

**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE  
OUTREACH AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE**



**PRESS CLIPPINGS**

**Enclosed are clippings of local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Outreach and Public Affairs Office**

**as at:**

Wednesday, 22 April 2009

Press clips are produced Monday through Friday.  
Any omission, comment or suggestion, please contact  
Martin Royston-Wright  
Ext 7217

### Local News

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Genocide and New Speak / *Ethiopia Review* Page 22

Norwegian Lawyers Intend to Litigate Against Israeli Ex-PM / *Trend* Page 23

Standard Times  
Wednesday, 22 April 2009



Justice Browne Marke...well done

# Justice Browne Marke sends 15 Convicts for 130 Years in Jail

The cocaine trial has finally come to an end at the High Court presided over by Hon. Justice Nicholas Browne Marke. The matter was climaxed with fines and imprisonment of all fifteen remaining accused persons who were found guilty.

In passing sentence yesterday on the accused persons who were convicted the previous day, justice said "Yesterday, I delivered Judgement in respect of the indictment filed" and went on. "Looking through the Judgement this morning, I realized that though I had acquitted 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> accused persons in respect of Count 11, I did not expressly state the verdict in respect of 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> accused respectively.

My finding in paragraph 223 is that 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> accused persons could not have assisted and comforted the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> accused persons respectively.

This also applies to 11<sup>th</sup> accused, who, with 16<sup>th</sup> accused, was also caught on the way to Port Loko. It follows that he is not guilty of the offence charged in Count 11.

I also found that it was 8<sup>th</sup> accused who transported the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> accused respectively from somewhere not very far from the airport, to the house at Port Loko.

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Convicts

# Justice Browne Marke sends 15 Convicts for 130 Years in Jail

## FROM PAGE 1

The verdict is therefore guilty in respect of Count 111, 9th and 10th accused persons also received them at the house at Port Loko. The verdict is therefore guilty against 8th, 9th, and 10th accused in respect of Count 11.

The Judge said "I have listened to the allocutus of each of the accused persons, and to pleas in mitigation from their various Counsels. I have borne in mind all that the accused persons and their respective Counsel, have said in their favour, but where there has been a finding of guilt, a sentence must of necessity be imposed. It is true, that if the situation so warrants, justice should be tempered with mercy, and I intend to exercise that quality in passing sentence on each accused" he added "The Counts in respect of which sentence should now be passed are as follows: Count 1

1st accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment

2nd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

3rd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment

Count 11

8th accused USD 2.5 M and 5 years imprisonment

9th accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

10th accused USD 1.5M and 5 years imprisonment

Count 1V

1st accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

2nd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

3rd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment

Count V

1st accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

2nd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

3rd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment

4th accused Le 300,000,000 and 5 years imprisonment.

5th accused Le 100,000,000 and 5 years imprisonment.

6th accused Le 25,000,000 and 2 years imprisonment

7th accused Le 150, 000,000 and 5 years imprisonment.

8th accused USD 2.5 M and 5 years imprisonment.

9th accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

10th accused USD 1.5M and 5 years imprisonment

11th accused USD 1.5M and 5 years imprisonment

12th accused Le 150, 000,000 and 5 years imprisonment

15th accused Le 150,000,000 and 5 years imprisonment.

16th accused USD 1.5M and 5 years imprisonment.

18th accused Le 50,000,000 and 3 years imprisonment

Count VI

1st accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment

2nd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment

3rd accused USD 1M and 5 years imprisonment.

Fines the learned judge ordered should be cumulative, while sentence and imprisonment to be concurrent, meaning that each convict will spend have of his jail term per every count found guilty.

**CONSEQUENTIAL ORDERS: RESTITUTION, CONFISCATION, FORFEITURE**

4. The provisions relating to these matters, under the general Law, are what to be found in Sections 54 to 60 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1965. The most apposite provisions are Section 55, which deals with a convicted person paying the expenses of his conviction; and Section 59 which deals with the situation where property was taken from a person charged; it permits the Court to restore the property to the person to the person "who appears to the Court to be entitled thereto", which might not necessarily be, the person from whom it was taken.

5. It follows therefore, that I am not compelled to make the Order prayed for by MR. WRIGHT in favour of the 4th accused. The correspondence which was tendered, the undated letter addressed to the 4th accused by the State Chief of Protocol, shows that the 4th accused should have transferred ownership to State House. There is also a letter dated 10th March, 2008 from the Secretary to the President to the Commissioner General, National Revenue Authority, requesting DUTY FREE WAIVER. I presume the request was granted since it originated from State House. MR. DARAMY's letter aforementioned is attached to that letter, which shows that it predates the latter. I therefore ORDER that Mercedes Benz Jeep G55 AMG photographs of which are attached hereto, be RESTORED to THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, STATE HOUSE, FREETWON.

6. All accused persons have a right of appeal, such appeal to be lodged within 21 days of today's date. Since I am not presently in a position to say whether any or all of the accused persons might wish to, appeal, I propose, in anticipation of any such appeal or appeals, pursuant to Section 59 (2) of the Criminal

Procedure Act, 1965 TO RETAIN in Court pending such appeal or appeals, the following exhibits: all Laptop computers; all mobile phones; all GPSs; all walkie talkies or other means of verbal communication; all correspondence seized either at the residence or residences of any or all of the accused persons, or from their respective persons. ALSO, all passports of convicted foreigners shall be RETAINED in like manner. In the case of the passports of convicted foreigners, they shall be retained in the custody of this Court, until and unless the time within which an Appeal should be brought has expired; or each and all of them have given a written undertaking in Solemn Form that he or they DO NOT WISH TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF APPEAL conferred on a convicted person by Section 57 of the Courts' Act, 1965 OR UNTIL FURTHER OR OTHER ORDER. In the case of Sierra Leone Nationals, any passports in the custody of the Court shall be handed over to the Chief Immigration Officer, from whom the same may be retrieved by the convicted accused person concerned, on payment of the fine and on completion of the term of imprisonment imposed upon him.

7. Since there is no evidence before me that any Licence or Licences was or were issued by the appropriate Authority in respect of any or all of the arms and ammunition found in the residences of the accused persons, and in their vehicles and/or on their respective persons, and bearing in mind that the Indictment herein has not charged any offence relating to the unlawful possession of arms and/or ammunition, it behoves this Court to exercise its discretion as to the eventual disposal of these arms and ammunition. IN THE EXERCISE OF THIS COURT DISCRETION I ORDER that all arms and ammunition tendered as exhibits in the Court BE HANDED OVER TO THE CHIEF OF DEFENCE STAFF OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE ARMED FORCES, for DISPOSAL.

8. All monies seized from any and all of the accused persons, and tendered as exhibits in this Court, shall be appropriated towards the payment of fines imposed on the affected accused persons. Foreign currencies shall be converted into Leones at the current rates applicable, at the Sierra Leone Commercial Bank Limited, Siaka Stevens Street, Freetown, by the Accountant, Judicial Sub-Treasury. On collection of the Leone equivalent of these currencies, they shall be paid into the Sub-treasury's Non-tax Revenue account in favour of the accused person from whom, or in respect of whom, such monies were seized. A proper Account of these dealings shall be submitted to this Court by the Accountant Judicial Sub-Treasury, within 14 days of the date of this Order, for the Court's approval, and for further Directions.

9. In view of the quantity and volume of exhibits tendered, all items of a personal nature, i.e. other than those already listed above, tendered in this Court, and which are not related to the commission of any of the crimes charged in the Indictment herein, shall be returned to their respective owners. In this respect, Counsel are asked to draw up lists of such items, such lists to be submitted to this Court for Approval, after which, the Court MAY Order their release to the particular accused person or persons, concerned.

10. The eventual disposal of the Cessna aircraft tendered as exhibit 198 is dealt with by Section 12 (5), (6) and (7) of the National Drugs Control Act, 2008. Sub-section (5) provides that: "where a person is convicted of an offence under this part, the Court may in addition to the penalty prescribed for that offence, CONFISCATE OR FORFEIT any equipment or property which is the subject matter of the offence or which has been used for the commission of the offence. Sub-section (6) provides that 'no conveyance used for the commission of the offence was without the knowledge or consent of the owner or person in charge of the conveyance and was not due to any neglect; default or lack of reasonable care by the owner or person in charge of the conveyance. Sub-section (7) provides that: "in making Directions for the purpose of determining any dispute as to the ownership of or other interests in the property or any part thereof; (b) Directions as to the disposal of the property; and (c) such other directions as it may think fit.

