally.

-Baboucarr JATTA: Former Army Commander. Accused of being present during the executions on 11th November 1994 and of being an accessory to the executions. Retired at the time of mention.

-Alhagie KANYI (alias ‘mofa kanyi’ (“Killerman”)): Former Army Corporal, serving at the Immigration department at Soma at time of mention. Participated in the executions on 11th November 1994 and burial of executed soldiers.

\(^1\) Only time that this person is mentioned in connection to the killing of Fafa Nyang.

\(^2\) Only time that this person is mentioned in connection to the killing of Fafa Nyang.
-Abdoulié KUJABI: Former Director of the National Intelligence Agency. Accused of arbitrary detention and of ordering the torture of Yaya Bojang in 1996.


-John C.B. (J.C.B.) MENDY: Former private soldier and orderly of Sanna Sabally. Chief of security of the Gambia International Airlines at time of mention. Accused of ordering and participating in the torture of Sadibou Hydara and Sanna Sabally at Mile 2 Prison on the night of 6th September 1994, of having ordered and participated in the torture and executions of captured soldiers on 11th November 1994; and of violating the rights of civilians deemed to be obstructing his convoy.

-Mohammed SAMBOU: Former orderly of one of the Council members. Accused of having participated in the torture of civilians and detainees.

-Famara SANNEH: Former officer in the Gambia National Army. Accused of injecting a substance into Sanna Sabally whilst in detention and permanently injuring his leg.

-Lamin SENGHORE (aka Assassin (nickname Pa)): Accused of participating in the torture of Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara and of causing the death of the latter. Arrested on 8th April 2019, hours after giving his testimony to the TRRC on accusations of lying to the Commission.
-Edward SINGHATEH: Former Lieutenant of the Gambia National Army, GNA and second Vice Chairman of the AFPRC, served in the Jammeh cabinet. From 2016 to 2018, he served as the Vice President of ECOWAS and was said to be residing in Nigeria at the time of mention. Accused of shooting Alagie Kebbeh in the leg, ordering arbitrary arrests, of ordering the killing of Fafa Nyang on 11th November 1994, participating in the executions of captured soldiers on 11th November 1994 and of having participated in the killing of Ousman Koro Ceesay.

-Peter SINGHATEH: Former Lieutenant of the Gambia National Army, reported to be residing and working as a pilot in the United Kingdom at the time of mention. Accused of participating in the executions on 11th November 1994, of ordering the arbitrary arrest of individuals and of having participated in the extrajudicial killing of Ousman Koro Ceesay.

-Alfusainey SUSSO: Former orderly of Sanna Sabally. Accused of having participated in the torture of detainees on the night of 6th September 1994.


-Yankuba TOURAY: Former Lieutenant of the Gambia National Army, GNA. He held different ministerial portfolios in Jammeh’s regime, including Minister of Information, Tourism, Culture and Local Government and Lands. Accused of participating in the executions on 11th November 1994, in the killing of the then Minister of Finance Ousman Koro Ceesay and of ordering the torture of party opposition (UDP) members in 1996. Charged with TRRC witness tampering but case dropped at the time of the release of this publication.
7 persons mentioned by witnesses in relation to human rights violations committed (including 2 that were later victimised)

4 victims (including 1 woman)

3 witnesses to the events discussed

5 TYPES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RECORDED

- Detentions under inhumane and degrading conditions
- Torture including RAPE
- Denial of justice
- Arbitrary arrest/detention
- Extrajudicial killing

14 PERSONS TESTIFIED

42 PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESSES

as perpetrators of and/or accessory to gross human rights violations

PLACES

DENTON BRIDGE  YANKUBA TOURAY’S RESIDENCE  YUNDUM BARRACKS
NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  BAMBADINKA  MILE 2 PRISON  JAMBURR
FAJARA BARRACKS  SIFO AREA  BANJUL POLICE STATION  SEREKUNDA POLICE STATION
STATE HOUSE  SANNA SABALLY’S RESIDENCE/FAJARA RESIDENCE  NYAMBAI FOREST
The summaries of the testimonies given were as follows:

**WITNESS NAME:** Lamin SENGHORE (aka “Assassin”)

**TRRC HEARING DATE(S):** 8th April 2019

**EVENT (S) DISCUSSED:** 22nd July 1994 coup; the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup; torture of detainees at Mile 2 after January 1995; the killing of Corporal Dumbuya in 2001; the junglers, the work of the National Intelligence Agency and the work of the Drug Squad

**POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S):** Soldier in the army (prior to July 1994), State Guard in November 1994, NIA operative in 2007 and later a member of the Drug Squad

**ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S):** Accused of beating soldiers during 11th November 1994; accused of torturing Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara and their entourage after their arrest in January 1995 onwards, accused of causing the death of Sadibou Hydara

**POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY:** Officer at the State Intelligence Service, SIS

**SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY:** Lamin Senghore stated that on 21st July 1994, he was part of a platoon headed by Sanna Sabally stationed at Yundum Barracks acting as reinforcement for the “coup makers” who were at the airport. However, the soldiers received the order to stand down and the coup that was supposed to take place on 21st of July failed. On that day, the battalion Commander told the witness that he wanted to see the soldiers the next day (22nd July) in the battalion master parade, but without arms. The witness said this made him suspicious and he feared that those not armed would be arrested.

The witness explained that after the failure of the coup, the then platoon Commander Lieutenant Edward Singhateh told him to go home and to return to the barracks at midnight. When he came back, the witness said he realised that Almamo Manneh had duplicated the keys to the old armoury, and opened it for the soldiers to arm themselves. As all the trucks inside the barracks were locked, the soldiers went to the highway, hijacked two trucks, and brought them back to the barracks. One of the trucks was to go to Fajara Barracks and the other one to Banjul.

Around 6-7 am, Adjutant Sheriff Gomez came to work and was forced at gunpoint by Lieutenant Edward Singhateh to give them the key to the new armoury. Sheriff Gomez initially refused, but after Edward Singhateh shot between his legs he handed over the key to the new armoury, which housed heavy weapons and rockets. The witness testified that at that moment the soldiers became jubilant “because we knew there was no force in The Gambia that could stop us now”. Everybody went to collect weapons. The witness took a machine gun because he was a “gunner”.

The witness said that at round 8-9am, Edward Singhateh told him to load a pick-up truck with reserve ammunition. At this stage, the witness remembered only the Council members being present at the barracks.
Lamin Senghore stated that they drove to Denton Bridge where they were stopped by Gendarmerie officers. The witness said he told the Gendarmerie that they could fire at him but if they missed, he would fire back. They surrendered. At this point, the Lead Counsel pointed out to the witness that this account of the event differed from the ones given by several witnesses before the Commission. The Counsel told Lamin Senghore that according to the TRRC’s information, the crossing of the bridge was only possible because Yahya Jammeh negotiated with Amadou Suwareh, who then asked his men to surrender and join the putschist.

The witness maintained his version of events, leading the Lead Counsel to read a paragraph of his written statement to the Commission, which contradicted his oral account. The witness remained silent as to why he had changed his version of events.

The witness then continued with his testimony and explained that when they reached the Christian Cemetery at the entrance of Banjul, they met another batch of gendarmes headed by Alhagie Martin who did not resist and instructed his men to surrender.

The coup makers divided into two groups, one headed by Yahya Jammeh, made their way up Marina Parade Road while the other, headed by Edward Singbateh, took Independence Drive. The witness was part of the second group. The two groups met up and entered the State House, effectively sealing the fate of the People’s Progressive Party (PPP) government. Lamin Senghore stated that after the coup he was deployed to the State House in November 1994 as a State Guard under the command of Lieutenant Mendy, also known as Papu.

Moving on to the events of 11th November 1994, the witness explained that the first he heard of an alleged coup was through a rumour circulating that officers from Yundum and Fajara Barracks were planning to counter the Junta. He testified that the rumour was confirmed to him when his friend Cadet Amadou Sillah told him in Mandinka during greetings: “You people are still there. Wait for us there, we will come for you”. Most importantly, the witness noted that the ammunition had been changed at all the heavy weapons mounted in defensive positions. The witness said that the situation was addressed and the proper ammunition was brought in again.

He said on 10th November 1994, Edward Singbateh, Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara, and Yankuba Touray, along with their orderlies, met at the State House. Sanna Sabally’s orderlies were J.C.B. Mendy, Alfusainey Susso, Njie Ponkal and Baba Njie; Sadibou Hydara’s orderlies were Saikou Jassey, Mustapha “Churro” Touray and one Sowe (the witness could not recall the first name); Edward Singbateh’s orderlies were Bakary Gibba, Sergeant Lamin Fatty, one Marenah (the witness could not recall the first name) as well as Batch Samba Jallow who was the driver; Yankuba Touray’s orderlies were Ensa Mendy and Jali Musa Susso.

The Council members held a conversation with Yahya Jammeh, after which they briefed the soldiers about the mission to crush the alleged coup. Edward Singbateh asked for volunteers, and around 40 State Guards joined, including the witness. The witness said that the soldiers were already armed so the orderlies were given arms.

He said the group moved to Yundum Barracks through Banjul in a convoy of six or seven vehicles led by Sanna Sabally. He said when they entered the barracks through the back gate – shortly after midnight- the guards were caught by surprise,
disarmed, and then detained because they did not trust them. He added that after their arrest, the lights in the barracks were switched off and the Council members mounted their guard posts.

The moment they saw lights they knew there was a vehicle coming and everybody took their positions. It was Basirou Barrow in his blue Pajero. According to the witness, Basirou Barrow said: “gentlemen, are you ready for my operation? Sanna Sabally responded: “yes we are only waiting for you.” Basirou Barrow froze.

**Basirou Barrow** and his men were **detained** in the cells in the barracks. The witness said that no one was **beaten** at this point in time, “as things were not settled yet”.

Another vehicle arrived and the witness saw Abdoulie Dot Faal and Sergeant L.F. Jammeh, who opened fire. “That's where everything got loose”. The witness said he saw L.F. Jammeh, Lamin Jarju and Sar Jakal Joof running while soldiers were firing at them. Lamin Senghore said that he did not fire a single shot in Yundum Barracks.

The witness recounted how he was surprised when a soldier he immobilised was Abdoulie J. Darboe, a batch mate of his. Lamin Senghore explained that his action had been seen by others, and that he regretted that until this day because otherwise, he would have let Abdoulie J. Darboe escape. The witness said he arrested Abdoulie J. Darboe, handed him over to be **detained** with the others. Lamin Senghore said that at that moment nothing happened to Abdoulie J. Darboe, and he was not beaten in his presence.

Abdoulie Dot Faal was also captured and taken to the guardroom but not beaten. Lamin Senghore said that he did not know Mafugie Sonko, who in previous testimony to the TRRC said that he was the driver of Abdoulie Dot Faal vehicle. When asked, the witness responded that the others who were in the vehicle were also **arrested** but not beaten in his presence.

The witness was then shown a video of the testimony of Abdouli J. Darboe in which he said that he was removed from a vehicle and beaten by several men, including two of his batch mates Mustapha Touray and Pa (Lamin) Senghore, with their legs, gun butts, and hands.

Lamin Senghore said that he respected Abdouli Darboe’s testimony, but disagreed with Darboe’s implication of him. The witness restated that Darboe was not beaten in his presence. He said that the situation was very chaotic at the time, which could explain why the witness confused him with another person.

Lamin Senghore was then shown a video of Mafugie Sonko’s testimony in which he said that upon entering Yundum Barracks, they were stopped by gunfire. Mafugie Sonko went on to describe how L.F. Jammeh and another officer managed to escape but he and the other officers were captured and stripped down to their underwear by a group of armed soldiers led by Peter Singhateh and Batch Samba Jallow, Edward Singhateh’s driver. They were forced to crawl from the gate towards the guardroom, about 50 meters while being **kicked** and **hit** with rifle butts. Peter Singhateh, Batch Samba Jallow and around 20 soldiers were telling them that they would **kill** them.

After watching the video, the witness said that he did not see any of the torture Mafugie Sonko spoke about.

Lamin Senghore then explained that after the soldiers were detained in the guardroom at Yundum Barracks, the Council members decided to go to Fajara Barracks. The witness joined them. As soon as they entered the barracks, they formed an extended line and started firing. He could not remember the exact number of rounds that he fired but said that it was “lot of rounds” as he was just firing randomly and not targeting or aiming at anyone. They went nearly a kilometer inside the barracks before they stopped firing.
He explained that after the firing ceased, he collapsed from exhaustion and from inhaling gas from the machine gun. He was taken to the guardroom and put in a bed. From there he heard the soldiers say that they were going to take the captives to Mile 2. When he heard that, he forced himself to get up, grabbed his weapon, and went outside. At this moment, an order was given that all those who came from the State House to go back. He was back in Banjul around 6 or 7am.

When asked, Lamin Senghore said that he did not witness the shooting of the captured soldiers. The Counsel went on to inform Lamin Senghore that while witnesses have testified that Yankuba Touray, collapsed, none have stated that he did. Nonetheless, Lamin Senghore maintained his story.

Upon questioning, the witness said that he could not recall Malafi Corr being posted at the State House. Instead, he stated he believed that he was from Fajara Barracks at the time, and did not recall seeing him participate in the events. The Lead Counsel explained that witnesses had identified Malafi Corr as being from the State House and participating in the events at Fajara and Yundum Barracks, which would show that State Guards were involved. The witness agreed that Baboucarr Mboob was from the State House, but he refuted his statement that all of the soldiers went back to Yundum Barracks, and maintained the fact that he went back to State House “by means of transportation”.

The Lead Counsel noted that no witness had mentioned an order by Sanna Sabally for soldiers to return to the State House, and that the evidence presented before the TRRC suggested that Sanna Sabally had gone straight from Fajara Barracks to Radio Gambia and made an announcement before joining the rest of the soldiers in Yundum Barracks. The witness responded that while the Council members and their orderlies went back to Yundum Barracks, the State Guards went back to the State House. The witness stated he believed that the Council members and their orderlies participated in the rest of the events. The Lead Counsel further explained that the evidence before the TRRC had collected suggested that the entire group had gone back to Yundum Barracks and participated in the crimes that were committed there and went on to imply that the witness wanted to avoid taking responsibility.

Witness Senghore stated that he remained with the State Guards until January 1995. He admitted being part of the team of soldiers headed by Sergeant Alhagie Martin who went to Mile 2 Prison to interrogate senior officers detained. Alhagie Martin led the “torture team”. The witness said he did not remember the names of the detainees who were being tortured. He added that the first batch of detainees was being tortured by kicking, slapping, and beatings with fists and rifle butts. The detainees were then returned to their cells.

When RSM Faye, RSM Babucarr Sanyang and Musa Ceesay were brought, Lamin Senghore said that he asked Alhagie Martin to allow him to interrogate them because he had “personal issues with them”. He explained that Alhagie Martin probably assumed that he would torture them mercilessly. He admitted being angry at them but said they provided a satisfactory answer when he asked them why they had sanctioned him twice. “That day they were not beaten,” the witness stated. “Nothing happen to them, they were sent back to their cells.”
A video of Babucarr Sanyang’s TRRC testimony was played where he was giving an account of his torture at Mile 2 by Alhagie Martin and his men, including the witness and the late corporal Ndure. The Lead Counsel also explained that RSM Faye testified that he was only arrested in July 1995 and not in January 1995, which also contradicted the witness’ account.

After watching the video, Lamin Senghore denied Babucarr Sanyang’s testimony. He said that to the best of his recollection, he had only witnessed the torture of the first-batch at Mile 2 by Alhagie Martin and his men. He denied having participated in the torture of Sanna Sabally or any other person from the first batch of detainees. While the testimony was ongoing, the Lead Counsel received a message from RSM Musa Ceesay stating that the narrative the witness presented never happened.

Witness Senghore then said that he never went back to Mile 2 Prison. He continued his work until 2001 when another coup attempt was made. He was initially among the suspects, but soon after was given back his pistol. He said Sergeant Baboucarr Paul Bojang told him that Corporal Dumbuya had run away with his rifles and had asked him to come with him to find Dumbuya. They agreed to meet at Greenland, but when the witness approached the area, he heard two shots, saw 4 to 5 soldiers, and found Dumbuya dead. When asked, he denied participating in the killing of Dumbuya.

The witness was then asked to talk about his move from the State House and his training as a jungler. He explained that it happened immediately after the 2001 attempted coup, which the late Almamo Manneh and State Guard Commander Landing Sanneh were involved. The witness denied having participated in the killing of Almamo Manneh and in the attack in which Landing Sanneh was arrested. He explained that this attack was done by soldiers, probably led by the late Musa Jammeh.

As the witness was denying any implication in any human rights violations, the Lead Counsel stated that he therefore, did not deserve the nickname “Assassin.” He told the witness that victims had told the TRRC that the witness got the nickname because he always used a hammer when torturing detainees. The witness countered that he was given that name because he was a fast learner, not because he was a killer.

According to the witness, after the attempted coup by Almamo Manneh, he was sent to Kanilai for a month-long tour of duty. While the witness was there, the Kanilai commander Serigne Modou Njie told him to do the “jungler training”, which lasted for nearly four months. The witness stated that the training was akin to counter-terrorism training: how to attack defensive positions and how to neutralize a threat. After he was done, he was posted back to the bodyguards’ unit. Lamin Senghore denied having participated in any jungler activity.

The witness said he joined the National Intelligence Agency, NIA in 2007 when Pa Jallow was heading the institution. He was surprised when he was made a security guard, but later he was appointed as an operative under Alhagie Morr Jobe. He denied participating in any torture while he was an NIA operative.

The Lead Counsel highlighted the fact that Alhagie Morr Jobe is one of the most notorious people at the NIA and suggested that Alhagie Morr Jobe and the “Assassin” would be a lethal combination.

When asked if he saw any torture at the NIA, he explained that as a security guard responsible for detainees, he sometimes saw marks on detainees
that showed that they had been beaten. However, he said he did not know exactly who did the beatings, but affirmed that it would have been an NIA officer. The witness denied having been a torturer when he was at the NIA.

Lamin Senghore said that he left the NIA to join the Drug Law Enforcement Agency Gambia, DLEAGI, also known as Drug Squad, with Alhagie Morr Jobe. He explained that they were moved there because the Drug Squad was provided with an intelligence branch. Alhagie Morr Jobe, who was slated to lead the branch, took the witness along. He agreed that this institution was known at that time for committing grave abuses, but still said that he never tortured or saw anyone tortured when he was working at the Drug Squad.

The witness admitted that he was never trained in **interrogation techniques**, but said that he nevertheless had a very **high success rate** in his interrogations. The Lead Counsel suggested that this was because he was **torturing** the persons he was interrogating, which the witness denied.
WITNESS NAME: Babucarr MBOOB

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 9th April 2019

EVENT (S) DISCUSSED: Alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Military police officer

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Admitted in participating in the killing of soldiers at Nyambai forest and accused of having participated in killings at Yundum Barracks

POSITION AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Not mentioned. Currently living in New York, United States.

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Babucarr Mboob explained that he was a bodyguard to Yahya Jammeh and his family from 1996 to 2001, after which he became an orderly to Yahya Jammeh, then moved to Bakau Barracks to join the commando unit in 2004. In late 2004 he relocated to the United States.

In November 1994, Babucarr Mboob was in the military police and was detached to the Army Headquarters in Banjul. On the evening of 10th November, the witness went to visit Fafa Nyang, a family friend, at his house, who informed him that he and others were planning a coup d'état, but did not disclose the names of the leaders or the details of their plans. The witness testified that he decided not to get involved.

When asked, the witness explained that his job as a member of the military police was to investigate crimes involving soldiers. However, he said he did not report what Fafa Nyang told him because he knew that the Council members were already aware that some officers were planning to stage a coup. Additionally, none of his senior officers were in the camp and he had no means of communicating with them. He decided he would report the information the next morning.

The Lead Counsel pointed out that at a camp there is always an officer on duty and that the witness’ accommodation was just a few hundred meters from the camp. The witness reiterated that he did not report the information because Fafa Nyang did not tell him who was involved and he did not trust anyone at the time. Instead, he decided to report it the next morning only to his closest Commander, the late Captain Butu head of military police.

As the witness sensed that the coup was imminent, he told his wife to spend the night at his aunts’ house in Serekunda. After she left, he prayed and went to bed in full uniform with his rifle in his hand. When asked on which side he was preparing to fight, Babucarr Mboob responded that he was “just preparing himself as a soldier”. When asked again why he had not left the camp to report the matter, and instead seemed to prepare himself to participate in the coup, he explained that he was not thinking straight and was only preparing to defend himself. He confirmed that he supported the Jammeh regime at the time.

Babucarr Mboob said that in the early morning, before 7am, he was woken by gunshots. He ran to the barracks where he saw Edward Singhatheh and many soldiers standing in front of the anteroom (Officer’s Mess). He did not remember seeing any other Council members at that time.

The Lead Counsel explained that previous testimonies the TRRC had received indicated that gunshots were fired at Yundum Barracks between midnight and 2am.
and that the Council members then left for Fajara Barracks and returned to Yundum Barracks after 6am. He implied that as the witness was living at Yundum Barracks, he should have heard the many gunshots that were fired and probed him on why he only heard the lone gunshots at dawn. The witness maintained he did not hear anything between midnight and 2 am.

The witness continued his statement explaining that when he reached the barracks around 7am, he heard Edward Singhateh ordering soldiers to collect Fafa Nyang from the guardroom and execute him. The Lead Counsel highlighted the fact that if Fafa Nyang had told anyone at that moment that he had informed the witness about the planned coup the night before, the witness would have been in trouble. Babucarr Mboob replied that he was not worried because he had clearly told Fafa Nyang that he did not want to be involved.

According to the witness, Fafa Nyang was taken out of the guardroom wearing just a "little underwear." The soldiers forced him to run, and some were hitting and kicking him. When he came close to Edward Singhateh, they forced him to crawl. The witness said that he could not remember the names of the soldiers who did this, but stated that they were not from the barracks.

Babucarr Mboob then testified that Edward Singhateh gave the final order to execute Fafa Nyang.

Soldiers forced him to run to the cookhouse. He ran and stopped and at this moment Staff Sergeant Lamin Gassama and Private Bala Gibba aimed at him and then the witness heard one shot. The witness said he did not know which one of the two fired the shot. Soldiers grabbed Fafa Nyang’s hands and legs to bring him to Edward Singhateh, but as he was still alive, they put him in the driveway next to the cookhouse. Lamin Colley ran over. His first shot missed, but his second was the round that killed Fafa Nyang.

When asked if the shot by Lamin Colley was deliberate or accidental, the witness responded that if it had been accidental, he would not have shot a second time.

The Lead Counsel asked the witness if he pushed Fafa Nyang towards Edward Singhateh. He showed the witness an excerpt of Ensa Mendy’s testimony in which he said that Sergeant Fafa Nyang was dragged in by Alhagie Kanyi and Lance Corporal Babucarr Mboob. Ensa Mendy said that Fafa Nyang swore that he was not part of the coup plot, but that Sanna Sabally still ordered soldiers to shoot him.

The witness stated that he was under oath too, and declared that the testimony of Ensa Mendy was incorrect. He added that Fafa Nyang was not even grabbed, but that he was led running while naked and as soldiers were kicking him. The witness said that he would definitely accept the responsibility if he was guilty of the accusations against him.

The Lead Counsel then probed the witness regarding the exact circumstances of the first shots directed at Fafa Nyang. He suggested that Babucarr Mboob participated in the manhandling of Fafa Nyang and took him to where he was shot and killed in an effort to hide the fact that the witness knew about the coup d’état.

The Lead Counsel also highlighted the fact that Babucarr Mboob is the only witness who had mentioned Lamin Gassama and Bala Gibba\(^3\) in connection with the killing of Fafa Nyang.

\(^3\)Please note that ANEKED and The Point Newspaper confirm that these two names have not been mentioned in any of the hearings so far. Nevertheless, these are to be listed as they were mentioned by the witness.
The witness denied this accusation and said that he would not accuse anyone if he had not seen it with his own eyes. He expressed his surprise that he was the only one mentioning these two men in connection with Fafa Nyang’s death.

Babucarr Mboob continued his testimony of the events by saying that Edward Singhateh went back into the anteroom (Officer’s Mess) before they went to pray. They spent the whole day at the office at Yundum Barracks.

The witness said that later that afternoon, Captain Joof asked him, Sergeant George Ceesay, K.J. Touray, and a driver (whose name the witness could not remember) to take Lieutenant Gibril Saye to the guardroom, which they did. Then Paul “Papu” Gomez, tied his hands, after which the other officers/suspected coup makers were taken out from the guardroom and loaded into a jeep. The witness remembered seeing only two Council members: Edward Singhateh and Sadibou Hydara. The Lead Counsel then read a paragraph (5) of the witness’ statement: “As I stood outside waiting for the next orders, I saw all the Council members outside, except Yahya Jammeh. I cannot remember seeing Yankuba Touray either.” The Counsel asked the witness if that was correct. The witness said that he must have made a mistake because he knows that the only people he saw were Edward Singhateh and Sadibou Hydara. He only saw Sanna Sabally later in the day.

The witness continued explaining that around 3 to 4pm the officers were loaded in the military jeep and the roof of the jeep was covered with plastic. Except for Paul “Papu” Gomez, he could not remember the names of the other soldiers escorting the officers. The officers who were put in the jeep were: Gibril Saye, Buba Jammeh, Bakary Manneh, Cadet Sillah and Abdoulie Bah. There was also another officer, but the witness did not remember his name.

As the Council members departed, Edward Singhateh told the witness and the military police to follow him. The witness, Lieutenant K.J. Touray, Sergeant George Ceesay, and the driver followed the convoy. The witness said he expected the convoy to drive to Mile 2, but instead they went to a forest. The vehicles drove about 2 miles into the forest and stopped. The witness said when they got out of the vehicle, he saw Sanna Sabally for the first time that day.

The Lead Counsel proceeded to read another paragraph (7) of the witness’ statement: “The name of the soldiers I can remember present at the forest were all Council members and their orderlies except Yahya Jammeh.” The witness confirmed that this meant that Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hydara, Edward Singhateh, and Sanna Sabally were there. The witness also confirmed that K.J. Touray, George Ceesay, Alhagie Kanyi, Lamin Marong, Mustapha Touray, J.C.B. Mendy, Njie Ponkal, and all the drivers were there as well.

The witness said that Sanna Sabally ordered the officers, who were speaking in low voices, to come down from the vehicle. He added that he heard Cadet Sillah say a verse from the Quran. Sanna Sabally ordered them to come out and kneel down and ordered the soldiers to stand in an extended line. He remembered seeing George Ceesay and K.J. Touray standing outside the line but admitted that he was standing in the line.

He was in front of the line going to the far left to give room to the others. One of the officers tried to say something, but Sanna Sabally screamed “hey!” and then the firing started. “We opened fire on them. It was about two seconds and all the captured officers were down on the ground.” The witness admitted that he fired, even if in his written testimony he had indicated that he fell down and did not fire.
When asked if this meant that he admitted to participating in the murder of the soldiers, he said that this was indeed correct.

After the killing, he said the soldiers were ordered by Sanna Sabally to load the bodies into the jeep and drive back to the barracks. The witness stated that on the return trip the convoy was going very fast, but the witness’ military police car was very slow, and thus they did not arrive until later that evening, around 6 to 7pm. It was then that the witness learned that Ebou (E.M.) Ceesay and Basirou Camara had been executed. They were also buried together with the soldiers who had been executed in the forest.

When asked if he was at the barracks at the time of the killing, the witness responded in the negative. The Lead Counsel explained that the TRRC has evidence that the witness was involved in the killings of the two soldiers at the barracks, that the killing in the forest took place between 2 pm and 3 pm, and that by 3 pm all of the soldiers were already back at the barracks. The witness responded that he did not remember the exact time, but that he was sure that the two soldiers were executed before he and his colleagues returned to the barracks.

The witness was shown an excerpt of the testimony of Modou Lamin (M.L.) Bah in which he said the Council members came back to the barracks “in the afternoon around 12,” and that a jeep was brought in front of the guardroom. The names of Gibril Saye, Buba Jammeh, Lamin Darboe (called Susso), Abdoulie Bah Achopi, and Amadou M. Sillah were called out. [End of the video].

The Lead Counsel pointed out to the witness that the time M.L. Bah mentioned was noon onwards. Another excerpt of the testimony of Alhagie Kanyi was shown where he said they were back “around 3 o’clock”.

The Lead Counsel asked the witness if he was trying to create an alibi by suggesting that he was out until later in the evening and thus by the time he arrived Ebou (E.M.) Ceesay and Basirou Camara had already been killed. The witness refuted that statement. The Lead Counsel asked if it was possible that the convoy reached the barracks two or three hours ahead of the witness’ vehicle. The witness agreed that the time difference could have only been 15 - 25 minutes. The Lead Counsel pointed out the inconsistency in the witness statement where the witness said that he returned to the barracks “very late in the evening.”

A video of the testimony of Sait Darboe was shown, in which Sait Darboe said that upon their return from the range, Sanna Sabally called Ebou (EM) Ceesay out, asked him to say his last prayers, and marched him towards the dead soldiers. Sait Darboe testified that Ebou (EM) Ceesay obliged, and whilst walking was shot by Babucarr Mboob in the back of the head.

A video of the testimony of Alhagie Kanyi was shown, in which he reported that reliable sources said that Ebrima (Ebou M.) Ceesay was killed by somebody called Mboob, but that he (Kanyi) was not present.

The witness refuted both testimonies saying he had heard another witness of the TRRC – J.C.B. Mendy – say that he saw Alhagie Kanyi shoot Ebou (EM) Ceesay. The witness also pointed to the fact that Alhagie Kanyi admitted having killed Fafa Nyang. Babucarr Mboob reaffirmed that he did not kill Ceesay. He said that K.L Touray, George Ceesay, and the driver could corroborate the fact that their vehicle took longer. The Lead Counsel again pointed out that even a 15 -25 minutes delay would still mean that they had arrived at the barracks before 4 pm, and 4 pm is different from late in the evening.

The Lead Counsel again said that the witness was trying to fabricate an alibi to avoid taking responsibility of the allegations of murder made against him. The witness refuted that statement and repeated that he was not trying to evade his responsibility.
The Lead Counsel also highlighted the fact that the witness was avoiding naming any of his colleagues other than K.J Touray and George Ceesay because he wanted a trade-off. The witness refuted that statement, saying that he was not communicating with these officers anymore.

When asked by one of the Commissioners why he did not step aside like George Ceesay and K.J. Touray when the shooting happened in the forest, the witness responded that as a simple soldier one would not dare to stand aside. He added that at the time he did not have the guts to do it because “Sanna Sabally was so furious”. He felt that the only thing he could do was to fire.

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:**

**Extrajudicial killing** (11th November 1994)
Lamin Colley, Sanna Sabally, Edward Singhateh, Peter Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hydara, Alhagie Kanyi, Lamin Marong, Mustapha Touray, J.C.B. Mendy, Bubacarr Njie aka Njie Ponkal

Lamin Gassama, Bala Gibba (only witness to mention these names in connection with the killing of Fafa Nyang).

...**Fafa Nyang** was taken out of the guardroom wearing just a “little underwear”. The soldiers forced him to run, and some were **hitting** and **kicking**. When he came close to **Edward Singhateh**, they forced him to crawl.
WITNESS NAME: Alagie KEBBEH

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 9th April 2019

EVENT (S) DISCUSSED: The 22nd July 1994 coup, the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup; detention conditions in Mile 2 Prison

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Corporal in the Gambian National Army

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Took part in the 22nd July 1994 coup, arbitrarily arrested and shot in November 1994

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: No current position given

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Alagie Kebbeh told the Commission that on 21st July 1994, around 6pm or 7pm, he and his wife got a lift from a passing military vehicle to return to Yundum barracks. The driver, Dembo Gibba revealed that at the airport Yahya Jammeh and others had wanted to stage a coup as former President Jawara landed but they were disarmed.

The witness testified that the morning of the 22nd July, they were woken by gunshots. He said he went to the camp where he encountered Yahya Jammeh, Edward Singhateh and a group of soldiers who asked “are you interested in what we are coming to do?” According to Alagie Kebbeh, if someone said “yes” they were given weapons. He said “we had to join them or get locked up.” Even senior soldiers were put in the cells.

A group of soldiers hijacked a few passing vehicles and they made their way to Banjul until they reached Denton Bridge, which was blocked by the Tactical Support Group, TSG. The coup leaders successfully negotiated with the TSG and were allowed to cross the bridge and into Banjul on foot.

Upon their arrival, he said Sanna Sabally asked him to drive him to the National Water and Electricity Company, NAWAC station in Kanifing where he addressed the workers and threatened them not to sabotage the infrastructure in an effort to sow chaos. Sanna Sabally left the witness at Kanifing to look over the workers and told him to shoot anyone who disobeyed. According to the witness this all occurred in the first hour or two of the takeover of the State House before the Council had even formed.

After three weeks watching over the Kanifing station the witness returned to Yundum as the quartermaster. The witness said after the coup the expectations were high, but everything seemed alright until the 11th November event.

The witness affirmed that he was at Yundum Barracks the day of 10th November. He told the Commission that around 2 – 3pm, they had a roll call in the open area by the flag post during which Council members and senior figures in the military and government including Sanna Sabally, Edward Singhateh, Sadibou Hydara, Baboucarr Jatta, Momdou Badjie, Lieutenant Darbo (the witness’ immediate Commanding Officer), Buba Jammeh, one Bakary or Buba Manneh (the witness did not remember the exact first name), and Gibril Saye were present.

According to the witness, Sanna Sabally said they had heard rumours of a coup, and warned those assembled that any participants would be harshly punished. Edward Singhateh added emphasis by firing
his gun into the air. The soldiers were quiet. The Council members continued insisting they knew about the plans for a coup and threatened the soldiers for the next 45 minutes to 1 hour.

Afterwards, the witness said he went home where a member of the army band, came to his house and gave him a list of people to take over from the army platoons guard duty from 11pm until the morning. That evening he gathered his weapon and made his way to the camp.

The witness claims that apart from Basirou Camara, who he met up with on the way to the camp, he did not know the other people on the list he had been given. On their walk to the camp Basirou Camara stopped to buy something at the store and Alagie Kebbeh carried on without him.

Upon entering the back gate of the camp, Alagie Kebbeh said he saw Edward Singhateh, who called out to him “Corporal Kebbeh, give me your weapon.” The witness did as demanded. As Singhateh started walking away, the witness followed him. Then he claims he heard him say, “you people if you don’t mind, we will start shooting on you,” at which point he retreated to the Bahamas (residential part of the barracks), which was in complete darkness.

The Counsel then told the witness that Lieutenant Bubaccar Sanyang had testified that the witness had gone to his (Bubaccar Sanyang’s) house earlier in the day and told him that along with a few others they were planning to remove the Council from power. The witness said that Babucarr Sanyang’s testimony was false and that nothing transpired between him and the Lieutenant.

The witness continued that after handing over his weapon, he decided to head home. As he was exiting the camp, he heard the gunshots and ran to his wife’s house. The witness, his wife and their maid escaped through the back of the camp. As they left they heard a series of single shots coming from Yundum Barracks.

When asked, the witness confirmed that after he heard shots, despite being on guard duty, he decided to evacuate his family. He affirmed that he did, and added that everyone in the Bahamas was leaving with their families.

Alagie Kebbeh explained that he took his family to his in-law’s house and explained what had happened. He says he wanted to return to the barracks, but his in-laws pleaded with him to stay put citing the danger of returning, and he eventually gave in.

While at his in-laws, Alagie Kebbeh heard an announcement from Sanna Sabally that there was a coup and that some of the soldiers had lost their lives. At that point, he said he decided to wait until Monday to return, “so that the dust will be cleared so I know where to stand.”

The next day, in the afternoon, he heard someone in front of the house shout, “Corporal Kebbeh, come out!” He walked outside and saw Lamin Fatty, Batch Samba Jallow and Buba Jammeh, known as Kanilai. They were all carrying AK 47s. They told him he was under arrest and ordered into the boot of the car of their small Toyota.

His wife was standing right in front of the house. According to the witness Sergeant Lamin Fatty told her “This man is just your husband. You can get another husband tomorrow.” The witness thought that this meant that they were going to kill him.

The witness could not see where they were taking him. He testified that he was in the boot for around five hours, with the car stopping at seemingly random
intervals until they arrived at the guardroom. When he entered the guardroom, Private J.C.B. Mendy slapped him so hard on the face that he nearly fell down. The witness said the room was full, and specifically named Edward Singhateh and Sanna Sabally as being present. The witness said he knew it was planned in advance because J.C.B. Mendy, as a private, would never slap a Corporal.

After recovering from the slap, the witness said he sat on the table as instructed. Edward Singhateh explained that he believed that the witness was slated to be given the position of army commander after the coup. Edward Singhateh apparently believed that the witness had called from the airport, to which the witness replied that it was not him, and that he was not involved in any coup. Then they called the private signal office at the airport, a man called Beyai on the phone, who said that the witness had called him from the airport.

The witness stated that he later came to understand that it was Corporal Amadou Kebbeh who called the airport at that time and that he believes that his was a case of mistaken identity.

After they got off the phone with Beyai, Sanna Sabally said “You should be the last person to join this voice.” The witness responded to Sanna Sabally that he was not part of anything. Under questioning from the Counsel, the witness explained that Sanna Sabally was in his class and they had joined the army on the same day. When he met Sanna Sabally, they discovered that their families knew each other and became close.

While insisting that he was a victim of mistaken identity, the witness was suddenly shot in his leg from the left.

He did not see the man pull out his gun, but he testified that the bullet came from Edward Singhateh and passed through his left and buried itself in his right three inches below his femur. Edward Singhateh wanted to “finish” the witness but he was stopped by Sanna Sabally.

“You can’t estimate the pain,” the witness stated. “I was lying in a pool of blood.” He testified that Sanna Sabally tried to help him up, but that the pain was so intense he asked for those assembled to “finish me once and for all,” at which point Sanna Sabally called for a medic and he was dragged to the clinic.

The witness narrated that at the medical site at the barracks the staff simply stuffed cotton into the wound hoping to stop the blood flow. Upon questioning, the witness confirmed the cotton was the only medical attention he received at the clinic for the next three days until he was taken to a hospital. He was not given any painkillers. Alagie Kebbeh told the court that the bullet was still in his right thigh 25 years after the incident.

He said he was taken to the hospital and whole there Peter Singhateh and John Gomez came to visit someone else, and he was in the same ward. Peter Singhateh passed, looked at his wounds and said “This was too small for you, we would have killed you” and walked away.

The witness said he was discharged from the hospital after three days and moved to the clinic at Yundum Barracks where the military police came to pick him up, accusing him of participating in the 11th November incident which he denied. He was taken away by two military police officers to Mile 2 Prison.

Witness Kebbeh testified that at Mile 2, he was brought to confinement number 4, cell number 2. The witness says his legs were initially chained but later removed. Alagie Kebbeh affirmed that he did not receive any medical attention while in Mile 2,
“in the cell I struggled just to survive.” He alleges prisoners did not have access to their medication and it was “only when you are dying before they call anyone.”

He was helped by Mafugie Sonko who came every morning to help get the witness outside the cell, clean the cell, and bring him water.

On 22nd July 1995, the witness said he took a serious fall from which he could not stand up. He said he “was there for the whole week with severe pain” before they sent for a medical officer who reported the injury and had him taken back to the hospital again. There he met Dr Martin, a German doctor who had discharged him after his first stay. Alagie Kebbeh told the Commission that Dr Martin was angry that the witness had returned to the hospital in much worse condition than he had left it. He was at the hospital for two months before he was taken back to Mile 2.

Upon questioning the witness confirmed that at this point he had not been formally charged with anything and had not seen a lawyer.

After he was discharged there was some kind of raid on Mile 2. Tear gas was thrown into the main compound. Prisoners who were immobile were left in their cells, “I was lying there for four hours inhaling the tear gas”. One Senegalese man was shot in the thigh. The witness added that an officer saw him lying down motionless and later went to his mother and told her that her son had died. Later in his testimony, the witness told the Commission that his mother did not tell this to his wives because she refused to believe he had died.

The witness said that he was able to smuggle a note out of the prison with an officer to take to his mother to let her know that he was alive. The witness stated that during his detention he was still considered an active member of the Gambian National Army, GNA and his second wife collected his salary until 1996. However, after his readmission to Mile 2 in 1996, the money stopped being sent to his bank. He affirmed he has never received any letter suggesting he was no longer a part of the GNA.

The wound healed, but his leg remained permanently damaged and he was still on crutches at the time of his release.

Alagie Kebbeh told the Commission that he did not know what led to his release on 1st October 1998. At first he was told that all his benefits would be paid, however, two weeks later he was given a certificate that said that he had voluntarily retired in 1995 despite being detained until 1998. He was given the gratuity from the 5/6-year period he was in the military. It amounted to 7,000 dalasi, but the sum was first sent to the bank where his account was closed so after paying all the bank fees to get his money, he went home with 3,000 dalasi.

After his release from Mile 2, the witness had to stay and home and recover for a while before he was able to walk without crutches. For a period, he was employed with a seafood company, DPA as their chief security. After the army failed to respond to an offer from his employer to split the bill for treatment abroad, he went to the human rights office where he met Lawyer Emmanuel Joof. Lawyer Joof agreed that the witness had a case, but that he would be wasting his time in court because the government would not respond. He also went to the Ombudsman’s office with all his documentation, but nothing came out of it.
The witness testified that he has a large family. Before his detention, he had nine children and hosted the first son of his father and mother as well.

When he, as the **breadwinner** of the household left, the family was left in **dire straits**.

When he was first detained all his children were going to school, but when he was released, he found his children all sitting at home.

Upon questioning from the Commission, the witness said that while he believed he had initially been implicated as a result of mistaken identity, he was unable to clear up the confusion after he was shot.

He personally blamed Edward Sing hateh for letting him stay in prison.

The witness concluded his testimony by “**sending my sorrow for the dead and wounded people**” and asking Gambians to respect the rule of law.

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:**

**Torture (11th November 1994)**
Edward Sing hateh and J.C.B. Mendy

**Arbitrary arrest**
Lamin Fatty, Batch Samba Jallow, Buba Jammeh aka Kanilai

“He **testified** that he was in the **boot** for around **five hours**, with the car stopping at seemingly **random** intervals until they arrived at the **guardroom**.”
WITNESS NAME: Lamin FATTY

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 10th April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: 22nd July 1994 coup, alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup, the killing of former Minister of Finance Ousman Koro Ceesay

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT: Operative in the Gambia National Army, GNA (before the 22nd July 1994 coup)

ROLE DURING THE EVENT: Witness to events (22nd July and killing of Ousman Koro Ceesay) and arrested and tortured detainees following the alleged 11th November failed coup

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Major in the Gambia National Army

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Lamin Fatty first discussed his unlawful dismissal from the army in 2009. According to the witness, he one day and to his shock heard his name along with other colleagues on the newscast as having been dismissed from the army. He was then arrested and told that he had assaulted an officer which he denied doing. His case went on for about two years until he was acquitted and discharged.

Witness Fatty said that upon his acquittal, he did petty trading until 2013 when he was reinstated back into the army, promoted to the rank of Major and posted at Yundum Barracks.

Moving on from his unlawful dismissal, the witness told the Commission that he was made aware of the 22nd July 1994 coup two or three days before it unfolded. He stated that while he was sitting in the office with one Nigerian Staff Sergeant Warrant Officer Trumeth, they saw Yahya Jammeh pass as he was heading to the Commanding Officer’s office. Trumeth said “you see this guy, the man is up to something”. He added that Yahya Jammeh, Edward Singhateh and Sanna Sabally were up to something. The witness then relayed the information to one Colonel Odu who responded that he was aware of this. Later that day, the guard of honour took place at the airport for the return of President Sir Dawda Jawara. The witness specified that he went home because he was part of service support and therefore did not usually partake in such ceremonies.