11. I HOLD firstly, that Exhibit 198, the Cessna aircraft falls within the meaning of "equipment or property" in Sub-section (5). A Conveyance has not been defined or described in the Act; I should therefore give it, its ordinary meaning. In the Oxford Concise English Dictionary, it is described as 'that act or process of carrying... a means of transport; a vehicle. "I hold therefore that, the aircraft falls within the description of the term 'conveyance' in the said sub-section (6). It follows therefore, that an Order could be made for its disposal in accordance with the provisions of Sub-section (5). On the basis of the evidence led, I

HOLD that Exhibit 198, the Cessna aircraft is the subject matter of Counts I and IV of the Indictment, and that it was used for the Commission of those offences. I ALSO HOLD that on the evidence led, 1st accused was the PERSON IN CHARGE of the aircraft when the offence was committed.

12. PURSUANT to Section 12 (7) (b) and (c) of the Act, I GIVE the following DIRECTIONS:

(a) The Cessna aircraft, presently kept in a hanger at the Freetown International Airport, Lungi shall be RELEASED to the custody of the DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION with immediate effect, and he shall also immediately take steps to protect it.

(b) The DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION shall within 72 hours of receiving this ORDER APPRAISE OF CAUSE AN APPRAISAL of the value of the Aircraft. The APPRAISAL shall be submitted to, and filed by him through the Acting Director of Public Prosecutions in this Court immediately thereafter.

(c) This Court shall examine and assess the APPRAISAL, and if satisfied with it in all respects, shall accept the same. Upon accepting the said APPRAISAL, this Court shall DIRECT the DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION to INVITE BIDS for the purchase of the said Aircraft, such Bids to be submitted to him not later than 4th May, 2009.

(d) On 5th May, 2009 the DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION, through the Acting Director of Public Prosecutions, shall file any and all such bids in this Court.

(e) On Tuesday 5th May, 2009 this Court shall ORDER the sale of the aircraft to the highest Bidder and who shall be prepared to pay for the same, within 24 hours of the Order of this Court.

(f) Upon the sale being ordered, the Master and Registrar shall prepare and Execute a Bill of Sale in favour of the winning bidder, such Bill of Sale to be Registered the same day.

(g) Upon Registration of the Bill of Sale, the Purchaser shall immediately make arrangements for the removal of the aircraft, from its present location.

(h) In view of Section 12 (8) of the Act, there shall be Liberty to Apply.

13. As state above, Section 12 (5) provides that this Court may "... CONFISCATE OR FORFEIT any...property which is the subject matter of the offence...." That subject matter of the offences is count I-IV COCAINE. PURSUANT therefore, to the Powers Conferred on this Court by the said Section 12 (5) of the National Drugs Control Act, 2008 I ORDER that all Cocaine seized in connection with this Indictment, in particular, Exhibits 50 Nos. 1-538; 51 Nos. 1-61; 87 (1)-60; 166 BE CONFISCATED to the State.

14. PURSUANT to the ORDER made in paragraph 13 above, I ORDER that the said Cocaine Exhibits be BURNT publicly within 48 hours of this Order, at such place or site as shall be determined by this Court. For this purpose, not later than 4:30pm today 21st April, 2009 the Acting Director of Public Prosecutions shall file in this Court, proposals for the burning of the said Cocaine exhibits. He is at liberty to consult with the ONS, CISU the Pharmacy Board, the Military, and the Police in order to assist him in preparing these proposals.

15. PURSUANT to the provisions of Sections 21 (1) of the NON-CITIZENS (REGISTRATION, IMMIGRATION AND EXPULSION) ACT, 1965 as amended I HEREBY CERTIFY that GEORGE ARITSTIZABEL ARCHILLA, VICTOR MANUEL ARAUJO LASTRETO (JNR), JULIO CEASAR MORALES-CRUZ, HARVEY STEVEN PEREZ, GERARDO QUISTANA PEREZ, YEIMY FERNANDEZ LEANDRO, ALEX ROMEO and SADIO SARR are all Non-Citizens of Sierra Leone, and were on Monday 20th March, 2009 convicted of the Offence of Conspiracy to Import a Prohibited Drug; and in the case ARCHILLA, LASTRETO and MORALES-CRUZ, additionally, Importing and Possession of a Prohibited Drug, to wit: Cocaine; and in the case of HARVEY PEREZ, GERARDO PEREZ and YEIMY LEANDRO, additionally being Accessories After the Fact to the Importation of a Prohibited Drug; that these are offences in respect of which the Court can impose imprisonment without the option of a fine; I, NICHOLAS COLIN BROWNE-MARKE, Justice of Appeal and Presiding Judge DO THEREBY RECOMMEND that an EXPULSION ORDER be made in respect of the above-named IN ADDITION TO THEIR RESPECTIVE SENTENCES.

16. Exhibits 109-Black Suzuki Jeep and all vehicles seized in connection with this case shall be handed over to the Master and Registrar until further Order.

## UNMIL Public Information Office Complete Media Summaries 21 April 2009

*[The media summaries and press clips do not necessarily represent the views of UNMIL.]*

### **Newspaper Summary**

#### **Drivers Protest against Police for 'Unfair' Treatment - But Accused Denies**

(The Analyst, Daily Observer)

- Over 7,000 commercial drivers on Monday staged a go-slow action in protest against what they alleged as unfair treatment being meted to them by officers of Liberia National Police (LNP). The aggrieved drivers said that traffic police officers of the LNP frequently issued them tickets along the various highways in the country on claims of traffic violations. However, Police spokesman George Bardue denied the claims, saying the allegations of the drivers are baseless and untrue and intended to discredit the good work of the Police, especially the highway officers.

#### **WHO Donates to Liberia's Health Ministry to Enhance Capacity**

(Daily Observer)

- The United Nations' Specialized Agency, the World Health Organization (WHO) over the weekend enhanced the capacity of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoHSW) by giving them 47 motorcycles, assorted medical supplies and equipment.

#### **University of Liberia Releases Itinerary for 87th Commencement Convocation**

(Heritage, The Informer, Daily Observer)

- The Administration of the University of Liberia has released the calendar of events for the 87th Commencement Convocation of the University for 2009.
- According to the calendar of events, commencement convocation will take place on Wednesday, April 29, 2009 at the SKD Sports complex in Paynesville outside Monrovia.
- The Baccalaureate Service will take place on Sunday, April 26, 2009 on the main campus of the University at 11: AM. The Right Rev. Dr. Leo Simpson will deliver the baccalaureate sermon, a UL release says.
- The calendar of events further states that the Career Day will kick off tomorrow (Wednesday, April 22) at 10: AM on the main campus of the University of Liberia.
- Hon. John S. Ballout, Jr. Senior Senator of Maryland County and Mr. Tom N. Gulley will serve as keynote speakers for the Oaths and Honors day at the A. M. Dogliotti College of Medicine and the School of Pharmacy respectively
- A UL Relations Release quotes the UL Administration as saying, Cllr. Oswald Tweh, former President of the Liberia National Bar Association will deliver the keynote address at the Career Day Program, while Her Excellency, Mrs. Shamma Jain, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of India to Liberia will serve as commencement Speaker.
- Other Speakers at the UL 87th Commencement Convocation include Dr. Lawrence Bropleh, Minister of Information, Culture and Tourism, who will address the opening session of the Unique Art Exhibition on April 22, 2009; Hon Samuel Kofi Woods, Public Works Minister designate will address the ULFA Day Program on Thursday, April 23, 2009 on the main campus of the UL. The Administration of the University of Liberia is therefore requesting all graduating senior to be in full attendance.

### **Veteran Bureau Holds Forum for EX-AFL Women**

(The Informer)

- The National Bureau for Veterans Affairs (NBVA) over the week-end held a one-day forum for retired and widows of the AFL.
- Speaking at the ceremony, the Assistant Director for women and children affairs at the NBVA Mrs. Ophelia Henneh said it was time to educate the former soldiers to know more about the Act creating the Bureau so that they can be properly informed about the bureau's activities.
- Mrs. Henneh said the NBVA was established to seek the interest of all veterans especially women.
- She stressed that the bureau will conduct vocational training for the women and introduce a micro credit program for those involved in small and medium businesses as a means of empowering them.

### **MOH Retires 280 Health Workers**

(Daily Observer)

- The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has retired 280 health workers after rendering years of valuable services to the Liberian people.
- During the retirement ceremony at the Ministry's head office in Monrovia, Health Minister, Dr. Walter Gwenigale said it is a pride and honour for a man to be honored by an institution he or she has worked for a very long period.
- Dr. Gwenigale noted that when a man is retired, it does not mean that the government hates him and does not want him to be apart of the system.
- He encouraged the retirees to keep courage, noting that some of them will be contracted because they possess quality that government cannot afford to lose.
- Also speaking at the retirement program over the weekend, Civil Service Agency Director General, Dr. William Allen, said the employees were retired based on two categories, which includes age and tenure.

### **Several Politicians Cross Carpet to Ruling Party ahead of Crucial 2011 Elections**

(The Informer)

- Ahead of the 2011 General and Presidential elections more opposition politicians have crossed carpet to the ruling Unity Party (UP). The move comes in the wake of the recent merger of two opposition political parties - Liberia Action Party (LAP) and Liberia Unification Party (LUP). At a brief ceremony held at the UP headquarters Friday, a dozen opposition politicians - all from the United People's Party (UPP) - pledged their loyalty to the ruling party with solemn commitments. Those who crossed carpet to the UP include Mr. Thomas Romeo Quiah, Gabriel Tarplah, Brown Pour, Joseph K. Roberts, Sylvia T. Campbell, and Nyankoon Davis. Others are Victoria Wiah J. Cordohman Seedee, K. Sylvester Pyne William Miller and Major T. Samukai.
- Speaking during programs marking the formalization of their membership to the UP, Mr. Thomas Romeo Quiah said he was joining the Unity party with a "solemn" commitment and to help shape the destiny of Liberia to posterity.
- For his part, the First Vice Chairman and now acting Chairman of the UP, Mr. Mambu David, thanked his colleagues for the decision to join the UP terming the party as the grass root party.

### **Outgoing IMF Representative impressed with Liberia's financial management**

(New Democrat, The Informer)

- The outgoing Country Representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Liberia Michael Thakur says the country has made great strides in its banking and financial management sector.
- Mr. Thurkur cited the "vigorous enforcement" of the laws by the Central Bank and the government's adherence to a cash based budget policy.
- "The Liberian government has been disciplined and diligent in implementing its commitment to cash-based budget," Mr. Thakur told guests at a farewell dinner in the capital Monrovia on Monday.

- Speaking on behalf of the government, the Deputy Finance Minister for Administration Tarnue Mawolo commended the outgoing IMF official for the role he played in the country's reform program.
- Mr. Mawolo said the outgoing IMF mission chief helped Liberia draft and implement most of its financial management programs and for his efforts in helping Liberia reach closer to getting final debt relief.

## Radio Summary

### **Star Radio** *(News monitored today at 9:00 am)*

#### **Ex-fighter-turn-farmer unhappy with Government**

- The Speaker of the Traditional Council of Liberia Rivercess branch has accused the council and the Agriculture Ministry of stalling their farming activities.
- Chief Boy Koffi Zarr told Star Radio they were told by the ministry and the council to produce seed rice for subsequent purchase by government.
- He said it was agreed by the parties that each bag of seed rice would have been bought at forty US Dollars per bag.
- Chief Zarr explained he and his colleagues produced over two hundred bags of seed rice and transported the consignment to Monrovia.
- According to him, they were told that each of the bags would be bought at seventeen US Dollars.
- Chief Koffi Zarr, an ex-General from the defunct NPFL, said he has over thirty-five former fighters working on his farm in fulfilment of government's back to the soil program
- He said he depends on proceed from the sale of the rice to pay the ex-combatants.
- Chief Koffi Zarr appealed to government to see reason to purchase the seed rice at the agreed price.

#### **President Sirleaf's Party Accused of Compelling Commissioners to be Partisans**

- [sic:] Report from Bong County speaks of the force recruitment of commissioners of the county's twelve districts to join the ruling Unity Party. According to the report, the commissioners are being told to pledge their loyalty to the ruling Unity Party or risk loosing their jobs. An opposition lawmaker said Superintendent Ranny Jackson and the Commissioner's Council Chairman are behind the forced recruitment. Representative Tokpa Mulbah said the local officials crafted a resolution ordering the commissioners to affix their signatures as members of the UP. He alleged the Secretary General of the Unity Part Henry Fahnbulleh was also in Bong County as part of the forced recruitment exercise. Deputy Speaker Mulbah said some commissioners of other opposition parties protested the move during a meeting in Gbarnga. Deputy Speaker Mulbah termed the alleged forced recruitment of the Bong Commissioners as undemocratic and warned the UP to desist. When contacted, the two officials linked to the forced recruitment of Commissioners in Bong County to join the UP denied the claim. UP Secretary General Henry Fahnbulleh and Superintendent Ranny Jackson described the claim as unfounded. Mr. Fahnbulleh told Star Radio his visit to Gbarnga on Saturday was a request of the commissioners who presented a petition, expressing their desire to join the UP. He cautioned Deputy Speaker Mulbah to be very mindful of his assertion as the UP does not carryout force recruitment. Mr. Fahnbulleh said the accusation is a fear expressed by the opposition lawmaker. According to him, Liberians are seeing the development initiatives of the UP and are overwhelmingly declaring their membership with the party.

## Associated Press

Tuesday, 21 April 2009

### **Khmer Rouge defendant says guards taught to hate**

By SOPHENG CHEANG

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia (AP) — The former Khmer Rouge prison commander accused of overseeing the torture and execution of thousands of men, women and children said Tuesday that his underlings were taught class hatred that allowed them to kill their enemies.

Kaing Guek Eav, 66, spoke at Cambodia's U.N.-assisted genocide tribunal, which is trying him for crimes against humanity, war crimes, murder and torture related to the Khmer Rouge's 1970s "killing fields" regime.

Better known by his alias, Duch, he is the first senior Khmer Rouge figure to face trial and the only one to acknowledge responsibility for his actions. Four more are in custody and are scheduled to be tried sometime over the next year or two.

An estimated 1.7 million Cambodians died under the 1975-79 communist Khmer Rouge from forced labor, starvation, medical neglect and executions.

During that time, Duch commanded Phnom Penh's S-21 prison, also known as Tuol Sleng, where as many as 16,000 people are believed to have been tortured before being sent off for execution.

But the court has first been hearing testimony concerning a jungle prison known as M13 that Duch ran during the 1970-75 civil war that brought the Khmer Rouge to power.

Witnesses have alleged that Duch personally took part in torture and executions — an accusation he denies. But on Tuesday, he explained how he compelled his guards to carry out such acts.

"We educated people to have a firm class stand and then we taught them to be strict about how they could interrogate the prisoners and also taught them how to smash people and to keep them from escaping," he said.

"Smash" was the common euphemism used by the Khmer Rouge for kill or execute.

Duch, who had been a schoolteacher before joining the Khmer Rouge guerrilla movement, explained that the communist theory of education was different from traditional Cambodian teachings. Buddhism opposed killing, he said, but communism justified such actions to aid the working class.

If people did not follow the Khmer Rouge's orders, he added, they feared they "would be beheaded."

The significance of the testimony appeared to be that even before they came to power, the Khmer Rouge encouraged a culture of deadly violence toward their enemies that disregarded conventional notions of justice and allowed decisions to kill people to be left in local hands.

Soon after they came to power, the group began executing its enemies from the former regime. Later, the cadre started using executions as almost ordinary punishment for anyone who disobeyed them. As the regime became paranoid, it began purges of its own followers throughout the country, leading to many massacres.

Earlier Tuesday, a guard who worked under Duch at M13 described him as someone whose life was devoted to his work, which he never took lightly.

Chan Khorn, 53, said Duch had a strict character and no one dared disobey him because they were scared of him.

"I myself was so afraid of him I could not even look him in the face," he said.

## Thomson Reuters Foundation

Tuesday, 21 April 2009

### **VIEWPOINT: Conflict minerals and crimes against humanity in Congo**

Written by: Enough

*Reuters and AlertNet are not responsible for the content of this article or for any external internet sites. The views expressed are the author's alone.*



Violent armed groups that control many Congolese mines generate an estimated \$144 million each year by trading in tin, tungsten, tantalum (coltan), and gold. Photo from the Enough Project

The minerals underneath the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo may not have caused the atrocities that have wracked its people for far too long, but that shouldn't mean we allow them to continue to fuel flagrant crimes against humanity.

Despite billions of dollars spent on aid, peacekeeping, and elections, Congo's conflict has doggedly resisted resolution. An alphabet soup of armed groups continues to wreak havoc on Congo's civilian population - in part because profit maximising pressures for inexpensive mobile phones and laptops have driven international demand for the minerals which keep the country's militias well-funded.

This demand consistently outpaces efforts to create state authorities willing and able to restore order and regulate the trade of Congo's wealth for the benefit of its people.

Reducing the means by which the most egregious actors, particularly the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) rebels linked to the Rwandan genocide, are able to sustain themselves is critical to making Congo's conflict manageable.

Equally clearly, without a credible effort to take on the problem of conflict minerals, Congo's militias will remain a perpetual motion machine, ruining countless lives in the process.

Beyond natural resources, complex and highly contested questions of land tenure, citizenship and identity have also driven conflict in Congo at the local, national, and regional levels. But getting to a point where such issues can be negotiated requires immediate steps to stop the financing of the most flagrant rights abusers.

#### **CUTTING REBEL FUNDS**

Reducing demand for the minerals that benefit armed groups is a critical entry point for a wider peace strategy.