Upon being asked if he was aware of anything that had happened during the guard of honour, witness Fatty testified that he heard that Yahya Jammeh had been disarmed and in the evening some soldiers spent the night at Yundum Barracks with the intention of attacking the next morning and going to Banjul. The witness narrated that on the next day, at around 8-9am, when he arrived at the barracks, he found out that the first batch of soldiers had left for Fajara Barracks and the State House.

Witness Fatty stated that he wanted to know what was happening in Banjul so he joined a civilian vehicle and headed to Denton Bridge. Before arriving at the bridge, he was told that soldiers were negotiating to be let through. Once he arrived near the bridge, soldiers had already crossed and were heading toward Mile 2 Prison. He was told they were being led by Edward Singhateh, Yahya Jammeh and Captain Modou Kah Sonko.

The witness explained that from Denton Bridge, he met with one Corporal Karamo Manneh and together they headed to Fajara Barracks to see what was happening. He added that he decided
to go to Fajara Barracks as he was an intelligence officer and did not want to be a party to any unlawful events, such as a coup. Upon arrival, they met with Sanna Sabally who was jubilant and told the witness that he had received news that the soldiers had taken over the State House. He then instructed the witness to go spread the news. Lamin Fatty went first to the Navy to confirm that the information was correct. Upon confirmation, he proceeded to Albert Market where he made the announcement in Mandinka. Upon probing, the witness said that he complied with the instructions because he feared that if he refused, he would be made a victim.

Lamin Fatty testified that after the coup succeeded, he went back to Bakau, doing intelligence work until 10th November 1994. On that day, Major Pa Modou Ann told him that there would be a meeting by Council members at Fajara Barracks to deal with grievances of the soldiers. The witness further explained that they waited until 6.30-7pm but they did not come. He, therefore, headed home and around 10-11pm, he heard people arguing by his window. He realized that it was his neighbours and a guard from Yundum barracks, a man called Corporal Barrow had come to evacuate his family. Corporal Barrow said there was a possibility that Yundum Barracks would be attacked. The witness decided to leave as well and upon leaving the barracks, he saw armed soldiers.

Lamin Fatty testified before the Commission that he decided to head to Edward Singhateh’s house as everything pointed to a coup and as he did not know who the enemy force was, he felt he would be safe there. Upon arrival, he found one of his guards, Kantong Marenah who asked what he wanted. The witness informed him that he wanted to speak with Edward Singhateh, as there was a possibility of an attack at the barracks and did not feel safe. He saw Edward Singhateh’s mother peeping through the window and she asked what was happening. He relayed the same information and she agreed for the witness to stay.

Witness Fatty narrated that he heard gunshots during the night further confirming his fears of a coup and in the morning, he heard

Sanna Sabally’s voice announcing over the radio that they had foiled a coup and lives had been lost.

He further explained that he remained there until Saturday late afternoon. At around 2-3pm Edward Singhateh, Peter Singhateh, Batch Samba Jallow and Lamin Marong arrived and found him with Edward and Peter Singhateh’s mother who explained he had spent the night there. Edward Singhateh gave him a hug and thanked him. After a while, they left again and the witness headed to Fajara Barracks.

Lamin Fatty said that upon arrival at Fajara Barracks, he met with a man called Sidy Colley (now late) and Major Pa Modou Ann. The witness went to his house. On Sunday, Peter Singhateh arrived with an extensive list of people to be arrested. According to the witness, he was tasked with arresting only two persons.

At this stage, upon questioning, witness Fatty claimed that he did not participate in any of the activities up to the execution of the soldiers near Sifo area. The Counsel played a video from the testimony of three different witnesses (Lamin Senghore, Abdoulie J. Darboe and Alhagie Kanyi) that stated to the contrary. Lamin Fatty asserted that they were lying and Kantong Marenah could confirm his alibi.

Going back to the Sunday just after the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup, the witness stated that he was first instructed to bring one Momodou Njie who had been detained. As he moved towards the clinic, the witness saw Momodou Njie escorted by two soldiers. He made Momodou Njie crawl and kicked him. To the surprise of the witness,

Peter Singhateh fired at Momodou Njie’s leg who sustained injuries.

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5Now working with the Central Bank of the Gambia as security or a driver
The witness said it was wrong to have participated in the beating of Momodou Njie and regretted but at the time all he could see was a coupist.

The witness further stated that he arrested Alagie Kebbeh who was denounced by a man called Jerreh Sonko, once the Head of Security at Civil Aviation. Together with Batch Samba Jallow, the witness went to Alagie Kebbeh’s house at around 5am, dragged him from his bed and put him in the boot of the car because he feared he would escape. He admitted that at this stage he was furious against “these people” and also admitted telling the wife that she could get another husband. The witness said that once at the barracks, Alagie Kebbeh was questioned and shot in the leg by Edward Singhateh.

Lamin Fatty also discussed the arrest of a man called Trawally on the same day. He stated that together with Peter Singhateh and Batch Samba Jallow they went to Trawally’s house. Upon being informed by Peter Singhateh that he was under arrest, Trawally entered the trunk of the car. The witness stated that he did not beat, kick, nor maltreat Trawally, which contradicted a statement given by Trawally himself to the TRRC on 7th January 2019.

The witness declared that he was willing to apologise to all three of his victims.

Moving on the killing of Ousman Koro Ceesay in June 1995, witness Fatty recalled when at around 8pm they went to the airport for Yahya Jammeh’s departure to the African Union Summit. At the time he was a bodyguard to Edward Singhateh. After leaving the airport, the witness drove Edward Singhateh to Yankuba Touray’s house and went home.

The witness explained that the next day, he was told that a minister’s vehicle had burned somewhere in the Jamburr bush. At around 2-3pm, he was told they were to go to the burial of Ousman Koro Ceesay. The witness stated that the rumour was that the Council members had killed Ousman Koro Ceesay and he was ashamed of being an orderly after that. He added that his picture was in the Freedom newspaper and that he was accused of having taken part in the killing of Ousman Koro Ceesay. He categorically denied participating in the killing and stated that he suspected that Edward Singhateh and Peter Singhateh were involved in the murder.

He said the day after the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay, Peter Singhateh had bandages all over his hand.

Before ending his testimony, the witness denied participating in the torture of detainees at Mile 2 on the night of 6th September 1994, which contradicted the testimony of Babucarr Malick Jeng.

PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:
Arbitrary arrest
Batch Samba Jallow, Peter Singhateh
Torture
Peter Singhateh, Edward Singhateh
Extrajudicial killing
Peter Singhateh, Edward Singhateh
WITNESS NAME: Muhammed L.K. BOJANG

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 11\textsuperscript{th} April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: Behavior of Yayha Jammeh prior to 1994, and the murder of Ousman Koro Ceesay in June 1995

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Head of Serious Crimes Division in the Gambian Police.

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Investigating the murder of Ousman Koro Ceesay

POSITION AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Unknown

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Muhammed L.K. (MLK) Bojang stated that in 1992 he was posted to Bakau Police Station where he had multiple altercations with Yahya Jammeh. He indicated that Yahya Jammeh, who was head of the Military Police at the time, had “no respect for nobody.” A small altercation led to a fight between the two men at the African Village Pa Jobe hotel. Then MLK Bojang stated he had Tamsir Badjie, one of Yahya Jammeh’s men, arrested for stealing a motorcycle. Soon afterwards the witness was woken in the middle of the night by Sabu Ceesay, who passed on information from a National Security Service, NSS officer that a dangerous rebel was staying in Kachilcally. MLK Bojang got out of bed and made his way from the barracks to the police station. Upon his arrival, he was surprised to see the station occupied by around 30 gendarmes led by Yahya Jammeh, who at that point was a Lieutenant. The gendarmes told the witness to release Tamsir Badjie but MLK Bojang refused. The witness stated that it was only he, Sabu Ceesay, and Mr. Jallow among the police at the station that night. A fight broke out. The numbers were in the gendarmes’ favour, and while his staff was being beaten, MLK Bojang was stabbed in the back with a bayonet and began bleeding. He was rushed to the hospital where he had to have a pipe inserted into his chest because his lung had collapsed. He spent a month at the hospital. Later in his testimony, he attested that he had pain in his neck for years following the incident.

In 1995, the witness was the commander of Serious Crimes staying at Banjul Police Headquarters. He explained that as a part of his job he would collect the crime reports from around the country and relay them to the Head of State. One day he received information that the Secretary of State for Finance (Ousman Koro Ceesay) was involved in a car accident. The witness stated that in the moment, “I was not thinking any foul game because the information given is that he was involved in a motor accident.”

The witness went to the scene of the accident along Jamburr and Janbanjerry highway. MLK Bojang stated that he and the photographer Alieu Njie investigated the one hundred meters before the accident site to see if there were any signs the car had been speeding, as the rumours at the time alleged. The witness testified that the vehicle did not appear to have somersaulted nor hit any trees. On the road itself, there were none of the known pieces of evidence that would suggest a high-speed vehicle accident. MLK Bojang stated that the photographer Alie Njie took pictures of the alleged crash scene.
During their investigation, the witness said he noticed that the number plate on the car was not burned, which suggested to him that the car had been purposefully set on fire. MLK Bojang told the Commission he removed the number plate and brought it back to headquarters, witnessed by Foday Barry and Cadet Jobarteh.

MLK Bojang testified that at this point his suspicions were raised based on the dearth of evidence suggesting a high-speed accident. He told his men to gather whatever information they could. The witness testified that all the Junta members except for the Chairman went to the scene of the supposed accident. He specifically mentioned Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara, Yankuba Touray, Edward Singhateh and Peter Singhateh. MLK Bojang attested that he also saw family members of Ousman Koro Ceesay at the scene.

He noted that Peter Singhateh had a bandage on his left arm, but did not ask him how he was injured.

He had started receiving information that led him to believe that Peter Singhateh and other Junta members killed Ousman Koro Ceesay, and that instead of an accident, the car had been parked and set on fire.

By the day after the accident, MLK Bojang attested that people were speaking openly about the Junta killing Ousman Koro Ceesay. The witness stated that they began piecing together the timeline of Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death, but that some things were hidden.

Upon questioning, he affirmed that the inner part of the car was burnt to ashes and that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s body was removed by the fire service and taken to the hospital. The witness said he did not go look at the body and instead relied on the autopsy report.

Not long after, the witness claimed that he began noticing he was being followed. One evening while at a supermarket on Kairaba Avenue he saw Baba Saho, a senior officer in the National Intelligence Agency, NIA, whom he believed was trailing him. After buying his groceries at the supermarket, the witness stood on the street waiting for transport to Bakau. The person following him found him there and offered him a lift under the pretext he needed directions to another location in Bakau. MLK Bojang got in the car but managed to escape and went to the police station.

The witness reported that after realizing he was under surveillance, he moved his family to another house for their protection. The witness stated that he believed he was under surveillance because of his investigation. He mentioned that the National Intelligence Agency received their orders from the Director General to the President, and they had recently been given “powers to arrest, powers to detain, powers to investigate they give them all necessary powers which is even not in law.”

The following morning the witness went to Samba Bah, the Director General of NIA, and told him they were investigating this case and were waiting for the Chairman of the Armed Force Provision Ruling Council, AFPRC.

The witness then stated that when FRI Jammeh replaced Gibril Joof as Inspector General of Police, IGP, FRI Jammeh told the witness to close the investigation. After telling his station officer, the witness stated that they decided to leave the file in a safe for his replacement, Tomany Sanyang.

When pressed to describe the contents of the file, MLK Bojang told the Commission it contained a record of their movements during their investigation. He stated that he did not request the photographs Alieu Njie had taken of the accident, his office did not
receive an autopsy report, the license plate taken from the scene was stored in a nearby building, and alleged that other officials were being uncooperative. Under further questioning, he added that they were investigating a different service, “the police cannot go to the army and arrest.”

Regarding other investigations, MLK Bojang told the Commission that he believed that Foday Barry, a police officer in charge of accountability, was doing his own enquiry, but they never discussed the case nor saw each other’s files. The witness said he did not know whether the Crime Management Coordinator, CMC Pa Mbye was investigating the case or whether Pa Mbye’s firing was connected to his investigation.

The witness testified that he suspected Peter Singhateh, Edward Singhateh, and Yankuba Touray along with their bodyguards of the murder.

According to his information, Ousman Koro Ceesay “was brutally killed and brought to the highway … they poured either kerosene, gasoil or petrol … and burned him.”

He stated that the killing took place at the house of Yankuba Touray as he had heard that Touray had moved his family to Bakau that particular night.

When asked about a public statement about Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death, MLK Bojang replied that there was an announcement by the Public Relations Officer, PRO of the AFPRC, Captain Jallow. The witness said the message relayed by the PRO “was a clear manifesto that they did this act.”

Meanwhile, the message given to the public was that the Minister of Finance was involved in a car accident and he died. The witness reaffirmed his belief that Ousman Koro Ceesay was killed elsewhere and his death and the accident were staged.

When asked whether or not he received an order to investigate Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death in the first place, or whether he initiated his investigation himself, the witness was reluctant to answer.

The Lead Counsel asked the witness why, despite his statements that he would leave no stone unturned, he closed the case upon receiving orders to do so.

He replied that when the Chairman told him to stop investigating, “I collapsed, I had no way”.

Upon further questioning, he said that he was working in a service and under orders - “I cannot force myself to do something. If the State said stop, I stop … I did not have any kind of power.”

MLK Bojang stated that he went back to the Police Headquarters after he was approached by the TRRC to search for his old files and the number plate, but was unsuccessful in finding either.

The witness concluded his testimony by mourning the loss of a Gambian such as Ousman Koro Ceesay, and urged fellow Gambians to unite to ensure the country never repeats the actions of the previous regime, “we should not do it again and we should forgive but not to forget.”

PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY: Extrajudicial killing
Edward Singhateh, Peter Singhateh, Yankuba Touray
Witness Pa Mbye (also known as “CMC” meaning Crime Management Coordinator)

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 11th April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: Events after the 22nd July coup; events surrounding the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay on 22nd June 1995

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Crime Management Coordinator, CMC

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Investigated the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Not mentioned

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Witness Pa Mbye stated that on 22nd July 1994 in the morning, as he reached the Police Headquarters in Banjul, he received information that some heavily armed soldiers were marching towards Banjul and no-one knew why they were doing that. The witness and Ebrima Chongan, the then Assistant Inspector General of Police decided to drive to Denton Bridge to find out what was happening.

Once there, they met Samsudeen Sarr, an army officer, and after some discussions, the three of them walked towards the end of the bridge where they found Captain Suwareh and his men from the Tactical Support Group, TSG. The witness said he advised him to call for reinforcement because the soldiers were armed with sophisticated weapons. Ebrima Chongan said to Suwareh that he should never let the soldiers cross the bridge and do whatever it takes to avoid that. Suwareh agreed that he would do as he was told. At this moment Ebrima Chongan shot at the approaching soldiers, who retaliated. The witness said he was dismayed by this action, as it was suicide as the other side was better equipped. The witness returned to the Police Headquarters and later Chongan was brought in as well. At the end of the day the witness said he went home and the following morning when he came back, the office was occupied by army officers, denying access to everyone.

The witness stated that he decided to drive to State House to talk to the Junta. Once he reached there, he saw Yahya Jammeh, Captain Suwareh (who he had left at the bridge the day before), Edward Singhateh, Samsudeen Sarr, Abou Jeng and some police officers. Baboucarr Jatta and Momodou Badjie were seated at a distance from the rest of the group.

According to the witness, Samsudeen Sarr introduced everyone to him after which Edward Singhateh said: “we have taken over this country”. The witness advised them that peace would not come back until and unless the soldiers returned back to the barracks and suggested to help the Junta with that. Yahya Jammeh agreed with this idea.

The next day, 23rd July, when the witness went back to his office, the officers where no longer there and police officers began to come back. The witness said that the Inspector General of Police, IGP Sallah Jagne, was not there and a man called Modou Njie told the witness that he was the new IGP and requested to be given the keys to Pa Sallah Jagne ‘s office, which the witness refused.

When Pa Sallah Jagne returned to work a few days later, some soldiers came to arrest him. Ebrima Chongan was arrested later as well and taken to Mile 2. After the arrest of Pa Sallah Jagne, Gibril Joof became IGP.
Shortly after, a new unit was established within the Police Headquarters called Special Investigation Unit and while it should have been under the witness’ responsibility, he had no information about their work. He remembered two persons being part of that unit: Foday Barry and Lamin Jobarteh also known as Babadindin Jobarteh, he was then a Cadet officer in the police and later became the Minister of Justice and then the Attorney General. They were investigating and arresting people and would sometimes go to Mile 2 and bring people back to Police Headquarters to be interrogated. “People feared them”. The witness did not know their exact reporting line but assumed that their mandate came from the State House, acknowledging that they were very powerful which was the reason why he kept quiet.

Pa Mbye remembered that Press Jagne, Kebba Ceesay and one Mr. Galleh were taken from Mile 2 to Police Headquarters. The witness complained to Lamin Jobarteh and Foday Barry about the fact that officers such as Kebba Ceesay were treated without respect for their rank. The witness said that people who were brought to this unit were in fact maltreated. In his opinion, as a detective one should not mistreat people to get information out of them and stated that it is absolutely not correct to beat, slap and insult people.

Pa Mbye remembered being asked to search the house of O. J. Jallow, the former Minister of Agriculture and look for foreign account numbers and documents related to properties. As he was a close friend, the witness refused to comply. He was later asked to search the compound of Alhagie Yahya Ceesay in Pipeline. He stated that he instructed his team to search only the living room, even though he was supposed to search the whole premises. The witness explained that he did that because he felt that Alhagie Yahya Ceesay deserved respect. The witness made a report to the IGP saying that they had searched the entire place and did not find anything of interest. He was subsequently transferred to Mansakonko for three months as some sort of a demotion/punishment for his refusal to search O. J. Jallow’s house. He was reinstated around December 1994.

In June 1995, the witness said he heard speculations that Ousman Koro Ceesay, the Finance Minister was preparing to give a budget speech to parliament highlighting financial discrepancies. Pa Mbye said he received information that the Junta members did not want the minister to gaps disclosed but that Ousman Koro Ceesay had insisted that he would do so. He said he did not know Ousman Koro Ceesay personally, but his reputation was that he was a fearless and stubborn person. Everybody was talking about it.

One night, around 1 or 2am, Cham “Causarina” (named after one club he owned) an informant of the witness called him to tell him that he had seen a black Mercedes Benz, like the ones allocated to ministers, driving towards Jamburr followed by a dark blue Land Rover. “Causarina” called the witness because it was unusual to see such movements at night. Pa Mbye disclosed that he suspected that the Land Rover was Edward Singhateh’s and was wondering why his car would be following a minister’s vehicle at that time of the night going to Jamburr.

When the witness went to work the next day, different rumours were floating around: that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s vehicle had an accident, that the vehicle hit a bridge and then caught fire and that the minister was trapped in the vehicle. Others were saying that he had been killed by the Junta.

Pa Mbye testified that he went to the post-mortem examination where he saw Peter Singhateh with a fully bandaged hand as if he was protecting a wound or concealing something. At the time, information was circulating that he got burnt while the vehicle was in flames. The witness told the Commission that he looked Peter Singhateh in the face and
deliberately said “this must be foul play, this is not an accident”. While Peter Singhateh did not answer but his body language showed that he was not happy.

Without having been instructed to do so, Pa Mbye decided to visit the scene of the accident. The number plate of the vehicle was missing and after inspecting the scene the witness felt that the accident was made-up. He then went to the airport. There, one of his senior officers called Mr Sanneh (now late) told the witness that Yankuba Touray and Edward Singhateh’s vehicles were blocking Ousman Koro Ceesay’s – one was parked in front and the other at the back so that after the parade for the departure of Yahya Jammeh, Ousman Koro Ceesay had to wait for them. They had a discussion and then all left in their respective vehicles.

According to the witness’ testimony, he was called in by the IGP Gibril Joof two days later and asked what evidence he had gathered on the case. As he had not been instructed officially, he was reluctant to share his findings. Gibril Joof told him that the Junta wanted to know the details of the incident but Pa Mbye responded that he did not think that “these people” would ever want some progress on the case.

The next day the witness was told that Yankuba Touray wanted to see him in his office. When he entered Yankuba Touray looked at him for a moment with an unfriendly look, without threatening him and then told him that it was okay and that he could go back now.

The witness explained that he sensed that he would be dismissed and the following morning, the Inspector General Police told him that he got instructions from the State House that his services were no longer needed and that he should go home.

Then ten months later, the Inspector General Police who then was FRI Jammeh, told Pa Mbye that he was reinstated as Crime Management Coordinator because they wanted him to solve a case.

When asked, the witness said that he was not aware of any investigation having been undertaken with regards to Ousman Koro Ceesay’s case. He also wasn’t aware that his subordinate, a certain Mr. Bojang investigated the case. Pa Mbye stated that he did not think that Foday Barry investigated the case because he had not heard or seen him doing it.

**Pa Mbye closed by saying that in his opinion, Ousman Koro Ceesay was murdered because he wanted to make revelations to the parliament and that Yankuba Touray and Edward Singhateh were involved in it but assumed that another person had probably carried out the killing.**

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:**

**Extrajudicial killing** (Ousman Koro Ceesay in June 1995)
Edward Singhateh, Peter Singhateh, Yankuba Touray
**WITNESS NAME:** Babucarr NJIE

**TRRC HEARING DATE(S):** 15th April 2019

**EVENT(S) DISCUSSED:** 6th September 1994, alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup, arrest of Sanna Sabally, arrest of the witness

**POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S):** Orderly of Colonel Odu

**ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S):** Admitted participating in the torture of civilians

**POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY:** Unknown

**SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY:** Witness Njie testified before the Commission that together with J.C.B. Mendy, as Sanna Sabally’s orderlies, they were responsible for taking care of his uniforms and boots. The others were responsible for Sanna Sabally’s protection. The witness added that whilst they initially took shifts as to who would go to the office with Sanna Sabally and who would remain at his residence, they eventually all escorted him to the office.

Babucarr Njie then discussed the night of 6th September 1994 dubbed “Night of terror” by detainees. He explained that in the evening, whilst he was at Sanna Sabally’s house, he was instructed to escort Sanna Sabally together with Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hydara, Peter Singhateh and the other orderlies and bodyguards (Baba Njie, Zakaria Darboe, J.C.B Mendy, Alfusainey Susso, Marong aka King Kong, Mustapha “Churro” Touray, Jalli Susso, Samba Bah and Ensa Mendy). The witness specified that as it was at night, it was difficult to see who else was present. The witness added that he was not told where they were going prior to their departure. It was only once they approached Mile 2 Prison that he realised they were heading there.

The witness said that upon arrival, the gates were open by the prison wardens and they went to confinement number 5. The Council members instructed the prison wardens to open the cell doors so that the detainees could be moved out to confinement number one, which they did. The witness testified that upon instructions from Sanna Sabally to move the detainees to confinement number one, maximum security, they did. He explained that when the cell doors were opened, some of the detainees, including Ebrima Chongan and Mamat Cham, sat on the floor and didn’t want to come out. The witness stated that he was not given any order to beat anyone as most of the detainees were senior officers and he felt guilty. He also said that he was not told where they were going prior to their departure. It was only once they approached Mile 2 Prison that he realised they were heading there.

Upon being asked to confirm that if anyone accusing him of insulting would be lying, he said yes. Witness Njie further stated that the detainees were dragged one after the other and lined up against and Sanna Sabally started shooting close to them to the ground.

He added that Sanna Sabally and Yankuba Touray were saying, “we will kill you.”
The witness also remembered Yankuba Touray shoving his pistol into one of the detainee's mouth, possibly Ebrima Chongan.

Upon being asked if the Council members did anything else in addition to intimidating the detainees, such as beat them, the witness responded in the negative. At this stage, the Counsel gave a copy of the witness’ statement and asked him to read the second paragraph on page 2: “It is important to note that only Council members participated in the shootings and beatings of detainees which I saw. The whole aim was to scare the detainees and not to shoot or kill. Hence, why only council members participated”. Upon pointing out that this statement was written only a month prior to the testimony and the witness was now saying the contrary, he stated that it was “an oversight” and his failure to mention this did not actually mean he was “running away”.

He further stated that to his knowledge the orderlies had not beaten the detainees and he did not lay a hand on any of them.

Upon being played a video of Ebrima Chongan’s testimony that stated Babucarr Njie had insulted him that night, the witness swore by the Quran that he did not know Ebrima Chongan back then and was surprised to hear that he had insulted him that night. He added that Ebrima Chongan became one of his close friends when he (the witness) was eventually detained at Mile 2 Prison.

The witness then discussed the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup. He stated that on 10th November 1994, while at the State House, they received information that there was movement of soldiers at Yundum Barracks and they were planning to stage a coup d’état against the AFPRC. The Council members, therefore, decided to make a surprise visit to Yundum. They were accompanied by their orderlies namely the witness, J.C.B Mendy, Zakaria Darboe, Dembo Gibba, Alkali Jallow, Lamin Drammeh, Lamarana Barry, Alfusainey Susso and one Jassi.

Witness Njie further testified that they arrived around 2-3pm and held the meeting with the officers. Sanna Sabally told the soldiers “we have heard of what you are planning, so it is better you desist from it. Otherwise, whatever comes your way, that’s it.” and Edward Singhateh said, “we are soldiers and there is no doubt that anyone who plans to do anything, we will cross you.” He then took his pistol, fired two shots in the air and said “anyone who wants to do anything, this is what will happen.” They returned to Banjul.

The witness further stated that once they returned to Banjul, the Council members held a meeting with Yahya Jammeh. He was not privy to their conversation as he stood outside the office. The witness said he then went to Sanna Sabally’s residence in Fajara. At around 9-10 pm, Sanna Sabally came and forcefully opened the door of their room and said, “Dress up!” The witness wore his military camouflage and went to the waiting area where he joined his colleagues: J.C.B. Mendy, Zakaria Darboe, the late Albert Gomez and the drivers. They were instructed to load the weapons and ammunition onto Sanna Sabally’s vehicle and the others. Yankuba Touray and his orderlies (Ensa Mendy and Samba Bah) arrived. They all headed to Banjul and on the way, they were joined by Sadibou Hydara, Edward Singhateh, Peter Singhateh and their entourage including Mustapha “Churro” Touray and Marong aka King Kong.

According to the witness, upon arrival at the State House, they met with Yahya Jammeh and many other soldiers. Yahya Jammeh shook hands with all the Council members and said, “these guys didn’t stop this? They still want to go ahead with this?” and said he was going to join the other Council members. Yankuba Touray responded “no sir, leave it with us. So if you go with us, it means you don’t trust us. We will take care of everything.” He could not recall Sanna Sabally saying anything. Yahya Jammeh agreed and they left for Yundum at 11pm. On their way, Malafi Corr joined them.

The witness explained that once at Yundum Barracks, the camp was safe and they went to the signals room where they found one Beyai on duty. A phone call came in and the person on the line was trying to confirm whether the camp was safe and whether the Council members
were there. While Beyai was on the phone, Edward Singhateh who was very close to him gestured a ‘no’ for him not to say there was anyone after which he told the caller that everything was OK.

According to the witness, they then went to the guardroom and found detainees stripped to their underwear including Abdoulie J. Darboe and Mafugie Sonko. Sanna Sabally selected a few to be released. The witness could not say when or how they were arrested. The group including the witness beat and butt struck the ones that remained. The witness remembered slapping one Jammeh. Upon being asked why he had done that, the witness stated he was 21 years old and had only been in the army for 3 years 7 months. He also blamed Satan and said he regretted his behaviour. Upon suggestion that he (the witness) was trying to minimise his role in the event, he stated that he only unintentionally slapped and butt struck that one person.

The witness went on saying that that after a few minutes, he heard Basirou Barrow had been arrested at the gate whilst they were standing at the guardroom. He stated that he went “out of curiosity” and heard Basirou Barrow say “you are killing me” as he was being tortured.

He could not make who exactly was torturing Basirou Barrow but swore on the Quran having not participated in his torture. Basirou Barrow was possibly then taken to the guardroom and Abdoulie Dot Faal was mercilessly tortured and was taken, unconscious, to where Basirou Barrow was. A military truck was brought to the guardroom and the detainees were loaded into the truck.

Babucarr Njie testified that he heard Edward Singhateh suggest to Sanna Sabally to launch a grenade into the truck so the detainees would die once and for all but Sanna Sabally refused. The witness added that after some time, Edward Singhateh made the same suggestion to blow up the detainees and Sanna Sabally said “no we are going to take them to Mile 2.” They left Yundum Barracks and headed to Fajara Barracks where there was some shooting. The witness said he was confused and took cover in the toilet for a few minutes. He came out and joined his colleagues in shooting whilst running. Sanna Sabally finally shouted, “Cease fire!” and they stopped. The witness added that he recognized Baboucarr Jatta.

The witness stated that they moved towards the guardroom area and he saw the truck that contained the detainees from Yundum. It parked opposite the guardroom and Sanna Sabally asked the soldiers to alight and march in a single towards the football field. This was around after 6-7am. Once at the football field, they were asked to line up in a straight line facing the residential area and to say their last prayer. The Council members, the witness and his colleagues (including Alfusainey Susso, Lamarana Barry, Ensa Mendy, J.C.B. Mendy, Mustapha “Churro” Touray, Baba Njie, Marong aka King Kong, Samba Bah) were also extended in a single line facing the captured soldiers. According to the witness, after they captured soldiers said their last prayers;

Sanna Sabally alone started shooting sporadic rounds at the floor. While he was shooting, he was not controlling the muzzle of his rifle; a round of bullets struck Abdoulie Dot Faal and he fell down.

The rest of the captured soldiers fell down and started screaming, and a few tried to escape. Sanna Sabally instructed the witness and the late Tumbul Tamba to go after them. They chased after them but to no avail.

Upon being told that other witnesses had testified that those in the extended line had all fired, the witness said he was surprised as he only remembered seeing Sanna Sabally shoot and the number of casualties
would have been higher if they had all fired as claimed. He added that it could have been that after he and Tumbul Tamba went in hot pursuit of the soldiers that had escaped, an order might have been given to shoot the remaining soldiers.

The video of the testimony of 3 persons that stated the contrary was then played, the witness reaffirmed he had not participated in the shooting. The witness stated that after they could not catch up with the escapee, they headed back to Fajara Barracks. On the way, they met with a soldier who informed them that the Council members had left for Yundum Barracks. The witness and Tumbul Tamba therefore made their way to Yundum Barracks.

Babucarr Njie further narrated that upon arrival, they met Marong aka King Kong and heard him say to other soldiers that Abdoulie Dot Faal was not dead and his body was still shaking in the truck. The witness added that “out of curiosity”, he went to see the truck.

He peeped in and saw Abdoulie Dot Faal’s body shaking on top of more than four bodies.

He came down and went back to the general area of the guardroom. He added that once he arrived at Yundum Barracks, he also heard that Fafa Nyang and Ebou (EM) Ceesay had been killed at Yundum and Edward Singhateh had killed Fafa Nyang. Mr Njie said he did not witness any killings and torture when he returned to Yundum Barracks.

The witness went on to say that at around 12-1pm, he left with Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara, Yankuba Touray, Edward Singhateh and the orderlies, and went to the State House. Yahya Jammeh embraced the Council members including the witness for killing the soldiers. On Sunday around 8-9pm, on his way to work the witness heard Sanna Sabally on “Focus on Africa” say that there was a coup plot and that during that coup plot, there was a shootout and some soldiers had lost their lives. The witness stated that the statement was “misleading” as at Fajara Barracks there was no casualty.

When asked about what had happened to other soldiers such as Gibril Saye, the witness stated that when he returned to Sanna Sabally’s residence from his weekend leave, J.C.B. Mendy, Zakaria Darboe and Baba Njie were inside the house. J.C.B. Mendy was crying and the others were very quiet. Baba Njie said that the captured soldiers had been executed including Gibril Saye and since he was tall, his legs couldn’t fit into the grave. As a result Alhagie Kanyi, “broke” his legs so that he could fit inside the grave.

Upon being told that people who were at Nyambai Forest placed him there at the time of execution, the witness vehemently refuted those allegations. He stated those who did not know his whereabouts at the time would say that because he was an orderly of Sanna Sabally but he was in fact not at Nyambai Forest. A video of the testimony of four witnesses who testified that Babucarr Njie aka Ponkal was present at Nyambai Forest was played and the witness swore on the holy Quran that these allegations were untrue. He said he was released to go home on Friday 11th November 1994 and stayed home until Sunday evening.

Moving on to the incidents of assault against civilians, the witness stated that Sanna Sabally instructed them to burst the tyres of any vehicle obstructing the convoy. The witness specifically recalled a time after that when a vehicle obstructed the convoy and they slashed the tyres. The witness also slapped the driver.

Babucarr Njie also recalled a time he was ordered to go to Serekunda police station with J.C.B. Mendy to collect someone and take him to Sanna Sabally’s residence where he (Sanna Sabally) said they should deal with him. The man was put on a “series of punishment, front jumping, squats and bathing”. The witness also admitted beating him using a stick.
The witness then discussed his arbitrary arrest in 1995. He said that one day, ten minutes after Sadibou Hydara and Sanna Sabally had gone upstairs for a meeting Yahya Jammeh had called for, the witness saw two soldiers including one Lieutenant Tamba who forcefully opened the office door and entered. The other officer asked him to surrender his side arm and he refused. He told the witness he was working on orders and the witness complied. He told the Commission that he was then locked into a room and after a while, he came out and went downstairs to find out what was happening.

The witness explained that as he was going down the stairs, he met with Almamo Manneh who put his pistol on his forehead and threatened to kill him. Baba Njie (aka B.A. Njie) then intervened and the witness was allowed to move. Downstairs, he met with Edward Singhateh who said “You see what Vice- has done?”. He was referring to Sanna Sabally. The witness stated that he went to the guardroom corridor and saw after a couple of minutes, two Nissan patrol park at the emergency door by Yahya Jammeh’s office. Then he heard soldiers say Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara were arrested in Yahya Jammeh’s office upstairs. The cars left State House with Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara. While still at the State House, the witness said that he heard on the one o’clock news that Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara were arrested and taken to Mile 2 because they wanted to overthrow Yahya Jammeh. The witness further added that while he was at State House, he heard soldiers broke into his room at Fajara residence and stole his personal belongings.

On Monday morning, the witness reported back to State House and Tumbul Tamba came and said that on orders of Edward Singhateh, he was to go to the National Intelligence Agency, NIA for interrogation. The witness was taken with the orderlies J.C.B. Mendy, Zakaria Darboe and Baba Njie. The witnesses stated that he was at the NIA for two days because they said he was very close to Sanna Sabally. The witness added that he knew nothing about a coup.

Babucarr Njie told the Commission that he was later taken to Mile 2 and arbitrary detained for two years. He added that during that time, he was never convicted of a crime, did not have access to a lawyer nor his family.

He also specified that he was never tortured. During this period, his salary was frozen. Upon his unconditional release, he tried to claim the money but to no avail. He said he was reinstated but still monitored by Tumbul Tamba.

On the impact that his detention had on his family, witness Njie said his mother had to relocate to Senegal and he could not see her. They were reunited when she learned of his release.

PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:

Torture
Sanna Sabally, Yankuba Touray, Edward Singhateh, Babucarr Njie aka Ponkal (the witness)
Extradjudicial killing
Sanna Sabally
Edward Singhateh
Burial
Alhagie Kanyi
Arbitrary arrest
Edward Singhateh, Tumbul Tamba
WITNESS NAME: Lamin Kaba BAJO

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 16th April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: 22nd July 1994, the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup, the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay, arrest and detention of opposition supporters

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Commander of the Presidential Guards at the State House

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Minister of Interior, Member of the AFPRC council and held several other positions

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: President of the Gambia Football Federation

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Witness Bajo told the Commission about the close and brotherly relationship he had with former President Yahya Jammeh from the time they enrolled into the Gendarmerie in the same batch and how Yahya Jammeh did him a huge favour by fighting to have a scholarship for further studies in Morocco that was in his (Yahya Jammeh’s name) changed to Bajo’s, a training which essentially led to his promotion to Commander of the Presidential Guards at the State House, the position he held at the time of the 22nd July 1994 coup.

He went on to explain that while on an overseas trip in England with the then President, Dawda Kairaba Jawara, he was informed during one of their telephone briefings with the office in Banjul about rumours circulating that soldiers within the army were planning a coup. He said he did not treat this seriously or pass along the information to President Jawara then as he deemed it premature by virtue of the fact that he was informed that the National Security Service was further investigating the matter and also that there had been previous such rumours which were unfounded.

He said upon their arrival back in the country on 21st July 1994, the President was accorded the usual protocols at the airport and on the way from the airport, he was briefed that prior to their arrival, some officers were disarmed by the high army command at the airport because of the coup rumour and that to his surprise, this included Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh.

The witness said that upon receiving this information, he started making arrangements even before they arrived at the State House, which included having the officer-in-charge take the necessary security precaution and reinforce the guards at the State House. When asked about informing the President at the point, the witness said he did not inform him but he knew the President was already informed by the National Security Service Director.

Continuing his testimony, the witness said that when he reported to work the next morning, the Presidential Guards were on standby though the weapons they had were not sufficient to protect the State House. He said he was in his office waiting to escort the President from his residence to this office when they were informed that there was some movement at Yundum Barracks, that some soldiers had seized the armoury and they were heading towards Banjul. He said at that point they realized that the rumour was not a rumour anymore.

He said they reinforced the guards at the State House and escorted the President and his family to the ship and then returned to his office. He said he later returned to the ship to check on the President and his family and he (the President) asked about
the Inspector General of Police who he went and fetched. He said the Inspector General and himself briefed the President that they had taken the next necessary dispositions and had soldiers and police trying to stop the advancing soldiers.

The witness said that when they (the witness and the Inspector General) left the room the President to go back, they realised the boat had just started leaving the dock. He said they tried to negotiate to be allowed to leave the boat but to no avail and that they left with the boat reluctantly. Witness Bajo denied suggestion that he had prior knowledge of the coup and wanted to stay behind to participate in the coup.

Witness Bajo said that when he later had access to the telephone, he called his office and the call was received by Lang Tombong Tamba who briefed him that the coup makers were already at Gambia high school, heavily armed. He told him to try and make sure to do everything possible to negotiate with them, talk to them so to avoid any bloodbath.

The witness admitted to the suggestion by the Counsel that he asked his men to give up the State House to the coup makers.

The witness continued to explain to the Commission that negotiations ensued between the Junta, represented by Edward Singhateh who offered President Jawara the position of senior Statesman, to advise the new government, however, Sir Dawda refused despite his family’s encouragement to accept the deal. He counter-proposed that the soldiers return to barracks, which they also did not agree to either. This, he said left them with no choice but to negotiate with President Abdou Diouf of Senegal at that time with the help of the US Secretary of State that eventually led to Sir Dawda Jawara being accepted into the country on humanitarian grounds but they would not intervene militarily to save the situation. Witness Bajo said he took the risk of returning to Gambia on 30th July 1994 with two of the guards, the late Philip Jabang and one Ansu Sarjo with the hope of getting support from the Nigerians to bring back President Jawara however, these hopes were dashed when the Nigerian Foreign Minister informed them that while they wanted to help dislodge the Junta, they could not get clearance from the Senegalese government to use of their land or air space to come in to The Gambia. The witness said he returned also partly because he felt he was responsible for men under his command as a soldier, he didn’t have any reason to stay away in an uncertain situation either.

Continuing his testimony, Witness Bajo explained to the Commission how he was received in his former office by the late Vincent Jatta who at the time was the Commander. He said Commander Jatta went to inform the Council who he learned were in a meeting at that time. Commander Vincent Jatta came back and told them that the Chairman said for them to go home and wait for further instructions.

Lamin Kaba Bajo said he received a call a week or two later from Demba Njie, the then Chief of Staff, asking him to report to the State House as the Chairman requested to see him. He said when he met with Yahya Jammeh he told him he didn’t blame him for leaving as he understood he was doing his job, and that they were considering appointing him Commissioner of Western Division which he accepted as a duty to serve his country and people. He said the Vice Chairman of the AFRPC was present at that meeting.

The Lead Counsel at this stage pointed to the witness that this was yet another favour bestowed on him by Yahya Jammeh, a statement that the witness rephrased as a task given to him and as destiny but later reluctantly accepted as a favour on the insistence of the Counsel.

Moving on to questions about 11th November 1994, the witness said on the morning of 11th November, his driver who lived in Yundum village told him he got some information that there was shootings overnight at Fajara Barracks. The witness expanded further
on this as he said he was not certain on names and the factuality of what happened and wouldn’t want to implicate people based on information that may not be true.

He said he later heard the announcement made by Sanna Sabally about what happened i.e. a group of soldiers led by Lieutenant Basirou Barrow attempted to dislodge the Junta and in the shootout, some of the soldiers including Basirou Barrow lost their lives.

The witness said he didn’t come to know exactly what happened and that though he was concerned, he didn’t make much effort to find out as it was not within his duties.

The witness said that after this event, Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara were arrested in January of 1995. He said he was called to the State House a few days later and appointed Minister of Interior and member of the AFPRC which he accepted, another event which the Lead Council of the TRRC again classified as another “huge favour”. Witness Bajo reluctantly concurred.

Discussing the death of former Minister of Finance, Ousman Koro Ceesay and the events surrounding his death, the witness confirmed seeing President Yahya Jammeh having conversations with his then deputy, Captain Edward Singhateh at the foot of the aircraft before his departure and again at the door of the aircraft, events he agreed were abnormal protocol. Witness Bajo said he learnt about the demise of Ousman Koro Ceesay while on a trip to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia with President Yahya Jammeh when the President called them about 20 to 30 minutes after they arrived at the hotel.

Lamin Kaba Bajo agreed he thought it strange that the President did not give him further details or instructions as the Minister of Interior while they were away nor when they came back but didn’t pursue it. When asked about a claim made by then Captain Ebou Jallow in an article he published in 1999 that he (Jallow) had put it to Yahya Jammeh in the presence of the witness what had happened (to Ousman Koro Ceesay) was outrageous and that he should distance himself from such if he wanted to preserve his honour, the witness maintained that Ebou Jallow’s statement was false, that he was not aware of nor not present at such an encounter.

The witness further testified that he gave instructions to the then Inspector General of Police, Mr. Gibril Joof to investigate the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay after the President told the family of Ousman Koro Ceesay that the matter will be investigated. When the Lead Counsel put to him that the TRRC investigators had spoken with Mr. Joof who denied receiving such instruction from the witness at that time, Witness Bajo maintained that he made the instructions and followed to the best of his ability and even proposed to Mr. Joof to issue a press release to the general public to solicit information from them but Mr. Joof’s response was always that the investigators were yet to report back to him etc.

Mr. Bajo accepted responsibility that he was negligent in discharging his duties regarding the investigation into the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay and agreed that the failure to do what was expected of them (the people in authority) was a general malice on the part of the entire system at that time, not just him but disagreed that he and his colleagues were only interested in protecting their jobs in addition to the fact that Yahya Jammeh did him a favour throughout his career as well as give him $100,000 from the $5M cash brought by Ebou Jallow from Taiwan.