Efforts to address the economic underpinnings of the Congo conflict have focused exclusively on sanctioning individual actors. Efforts to build government capacity have been piecemeal. There has been no coherent approach to alter the incentive structures that keep Congo's institutions weak and dysfunctional.

Without real political pressure from within or without that might actually change the status quo, ordinary Congolese remain trapped, their livelihoods dependent on an exploitative minerals trade that leaves the state sapped of resources and keeps armed groups entrenched.

Most damaging to Congo's economic prospects is that the artisanal mining sector, which could provide an engine for growth, is stigmatised.

Meanwhile, for the rest of the world, business continues as usual, with few questions asked.

Transparency is the first step toward altering the conflict economy in Congo. The ability of end users to trace, audit, and verify the supply chains for metal products in electronics products back to where they originated in eastern Congo is a critical step to channelling international demand away from armed groups and toward legitimate sources.

The consumer electronics industry has enormous expertise on corporate responsibility issues, but its focus has been on immediate suppliers, such as component manufacturers and assembly factories in Asia. With enough consumer pressure, the industry can take the right steps and put its own pressure on critical actors in the supply chain who continue to buy minerals from known war criminals.

## **THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

Developing institutions capable of securing mineral-rich regions of eastern Congo is perhaps the most vexing aspect of this challenge.

In the short-term, most important is what not to do. Any military action by the Congolese army or U.N. peacekeeping force against militia groups needs to be well thought out and planned, with international support for intelligence and logistics. In previous cases, little attention was paid to civilian protection, and innocent bystanders quickly faced brutal reprisals from militias.

Further, if Congo's army improved its own human rights record and practices, it would be in a much better position to take and hold territory, including key mines, and protect civilian populations. If the United Nations and Congo's army can meet these thresholds, the FDLR and other factions can be dislodged from key mines and hold these territories, enabling a modicum of security that is a prerequisite for legitimate economic activity.

Because Congo's mineral wealth continues to enrich illicit networks of political and military elites who subvert the resources need to build state authority, governance structures remain mired in a pernicious cycle of corruption and predation. To date, Congolese efforts to reform the mining sector and renegotiate contracts have failed.

But with Congo's economic crisis, comes an opportunity for reform. Donors should extract from the Congolese government not just commitments but demonstrable reforms related to the regulation of mining, commerce, and taxation.

Temporary internationalisation of revenue collection, modelled upon successful efforts in Liberia, should inform the development of an inclusive, Congolese process of reform.

## **INVESTMENT AND LIVELIHOODS**

There is no denying that there are short-term economic consequences from the increased costs that will accompany these efforts to reform the mineral trade. But without such measures, the horrific logic of predation and corruption will continue.

A sizeable investment in alternative livelihoods, transitional support for affected miners, and investment in labour-intensive infrastructure projects such as roads, bridges, and electricity will mitigate these effects and pave the way toward viable long-term development.

Transparent supply chains, secure mining sites, functioning oversight, and decent livelihood options may seem implausible in eastern Congo. But several years ago, most observers would have scoffed at the notion that Liberia could achieve a measure of stability.

Just months ago, the notion that Congo and Rwanda might collaborate to address mutual security concerns sounded equally improbable.

Congo's continuing and seismic shifts are full of peril, but also offer an opportunity to finally address the conflict's economic drivers, provided local governments and international actors can cohere around a common approach. Consumers and activists can lead the way. There is no way to know whether there are conflict minerals from Congo in the computer, blackberry, or phone that you are using right now. We need to use these devices to demand that this unacceptable situation change.

Visit the *Raise Hope for Congo* website to find out more about Enough's campaign to protect Congolese women and girls. Read more about Enough's work in general by visiting their website: <http://www.enoughproject.org/>

To read a slightly different take on these issues why not take a look at: [VIEWPOINT: Why disrupting Congo's mineral trade won't solve the conflict](#)

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*This blog is written by David Sullivan, Research Associate at Enough, the project to end genocide and crimes against humanity at the Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C.*

## Adnkronos

Tuesday, 21 April 2009

<http://www.adnkronos.com>

### **Bosnia: Former Serb officer blames peers for Muslim massacre**

The Hague, 21 April (AKI) – A former Bosnian Serb officer on Tuesday blamed seven of his colleagues for the massacre of up to 8,000 Muslims in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica in July 1995. Momir Nikolic, who was sentenced to 20 years' jail in 2006 after admitting to crimes against humanity before the United Nations war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, is serving a jail term in Finland.

He testified on Tuesday against his former colleagues Vujadin Popovic, Ljubisa Beara and Drago Nikolic who are accused of having organised the Srebrenica massacre.

Two other Bosnian Serb officers Vinko Pandurovic and Ljubomir Borovcanin are standing trial on charges of genocide against Srebrenica Muslims, while Radivoj Miletic and Milan Gvero have been charged with crimes against humanity.

Nikolic said after Bosnian Serb forces overran Srebrenica, a 'safe haven' protected by UN peacekeepers, Popovic hinted on 12 July that Muslim men would be killed.

"Popovic told me that women and children would be moved to Kladanj (a nearby town) and that men of military age, suspected of war crimes, would be separated," Nikolic told the court.

"I asked him what would happen to them, and he told me in his style 'All Muslims (a pejorative term for Muslims) should be killed'," Nikolic said.

He also testified that on 13 July he ran into the commander of Bosnian Serb forces, general Ratko Mladic, who had reassured Muslim prisoners.

"Mladic talked to Muslim prisoners and told them not to worry, that they would be taken wherever they wanted," Nikolic said.

"When he went towards his automobile, I followed him and asked what would be done with the prisoners, since their numbers were growing. Mladic showed me with a gesture of his arm that they would be killed," Nikolic said.

"I could conclude nothing else from that gesture, and later it was confirmed that the gesture meant nothing else," Nikolic said.

Nikolic told the court he was present at a quarrel between Beara and Miroslav Derikonjic, a close aide of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, over the fate of the prisoners.

He said Derikonjic insisted on respecting Karadzic's orders that the prisoners should not be mistreated or killed, while Beara said he had different orders.

Nikolic said that "between 80 and 100 people" were killed that night.

Derikonjic later pleaded guilty before the tribunal over the death of 60 Muslims and is serving a ten-year jail term in Sweden.

Karadzic was arrested in Belgrade in July last year and is awaiting trial before the Hague tribunal while Mladic is still at large.

Since it was formed by the UN Security Council in 1993, the tribunal has indicted 161 individuals, mostly Serbs, for alleged crimes in the last decade of the Balkan wars that followed the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

Close to 60 have been sentenced to over one thousand years in jail.

# Ethiopian Review

Thursday, 16 April 2009

## Genocide and New Speak

BSN Editor's Introduction: Ordinarily, we don't write introductions to articles or essays published in The Black Star News but the following column by Keith Harmon Snow warrants it.

Snow has been at the forefront, as has this newspaper, in exposing Western duplicity in Africa and how U.S. and U.K. corporate and government interests have caused the deaths of millions of Africans; all for the love of money.

In the end, the African actors, the bit players really, are the ones who are blamed; wars of blood money and profits are referred to euphemistically by major newspapers, including The New York Times as "tribal wars," so that Americans can nod their heads and continue on with their lives without bothering to ask any further questions.

After all, "tribal wars" are endemic to Africa; they always happen. Africans just wake up one day, grab machetes and start chopping off their neighbors' heads to satisfy "blood lust;" a term actually once used by Time magazine to explain what the magazine contended was the reason for the Rwanda massacres of 1994.

Meanwhile, no one writes about the Western companies that somehow just always happen to be around digging the gold and the diamonds and ferrying off the timber and the young Congolese girls, even as the chopping off of heads and limbs occur.

But Keith Harmon Snow, whose long report follows, is not with the program. He is the anti-New York Times kind of reporter; and the anti-New Yorker magazine; and, anti-BBC and anti-Washington Post kind of journalist.

In fact, he is beyond being a mere journalist. He is the type of forthright individual that corporate media would refer to as "radical," in order to impugn his reputation, without having to challenge him on a single fact. He salvages a little respectability for the profession of journalism, which has been corrupted by corporate media.

He is a crusader with a mission; his goal is to expose United States' and Britain's roles in the genocide in Uganda and in the Congo; with characters like Rwanda's president Paul Kagame and Uganda's Yoweri K. Museveni and Sudan's Omar Hassan al-Bashir all playing the bit roles.

Snow writes long; he cannot help it because he feels the pain of the Congolese and the Ugandans and he wants someone somewhere –here in the United States and Britain– to pay a price. He might be accused of being overly passionate; one has to be, when one feels the kind of indignation that Snow feels. When it is a matter of genocide no article can be too long. Readers that bear with Snow and read all his words will learn information not found in the corporate media.

Corporate media are often accomplices to crimes against humanity. Sometimes in a most perverted manner. Take The New York Times' resident Sudanese genocide expert, Nicholas Kristoff. If Kristoff really cares about the suffering of Africans, and not just about winning a Pulitzer Prize as he did for his Sudanese crusade, don't you think he would lend his big pen to expose with equal passion the suffering of Congolese and Ugandan civilians; or might that lead to the indictment of Kagame and Museveni, "friends" of United States interests? Why would a humanitarian be selective in fighting against genocide unless there was a hidden agenda?

Thank the creator for the Internet. In the past, the world was held hostage to the tyranny of selective coverage and cover-ups by newspapers such as The New York Times and writers like Kristoff. He is a hero to Africans in his own mind. The Internet era has broken the monopoly of disinformation and misinformation once enjoyed by elite media.

Many years ago, George Orwell had warned against the dangers of propaganda, or what he called "New Speak." We hear New Speak every day; where everything is turned upside down, killers are praised, while innocents are marched off to shallow graves in the forests. New Speak celebrates murderers as heroes and denounces victims.

Although successive generations have always declared "never again;" and "not on our watch," as surely as the sun rises, humanity never fails and genocide always occurs. New Speak always exonerates the killers. New Speak is public relations disinformation; black becomes white; red is yellow; and bad is good.

As one of the characters in Orwell's 1984 puts it: "It's a beautiful thing, the destruction of words."

Ah, yes; New Speak has helped send millions of Africans six feet under or to the crocodiles in the Kagera river, the Nile, and Lake Victoria.

Take Uganda's Yoweri Museveni as an example; he is a master New Speaker. He has single-handedly, with the assistance of U.K. and U.S. financing and military hardware, caused the deaths of more than eight million Africans –half a million or more in Uganda; one million in Rwanda; seven million in Congo. Please see <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/116/10455.pdf>

Yet, at least up until the time President George W. Bush left office, he was treated like some respected elder statesman of politics in the West.

He is such a smooth New Speaker that he attends the funerals of people whom he has reportedly eliminated in Uganda. He is such a smooth operator that he even secured an audience with President Bush in the White House in 2007 even though The Wall Street Journal had already reported on June 8, 2006, that he is being investigated by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for war crimes committed by his troops and militia in Congo between 1998-2003 and conceivably, like Liberia's former president Charles Taylor, and like Sudan's president al-Bashir, he too may be indicted by the ICC.

While President Bush could ignore the inconvenient truth and entertain Museveni in the White House, praising him for fighting HIV/Aids, even as he used his other hand to eliminate millions of Africans, it is difficult to imagine how President Barack Obama, a constitutional law professor, could ignore the smell of blood emanating from the Ugandan. Then again, on this earth, anything is possible.

Rwanda's Kagame is another master New Speaker.

Earlier this week, he presided over memorial ceremonies for the victims of the 1994 massacres. Kagame indulges in this macabre exercise each year even though he was instrumental in the very genocide which he now "mourns": he commanded the invasion of Rwanda from Uganda in 1990 and a French court has concluded that he ordered the missile downing of the presidential plane carrying Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntayamira of Burundi, sparking the 100 days of mass murders.

Western media had also prepared the global community for the eventual demonization and criminalization of all Hutus –even the ones who never participated in the mass murders of 1994– with a racist campaign against them in major magazines such as The New York Times magazine and The New Yorker, both with circulation in the millions. One of the first media volleys against the Hutus was an article by Alex Shoumatoff, published on June 20, 1992 in The New Yorker, where he described people he had observed while travelling in Burundi, which has the same ethnic combustibility between the majority Hutus and minority Tutsis; at that time Burundi's army and government were controlled by the Tutsi minority.

"There were three obvious Tutsis," Shoumatoff wrote, of the people he saw in a taxi cab, "Tall, slender with high foreheads, prominent cheekbones, and narrow features." He added: "They were a different physical type from the five passengers who were short and stocky and had the flat noses and thick lips typical of Hutus."

Almost three months later, an even more insidious article by Shoumatoff, "Rwanda's Aristocratic Guerrillas," was published on December 13, 1992, in The New York Times magazine. By this time, the invasion of Rwanda was in its second year and the RPF had already committed numerous massacres against Hutu civilians, as a lexis-nexus search of news reports will reveal. These crimes were glossed over or ignored in Shoumatoff's article and all contemporary and subsequent accounts in major newspapers such as the Times.

Moreover, Shoumatoff was married to a Tutsi woman who was the first cousin of the RPF's spokesperson and he was met at Entebbe airport in Uganda by RPF officials who guided him to the zones they controlled. So, The New

York Times knowingly participated in the demonization campaign against the Hutus, who make up 85% of the population in both Rwanda and Burundi.

"In the late 19th Century," Shoumatoff, acting as an unofficial propagandist for the invading army wrote in The New York Times magazine, describing Tutsis, "early ethnologists were fascinated by these 'languidly haughty' pastoral aristocrats whose high foreheads, aquiline noses and thin lips seemed more Caucasian than Negroid, and they classified them as 'false negroes.' In a popular theory of the day, the Tutsis were thought to be highly civilized people, the race of fallen Europeans, whose existence in Central Africa had been rumored for centuries."

Shoumatoff added, of the Tutsis: "They are not a race or a tribe, as often described, but a population, a stratum, a mystical, warrior-priest elite, like the Druids in Celtic society." As for the Hutus, they were far from resembling warrior priests: as Shoumatoff revealed, they were "short, stocky local Bantu agriculturalists." [To read more critique of Western media demonization of Africans, please see "The Hearts Of Darkness, How White Writers Created The Racist Image of Africa," (Black Star Books, 2005)]

Yes, heinous crimes against humanity and war crimes occurred in Rwanda, not only in 1994, but right from the time of the Uganda-sponsored invasion in 1990. Yet, the account here shows, many people would rather pretend that the atrocities started in 1994.

Some of the people who participated in the crimes have been caught and tried; many who have been tried and convicted did not even participate; those prosecuted so far have been only Hutus.

The story can never be complete when others involved in the same crime are exonerated through New Speak—some are outside Rwanda, including Museveni, for sponsoring the invasion and reportedly for supplying the missile used to down Habyarimana's jet; others, indicted and unindicted criminals now govern Rwanda.

But ours is a mere introduction. Let Keith Harmon Snow tell the sordid story. — Milton Allimadi, BlackStar News

False Narrative: Whitewashing Rwanda Genocide

By Keith Harmon Snow

On 12 February 2009, Alison Des Forges, a senior researcher with Human Rights Watch (HRW) for more than 20 years, was killed when Continental Airlines Flight 3407 crashed on route to Buffalo, New York. Des Forges was widely cited as a staunch critic of the Rwandan military government controlled by Paul Kagame and the victors of the war in Rwanda, 1990-1994.

In the ongoing life-and-death struggle to reveal the truth about war crimes and genocide in Central Africa, competing factions on all sides have posthumously embraced Alison Des Forges as an activist challenging power and a purveyor of truth and justice against all odds. Meanwhile, in March, 2009, based on false accusations of genocide issued by the Kagame regime—and given the close relations between Rwanda and the Barack Obama Administration's former Clintonite officials—the U.S. Department of Homeland Security began the process of revisiting all immigration cases of Rwandan asylum seekers and criminalizing innocent refugees.

"In May of 1994, a few weeks into the killings of Tutsis in Rwanda," reported Amy Goodman, posthumously, on Democracy Now, Alison Des Forges "was among the first voices calling for the killings to be declared a genocide." Added Goodman: "She later became very critical of the Tutsi-led Rwandan government headed by Paul Kagame and its role in the mass killings in both Rwanda and neighboring Congo after 1994. Last year, she was barred from entering Rwanda."

To say that Des Forges was "amongst the first voices calling for the killings to be declared genocide" in 1994 is an Orwellian ruse. The genocide label applied by Alison Des Forges and certain human rights bodies in May of 1994 was misdirected, used to accuse and criminalize only the majority Hutu people and the remnants of the decapitated Habyarimana government; much as the genocide and war crimes accusations have been selectively applied against President Omar al-Bashir in Sudan.

The Clinton Administration refused to apply the genocide label: to do so might have compromised an ongoing U.S.-backed covert operation: the invasion of Rwanda by the Pentagon's proxy force, the Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army (RPF/A).

According to U.S. intelligence insider Wayne Madsen, Des Forges' criticisms of the U.S.-brokered pact between Rwanda's President Paul Kagame and the Democratic Republic of Congo's President Joseph Kabila in December 2008 "earned her some powerful enemies ranging from the murderous Kagame, who will not think twice about sending his agents to silence critics abroad, and international interests who want nothing to prevent them from looting the DRC's vast mineral and energy resources."