The witness denied a statement by former Minister of Justice, Mustapha Marong that Yahya Jammeh told the witness in his (Mustapha Marong's) presence to proceed with the investigation into the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay “quietly” which he (Mr. Marong) took to mean he (the witness) was not to do anything at all. He also maintained that he was not aware of any criminal activity the then chairman of the AFPRC was involved in, any substantial evidence that the
Junta summarily executed the soldiers on 11th November 1994 or the blatant violations of rights the institutions he oversaw were accused of.

On the issue of the arrests of the United Democratic Party, UDP supporters demonstrating at the American Embassy, the witness said he just heard that the UDP supporters were arrested by a security unit that was not under him. He said he didn’t know what they were arrested for and that the police were not involved in the arrests nor was aware of them being detained at any police station.

The witness admitted that his jurisdiction was crossed illegally several times without him taking any action but said he did take action in some instances. He also admitted extending the detention of the arrested UDP supporters under laws that were bad but said that bad as they were, they were the prevailing rules at the time. He claimed he had on many occasions raised the issue of the detainees at council level and with his colleagues up to the point of being accused of being one of them or a sympathizer.

Moving on to the attack on the UDP supporters at Denton Bridge, the subsequent arrest of some of them and the death of two of them, the witness admitted having heard about it and responded in the positive to not having done anything about it because it was carried out by a sister organization that was not under his purview.

He denied that his inaction was for the benefit of Yahya Jammeh.

The Counsel put to the witness a statement that that was purportedly said by him (the witness) as the campaign manager during a political campaign that if voters voted against Yahya Jammeh, the biometric system would detect it. He further supported this statement quoting a newspaper article that featured Lawyer Ousainou Darboe of the UDP at the time accusing the witness of making this statement. The witness said he did not remember making the statement at that time.
WITNESS NAME: Mustapha L. MARONG

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 16th April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: The aftermath of the killing of Ousman Koro Ceesay

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Attorney General and Minister of Justice in the AFPRC government

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): AFPRC Civilian Council member and Attorney General/Minister of Justice

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Managing Director of The Gambia Maritime Administration

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Mustapha L. Marong explained to the Commission that his role as an Attorney General also entailed being the Chief Legal Adviser to the government and that his ministry instituted proceedings for both civil and criminal cases to either prosecute or defend. He stated that crime investigations was directly under the Ministry of Interior who further sent documents to the Ministry of Justice for onward actions which included either for the case to be taken to court or not. He also stated that police investigations were directly under the Ministry of Interior.

Mustapha L. Marong went on to testify that on 23rd June 1995, whilst at home in Banjul, he was visited by Lawyer Ousainou Darboe and one Morro Corrah. He said Ousainou Darboe asked him whether he was aware of the arrest of Bakary Njie, the former Managing Director of GAMTEL and his colleagues. The witness said he responded that he was not informed of any arrest and that no one had sought advice from his office in relation to any arrest.

The witness said he then tried to call Edward Singhateh whilst Ousainou Darboe was there to get first-hand information, as Edward Singhateh was the Vice Chairman of the AFPRC at the time but to no avail. He eventually spoke to Edward Singhateh but on the next day. He asked about the arrest of Bakary Njie and his colleagues and to his surprise, Edward Singhateh replied that it wasn’t an urgent matter. The witness further enquired about the reason behind the arrest and Edward Singhateh told him that they believed Bakary Njie and his colleagues had vital information stored on their computers which they refused to hand over. He said that they would be released once they gave access to those files. The witness testified that he then called Ousainou Darboe and related the information he had received from Edward Singhateh. He stated that later on, during the course of the week, he heard that Bakary Njie and his colleagues were released upon adhering to the conditions for their release.

Witness Marong further stated that on the same day, 24th June 1995, he received a phone call from Mbemba Tamedou the then Minister of Works who told him that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s official vehicle had been found completely burnt in the bush near Jamburr and it was reported that someone had been found inside. The witness said that upon hearing this information he concluded that it must have been Ousman Koro Ceesay as he usually drove the car himself.

Mr. Marong said he asked Mbemba Tamedou whether Ousman Koro Ceesay was at the airport on Friday night and he confirmed he was, together with all the other ministers except the ones that went with Yahya Jammeh to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He said Mbemba Tamedou told him that all the ministers had gone home after seeing off the President except for Ousman Koro Ceesay who was reported not to have returned home according to the information received.
Mustapha L. Marong then told Mbemba Tamberou that he had just spoken to Edward Singateh but that he had not mentioned anything about Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death, although he was the Attorney General and Minister of Justice.

Witness Marong related that after lunch, he left for Banjul and on his way he spoke with Susan Waffa Ogo the then Minister of Tourism and he relayed his condolences to her as a colleague of Ousman Koro Ceesay, saying that he was a good man. He added that he asked her why the AFPRC government was remaining quiet while Radio Senegal had announced the death. He further stated that he was devastated as he regarded the silence of the AFPRC government as a disgrace as Ousman Koro Ceesay was faithfully and sincerely serving the country and had died or was murdered.

He said Susan Waffa Ogo told him that when she spoke with Edward Singateh about Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death it seemed to her as if she was hitting her head against a wall. The witness stated that he later understood what she meant by that when he discussed the same issue with Edward Singateh over the phone.

Mustapha L. Marong testified that at Ousman Koro Ceesay’s funeral home, he expressed his condolences to his father, Master Sainey Ceesay and told him that together with his son, they were the only two civilian ministers in the AFPRC government and that they had sat close to each other on many meetings. He added that he promised Master Sainey Ceesay that his son’s death would be investigated and that as a Council member and colleague he wanted to know who was behind it.

He assured that he was not part of any conspiracy to kill Ousman Koro Ceesay, for he had no reason, unlike others.

Mr Marong further testified that upon leaving the funeral home, he called Edward Singateh and told him that the Ceesay family believed the death was “foul play”. Edward Singateh raised his voice and said “are you saying it is a murder?” to which the witness further reiterated that all he had said was that “it was a foul play”. He also told Edward Singateh that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s father said his son had no business in the bush near Jamburr and Edward Singateh affirmed that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death was an accident. The witness responded that as the Attorney General, he was not aware of any information or document sent to the Ministry of Justice entailing any circumstances surrounding the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay.

The witness attested that he believed that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death was connected to the 35 million dollars that was borrowed and negotiated with the Exim Bank in Taipei (Taiwan) by Ebou Jallow, then Spokesperson of the AFPRC government. He explained that this loan was never discussed during Cabinet meetings and that he only heard from it in an interview given to the BBC by the former President Sir Dawda Jawara.

According to the witness, Ousman Koro Ceesay regarded that transaction as unlawful and Mr Marong added “these people were drunk with power. For them, they believe that “I am the State!” They have the power and so they didn’t care about law. This is their belief”. The witness explained that no one other than the Minister of Finance had the mandate to negotiate and conclude loans on behalf of the government. The witness explained that he had said the same thing when he testified before the Janneh Commission, which was set up to investigate Yahya Jammeh’s assets and financial dealings. He had told them that there was no amendment to the Loans Act at the time to allow Ebou Jallow to negotiate the said 35 million dollars.

Witness Marong testified that whilst he was at Master Sainey Ceesay’s home, Ebou Jallow had called
Master Sainey Ceesay and told him that the AFPRC would investigate his son’s death and would leave no stone unturned. He said from that time up until his testimony at the TRRC, he never heard of any efforts made to find the truth behind the death. The witness told the Commission that he and the other civilian ministers believed Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death was not an accident.

The witness further explained that after the burial of Ousman Koro Ceesay many were saying that the AFPRC Council killed Ousman Koro Ceesay, even in the presence of Edward Singhateh and Yankuba Touray. The soldiers especially were saying that it was clear that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death was not a result of natural causes and were wondering how he could have been sitting in a burning car without attempting to escape by opening the door. The witness also said that “Koro was a martial artist both young and strong, therefore he could have broken the windshield and escaped”.

The witness testified that Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death was never discussed during the AFPRC cabinet as an agenda item and went on to say that after the burial of Ousman Koro Ceesay on 27th June 1995, they had a cabinet meeting where himself, Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, then Secretary General Mustapha Wadda, then Secretary to the Cabinet Tafsir Demba Mbaye, Susan Waffa Ogo, Aminata Faal Sonko, and Bala Garba Jahumpa were present. During that meeting, Edward Singhateh read a tribute to Ousman Koro Ceesay, which didn’t last for more than two minutes after which he asked the civilian ministers if anyone had anything to contribute and the witness said “we all shut our mouths because we knew what happened”. He also said that he remembered Yankuba Touray not saying anything.

Mustapha L. Marong testified that upon Yahya Jammeh’s returned from Addis Ababa, he made a statement in passing about Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death saying that “people are accusing the AFPRC Council members of sanctioning the death of Koro”.

He said Edward Singhateh described Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death as an accident while Yahya Jammeh referred to it as “an Act of God”.

Witness Marong explained that the military members of the AFPRC government didn’t attach any form of regard to Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death as it was never discussed as a priority and he further said if it was given any regard the case would have been constantly brought before Cabinet for necessary actions to be taken. He also stated that “not a single butut was paid to Koro’s family” and there was never a time when a coroner’s inquest was conducted or a single piece of paper sent to the Ministry of Justice about Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death. He mentioned that the Director of Public Prosecution at that time was Justice Kamba and his deputy was Fatou Bom Bensouda. He said that he was never informed of any investigation relating to the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay ranging from the Office of the Director of Public Prosecution, the Solicitor General and the Ministry of Interior as well. When asked if he believed the former Minister of Interior, Lamin Kaba Bajo’s statement that it was a form of negligence, the witness dismissed the statement saying that it was “a willful refusal to investigate”.

Regarding the investigation of Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death, the witness testified that Yahya Jammeh told Lamin Kaba Bajo to “proceed with it quietly”. Mustapha L. Marong said that this meant that Lamin Kaba Bajo was to do nothing. The witness said that it was very unfortunate that Lamin Kaba Bajo denied that Yahya Jammeh had given him such an instruction and said Lamin Kaba Bajo was either covering for himself or for someone.

The witness explained that it was a systematic failure on the part of the Ministry of Interior and the
failure was from the top as he cited that if the command should come from the top and the “boss” doesn’t give orders to those under his command then nothing can be done by the subordinates. He was of the view that there was a driving force that led to the systematic refusal to investigate and not a negligence as it has been claimed as there were well qualified people who could have handled the case.

Witness Marong testified that at the time, there were rumors that Edward Sing hateh, Yankuba Touray and their subordinates had killed Ousman Koro Ceesay – and there was no evidence to prove the contrary. He said he also heard that “Koro was lured into Yankuba Touray’s apartment and that is where they dealt the deadliest blow ever”. The witness further added that according to rumors, a caravan of speeding vehicles was seen from Farato heading towards Jamburr that night and in the morning the vehicle was found completely burnt in was made to look like an accident.

Mr Marong stated that AFPRC Junta members always saw themselves as most important and thought that the civilian ministers owed them for removing a corrupt government, which according to the witness was not true as later there was evidence about who was really corrupt.

Mustapha L. Marong said he was deployed to the Ports Authority after a slight cabinet reshuffle, which he was happy about.

In his concluding remarks, the witness made reference to a novel titled the Anthropologist written by Margaret Mead who said “the only time evil prospers in society is when good men sit and fold their arms and do nothing”. He said, he thought he had a moral obligation to come before the TRRC to say what he knew about the assassination of Ousman Koro Ceesay. He said he had done his part and it was left to the Commission to separate the wheat from the chaff and draw their conclusion out from his testimony. He went on to say that Ousman Koro Ceesay was his friend and of all those in the Cabinet as well. He ended his testimony by saying that

“Koro was betrayed and overwhelmed, and at that very moment he realized that he was going to be assassinated, can you imagine how he felt, someone who loved his country and worked for it, you killed him for the love of money”.

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESSES DURING TESTIMONY:**

**Extrajudicial killing**
Edward Sing hateh, Yankuba Touray

**Denial of justice**
Yahya Jammeh

**Participation in the denial of justice**
Lamin Kaba Bajo
WITNESS NAME: Ya Bajen Ceesay JAITEH

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 17th April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: The events surrounding the death of Ousman Koro Ceesay Finance Minister in the AFPRC government

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Nurse at the Children’s hospital in Banjul

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Immediate younger sister to Ousman Koro Ceesay

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Immediate younger sister to the late Ousman Koro Ceesay.

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Ya Bajen Ceesay Jaiteh told the Commission that after her brother, Ousman Koro Ceesay, received his bachelor’s and master’s degrees abroad, he returned to The Gambia and started his own IT firm called Quantum Associates. In March 1995, he was approached by the AFPRC and offered an advising role to the President Yahya Jammeh. Soon after, he was appointed to be Minister of Finance and Trade.

The witness testified that her brother was motivated to join the government - despite her and her mother’s warnings - because he believed they were going to transform The Gambia and he wanted to serve the Gambian people. The witness stated that when she first heard of the news regarding the job offer, she was not happy and shared her discontentment with her mother who harbored the same feelings. She added that she was skeptical about the military, which according to her believed in the use of power and force, which was completely different from her brother’s principles. She therefore assumed there would be a clash.

Witness Jaiteh stated that in May of 1995 she walked in on Ousman Koro Ceesay and their mother having a secret conversation. When she asked what they were speaking about, their mother informed her that Ousman Koro Ceesay had told her of an argument with Edward Singhateh who had threatened to kill him.

Her mother asked her brother to resign, as he was her only son. However, her brother replied that somebody had to do the job and he was not going to be prevented by anyone from doing it. The witness stated she did not know the context of her brother’s argument with the Lieutenant.

According to witness Jaiteh, a few days after hearing about Singhateh’s threats, she received a note from Abdoulie Bojang, a prison guard, which had been given to him by Captain Cambi, the witness’ husband at the time, who was jailed in Mile 2. The note warned Ousman Koro Ceesay to be careful of Edward Singhateh. She added that Ousman Koro Ceesay destroyed the note and made her promise not to tell their mother about its contents.

The witness stated that over the next few weeks her brother was consumed by his work. He said he was working on his budget speech, but she and others suspected he was also planning to talk about discrepancies in the budget and allegations the regime was stealing money from the State. Despite his heavy workload, her brother continued to visit the family household every evening as he promised his mother he would.
On 23rd June 1995, Ousman Koro Ceesay called the family to say he was going to visit the house in the afternoon after accompanying Chairman Yahya Jammeh to the airport for his trip to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. However, the witness’ brother never came home, and the witness and her mother stayed up until 1 in the morning waiting for him to return.

Witness Jaiteh testified that the next morning, 24th June, the family received random phone calls asking for Ousman Koro Ceesay. Around lunchtime the witness’ aunt called the family and told them she had heard that he had been in an accident. The witness stated that she immediately called hospitals and police stations until someone at Yundum police station told her there had been an accident with a car that matched her brother’s.

She was told that the body had been charred beyond recognition.

The Counsel confirmed with the witness that the government did not formally call the family to tell them of Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death. Based on previous testimony before the TRRC from Lamin Kaba Bajo, the TRRC Counsel suggested that the calls the family received on the morning of the 24th were in fact members of the government who had heard of Ousman Koro Ceesay’s death from Yahya Jammeh upon their arrival in Addis Ababa on the morning of the 24th June.

The witness testified that by that evening of the 24th June, she heard rumors that Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, and Peter Singhateh had killed her brother.

Over time details trickled in – that he had been beaten with a baseball bat at Yankuba Touray’s house, then his body was driven to a place on the road where his car was set on fire with him inside.

She also testified that she heard rumors that Peter Singhateh sustained a burn on his arm during the murder, and as a result he was wearing bandages.

Witness Jaiteh stated that she visited the mortuary to see her brother’s body on Sunday, 25th June and barely recognized the charred remains as being from a human being. Afterward she visited the alleged accident site, where she found what looked like a piece of bone that she picked up and gave to her mother as a keep sake.

On the evening of Sunday, the 25th June, a government delegation came to the family home and requested to give Ousman Koro Ceesay a state funeral. The witness testified that the family was furious and declined the offer.

Monday 26th June was the funeral day. Bajen Ceesay Jaiteh stated that thousands of people came to accompany her brother’s body from the mortuary to the mosque. After the final prayers at the mosque, the witness testified she heard there was a scuffle between the civilians and military when the soldiers said they would transport the coffin and the civilians adamantly refused.

The witness stated that after the funeral Edward Singhateh and Yankuba Touray, among others, visited the family house to extend their condolences. When they approached her mother and asked her to accept their sympathies, the witness said her mother told them “you have some nerves to come here and extend your condolences after you killed my son.”

Edward Singhateh allegedly tried to give her an envelope full of money, but she said her mother refused to take it.

According to the witness, one week after the funeral President Yahya Jammeh came to the house to
pay his condolences. He promised the family no stone would be left unturned in the investigation of Ousman’s death. The witness stated one of her mother’s sisters responded by asking “how would you except killers to do justice?” Despite the promise, no one from the family was questioned by the police or any investigatory body.

Several weeks after Yahya Jammeh’s visit to the house, the witness stated that she made an appointment for her and her aunt to visit him (Yahya Jammeh) to inquire about the investigation. The witness testified that Yahya Jammeh told them that they suspected Ousman Koro Ceesay had been killed by the Jawara regime. When they questioned this logic, he did not respond. Instead, he brought out bundles of money and asked them to take it. The witness stated that initially she refused, saying they were there for information, not money, but that her aunt convinced her to take the money for her brother’s charity. Before they left the office, Yahya Jammeh promised he would call the witness’s parents with an update.

The witness testified that Yahya Jammeh did indeed call the house a few weeks later, but he provided no information about her brother. The witness stated that her mother yelled at him on the phone. When he called back a few weeks later, at the witnesses’ urging, her mother had the same reaction and told President Yahya Jammeh “don’t ever contact this family again.”

The witness stated that the money given to the family by Yahya Jammeh was distributed to the local mosques in honor of her brother.

Witness Jaiteh told the Commission that her brother’s death was devastating for her family, her brother’s friends, and the youth of Gambia.

PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:
Extrajudicial killing (Ousman Koro Ceesay in June 1995)
Edward Sing hateh, Peter Sing hateh, Yankuba Touray

After his murder their mother was never the same, and the family eventually ended up moving to the United States. Her parents died in 2014 without ever getting justice for their son.
the Commission that the soldiers and men were essentially not happy with the fact that top command posts were occupied by Nigerians while they (Gambians) were expected to step up in times of crisis. He said they were made to feel they (Gambian soldiers) were not capable of running the army and were labelled as “immature”. Baboucarr Jatta also added that cultural differences between the Gambian and Nigerians and disrespectful treatment of Gambian officers by the Nigerian leadership did not help ease the frictions that already existed.

In terms of training, Commander Jatta said training carried out by the Nigerian team was minimal, almost at a standstill compared to what they were used to under their previous commander; a situation that prompted a dialogue with the government and as a result of which the famous training at Kudang Camp came about.

Witness Jatta told the Commission that while the Kudang training exercise was a success in terms of physically engaging the soldiers and affording them the opportunity to engage for the first time in a long distance exercise, he felt the drills were rushed and poorly organized. He said that the Gambian soldiers expected to run the exercise with the Nigerians acting as the “umpires” however, the Nigerians ended up handling everything and controlling the exercise, hence further deepening the resentment against them. He further stated that the Kudang exercise also created a platform for a coup, something he described as “…very, very bad”.

WITNESS NAME: Baboucarr JATTA

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 18th April 2019

EVENT(S) DISCUSSED: 22nd July coup 1994, alleged 11th November failed coup, Arrest detention and torture of Sanna Sabally and Sadibou Hydara, Denton Bridge incident

POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT: Major at The Gambia National Army

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Army Commander during the alleged 11th November 1994 failed coup

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Retired Army Commander

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Witness Jatta explained the changes in leadership in the army prior to the arrival of the Nigerian Army Training Group including the replacement of Colonel Ndw Njie as a result of demonstrations by soldiers returning from the peace keeping mission in Liberia.

He told the Commission that as far as he knew, the army officers were never officially consulted nor briefed on the agreement between The Gambia and Nigeria that led to the presence of the Nigerian army. He stated that there were numerous problems within the army at the time such as the perception of being suppressed; poor welfare of soldiers and corruption among the officers and men responsible for providing the food; lack of distinction between privileges and rights by soldiers; grossly inadequate accommodation; inadequate transportation allowances etc.

Witness Jatta agreed that the soldiers’ grievances over welfare were reasonable but highlighted that the government could not do much to change the conditions at that time due to financial constraints.

On the issue of soldiers’ reaction to the command posts given to the Nigerian training team, Jatta told
The witness explained that after the exercise at Kudang they discovered that some officers were talking about overthrowing the government. He said the matter was investigated by the Nations Security Service, NSS, which was working with senior Nigerian army officers, among them Colonel Akoji and junior Gambian officers such as Corporal Modou Faal Jammeh. He said that senior Gambian army officers were disregarded during the investigations until it boomeranged on 22nd July 1994.

Moving on to the 22nd July coup, Commander Jatta explained that at the time of the coup, there was a command gap as the out-going Nigerian Commander, Brigadier General Abubacarr Dada was yet to hand over command to the incoming commander, Colonel Lawal Guadebe. In addition, Colonel Guadebe was in Nigeria on time 22nd July Coup. This left command technically in the hands of Colonel Akoji who was the most senior commanding on the ground at the time.

In his testimony, the witness said that on 21st July 1994, he had fallen ill and was given a week’s Excused Duty (ED) by the army medic. On his way to present the ED to his superior at Army Headquarters in Banjul the next day (22nd July 1994), Witness Jatta saw a commotion at Denton Bridge and when he enquired, a soldier told him that the Tactical Support Group, TSG had blocked the bridge. He said he went further to get more details and saw an army utility vehicle being driven by Captain Cambi, with Captain Mamat Cham, Lieutenant Alpha Kinteh and others whose names he could not remember. He said Captain Cham told him that the commotion was caused by coup plotters and that they (Cham and co) were on their way to Colonel Akoji’s residence as he was the commander in charge. He said he joined Cham and co to go to the Colonel’s residence.

At the Colonel’s residence, Colonel Akoji confirmed that this was a coup. The witness said Colonel Akoji kept having private conversations with Captain Cham, which he felt was not proper because if the Colonel had anything to say he should have been talking to him (Jatta) as a more senior officer. The witness said that Colonel Akoji eventually told him that this was his (Jatta’s) country and the he should go and find out.

The witness and Captain Mamat Cham went to State House, where Edward Singhateh confirmed to them that they had taken over the government. Edward Singhateh told him “that this was their show” and left with Captain Mamat Cham leaving him (Jatta) behind puzzled and embarrassed.

When probed further, Witness Jatta admitted that based on Captain Mamat Cham’s behaviour at Colonel Akoji’s residence and again his chummy interaction with Second Lieutenant Edward Singhateh at State House, he highly suspect that Mamat Cham was part of the coup or that they were accommodating Cham.

The witness explained that soon after a call came through requesting all officers to report to State House.

At the State House, they had a meeting with Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh, Second Lieutenant Edward Singhateh, Captain Samsudeer Sarr and Captain Ndure Cham where

Yahya Jammeh told them “we have taken over the country and this is our show. We expect sanity and no other thing especially from senior officers. Don’t make any attempt to try us. We are just warning people. Any attempt would be met by force” and cocked his (empty) weapon as a sign of threat.

He said Jammeh further told them that the Junta had suffered to reach where they were and they were not prepared to relinquish power to any senior officers.
He said he later excused himself as he was not feeling well and was offered a ride home escorted by Captain Ndure Cham. On the way he said he was told by Ndure Cham that they have been planning “this” (meaning the coup) for quite a long time and though he expressed his reservations, Captain Ndure Cham assured him that this would be different.

Witness Jatta explained that a month before the alleged 11th November failed coup, he was instructed by the Minister of Defence, Edward Singhateh to remove Basirou Barrow who was Battalion Commander at Yundum Barracks at the time. He said he complied even though the Minister did not have authority to give such an order at the time because he feared losing his job.

On the 10th November, the witness said he received a call from Edward Singhateh, Sanna Sabally and the Director General of the National Intelligence Agency, NIA around 10-11pm stating there was an alleged coup in the making at Yundum Barracks and invited him to meet them there to address the issue. He said he asked who was purported to be plotting the coup but was not told.

At Yundum, Commander Jatta said they met with the men including then Battalion Commander Captain Marong where Sanna Sabally and Edward Singhateh warned them that any efforts towards a coup will be crushed and fired two shots in the air at that meeting.

He said he reported back to work the following Monday which coincided with the Council’s visit to the detained ministers of the deposed regime at the National Security Service headquarters and he decided to follow them. He said Council Chairman Yahya Jammeh, Sanna Sabally and Edward Singhateh were there and told the ministers to be calm, that this was their show.

The witness said at the visit, he was instructed by Edward Singhateh to return to the Army Headquarters and do everything necessary to help the Nigerians soldiers leave the country. Witness Jatta said that during the three weeks that ensued, all but four of the senior Gambian officers were arrested and detained at Mile 2. He said Captain Momodou Badjie was designated Army Commander for the first three weeks after the coup before he (Jatta) was given this position. He said he was later promoted to Lieutenant Colonel backdated to 1st August 1994.

Commander Jatta told the Commission that even though the slogan of the coup makers was “soldiers with a difference”, they were not that different because as time went by, the Junta became paranoid. All senior officers had to show complete loyalty in order to keep their position. Those who showed any degree of disloyalty or were thought to be or suspected of being disloyal were fired, threatened or arrested and detained unlawfully.

He said that essentially, the Junta did not deliver on the promises of progress they made and that this, according to him, led to the events of 11th November 1994.
Witness Jatta told the Commission that he asked to see Lieutenant Basirou Barrow and went to the cell where Basirou Barrow was locked up. He said he found Basirou Barrow stripped to his underwear and in a bad shape with his mouth swollen and bleeding and when he asked him “Barrow what is this?, all he could make out from Basirou Barrow’s response was “help me”.

At approximately 4am, the witness said they left to assault Fajara Barracks with him appointed by Sanna Sabally as the commander of the assault team. He assigned the team to approach from the various entrances and managed to successfully take over the barracks.

He said that upon gaining control, he headed for the armoury to assess the situation and found that it was broken into and the weapons were tampered with ammunition all over the place. He said he delegated his men to repacked the weapons and around the time he finished sometime around 8 or 9am, he heard shots fired outside. He rushed out thinking they were under a counterattack but saw men lined up among them his driver, Lieutenant Basirou Barrow and Lieutenant Abdoulie Dot Faal and Sanna Sabally shooting at them while commanding the orderlies to shoot. He said Sabally told him he was threatening them and he cautioned Sanna Sabally against this as the families were watching. But Abdoulie Dot Faal and Basirou Barrow were hit and fell down. The witness said Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hydara and Peter Singhateh were present when this happened.

The witness said the other soldier took off running towards the residence. Some of the soldiers were firing at the ground while others ran. Sanna Sabally told them to pursue those who had escaped but Baboucarr Jatta advised him not to follow the soldiers into the residential areas.

When video clips of the testimonies of Babucarr Njie (alias Njie Ponkal), J.C.B. Mendy, Abdoulie J. Darboe and were played testifying that the witness was present at Fajara Barracks before and during the shooting, lined up with his subordinates facing the captured soldier and shoot at them, he refuted their statements. He however accepted responsibility by virtue of the fact that he was among the senior officers present at the time the soldiers were ordered to fire.

The witness said the bodies of the killed soldiers were loaded in a vehicle by the orderlies and taken to Yundum Barracks but he stayed behind to sort out a few things. He said he later called Major Ann to take over and he left for Yundum Barracks to find out if that armoury was also vandalized.

Responding to suggestions that he was at Yundum Barracks in the morning at the time the corpses arrived at the barracks with the Junta to continue the earlier operation of executing the soldiers, Baboucarr Jatta denied this allegation. Additional video clips were played featuring previous witnesses Mafugie Sonko, Alhagie Kanyi and Modou Lamin Bah (M.L. Bah) testifying that he arrived at Yundum Barracks the morning the Junta returned from Fajara Barracks and was present at the time Ebou (EM) Ceesay and Nyankabareh were arrested and brought to the barracks as well as the time Basirou Camara and Ebou (EM) Ceesay were killed. Witness Jatta also denied these accusations.

The witness also vehemently denied the suggestion based on a statement by Lieutenant Modou Marong that he (the witness) did not make any efforts to speak against or disagree with the killing his officers, that he voluntarily joined the Junta, and voluntarily made the decision to follow the AFPRC and participate in the killing of the officers without apparent consideration.
of his duty to save the lives of the innocent officers or speak on their behalf. He swore that he had a different mission at Yundum and that he tried to stop the killings but failed.

The witness said that after the killings, he talked to the Commanding Officer at that time, Lieutenant Modou Marong to help them bury the dead soldiers at the spot that they would later be able to identify the site.

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:**

**Extrajudicial Killing**

Sanna Sabally

**Present during the executions on 11th November 1994**

Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hydara, Peter Singhateh

All **senior officers** had to show **complete loyalty** in order to keep their position. Those who showed any degree of disloyalty or were thought to be or suspected of being disloyal were **fired, threatened** or **arrested** and **detained unlawfully**.
assigned to them during the political campaigns and gave a few examples. He described the time when their vehicle was attacked in Farafenni.

Their vehicle was driving through town when people from the community started throwing stones at them.

The police did not intervene despite requesting assistance and one of their members was injured.

Witness Touray also discussed another incident that occurred in Jarra Karrantaba. As they approached, they saw that Ousainou Darboe, the UDP leader had stopped on the road. They also stopped to find out what the reason was. Ousainou Darboe told them that Baba Jobe, an APRC member, had just driven past and was probably heading there as well. He added that Baba Jobe would probably try to start a fight but advised them not to retaliate. Witness Touray explained as soon as they entered the village, stones were thrown at them.

Mr. Touray further stated that the police led by Captain Suwareh finally came to Ousainou Darboe’s house in Kuntaur. Captain Suwareh requested to enter the house, but the witness and his comrades refused to let him through unless he stated the purpose of the visit.

The witness said that Ousainou Darboe told them that when he was planning his trip for his campaign, he wrote to the government to ask for security, but he was told that there was no security available for him. Captain Suwareh informed them that henceforth there would be security assigned to Ousainou Darboe.

The witness recalled that during their campaign trail, a UDP member, Hawgie Juwara was arrested. The witness was not aware of his arrest at first because the UDP members would be arrested at night and taken away. He further discussed what happened when the UDP was returning from its campaign trail.
Their torture lasted for about three hours until Yankuba Touray arrived. He recognised Yankuba Touray because he had seen him several times, including at rallies where he had addressed the crowd.

The witness further explained that once Yankuba Touray arrived he said in Mandinka that soldiers that had arrested them did not “know” their work as he had expected to find the UDP members dead upon arrival.

The witness also stated that Yankouba Touray instructed for the UDP members to be loaded onto the vehicle and driven into the sea. The witness stated some of the UDP members were thrown into the truck like bags as they had been seriously beaten but he was assisted by a soldier to climb into the truck because of the injury he had sustained. Not all the soldiers were in line with Yankouba Touray's orders and they were taken to a camp near the State House.

Demba Touray said that he could not remember the name of the camp, but it was close to the Polyclinic near the State House where soldiers used to gather. Once at the camp, the person in charge told the soldiers that there were too many people and suggested some of the UDP members be taken to Mile 2 Prison. The soldiers told the person that Yankuba Touray had instructed they be brought to the camp and they continued arguing. Members of the UDP group started dispersing and the witness was hidden by one soldier under the truck. He said he then managed to escape.

Witness Touray told the Commission that everyone in the truck sustained injuries and some died including the woman that was part of the group. According to the witness, when he managed to escape, on his way leaving the city, he found the woman near the Sheriff Dibba storey building where four men were holding her because the beating she had received was severe.

The soldiers also used guns to hit them and the witness specified that he was gun butted on his left shoulder, which resulted in him being unable to hold things with his hand.

in the provinces. He said that he received information that upon crossing a bridge in the Foni region, a UDP delegation from Kombo came to meet Ousainou Darboe and told him that things were tensed in Serekunda and Yahya Jammeh was holding a meeting in Lamin. Upon suggestion that they should spend the night in Brikama or Pirang so Yahya Jammeh could hold his meeting, Ousainou Darboe informed them that according to his programme, he was supposed to be in Banjul on this day (Sunday).

The witness further explained that Yahya Jammeh was to hold his meeting at 2pm and therefore requested for the roads to be secured but the UDP was to arrive at that time and their supporters were to come out to welcome Ousainou Darboe. They decided to continue with their journey and made their way to Banjul.

Witness Touray explained that in the truck he was in, called Democracy, the passengers were men and one woman who they picked up in Serekunda. He could not give an estimate of the number of people in the truck, but he confirmed there were many. He added that the members of the truck were not armed. The truck passengers were dressed in civilian clothes with some wearing yellow, which was the colour of the party, and others wearing UDP T-shirts. As they were moving towards Banjul, they were stopped just before crossing Denton Bridge at night by about 50 soldiers and made to alight from the truck. Passengers that were wearing UDP T-shirts were forced to remove them and throw them into a bonfire. If they did not comply, they were beaten. The passengers of the truck were made to lie on the ground.

The witness testified that whilst members of his group were on the floor, two of the soldiers stamped on them with their boots and beat them with tree branches.

The soldiers also used guns to hit them and the witness specified that he was gun butted on his left shoulder, which resulted in him being unable to hold things with his hand.
Her breast had also been slashed by a soldier and she was profusely bleeding as a result.

She was later brought to the compound where he had first taken refuge. The compound owner said he was afraid to take her to the hospital as he would also be arrested and at around 5am the woman died. The witness also explained that a man called Kebute Jankor sustained injuries and eventually died from them.

The witness said that he and others were eventually taken to the Kololi clinic by Ousainou Darboe where the witness was prescribed six injections. Demba Touray said that it took him ten years to be able to forget what Yankuba Touray had done to him. During those years he was angry and said that he would have killed him if he ever saw him but today, even if he was given the greatest military weapon, he would just walk past him.

The witness ended his testimony by saying that he knew the Jolas and that the Jolas are good people who treat non-Jolas very well. He said Yahya Jammeh was the sole responsible, not the Jolas as a group. He asked not to single out one tribe for what happened to The Gambia as people from all tribes participated in the crimes.

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:**
Order to torture and kill
Yankuba Touray

Demba Touray said that it took him ten years to be able to forget what Yankuba Touray had done to him. During those years he was angry and said that he would have killed him if he ever saw him but today, even if he was given the greatest military weapon, he would just walk past him.
witness identified himself and the soldiers informed him that he was to go to the police station. He asked what he had done but they told him that he would find out once there.

Witness Bojang explained that he resisted his arrest but they overpowered him, held him down and handcuffed him. He added that they gun butted him on his shoulders as he resisted his arbitrary arrest.

They placed him in a white double cabin truck with no plate number and told him he was being taken to Brikama police station but once he was in the vehicle, they went pass the Brikama police station straight to Banjul. The witness specified he did not recognise any of the soldiers that arrested him.

He added that they **gun butted** him on his shoulders as he resisted his **arbitrary arrest**.

They told the witness that anybody who does **not like Yahya Jammeh**, he did not like him either and that he (the witness) would **die** there.
The witness stated that he told him that he would leave the place alive and it is he (Abdoulie Kujabi) who would die. He added that he knew Abdoulie Kujabi very well as they are from the same village. According to the witness, he was targeted because he was not a member of the AFPRC party, Yahya Jammeh’s party and they wanted to kill him because of that.

The witness explained that once at the NIA premises, Abdoulie Kujabi instructed for the witness to be stripped naked. He was then taken to a standpipe where he was hosed down with water. After he was soaked, he was made to squat on a chair and they started electrocuting his feet. The witness stated that he did not know the names of his torturers but they were working under Abdoulie Kujabi’s orders. The witness further stated that they then electrocuted all parts of his body including his manhood. He said that as a result, it took almost three years before he was again able to perform his marital obligations.

He specified that they also electrocuted his left and right arm pits, and his tongue to the extent that his head was shaking; and would threaten to kill him, saying he did not like Yahya Jammeh.

Witness Bojang testified that during his detention, he was electrocuted every other day. He was detained at Bambadinka cells (underground cells/holes at the back of the NIA premises) and during his detention he did not see the sunlight once. They made him lie flat on his stomach, naked and chained his legs. He added that he was bitten by mosquitoes and was left in that position for almost a week. He said whatever position you were made to crawl in when you got to Bambadinka is the position you would be left in. When it was time to eat, they would make the witness sit and have his meal.

Mr Bojang mentioned that each cell was only big enough to contain a human body and once inside, you could not move left or right. He said that you could not access the cells without the intervention of someone to shove you inside the cells until your head touched the inner wall at the other end. The legs would be outside and they would be tied.

Describing his arbitrary detention and torture further, the witness explained that he was put in the Bambadinka underground cells during the day and around 4am, he would be removed, hosed and made to squat on a table. Four soldiers would surround him and would put a gun to his forehead, sides and back of his head. They would place a piece of a paper on the table and they ask him to sign it. He would refuse to sign, as he is not literate. They would take him to the tap, pour water onto him that he was so cold and shivering and would electrocute him on different parts of his body. He also added that whilst he was being tortured, they would put a black polythene bag over his head like a hood and tie it so he would be unable to breathe.

According to the witness, Bambadinka means “Crocodile hole”
After being **electrocuted**, they would insert his hands in a kind of a liquid form and they would burn. He added that his hands were very rough and dry as a result and usually during the Harmattan season, they would tear and bleed. He also had chronic pain on the rest of his body.

Witness Bojang said that there was a woman who helped him a lot at the NIA but she was afraid. She would remove her headtie, wipe his body and drive the mosquitoes away from him.

The witness testified that when he was first released, he was given a 50 dalasi note for transport. Once he reached the gate, he was called and told that his documents were not yet ready. He was stripped **naked** and hosed again. He was **detained** for an additional 4 to 5 days, and then told his papers were ready and finally released.

Mr. Bojang recalled being **detained** with five soldiers who were allegedly involved in the Farafenni attack. He said at night, they took one and only returned him after daylight. The next day, they repeated the procedure with another. However, he said the other 3 were taken and he never saw them again.

The witness stated that upon his release after a week, he suffered health complications, which he still had not received proper medical attention for. He mentioned being assisted by Ousainou Darboe for treatment upon his release, as his body would not stop shivering. He added that he had two wives, but one asked for a divorce since he could not perform his marital obligations and he accepted.

He further stated that upon his release, he was unable to return to work either. He was dismissed and told that since he did not like Yahya Jammeh, he could not continue to work during Yahya Jammeh regime. He asked for his dismissal letter but they refused. He was also “belittled” in his community as he did not have anything to give to his family and depended on people to feed his family. He said although Yayah Jammeh’s mother was his aunt, nobody from the family intervened. He told the Commission that his detention and torture had destroyed his entire livelihood and two of his children had to drop out of school.

Despite his **arbitrary detention** and **torture**, he continued being active in politics after his release. In his concluding remarks, he asked for Gambian **unity** and not let **political affiliations** create rifts. He called on the **Jolas** to hold one another as they all belong to the country.

**PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESS DURING TESTIMONY:**
**Arbitrary detention**
Abdoulie Kujabi
**Order to torture**
Abdoulie Kujabi
Excavation site at Yundum Barracks where captured soldiers were summarily executed on 10\textsuperscript{th}/11\textsuperscript{th} November 1994
Gambians and were unable to implement their theoretical operational plans, they performed very well on the administrative side of things and were able to restructure and organize the army as it should have been.

Witness Sabally further explained that the army was under equipped with the Nigerians having weapons that did not work. He also said that the Senior Gambian army officers had become very self-centred, knowing that the Nigerians would eventually leave and were therefore only interested in securing the position of Army Commander.

The witness told the Commission that under the People’s Progressive Party, PPP, corruption, along with political intolerance, oppression, tribalism and autocracy, were rife.

The original plan of the coup makers was for the Nigerians to be removed, but they realised that this could not be done without also removing the PPP government. Witness Sabally said “we felt, if we want to live, we have to fight” and thus they were compelled to change the democratically established order. He added that the Constitution arrogated the Gambian army the responsibility to be the watchman of the country. Upon probing, he insisted that the Gambian National Army, GNA was not only mandated to defend from external aggression but also to uphold the Constitution, and that meant removing a government that was breaking laws they themselves had promulgated. He added that the GNA’s role was to be a check on the government in the event that standards were coming down. No other constitutional order could have helped thus the army had to step in to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights. Though he recognized that it was illegal to overthrow the government, he insisted that the army had a say in the matter as citizens, and it was their responsibility

WITNESS NAME: Sanna B. Sabally

TRRC HEARING DATE(S): 24th & 25th April 2019


POSITION BEFORE THE EVENT(S): Second Lieutenant in the Gambia National Army (22nd July 1994), Vice Chairman of the AFPRC (11th November 1994)

ROLE DURING THE EVENT(S): Participated in the 22nd July 1994 coup; Participated in the execution of soldiers; Participated in the attack and torture of detainees, later Victim.

POSITION HELD AT TIME OF TESTIMONY: Works with trauma patients in Dakar, Senegal

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY: Regarding the pre-1994 coup context, Sanna Sabally testified before the Commission that he was not in favour of having the Nigerians in the Gambian army, least of all occupying senior command positions that should have been occupied by Gambians. The witness said he and his colleagues felt that the government who had brought the Nigerians either had no idea what they were doing or they had no respect for the army. He added that the feeling of resentment was being harboured throughout the army. While the Nigerian army did not train the
as soldiers to hold the government accountable by overthrowing them, even if they had been democratically elected. Upon further questioning, he refuted the idea that the army was angry. According to him, if they had been angry, there would have been bloodshed, but it was a bloodless coup.

Sanna Sabally added that the officers had tried to speak with the former government, including the Ministry of Defense, but to no avail. He started talking to then Second Lieutenant Edward Singhateh in January 1994 and as time went by they approached Captain Ndure Cham, Second Lieutenant Sadibou Hydara, Second Lieutenant Yankouba Touray, Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh, Second Lieutenant Alhagie Kanteh, Second Lieutenant Alpha Kinteh and Second Lieutenant Basirou Barrow. Initially he denied that Captain Mamad Cham was a part of their group, but upon further prompting and questioning, he stated that Mamad Cham was part of the coup and had been brought in by Edward Singhateh.

Mr Sabally explained that on Monday 18th July 1994, he was transferred to the training school at Farafenni Barracks. He believed that senior officers had received word of the coup and were separating the coup-makers. Once at Farafenni, he sought permission to go back home under the pretext that he had to tell his family, but in reality he wanted to get to Yundum Barracks to prepare the weapons (as support weapons commander he knew the armoury well). He was granted permission to return to Yundum Barracks for three days. The plan was that as soon as Sir Dawda Jawara landed at the airport, Sanna Sabally would be alerted and would block all entrances and exits to the airport with the support of the infantry battalion. At the airport the President and his entourage were to be arrested by Edward Singhateh and Yahya Jammeh who had the support of the military police at the time.

While at Yundum Barracks on Tuesday 19th July 1994 the witness was informed by Adjutant Sheriff Gomez that he was wanted at the Army Headquarters. He was escorted by Basirou Barrow who had dropped out of the plan and upon arrival at the Army Headquarters, was informed that he was to go to Colonel Akoji’s office. Upon entering, he found Colonel Akoji, Colonel Awonobi, and an intelligence officer. He was instructed to go back to Farafenni. He agreed, but went back to Yundum Barracks where he stayed unlawfully until Friday 22nd July 1994. He said he managed to escape because of the failure from the National Security Service, NSS.

The witness further testified that on Wednesday 20th July 1994, they (Sadibou Hydara, Yahya Jammeh, Edward Singhateh and himself) had their last meeting at Fajara Barracks to finalise things. Before starting the meeting, Ndure Cham informed them that he was also withdrawing.