"With U.S. military forces of the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) now backing a joint Ugandan-DRC offensive in the northeastern DRC to wipe out the Lord's Resistance Army," wrote Madsen on 16 February 2009, "with hundreds of civilian casualties in the DRC and Uganda, and a secret pact worked out between Kabila and Kagame to permit Rwandan troops to occupy the eastern DRC, the target of both operations is securing the vast territory that is rich in commodities that the United States, Britain and Israel—all allies of Uganda and Rwanda—want badly.

Those commodities are gold, diamonds, columbium-tantalite (coltan), platinum and natural gas." Massive oil reserves are also at stake, with major concessions bifurcated by the international border. Ongoing petroleum sector investment (exploration and exploitation) in the region involves numerous western extraction companies—many being so-called petroleum "minors" likely fronting for larger corporations—including Hardman Resources, Heritage Oil and Gas, H Oil & Minerals, PetroSA, Tullow Oil, Vangold Resources, ContourGlobal Group, Tower Resources, Reservoir Capital Group, and Nexant (a Bechtel Corporation subsidiary).

Billed as a "tireless champion" and "leading light in African human rights," there is much more to this story than the western propaganda system has revealed: Alison Des Forges and Human Rights Watch (HRW) provided intelligence to the U.S. government at the time of the 1994 crises, and they have continued in this role to the present. Des Forges also supported the show trials at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), institutionalizing victor's justice and shielding the Kagame regime.

Alison Des Forges came across to many people as a wonderful human being with great compassion and impeccable integrity. Indeed, this was my impression upon meeting her as well. She is said to have helped people who were being persecuted—no matter that they were Hutus or Tutsis—by the Rwandan regime that has for more than 19 years operated with impunity behind the misplaced and misappropriated moral currency of victimhood. In the recent past, Alison Des Forges spoke—to some limited degree—against the war crimes of the Kagame regime.

In life she did not speak about the deeper realities of "genocide in Rwanda", and she had plenty of chances. In fact, she is the primary purveyor of the inversion of truth that covered up the deeper U.S. role in the Rwanda "genocide", and she spent the past 10 years of her life explaining away the inconsistencies, covering up the facts, revising her own story when necessary, and manipulating public opinion about war crimes in the Great Lakes of Africa—in service to the U.S. government and powerful corporations involved in the plunder and depopulation of the region.

"Alison des Forges is a liar," Cameroonian journalist Charles Onana told me, in Paris, France, several years ago. Onana is the author of numerous exposés on war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity in Central Africa, and he is the author of the book "The Secrets of the Rwandan Genocide, Investigations on the Mysteries of a President," published in French in 2001.

Kagame, Rwanda's one-party president "elected" through rigged elections, sued Charles Onana for defamation in a French court in 2002; Kagame lost the original trial and the appeal. Kagame was the commander of the Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army (RPF/A) and a leading agent—with Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and their U.S., U.K., Belgian and Israeli backers—behind the massive bloodshed and ongoing terrorism in Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Congo, Sudan and Somalia.

In his book, Onana accused Kagame of being the principle instigator of the missile attack of April 6, 1994 that brought down the plane carrying Rwanda's President Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundi's Cyprien Ntaryamira. Unlike the U.N.'s ongoing high-profile investigation of the murder of Lebanon's former prime minister Rafik Hariri, no major power has pushed for a similar probe into the murder of the two African presidents.

Des Forges own death in a plane crash garnered major coverage.

"Leading light in African Human Rights killed in Buffalo Crash," reported the Pentagon's mouthpiece, CNN. "Human Rights Watch, which is based in New York, said she was 'best known for her award-winning account of the genocide, Leave None to Tell the Story.' She was truly wonderful, the epitome of the human rights activist—principled, dispassionate, committed to the truth and to using that truth to protect ordinary people."

Alison Des Forges first worked as a HRW agent in Rwanda in 1992; in 1993 she helped produce a major international document highly biased against the Rwandan Government and protective of the RPF/A invaders: "Report of the International Commission of Investigation on Human Rights Violations in Rwanda since October 1, 1990."

In late 1992, the International Federation of Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, the Inter-African Union for Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples, and the International Center for the Rights of the Individual and the Development of Democracy created the International Commission of Investigation on Human Rights Violations in Rwanda since October 1, 1990. With 10 members from eight countries, the commission reported its findings in March 1993: Des Forges was co chairperson, one of the three principal writers, and translator of the French to English version.

The report noted that "hundreds of thousands" of Rwandans were made homeless and forced to flee, prior to January 1993, but these casualties of the RPF/A invasion were not attributed to international crimes of peace against a sovereign government committed by an invading army—the RPF/A guerrillas covertly backed by the U.S., Britain, Belgium and Israel—but instead merely to "war".

In other words, the initial act of aggression, the RPA/F invasion, was institutionally protected and the war crimes that set the stage for the conflagrations in Rwanda and Congo went unpunished.

Later in 1993, Rwandans Ferdinand Nanimana and Joseph Mushyandi, representing four Rwandan organizations under the Rwanda Associations for the Defense of Human Rights, challenged the DesForges commission in their 26-page document, "A Commentary on the Report of the International Commission's Inquiry on the Violation of Human Rights in Rwanda since October 1990."

"How can an international commission be taken seriously when its members spent only two weeks extracting verbal and written evidence on human rights violations for a period of two years?" the authors wrote. They also pointed out that the commission spent less than two hours in areas controlled by the RPF/A rebels and that they could not visit all the 11 prefectures in the country because of demonstrations that blocked the roads. "Can there be any objective and credible conclusions in their report?"

Ferdinand Nanimana was later sentenced to life imprisonment for genocide. Many members of the Rwandan human rights organizations he worked with prior to April 1994 were subsequently killed. The rights and due process of Rwandan Hutus are systematically violated due to victor's justice secured by the U.S., Europe, Israel and the proxy states Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda. Bernard Ntuyahaga, a Major of the former Rwandan army (ex-FAR) accused of killing 10 Belgian soldiers and Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, surrendered to the ICTR to avoid extradition to Rwanda; he was tried in Belgium and sentenced to 20 years in prison on July 4, 2007.

Like other researchers who have endlessly perpetuated the disinformation, Des Forges made no attempts to correct the record. In 1992, human rights researchers Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal established the London-based NGO African Rights. In August 1995, African Rights published Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance, another pivotal "human rights" report that manufactured the "genocide" fabrications, set the stage for victor's justice at the ICTR, and began the process of dehumanizing millions of Hutu people and protecting the true terrorists. In 1995, Omaar and de Waal recycled the disinformation in the left-leaning Covert Action Quarterly under the title "U.S. Complicity by Silence: Genocide in Rwanda."

Since 2003, Alex de Waal has been one of the primary disinformation conduits on Darfur, Sudan. "An intensive back and forth activity between this so-called British human rights organization, African Rights, and the intelligence services of the [Kagame] President's office and the Rwandan military, has been observed," wrote Paul

Rusesabagina, whose heroics was immortalized in the film *Hotel Rwanda*. "Her investigators are very close to the [RPF/A] military intelligence apparatus, and the modus operandi of both appears to be similar."

Alison Des Forges years-long "investigations" into the bloodshed of 1994 resulted in the fat treatise on genocide in Rwanda, "Leave None to Tell the Story," a book co-researched and co-written by Timothy Longman, now Associate Professor of Africana Studies and Political Science at Vassar College. Longman and Des Forges produced numerous documents—based on field investigations in Congo (then Zaire), Rwanda and Burundi, from 1995 to 2008—touted as independent and unbiased human rights documents, all skewed by hidden interests.

According to a recent PBS Frontline eulogy, less than two weeks into the killing in April 1994 Des Forges met with officials in the U.S. State Department and National Security Council (NSC) and lobbied for their help. "We were not asking for U.S. troops," Frontline quotes her saying, "it was clear to us that there was no way that the U.S. was going to commit troops to Rwanda."

But the U.S. military was heavily backing the RPF/A tactically and strategically already. Key to the operation were "former" Special Operations Forces (Ronco Company) providing military equipment and ferrying RPA troops from Uganda to Rwanda; the Pentagon's logistical and communications support; Defense Intelligence Agency and CIA operatives. Canadian General Romeo Dallaire, commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), was also collaborating with the RPF/A, serving the Pentagon interest.

Genocide in Rwanda became a massive psychological operation directed against media consumers using ghastly images—produced by RPA-embedded photographers like James Nachtwey and Gilles Peres—to infer that all cadavers were Tutsi victims of an orchestrated Hutu genocide; meanwhile the text was racist disinformation produced by Joshua Hammer. *Newsweek*, June 20, 1994.

ICTR defense attorney Christopher Black reports that reliable sources confirm that US Special forces were with the RPF all the way through the war. "My client testified in June that U.S. Hercules [C-130 military aircraft] were seen dropping troops in support of the RPF..."

Further, on 9 April 1994, three days after the so-called "mysterious plane crash" where Burundi's President Cyprien Ntaryamira and President Habyarimana were assassinated, some 330 U.S. marines landed at Bujumbura's airport in Burundi, ostensibly to "rescue Americans" in Rwanda.