On Thursday 21st July 1994, he waited to no avail for the call from Yahya Jammeh and Edward Singhateh. He added that their contingency plan was to take civilians as hostages to negotiate talks with the government and get the United Nations to come in for their security. He refuted allegations that they had plans to rob the Central Bank or that they had a plan to execute the president and ministers if they thought it was necessary. Sanna Sabally stated that on 21st July 1994, Yahya Jammeh eventually came back to Yundum Barracks saying he had been disarmed. Sanna Sabally convened a meeting with Sadibou Hydara and Edward Singhateh. They decided that they should avoid being arrested and should proceed with the coup. Sanna Sabally therefore took the weapons to another location and at around 3-4am, he called Yahya Jammeh and told him to come, as they could not allow themselves to be arrested and executed for treason. It was pointed to the witness that The Gambia did not have the death penalty at the time. Yahya Jammeh, Edward Singhateh and Sadibou Hydara arrived at Yundum Barracks around 6-7am.

The witness then refuted previous testimonies which alleged that junior officers -fearing that Sanna Sabally and co. would be arrested- moved to Banjul on 22nd July directly and then later brought the architects of the coup into the picture.
Going back to the early hours of 22nd July 1994, Sanna Sabally said he gave Edward Sing hateh, Yahya Jammeh and Sadibou Hydara weapons when they arrived. The witness also asked Abdou Bah to bring a truck, but none of the vehicles had keys nor fuel. He said he later came to understand that Sergeant Musa Manneh, on orders of Basirou Barrow, had removed all the keys and emptied the fuel tanks. They therefore proceeded to jump over the fence and commandeered vehicles on the highway.

According to the witness, once they commandeered civilian vehicles they went to Abuko and cut the communications cables. They then seized Fajara Barracks, and left Sergeant Gibril Bojang and then Warrant Officer Class 1 Abdoulie Dot Faal there. Upon being told that Yahya Jammeh and Edward Singhateh were negotiating at Denton Bridge, the witness went there, but by the time he arrived Yahya Jammeh and Edward Singhateh had already crossed. At the State House, he found Yahya Jammeh negotiating with Lang Tombong and a few state guards who were refusing to disarm. Sanna Sabally intervened and the state guard’s resistance crumbled. Sanna Sabally said he then seized Police Headquarters, after which he went back to the State House where there was massive jubilation among the soldiers. He proceeded onto GAMTEL and cut the communication lines there as well before returning back to the State House. Upon his return he heard the phone ring, and he remembered that there was a cellular station at Kairaba avenue. He went out for a third time to cut the communications lines, and then returned to the State House.

According to the witness they had yet to form a government. The senior officers were called to a meeting. He specified that Yankuba Touray was not yet present, as he had stayed back at Farafenni to delay men there. Sanna Sabally knew that once they took action, only Farafenni Barracks would come for them. His hope, that then-junior officer Yankuba Touray would be selected and would be able to stall them, ended up coming to pass.

Once Yankuba Touray arrived, they assigned positions within the Council based on army seniority. Yahya Jammeh became the Chairman, Sanna Sabally became his deputy, Edward Sing hateh became the Defense Minister, Sadibou Hydara became the Minister of Interior and Yankuba Touray headed the Local Government and Lands. Once they selected the members of the Council, they moved to ministerial positions. They decided to bring some civilians to form a government. They also made the decision that Sir Dawda Jawara could return to the country and retire as a former head of state. Edward Sing hateh went to the Gambia Marine Unit to inform Sir Dawda Jawara of this decision. When Edward Sing hateh left, Sanna Sabally intercepted on the radio that the Americans were trying to do a beach landing with their amphibious vehicles at the Fajara beachside. Sanna Sabally went straight to the American embassy and spoke to Andrew Winter to demand that the American ship leave Gambian waters immediately, which it did. He went back to the State House and a government was formed.

Sanna Sabally told the Commission that on the Monday after the coup he was told that Ebrima Chongan, who was the Assistant Inspector General of the Police, was organising a counter-coup. Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara and their bodyguards went to Police Headquarters and arrested Ebrima
Chongan, Captain Modou Sonko and other officers and took them to Mile 2 Prison. Sanna Sabally confirmed that those arrested were paraded in a very humiliating manner and asked for their forgiveness, as this should not have happened.

Upon request for clarification by the Lead Counsel as to the presence of Modou Sonko, the witness confirmed that Modou Sonko was arrested together with Ebrima Chongan. Upon being asked if it was possible that he had been misled about the plans to a counter-coup by Ebrima Chongan and co., Sanna Sabally reaffirmed that he believed the person who had given him the information, and that at the time he did not want to take any chances.

Moving on from the 22nd July 1994 coup, Sanna Sabally discussed his time as Vice Chairman of the AFPRC. He relayed an instance when a vehicle swerved in the middle of his convoy. The driver was apprehended, taken to Banjul Police station, and the next day (26th January 1995) he was arraigned before a court. Sanna Sabally said he later learnt that the man was charged, fined and his license confiscated. On being asked if the man had been beaten, Sanna Sabally said he could not say exactly but that it could have happened. On further probing, he said he did not see him being beaten. The Lead Counsel then stated that according to the evidence given to the TRRC the man, named Abdoulie Tekanyi, was mercilessly beaten by the witness’ security detail. Sanna Sabally accepted that it was possible that Abdoulie Tekanyi had been beaten, and that beating him under those circumstances was absolutely wrong. When asked, Sanna Sabally said he would be willing to participate in a reconciliation meeting with Abdoulie Tekanyi.

He related another incident in 1994, when on their way to Yundum Barracks, a taxi driver swerved and came in front of the lead vehicle of his convoy and caused a road accident. According to the witness, the late Corporal Albert Gomez sustained heavy injuries, which affected him for years. While they took Albert Gomez to the hospital, the taxi driver ran away. He was eventually caught and taken to Banjul Police Station. Upon being asked, Sanna Sabally said he never gave his orderlies instructions to beat the taxi driver. He added that his bodyguards knew exactly what to do to ensure his security. He agreed that beating such individuals was unlawful, although his orderlies continued to do so.

Witness Sabally recounted yet another time when a civilian’s vehicle tyre was shot because the driver had come between the lead vehicle and Sanna Sabally’s official vehicle. He also recalled another incident when Yahya Jammeh called him to tell him that Fa Ceesay was at the telephone booth at GAMTEL Serrekunda calling to insult Yahya Jammeh. He instructed Sanna Sabally to go find who this person was. The man was arrested and taken to Serrekunda station.

Upon being asked what the person’s crime was, Sanna Sabally responded that it was an order and he therefore executed it.

He informed Yahya Jammeh that the person had been arrested and taken to Serekunda Police Station. Yahya Jammeh then called the station and asked that the person be transferred to the State House. Sanna Sabally refuted testimonies given by his former orderlies that on his orders they had taken the individual to his residence where he was dealt with mercilessly before being transferred to the National Intelligence Agency, NIA. Upon further questioning, Sanna Sabally said that if his orderlies were saying he did so, then he took full responsibility for the situation and would wholeheartedly apologise to Fa Ceesay if he were given the opportunity.

The Lead Counsel then referred to an article that focused on a woman named Halo Bah who was hit by a bullet from the witness’ convoy on the Brikama Serekunda Highway on the 27th January 1995. In the article Halo Bah was demanding 1 million dalasi compensation. The witness said that on that date he was at Mile 2. The Counsel specified that the date of the article did not necessarily match the date of the
accident and that it was perhaps the date the claim was made because she would not have made a claim whilst he was free as everyone was terrified of him. Sanna Sabally said that he could not remember his orderlies shooting this woman. The witness said he had never seen the newspaper nor could he remember this incident, and thus could not take responsibility. Following further questioning by the Lead Counsel, the witness accepted that if the woman had said so, he could take responsibility for it. Sanna Sabally was informed that the victim was in the audience and asked if he was prepared to apologise, which he did in Fula. However, Halo Bah replied that her uncle had lost everything to pay for her treatment, and she still could not do anything with her hand that had been shot.

She said that without Sanna Sabally compensating her, she could not forgive him.

The Counsel directed Halo Bah to speak to the Victim Support Unit to understand the laws with regards to reparations (which as a victim she is entitled to) and closed by saying it was a separate matter to be addressed at the relevant time period.

Moving on from the violations committed against civilians, witness Sabally further testified before the Commission that on 5th September 1994, they received an intelligence report from Daba Marenah who was then the NIA Officer attached to the State House that Ebrima Chongan was sending information to the diplomatic corps. Sanna Sabally informed the Council and they visited Ebrima Chongan at Mile 2. He specified that the Council members decided to go there and “show them that they cannot bring any trouble”. According to the witness, they were only to talk to them and warn them. Upon being asked if the decision also included beating them and teaching them a lesson, Sanna Sabally said “beating should not have been part of this”. He, the other Council members (Sadibou Hydara, Edward Singhateh and Yankuba Touray) and their orderlies (Babucarr Njie aka Ponkal, Mohammed Sambou, Lamin Drammeh, Dembo Gibba, Zakaria Darboe, B.A. Njie, Mustapha “Churro” Touray, Lamin S Marong, Batch Samba Jallow, Ensa Mendy, Jali Musa Susso and Alfusainey Susso) went to Mile 2. They could not find the person who had the keys to the security wing, so they went back the next day on 6th September. That day they ordered the arrest of the person who had the keys and was not available the day before, which Sanna Sabally recognised was unlawful. At Mile 2, the group informed Ebrima Chongan, Babucarr Malick Jeng and Mamat Cham (who had been arrested) that they were privy to information that they were sending information to the diplomatic corp. Sanna Sabally stated that he ordered for them to be taken out of their cells but the men refused to come out. The orderlies dragged them out of the cells. Upon probing that as they were being dragged out of their cells, they were being riffle butted and kicked, Sanna Sabally said that was incorrect. The Counsel said there was evidence from those who participated. He also added that Ebrima Chongan, Babucarr Malick Jeng and Mamat Cham testified that they were being beaten and butt struck whilst they were dragged out of the cells. The witness insisted that they were not beaten when they were being dragged out of their cells but only once they got to security number 1 on his own orders. He added that none of the Council members beat anyone themselves but ordered the orderlies to do it and oversaw the torture of the detainees hence it was their responsibility.

Upon being probed, Sanna Sabally apologised to Ebrima Chongan, Babucarr Malick Jeng and Mamat Cham and asked for forgiveness.

Sanna Sabally said he fired two shots on the ground as a scare tactic and to show them that they “meant business”. He said he did not dispel the belief that these people had been executed. Upon further questioning, Sanna Sabally suggested that Ebrima Chongan had lied when saying that he (Sanna Sabally)
Witness Sabally narrated that on Thursday 10\textsuperscript{th} November 1994, they were in a cabinet meeting when they received a call from Samba Bah, then National Intelligence Agency, NIA Director who told them that there were disturbances at Yundum Barracks. Sanna Sabally called Baboucarr Jatta, the Army Commander who told him to address the situation immediately. Later that day Sanna Sabally, Edward Singhateh, Sadibou Hydara, Yankuba Touray and Baboucarr Jatta went to Yundum Barracks.

Upon arrival at Yundum Barracks, Basirou Barrow was nowhere to be found. A call was initiated to Basirou Barrow and one of his wives responded and said he was not around. They decided to go ahead and talk to the junior soldiers without the senior officers. In that meeting, they heard that Basirou Barrow had told the junior officers that soldiers at the State House were being paid 10,000 dalasi. They debunked that claim. They then had a meeting with the senior officers including Sarr Jakal. Sanna Sabally warned them “anyone who wants to try anything, they would stand and not run away”.

They left Yundum Barracks at around 7-8 pm. They called Fajara Barracks and told them they would go there the next day and they called Farafenni Barracks to let them know they would go there on Saturday.

As they were back in their residences, Buba Jammeh aka Kanilai and Lance Corporal Jallow (aka Ironbender or the Chinese Driver) informed Sanna Sabally that the soldiers at Yundum Barracks had broken into the armoury and were going to arrest the Council members. He immediately called Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray and Sadibou Hydara to alert them. They converged at his place and they all went together to the State House. Sanna Sabally said he felt betrayed, disappointed and confused. Once at the State House, he relayed the message to Yahya Jammeh. All five Council members decided that the plan should be to go and meet the enemy to “crush them, to kill them”.

had shown him his hands saying: “\textit{you know what this is? This is blood}”. He further stated that before leaving Mile 2, they segregated the victims of torture from the other security detainees in security number 4.

Sanna Sabally was very surprised when informed about another version of the events. He said that he did not deliberately intend to give the impression that the detainees had been executed. Upon being told that the Commission had received evidence that on their way out, those in security wing number 4 were told that “\textit{these people we have dealt with them, they have been executed, we will come back for you, tomorrow it is your turn}”, he responded that this statement was untrue.

To the suggestion that the other 30 or so detainees at security wing number 4, remained in detention for about 45 days expecting every single night that Sanna Sabally and his entourage would come to torture and execute them as announced, Sanna Sabally said he did not think they should have believed that but then added that under the circumstances it was understandable that they be scared to death and agreed that it was \textit{psychological torture}. Upon being prompted, Sanna Sabally apologised to the detainees and all Gambians about this event.

Sanna Sabally added that he had met with Ebrima Chongan on several occasions in Germany where according to him they had reconciled.

Moving on from the “Night of terror” as dubbed by the detainees, Sanna Sabally explained that around September or October 1994, weapons they had purchased were to be brought to the State House. He asked his assistant Gibril Saye to prepare the weapons. He said Gibril Saye went to Yundum Barracks and brought back the weapons but instead of bringing live ammunition, he brought blanks. Sanna Sabally asked Gibril Saye what had happened and he told him it was a mistake. He said he got very suspicious and reported the matter to the Council. He also decided to take some weapons and train his guards for any eventualty.
Sanna Sabally added that the best form of defense is attack.

Sanna Sabally informed the orderlies and the State Guards about the plan to attack. He added that they did not know at this stage if the coup makers had any external support but knew for certain that they had broken into Yundum Barracks armoury and that live ammunition had been taken. At this particular point in time, Yahya Jammeh said he was going too and Sanna Sabally told him not to as if they were killed, Yahya Jammeh could continue their mission. Upon being reminded about the Geneva Convention and how to treat captured soldiers in times of war, Sanna Sabally responded: “Forget it, it does not work anywhere in this world” and said all that mattered was victory.

They left and, on their way, they realised that only the vehicles of the Council members were there. The other vehicles were not present and Sanna Sabally later (the next day) came to learn that the State Guards had stopped at Denton Bridge to hold the bridge. He then refuted allegations that there was no resistance from Yundum and that no shots were fired.

He went to the signal office and found Ebrima Beyai on duty. Sanna Sabally called Yahya Jammeh to inform him that they had taken over Yundum Barracks. After speaking to Yahya Jammeh, a call came from Fajara Barracks. It was Binneh Minteh. Sanna Sabally stood behind Ebrima Beyai and told him to communicate as normal. He could hear Binneh Minteh asking if everything was OK and if Basirou Barrow was there to which Ebrima Beyai responded that Basirou Barrow was not there but he believed he was coming. Another call came from the airport and Lance Corporal Kebbeh asked as well if Basirou Barrow was at Yundum Barracks. Ebrima Beyai responded the same and he was then locked up in a cell.

Sanna Sabally further stated that they went to the guardroom and laid an ambush for Basirou Barrow.

Once Basirou Barrow arrived, he was beaten mercilessly by the guards.

According to the witness, they found a notebook in his pocket, which was later handed over to Daba Marenah from the National Intelligence Agency, NIA to continue the investigation, with the names of the Council members and Baboucarr Jatta’s. According to the witness, the information was that each of the Council members, as well as Peter Singhateh, their families and orderlies were to be arrested, taken to the Brikama firing range and killed. He said that when he saw Baboucarr Jatta’s name on the list, he called him to inform him and sent J.C.B. Mendy and his driver Dembo Gibba to go get him and bring him to Yundum Barracks. The witness said that when Baboucarr Jatta arrived, he was neither in uniform nor armed.

According to the witness, shortly after Basirou Barrow was arrested, L.F. Jammeh arrived. He opened fire on Peter Singhateh’s team and they responded. L.F. Jammeh managed to escape.

Abdoulie Dot Faal who had also arrived around the same time was arrested and mercilessly beaten.

Abdoulie Dot Faal and Basirou Barrow were put in a truck and sent to Mile 2 Prison.

He refuted the suggestion that said that he had ordered Baboucarr Jatta to command the operations at Fajara Barracks and generally the fact that Baboucarr Jatta commanded the operations at Fajara Barracks.

Sanna Sabally said he was in command of the operations at Fajara Barracks and that he ordered that the captured soldiers that had been sent to Mile 2 be brought to Fajara Barracks.
At Fajara Barracks, the **captured soldiers** were **paraded**. Sanna Sabally then told his soldiers that **Basirou Barrow** and **Abdoulie Dot Faal** had to be **executed**, as they were the ringleaders. They opened fire, **deliberately** targeting them.

Alieu Bah and Lamin Jarju ran away and Babucarr Njie and Tumbul Tamba went in hot pursuit of them but could not get them. He specified that before **killing** them, he had spoken to Yahya Jammeh over the phone and he had agreed that the ringleaders had to be **killed**.

The next day, they took the rest of the group to the Brikama firing range and they (Sanna Sabally, Edward Sing hateh, Peter Sing hateh, Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hy dara, their guards and Alhagie Kanyi) shot them. Baboucarr Jatta was also present during the executions.

On further probing that this was murder, he denied he had committed murder as he claimed this was situation of war, although he acknowledged that the soldiers had been captured and their hands tied before being **executed**.

Sanna Sabally further added that when Baboucarr Jatta arrived, he did not know that the ringleaders were to be **killed**. However, he acknowledged that he did not do anything to stop the **execution** either.

From Fajara Barracks, Sanna Sabally said he went to Radio Gambia and relayed the news that there had been a coup attempt, which had been foiled, and some soldiers had died. He said he did not apologise to the **families** of the soldiers that were **executed** as he saw them as **enemies**, not captured soldiers that were to be treated **humanely**.

Back at the State House, the witness said the Council members met and discussed the capture of Basirou Barrow and Abdoulie Dot Faal and their execution. They discussed what to do with the remaining alleged ringleaders who were on the run. They made a unanimous decision to pursue them, capture them and **execute** them. They left and went back to Yundum Barracks to execute the plan.

Sanna Sabally also explained that in the morning, Fafa Nyang, Basirou Camara and Ebou (EM) Ceesay were **killed** under their orders while he was in the Officer’s Mess. In the afternoon, there was a meeting at the Officer’s Mess and it was decided that Gibril Saye, Amadou M. Sillah, Lamin Darboe, Bakary Manneh Nyancho, Abdoulie Bah Achopi and Buba Jammeh should also be **executed**.

He refuted Momodou Marong’s statement, which said (paragraph 108):

> “Looking at the very short time Sub-lieutenant Sing hateh (Peter) spent in the Signals room, I did not believe that he talked to the AFPRC Chairman about permission to have the officers **killed**. I believe he went in the Signals room to get the telephone wires that he would later use to tie the hands of the officers that would be **killed**. Nevertheless, I knew Chairman Jammeh was a brutal person who would not object to the **killing** of the officers. Second Lieutenant Sing hateh looked at me. He pointed at me with his right forefinger and he said “you are not part of it”, most probably because I disagreed with the **killing** of the officers. It was a compliment because I had no interest in being a spectator to a deliberate deprivation of human life. It was **unethical**. As at that time the decision to **kill** and to participate in any **killing** was voluntary, the Army Commander did not say a word during the meeting. He did not support my motion to save the lives of the innocent officers. He imply followed the AFPRC officers as if he had no duty to speak on behalf of the officers”. Sanna Sabally said the last time he saw Momodou Marong was on the 10th November 1994 when they went to the camp to talk to the soldiers. The Lead Counsel said Baboucarr Jatta confirmed
Momodou Marong was present during that meeting and Sanna Sabally accepted this. The witness also confirmed that Baboucarr Jatta was present during that meeting and he did not say anything, he did not try to stop the decision to kill the officers.

Sanna Sabally specified that he did not compel anyone to join him to go to the forest and that Baboucarr Jatta went to the forest voluntarily knowing full well that the captured soldiers would be killed. Once at the forest, Baboucarr Jatta did not say anything, he did not tell them to stop it, nor did not tell them it was illegal, or that he was not going to be part of it.

**Sanna Sabally** gave the order to fire and together with Yankuba Touray, Sadibou Hydara, Peter Singhateh, Alhagie Kanyi, Edward Singhateh and the orderlies they fired, thus killing Gibril Saye, Amadou M. Sillah, Lamin Darboe, Bakary Manneh Nyancho, Abdoulie Bah Achopi and Buba Jammeh.

After the execution, they put the bodies into the vehicle and Sanna Sabally ordered they be taken back to Yundum Barracks. He acknowledged that he did not inform the families of the executed soldiers about their fate. He added that at this point, they were just trying to find the others that had escaped.

The bodies were taken back to Yundum Barracks and they were buried after Sanna Sabally had given the order and left for the State House. He acknowledged that they were not given the proper Muslim burial and justified this as “they were not entitled to decent treatment as they were enemies and enemies cannot be treated properly [...]”. He added “an enemy is an enemy.”

Whilst they were in the guardroom, Lance Corporal Alagie Kebbeh who had been arrested, was brought in.

Sanna Sabally asked him if he was involved in the coup but suddenly Edward Singhateh pulled his pistol and fired at his right thigh. Sanna Sabally said he almost shot at Edward Singhateh as he believed what Edward Singhateh had done was wrong. He said Edward Singhateh should have waited for them to clarify if Alagie Kebbeh was part of the coup or not. He said he carried Alagie Kebbeh to the clinic and asked the duty driver and the medic to rush him to the ambulance to attend to him. He said he did it because it was human to do so. He said once he was attended at the hospital, he was brought back and he joined the detainees as they found out that he was part of the coup but he was not executed because he was not a ringleader.

Once at the State House, the Council members had a debriefing meeting and were satisfied they had executed 11 soldiers.

Sanna Sabally told the Commission that Captain Momodou Badjie was not present at either Yundum or Faraja Barracks during the 11th November 1994 event.

Witness Sabally then discussed the events that led to his arrest. He stated that there was a National Consultative Commission, NCC established to ask for information from the public to see how long the AFPRC should stay in power before handing over power to civilian rule. Sanna Sabally said he was against it as the plan was to stay for six months so he did not feel there was a need to establish the NCC. He said during the meeting, he told the others he was not in agreement and his position was not taken lightly. He further narrated that on 26th January 1995, a man called Jobarteh, Foday Barry, Baba Jobe and Saul Nдов came and made a proposal to establish the 22nd July Youth Movement to transition to a civilian government. Sanna Sabally said he was not against the formation of the 22nd July Youth Movement but he was determined to leave whether the AFPRC remained or not. He later when home and whilst there, he was given the NCC draft report. He called Yahya Jammeh who told him that they would discuss it the next day during the Council meeting.
Intelligence Agency. The witness stated that Alhagie Martin, Lamin Senghore, Malafi Corr, Babucarr Bobb, a man called Ndure, Pa Modou Sarr and Batch Samba Jallow wanted him to confess that he had planned to kill Yahya Jammeh. They added that if he did, Yahya Jammeh would pardon him.

Witness Sabally testified that he was tortured on more than 20 occasions. The team that tortured him was composed of Malafi Corr, a man called Ndure (who had been part of the Tactical Support Group, TSG at the time), Pa Modou Sarr, Batch Samba Jallow, Lamin Senghore and headed by Alhagie Martin aka Lagos. They took him to confinement number 5 where he was handcuffed and shackled naked. They pushed him down on his knees, put a plastic bag over his head, tied it at his neck, then asked him to confess whilst pushing his head down into the water. The water which was acidic and contained gasoline would trickle down the back of his neck. They repeated the procedure until he blacked out.

Mr. Sabally stated that he later heard that on the Monday following his arrest, the government had announced that he (Sanna Sabally) had entered Yahya Jammeh’s office, pointed his pistol at him and but then froze like a “mummy”. Yahya Jammeh then disarmed him and that was it.

He said that through this statement, Yahya Jammeh was establishing himself as invincible and with supernatural powers.

He added that he reminded Yahya Jammeh that there were only meant to stay for six months to which he replied they would discuss the following day.

On Friday 27th January, while he was at work, Sanna Sabally got a call from Yahya Jammeh telling him to come to his office. He went upstairs and before entering the office, he saw Yahya Jammeh’s bodyguards namely Khalifa Bajinka, Almamo Manneh, Bakary Camara, Malafi Corr, Musa Jammeh aka Maliamoogoo, Lamin S. Camara, and Batch Samba Jallow amongst others. They disarmed him, held him down, and tied his legs and hands together. A few minutes later, Sadibou Hydara who shared the witness’ position regarding the handover to a civilian government, walked into the same trap and was apprehended. They were marched through Yahya Jammeh’s office, put in a vehicle and taken to Mile 2. He clarified that his bodyguards and those of Sadibou Hydara were arrested on Monday once they got to work.

They pushed him down on his knees, put a plastic bag over his head, tied it at his neck, then asked him to confess whilst pushing his head down into the water. The water which was acidic and contained gasoline would trickle down the back of his neck. They repeated the procedure until he blacked out.

The witness further recounted a time when the torture team took him to the beach, immersed his body in and out until he completely passed out. He said that he came to understand that whenever he blacked out, they would panic, so he started playing dead whenever they tortured him so they would stop. He also discussed a time when they put a hood over his and Sadibou Hydara’s head and left them in a shipping container where it was extremely hot. He said he cried throughout this period of torture.

Sanna Sabally explained how once, at night, the torture team put a hood over his head and took him...
out to the prison yard. They removed the hood and he saw a tape recorder. Alhagie Martin said “Now this is your graveyard. Either you talk or we bury you alive”. Before Sanna Sabally could say anything, he was buttstruck at the back and he fell into the pit that had been dug. They buried him up to his neck and held the tape recorder. They told him to say he wanted to kill Yahya Jammeh and own up to the weapons that were to be produced at a press conference. He refused and Malafi Corr started hitting him with a hammer. He blacked out. He said this ordeal happened 2-3 times at the same location.

Mr Sabally recalled a time when Alhagie Martin aka Lagos and Malafi Corr told him to defecate and eat his own faeces. As his legs and hands were tied and he was lying on his back, he could not defecate.

They brought excrement and smeared it onto his chest. He was told to lick it but because of his position, his tongue could not reach. Lamin Senghore picked it and threw it to his face.

He then tried to force it into his mouth but he resisted. He was mercilessly beaten and he passed out. Sanna Sabally added that Sadibou Hydara was subjected to the same torture.

The witness testified that on another occasion, the torture team came with a long sack, tied his legs and hands and put him inside the bag. He was then hung up to the ceiling with his head down and the bag was made to swing as if he was a “Ping pong ball”. Malafi Corr and Alhagie Martin shoved him back and forth. His blood rushed to his head and he passed out. He specified that the torture team always came with a tape recorder.

Witness Sabally also explained that Alhagie Martin and Lamin Senghore electrocuted his tongue and penis.

They alternated between high and low voltage, accompanied with beatings using a hammer. He said that it happened at Mile 2 the first time and the second time at the National Intelligence Agency. There he also heard one Dabo being mentioned. He specified that Alhagie Martin was always present during his torture and that Pa Modou Sarr though always present, never touched him. Malafi Corr was also always present but Batch Samba Jallow and Babucarr Bobb were not always there.

He described a time when they took a long metal pin that looked like the spokes of a bicycle and drove it right inside his penis and Sadibou Hydara’s. It was terribly painful and they ruptured his bladder.

Alhagie Martin, Lamin Senghore, Malafi Corr and Ndure also asked them to wear G-strings underwear, pose as prostitutes and engage in sexual acts with each other. Upon refusing, they were both beaten.

Witness Sabally recalled when two women closed to him were also arrested and taken to the National Intelligence Agency. He said they later told him that they were stripped naked and bananas and sticks were used as dildos and inserted into their vaginas. They were told “You will never have a man inside you anymore because we will destroy your womanhood”.
He said they told him this continued for two months before they were eventually released. They could only identify one person called Baba Drammeh. The women told him that they were asked if he had told them anything about his plans to get rid of Yahya Jammeh and were asked to confirm statements they were going to say in the event they were going to be brought to him. The witness added that once he was taken to the NIA and made to watch whilst these two women were being tortured. On that specific occasion, he recalled one man called Dabo being part of the torturers. They later moved him to another room and asked him to sign a statement saying he wanted to kill Yahya Jammeh if not they would bring the women and kill them in his presence. He refused to do so. The witness said it was horrible to see these women being subjected to that type of torture and that he would have understood if that had been done to military personnel as they can undergo training to tolerate such treatment, but not to them as they were civilians. He added that as a result of the torture meted on them, one of the women could never conceive and the other could never have sexual relations again.

Sanna Sabally stated that Alhagie Martin, Malafi Corr, Lamin Senghore and Ndure once spread thorns on the floor at the NIA and dragged him and Sadibou Hydara. Their bodies were lacerated and ice water would be poured on them.

The witness confirmed that he had also been subjected to waterboarding several times by Alhagie Martin, Malafi Corr, Lamin Senghore and Ndure. The Counsel read an excerpt from the witness’ statement: “On this session, we were told it is a washing day, an order from the President “take them to their washing”, as if we were circumcised-initiated children to take their first bath after one month in the bush or woods. This was around 3 to 5am I calculated, or knew from the early morning bird singing. We were taken to the sea just across the highway directly in front of the prisons. We were in our usual torture session’s uniform (that is stark naked) and costume jewellery that is shackles and handcuffs. The air was very cold and windy. The seawater was near freezing point. By the baser intelligence interrogation method called waterboarding, they strapped us down and pushing us under the water until we were made to believe one might drown. We had been in this way on and on, held underwater until we had in fact begun to drown and lost consciousness only to be revived by our torturers and submerged again. It was one of our worst memories and experiences.”

Another statement read: “Other sessions, we were left gagged with our hands tied on the top of our cell door after being questioned by the NIA and the close bodyguards of soldiers to the President.” On these occasions, he stated that those responsible were Musa Jammeh, Khalipha Bajinka in addition to Alhagie Martin and his torture team.

He further stated that Alhagie Martin, Malafi Corr, Lamin Senghore and Ndure once put a metal rod inside his anus. The witness was made to hang by his hands to the ceiling but his feet were barely touching the ground. His whole body weight was on his wrist so if he tried to move the metal rod would pierce through his body.

On another occasion, Alhagie Martin, Malafi Corr, Lamin Senghore and Ndure asked him and Sadibou Hydara to have sex with each other. They both refused so they castrated them. He strongly believed that this particular torture was the cause of Sadibou Hydara’s death as he constantly bled after that. Upon being read an excerpt from the investigative report regarding Sadibou Hydara’s “natural” death, the witness stated that Sadibou Hydara had never complained of any blood pressure issues. He also said he did not die in the remand wing at Mile 2 but at security number 1 in cell number 9, in his arms and on 6th June 1995 exactly at 16:17, not on 3rd June as the report claimed. The witness said he could never forget that day.
Going back to his castration, the witness stated that once he left the prison, he realised he had sexual dysfunction. He underwent medical treatment and recovered.

Upon being probed, the witness added that he regretted the torture that he meted out on other people and wished he had known before what he learnt in the prison.

He said in prison he learnt wisdom, humility, patience and understanding. He came out of the prison not bitter but better and he has forgiven all of those who wronged him. The witness added that Malafi Corr eventually fell out with Yahya Jammeh and was sent to Mile 2 Prison. According to the witness, he told Malafi Corr that he had forgiven him and they became good friends whilst in prison and it was during this time that Malafi Corr revealed that they had filmed his torture and shown to Yahya Jammeh but the witness could not confirm it was true.

The witness also discussed the attempts to poison him. He stated that one day, one Yahya Jarju came smiling, gave him a piece of paper and said today he was “promoted” which meant he could now have a high protein diet (two basins, lunch and dinner). The witness thanked him. He added he was suspicious as this was food that was given after prescription by a doctor and also he knew Yahya Jarju could not have taken that decision on his own. One day, a detainee called Salif Colley from Casamance, Senegal and Deputy Head Cook at Mile 2 Prison who was responsible for cooking and dishing out the high protein meals warned Sanna Sabally not to eat the food brought to him. Later that evening, he was told that Yahya Jarju had poisoned the food. He said he dipped his hand in the food basin as if he had eaten and then emptied it in his chamber pot.

Sanna Sabally recounted the time he had malaria and whilst he was lying on his bed, one Famara Sanneh injected something into his left thigh resulting in chronic pain and his right leg being longer than his left one.

Nearing the end of his testimony, the witness said he had learnt his lesson and if the 11th November 1994 events were to happen again today, he would act without anger and would not execute the captured soldiers. On being asked about the difference between 22nd July and the alleged 11th November 1994 coup, he said that the only difference was that their coup was a success and the 11th November 1994 event was a failed coup.

To O.J. Jallow and all the People’s Progressive Party ministers that were tortured by himself and his guards, Sanna Sabally said he wholeheartedly apologised. He stated he regretted the incidents that had happened.

He further gave advice to the armed forces to stay in the barracks and try to address issues. He also asked senior officers to take the complaints of the junior officers, forward them to the government and ensure they are followed until solutions are made out of them.

In his concluding remarks, the witness revealed that he never stopped planning to Yahya Jammeh until Adama Barrow and the coalition won the elections. He added that many people in the diaspora wanted to remove Yahya Jammeh from government. He particularly mentioned Saul Ndog, Ebrimah Sillah (the Minister of Information and Communication Infrastructure at the time of testimony), and Amadou Bah (Minister of Tourism and Culture at the time of
testimony) who tirelessly tried to remove Yahya Jammeh from the government. They went to many places, to diplomats in different countries to advocate for the removal of Yahya Jammeh.

He said he came before the TRRC not to tell the truth but to tell his side of the story. He called on all soldiers to come before the TRRC and testify. He particularly called on Yankuba Touray, Edward Singhateh and Yahya Jammeh to come and face the TRRC. He appealed to Gambians to forgive him for all he did when he was Vice Chairman. He stated that he was young and immature but today he knew right from wrong. He added that he would like to meet with the families of the soldiers executed 11th November 1994 and beg for their forgiveness.

He asked for Gambians to ensure that the dark past does not cloud the brighter future and for Gambian unity and reconciliation. He asked for journalists to investigate before publishing, to ensure they convey the correct information to the public.

Before ending the hearing, the Lead Counsel announced receiving a message from Matty Sallah, the wife of the late Abdoulie Faal who said she had forgiven Sanna Sabally wholeheartedly for the crime he had committed against her.

PERSONS MENTIONED BY WITNESSES DURING TESTIMONY:

- **Extradjudicial killing** (November 1994)
  - Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara, Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, Peter Singhateh, Alhagie Kanyi, Yahya Jammeh
- **Accessory to Extradjudicial killing**
  - Baboucarr Jatta
- **Attempted murder**
  - Yahya Jarju
- **Arbitrary arrest** (November 1994)
  - Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara

- **Arbitrary arrest of the witness and Sadibou Hydara**
  - Khalifa Bajinka, Almamo Manneh, Bakary Camara Malafi Corr, Musa Jammeh aka Maliamoogoo, Lamin S Camara, Batch Samba Jallow
- **Torture, including rape** (of the witness, two women close to him and Sadibou Hydara)
  - Alhagie Martin aka Lagos, Malafi Corr, a man called Ndure, Batch Samba Jallow, Lamin Senghore, a man called Dabo, Musa Jammeh, Khalipha Bajinka, Famara Sanneh, Baba Drammeh

**Torture of civilians, captured soldiers and detainees** (November 1994)
- Sanna Sabally, Sadibou Hydara, Edward Singhateh, Yankuba Touray, Babucarr Njie aka Ponkal, Mohammed Sambou, Lamin Drammeh, Dembo Gibba, Zakaria Darboe, B.A. Njie, Mustapha “Churro” Touray, Lamin S Marong, Batch Samba Jallow, Ensa Mendy, Jali Musa Susso, Alfusainey Susso
DISCREPANCIES/CONFLICTING TESTIMONIES

Lamin (Pa) Senghore aka Assassin
On the 11th November 1994 event, Lamin (Pa) Senghore testified that Basirou Barrow and his men were detained in the cells in the barracks and that no one was beaten at this point in time, “as things were not settled yet” and that Abdoulie Dot Faal was also captured and taken to the guardroom, but not beaten. However, Sanna Sabally (session 4) and other witnesses from sessions 2 and 3 said that once Basirou Barrow and Abdoulie Dot Faal were arrested, they were mercilessly beaten.

Lamin (Pa) Senghore denied participating in the torture of Babucarr Sanyang and Sanna Sabally yet Babucarr Sanyang (session 3) identified Lamin Senghore as one of his torturers and Sanna Sabally (session 4) stated that Lamin Senghore was always present during his torture and he beat him with a hammer on several occasions among other types of torture meted onto him. He also accused him of causing the death of Sadibou Hydara.

Babucarr Mboob
Babucarr Mboob testified that Staff Sergeant Lamin Gassama and Private Bala Gibba aimed at Fafa Nyang and then he heard one shot. He is the only witness to have mentioned these two in connection to the killing of Fafa Nyang.

Babucarr Mboob also testified that Fafa Nyang was not grabbed, but that he was led running while naked and as soldiers were kicking him, which contradicts Ensa Mendy’s testimony (session 3) that said that Sergeant Fafa Nyang was dragged in by Alhagie Kanyi and Babucarr Mboob.

Alagie Kebbeh
Alagie Kebbeh refuted Babucarr Sanyang’s testimony (session 3) that he (Alagie Kebbeh) had gone to Babucarr Sanyang’s house on 10th November 1994 and told him that along with a few others they were planning to remove the Council from power.

Regarding his arbitrary arrest by Lamin Fatty, Batch Samba Jallow and Buba Jammeh aka Kanilai, Alagie Kebbeh testified that he was in the boot of the car for around five hours, with the car stopping at seemingly random intervals until their destination. However Lamin Fatty stated that they drove around for 30 minutes.

Lamin Fatty
Lamin Fatty claimed that he did not participate in any of the activities up to the execution of the soldiers near Sifo area on 11th November 1994, which contradicts the testimony of Alhagie Kanyi (session 2) among others placing him there.

Lamin Fatty also denied participating in the torture of detainees at Mile 2 on the night of 6th September 1994 dubbed “Night of terror” by detainees, which contradicted the testimony of Babucarr Malick Jeng (session 2).
Babucarr Njie aka Njie Ponkal
On the night of 6th September 1994, dubbed “Night of terror” by the detainees, Babucarr Njie claimed that the orderlies had not beaten the detainees which contradicts the testimonies of those who were tortured on that night, as well as Sanna Sabally’s (session 4) who stated the orderlies were instructed to beat the detainees.

Babucarr Njie stated that once the captured soldiers were taken to Fajara Barracks and made to be in an extended line, Sanna Sabally alone started shooting sporadic rounds at the floor. While he was shooting, he was not controlling the muzzle of his rifle; a round of bullets struck Abdoulie Dot Faal and he fell down. The rest of the captured soldiers fell down and started screaming, and a few tried to escape. However, Sanna Sabally (session 4) testified that he ordered for the soldiers to shoot and they fired, deliberately targeting the captured soldiers.

Babucarr Njie also stated that he was not present when the other soldiers were executed at Nyambai Forest. This sequence of events contradicts that of those who were present and who placed Babucarr Njie at Nyambai Forest and as part of those who had fired at the captured soldiers.

Babucarr Njie also recalled a time he was ordered to go to Serekunda police station with J.C.B. Mendy to collect someone and take him to Sanna Sabally’s residence where he (Sanna Sabally) said they should deal with him, which Sanna Sabally refuted in his testimony (session 4).

Lamin Kaba Bajo
Lamin Kaba Bajo denied a statement by Mustapha Marong (session 4) that in his presence, Yahya Jammeh told Lamin Kaba Bajo to “proceed with it quietly”, which he took to mean that Lamin Kaba Bajo was not to investigate the death of then Minister of Finance Ousman Koro Ceesay in June 1995.

Baboucarr Jatta
On the events of 10th /11th November 1994, Baboucarr Jatta said he was picked up by Sanna Sabally and a convey of his orderlies from his house and taken to the barracks where he (Sanna Sabally) took him aside and showed him a notebook purported to have been the coup plans led by Basirou Barrow, whereas J.C.B. Mendy (session 3) and Sanna Sabally (session 4) testified that both J.C.B. Mendy and Dembo Gibba went to pick up Baboucarr Jatta and brought him back to Yundum Barracks.

Baboucarr Jatta also stated that he was appointed Commander of the team that led the attack on Fajara Barracks, which contradicts Sanna Sabally’s testimony that he (Sanna Sabally) was in command.
Baboucarr Jatta testified that he tried to stop the executions on 11th November 1994, which contradicts the testimonies of Sanna Sabally (session 4), Lamin Marong (session 3) and Momodou Marong. They stated that Baboucarr Jatta did not try to stop the executions of the captured soldiers

**Sanna Sabally**
Sanna Sabally refuted allegations made by Modou Lamin Bah (session 3) that they had plans to rob the Central Bank or that they had a plan to execute the president and ministers should the July 1994 coup fail.

Sanna Sabally also refuted allegations made in previous testimonies (session 2) that junior officers -fearing that Sanna Sabally and co. would be arrested- moved to Banjul on 22nd July 1994 directly and then later brought the architects of the coup into the picture.

Sanna Sabally also stated that it was untrue that he had told those in security wing number 4 on the night of 6th September 1994 dubbed “Night of terror” by the detainees that he had executed the detainees and would come back the next day to execute more. Witnesses in session 1 stated the contrary.

He refuted allegations that there was no resistance from Yundum and that no shots were fired. He also stated that he did not compel anyone to join him to go to the forest, which contradicts testimonies given by Alhagie Kanyi (session 2) and J.C.B. Mendy (session 3) in which they said they were scared of Sanna Sabally and forced into participating in the executions.

Sanna Sabally told the Commission that Captain Momodou Badjie (who is serving as the Security Adviser to President of The Gambia, Adama Barrow at the time of mention) was not present at either Yundum or Faraja Barracks during the 11th November 1994 event which contradicts Sait Darboe’s testimony (session 2) and the unidentified witness’ account (session 1).

On the 10th /11th November 1994 event, Sanna Sabally testified that whilst at Yundum Barracks, the phone rang and the officer on duty, Ebrima Beyai picked up. The person on the line wanted to know if everything was OK at Yundum Barracks and if Basirou Barrow had arrived, to which Ebrima Beyai responded yes on order of Sanna Sabally. Though in line with Babucarr Njie’s statement, this contradicts Dr. Binneh Minteh’s testimony (session 2) that at 10.30pm and 11.30pm, they received a call from Yundum Barracks. The caller claimed to be calling on behalf of Basirou Barrow saying that Basirou Barrow and others were all ready. The witness stated that he could tell from the caller’s voice that he was faking his voice. Dr. Binneh Minteh said he suspected it was Sanna Sabally.
About ANEKED
Led by young African human rights activists, the African Network against Extrajudicial Killings and Enforced Disappearances (ANEKED) campaigns against forced disappearances and summary executions. ANEKED combines the power of technology, innovation, traditional media and legal expertise to make issues related to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings much more visible, advocating for justice for victims and their families.

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About The Point Newspaper
The Point Newspaper is a major independent Gambian newspaper, co-founded by Deyda Hydara, a fierce advocate of press freedom and a fierce critic of the government of then President Yahya Jammeh, who was allegedly killed under the orders of Jammeh in 2006. The current co-publisher is his son, Baba Hydara.

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