More centrally however, Uganda—with U.S. trained forces and U.S. supplied weaponry—launched its war against Rwanda as a proxy force for the United States of America on October 1, 1990.

The result was a coup d'état: we won. The 2003 Frontline interview with Alison Des Forges exemplifies her continuing role in whitewashing U.S. involvement in war crimes and genocide in Central Africa. "Kagame received his military education under the Pentagon's Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) at the Command and General Staff College of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, beginning in 1990," wrote John E. Peck of the Association of African Scholars (2002). "His sidekick, Lt. Col.

Frank Rusagara, got his JCET schooling at the U.S. Naval Academy in Monterey, California. Both were dispatched to Rwanda in time to oversee the RPF's takeover in 1994. Far from being an innocent bystander, the *Washington Post* revealed on July 12, 1998 that the United States not only gave Kagame \$75 million in military assistance, but also sent Green Berets to train Kagame's forces (as well as their Ugandan rebel allies) in low intensity conflict (LIC) tactics. Pentagon subcontractor Ronco, masquerading as a de-mining company, also smuggled more weapons to RPF fighters in flagrant violation of UN sanctions. All of this U.S. largesse was put to lethal effect in the ethnic bloodbath that is still going on."

"This genocide resulted from the deliberate choice of a modern elite to foster hatred and fear to keep itself in power," Des Forges wrote, blaming "Hutu Power". However, her assertions about a "planned" Hutu genocide—"They seized control of the state and used its machinery and its authority to carry out the slaughter"—collapse under scrutiny.

From 1990 to 1994, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), comprised most heavily of Ugandan soldiers led by Ugandan citizens like Paul Kagame, committed atrocity after atrocity as they forced their way to power in Kigali,

always falsely accusing their enemies—the power-sharing government of then President Juvenal Habyarimana—of genocide.

"Kagame assigned some people to work with Alison Des Forges," says Ugandan Human Rights activist Remigius Kintu, "and also to assist her in fabricating and distorting stories to suit Tutsi propaganda plans."

According to the International Forum for Truth and Justice in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, whose discoveries resulted in the high courts of Spain issuing international indictments against 40 top RPF/A officials: "Between 1990 and 1994, the RPA waged a systematic, pre-planned, secretive but highly organized terrorist war aimed at eliminating the largest number of Rwandan people possible—bodies were hacked to pieces and incinerated en masse.

From 1994, once the RPA violently seized power, a terror regime was created, and developed, and a criminal structure parallel to the state was set up to pursue pre-determined kidnappings; torturing and raping of women and young girls; terrorist attacks (both directly and by simulating that the same had been perpetrated by the enemy); illegal detention of thousands of civilians; selective murdering; systematic elimination of corpses either by mass incineration or by throwing them into lakes and rivers; indiscriminate attacks against civilians based on pre-determined ethnic categories for the elimination of the predominant ethnic group; and also to carry out acts of war in Rwanda and Congo."

Before former President Habyarimana's assassination on 6 April 1994, Des Forges, and the organizations she worked with, blamed the whole war crimes show on President Habyarimana and his government, they dismissed the illegal invasion and atrocities of the RPF/A, and they began calling it genocide against the Tutsis as early as 1992.

"In the Military II case Alison Des Forges admitted that she was funded by USAID when she was part of that so-called International Commission condemning the Rwandan Government [under Habyarimana] for human rights violations," reports Canadian Chris Black, a defense attorney at the ICTR, "and she admitted that she just took the word of the RPF and pro-RPF groups and that she did not deal with RPF atrocities, as she did not have the time."

Chris Black notes that Des Forges presented reports to the ICTR in certain legal cases that were decidedly doctored from the original reports presented in previous cases against other accused Hutu genocidaires, and that it was necessary to cross-examine Des Forges "very forcefully" to get her to agree that changes had been made to the reports presented as evidence in the case being tried.

"In her expert report in the 2006 Military II trial against General Ndindiliyimana," Chris Black adds, "she removed all the positive things she had said about him in her book and in her previous expert report in the [Colonel Théoneste] Bagasora case. When asked by me why she deleted the positive view of him at his own trial, and why she tried to hide the fact that he saved a lot of Tutsis, among other things, she had no explanation. It was a cheap, low thing to do and I can tell you even the judges here at the ICTR were not too happy about it."

On December 18, 2008, after the protracted 'Military I' trial, the judges at the International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda ruled that there was no conspiracy to commit genocide by former Rwandan military leaders affiliated with the former Habyarimana government. It was war, and the actions—far from a calculated genocide—were found by ICTR judges to be "war-time conditions".

"The media reports of the December 18 judgment [Military I] at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda focused primarily on the convictions of three of four former top military leaders, who were the supposed 'masterminds' of the Rwandan genocide," wrote ICTR defense lawyer Peter Erlinder. "But, as those who have followed the ICTR closely know, convictions of members of the former Rwandan government and military are scarcely newsworthy."

Since the inception of the ICTR its decisions have been decisively biased—victor's justice—in favor of protecting the Kagame regime and its backers. Thus it is no surprise that the former top military leaders of the Habyarimana government—Colonel Théoneste Bagasora and Major Aloys Ntabakuze—were sentenced to life imprisonment for acts of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"The real news was that all of the top Rwandan military officers, including the supposedly infamous Colonel Bagosora, were found not guilty of conspiracy or planning to commit genocide," writes Erlinder. "And General Gratien Kabiligi, a senior member of the general staff, was acquitted of all charges! The others were found guilty of specific acts committed by subordinates, in specific places, at specific times—not an overall conspiracy to kill civilians, much less Tutsi civilians."

Now, after more than 15 years of massive western propaganda proclaiming an organized, systematic elimination of the Tutsi people by the Hutu leaders of the former Rwandan government, the official Rwanda genocide story has finally collapsed.

In contradistinction to the establishment narrative accusing the "Hutu leadership" of an "organized" and "planned" genocide were the countless acts of genocide committed through a spontaneous uprising of the Hutu masses—people who had been brutalized, disenfranchised, uprooted and forced from homes; people who had witnessed massacres and rapes of family members; people who were themselves the victims of brutal atrocities.

These were more than a million internally displaced Rwandan Hutus, people who had been terrorized by the Rwandan Patriotic Army from October 1990 to April 1994, as it butchered its way into Rwanda; and possibly a million Burundian refugees, Hutus who suffered massive reprisals in Burundi after the first civilian President, Melchior Ndadaye, a democratically elected Hutu, was assassinated by the Tutsi military in October 1993.

There is evidence that the RPA/F pursued "pseudo-operations"—death squads committing atrocities disguised as government soldiers—and evidence that at least some of the infamous Interahamwe militias pursued their campaigns of terror in the pay of the Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army.

"She concealed the fact that from 1990 the war caused an unprecedented economic poverty and that the one million internally displaced people tore the social fabric apart!" wrote Dr. Helmut Strizek, a former German official who had called for Des Forges' resignation from HRW.

"And these people knew that Tutsi rebels caused their misery. They did not wait for 'instructions' in order to revenge, once no one was able to maintain public order after the April 6 assassination and resumption of hostilities by the RPF."

"Alison Des Forges is no longer," writes Charles Onana. "Peace be with her soul! She nonetheless leaves behind her many victims of injustice, who she painstakingly accused, using false testimony, before the International Criminal Tribunal Court for Rwanda (ICTR)." Alison Des Forges provided expert testimony in 11 genocide trials before the ICTR, including the 'Military I' trials that condemned Col. Theoneste Bagosora and two others on December 18. Des Forges also testified in genocide trials in Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Canada.

Charles Onana continues: "Among her victims there is Jean-Paul Akayesu, the first to be condemned to life imprisonment for genocide. This man, who Alison Des Forges had accused without any proof against him, was even defended by a Tutsi from the Patriotic Rwandan Army [RPA] who had been party to the fabrication of the 'incriminating' evidence against him in Rwanda. The Tribunal never listened to this witness, but they did listen to Alison Des Forges."

"I have also discovered during the course of my investigations into the ICTR that, at the start of the trial in 1997, she introduced a forged fax that was purported to be written by General Dallaire in 1994. This fax, maintained Des Forges, concerned the 'planning of genocide'."

New Yorker staff writer Philip Gourevitch spread the mythology of "The Genocide Fax" far and wide. Gourevitch's first pro-RPF/A disinformation piece appeared in the New Yorker in December 1995; in May 1998 the New Yorker published Gourevitch's "The Genocide Fax," a charade fed to him by Madeleine Albright's undersecretary of state James Rubin.

Gourevitch's fictional book "We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families" was funded by the euphemistically named U.S. Institute for Peace and written in league with the Kagame regime.

It is certainly possible that Alison Des Forges was unaware of the original fabrication, but she and Human Rights Watch never changed their tune, and they never denounced the fabrication.

Charles Onana continues: "It was on the basis of this false document that she called for the condemnation of Jean-Paul Akaseyu. To lend credibility to this first trial process, the ICTR, with astonishing lightness and irresponsibility, condemned this man to life. The Tribunal had no proof. The judicial dossier is slapdash and skimpy, but that has no importance. This was Alison Des Forges first great victory."

"She then decided to pursue a Rwandan refugee living in Canada: an ideal target," Onana adds, referring to Leon Mugesera. "He had the misfortune to be Hutu. For her, this man was a 'planner of genocide'. But where is the proof? Alison Des Forges has none, but she wants to see this man in prison. Having deciphered or seen through Alison Des Forge's arguments, the Judge of the Canadian Federal Tribunal concluded witheringly and without pity: 'I note above all the relentlessness with which Mme Des Forges launched her diatribe against M. [Leon]Mugesera, and am astonished by the lack of care she has demonstrated in drawing up the report for the International Commission of Enquiry and in her Expert Assessment.'"

"The Canadian judge did not hesitate to qualify Mme. Des Forges as partisan, demonstrating 'a prejudice or preconceived position against Léon Mugesera'. He concluded that she could not be considered an objective witness, adding that no correctly informed tribunal could take her allegations seriously. Nevertheless it was on the basis of the same arguments, and of the same fantasy report published in 1999, that she accused numerous Rwandans, all Hutu."

"CONTINENTAL SHIFT," one of Philip Gourevitch's pivotal disinformation essays that appeared in the New Yorker, outlined the "new brand of African leader" exemplified by Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame: it is a whitewash of U.S.-backed terrorism. "It was thus that she devoted the penultimate day of her examination, during the process against the military, to presenting Colonel Bagosora, Hutu, as the king pin in the genocide.

The Tribunal in the long-running 'Military I' trial did not accept the 'planning of genocide' that Alison Des Forges never ceased to hammer on about by means of her pseudo-fax of 11 January 1994. She lied, lied and lied again. She tried a come-back or to recover her credibility by criticizing her 'hero' Paul Kagame, the organizer of the 6 April 1994 assassination of two presidents."

"Alison Des Forges finally dared to speak of the crimes committed by the Tutsi rebels of the RPF/A: the great taboo. It was a bit late but it assuaged her conscience. For those who were condemned by the ICTR, deliberately and unjustly recorded by her, there will be no justice for them. Can Alison Des Forges still hear their suffering and their pain? She who has done them so much harm—along with their families? She who claimed to defend the Rights of Man has without doubt violated the rights of many Rwandans, who will undoubtedly never forget her. Their homage to Mme. Des Forges would have been different, very different, to what her many friends in the media have to say."

Timothy Longman and Des Forges, the co-authors of the HRW treatise, "Leave None To Tell The Story," both worked with USAID, the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon. Des Forges was a member of the HRW board from 1988 and was "principal researcher" on Rwanda and Burundi, 1991-1994.

In this period Des Forges also consulted for USAID, and collaborated with the State Department, Pentagon, and National Security Council. Simultaneously, Des Forges worked with, informed and influenced U.S. Congress-people, Permanent Representatives at the United Nations, the U.N. Under-Secretary General, and U.N. Special Rapporteur for Rwanda and Special Rapporteur for Summary and Arbitrary Executions. Des Forges also pumped the disinformation into the academic world through her high-level ties to human rights committees, African and Africana Studies departments and the elite African Studies Association.

In the same period, Des Forges constantly influenced the U.S. media through special briefings to the editorial boards and reporters of the New York Times, Washington Post, National Public Radio, and Associated Press, and she was frequently presented as an "expert" on genocide in Rwanda for CNN, 60 Minutes, Nightline, All Things Considered, BBC, Radio France Internationale, and the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

Such relations explain the mass media's consistency in producing the monolithic disinformation about Rwanda that shielded the illegal U.S.-backed and covert RPF/A- Ugandan guerrilla insurgency. The blanket media coverage falsely situated the "Rwanda genocide" as it is now widely misunderstood: 100 days of genocide, 800,000 to 1.2 million Tutsis killed with machetes; the "highly disciplined" RPF/A stopping the genocide.

Such is the disinformation that indoctrinated the English-speaking media consumers and created a mass psychological hysteria about Rwanda that persists to this day. Timothy Longman worked with Des Forges in Rwanda in 1994 and has worked regularly with both USAID and HRW on contracts in Congo, Burundi and Rwanda, throughout the late 1990's and into the present; Longman worked in Rwanda on one USAID contract for Management Systems Incorporated, a firm whose clients include the Pentagon. Longman also worked as a consultant for HRW in the spring of 2000 conducting field research in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and producing "a detailed report on human rights conditions in rebel-controlled areas."

The Des Forges and Longman position vis-à-vis their whitewashing of the Tutsi-led RPF/A organized genocide in Rwanda certainly explains the sanitation of HRW reports, and it raises questions, for example, about how Human Rights Watch "researchers" navigate their "work" in rebel (read: Rwandan and Ugandan) controlled areas in DRC.

It also raises questions about how, why and when HRW does or doesn't expose the western operatives, non-government organizations and multinational corporations: a singular example is the Human Rights Watch report that mildly exposes the criminal operations of Anglo-Gold Ashanti—a company partnered with the George H.W. Bush connected Barrick Gold Corporation—in eastern DRC.

HRW says nothing about Moto Gold, Mwana Africa, Banro Resources, Hardmann Oil, Tullow Oil, De Beers, H Oil & Minerals, OM Group, Metalurg, Kotecha, International Rescue Committee—and the many proxy armies, militias, gun-runners and other organized white collar war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Congo.

The role of HRW as an intelligence conduit to the U.S. Government is incidentally confirmed by Samantha Power in her book "A Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide"—a whitewash of U.S. and allied war crimes for which she was rewarded with a Pulitzer Prize.

While Power's "bystanders to genocide" thesis about Rwanda is a total inversion of the facts, she notes in passing that "Human Rights Watch supplied exemplary intelligence to the U.S. Government and lobbied in one-on-one meetings" in April and May 1994, and that Alison Des Forges and other HRW staff visited the White House on April 21, 1994. Samantha Power is currently a member of the National Security Council in the Obama Administration.

The mass media was flooded with "Rwanda genocide" disinformation between April and July of 1994, and advertising that served up subliminal seduction and white supremacy often surrounded these "news" clips.

Alison Des Forges continued to remain silent about Western corporate and military interests in the Great Lakes region to her death. A perfect example of this silence is the very unrevealing March 2008 interview by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum titled "Alison Des Forges: The Impact of Rwandan Genocide in Congo."

Timothy Longman also produces significant pro-US propaganda about Sudan. Thus it is important to note that amongst the key USAID conduits for disinformation and covert operations in Sudan today is Roger Winter, one of the primary architects of the RPF/A guerrilla war, organized from Washington in 1989, that led to the loss of millions of lives in the Great Lakes of Africa since October 1990.

Alison Des Forges, of course, never mentioned Roger Winter or his colleague in covert operations, Susan Rice, the Obama Administration's Ambassador to the U.N. Of Roger Winter, Remigius Kintu, the Ugandan Human Rights activist says "he was the chief logistics boss for the RPF until their victory in 1994...."

"Roger Winter was with the RPA on the front lines in Rwanda and he regularly briefed the Clinton Administration of the RPA's military achievements," says Jean Marie Vianney Higiroy, former Rwandan official. "Alison Des Forges contributed to the RPF/A takeover of Rwanda. I have no doubt about that... I met her three times, first in 1995, and in 2004 she encouraged me to testify at the ICTR. I said 'no way: I will only testify if RPF officials are

arrested.' She insisted I should testify, she was confident that the RPF were going to be arrested. I think she did not realize that the U.S. government would never accept that. She was something of an opportunist."

The zeal displayed by Alison Des Forges and Human Rights Watch in the pursuit of justice and human rights appears in sharp contradistinction to their absence of zeal in pursuing the architects of the criminal invasion of Rwanda on October 1, 1990, by Uganda, the double presidential assassinations of April 6, 1994, and all kinds of other murderous corporate conspiracies in Central Africa where foreign-financed wars are used as cover for illegal extraction of resources, particularly in the Congo.

Ironically, as the world this week commemorated the 15th Anniversary of the terrible mass murders that followed the assassination of the presidents, Rwandan asylum seekers that are critics of the Kagame regime live under perpetual fear of being hunted down, branded as genocide perpetrators, ostracized, and persecuted by an illegitimate dictatorship. Forty of the regime's military officials have been indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide by two international courts.

Kagame's ruthless Directorate of Military Intelligence has dispatched agents to Europe to eliminate RPF opponents; some of these agents are operating under cover as bogus asylum-seekers in Europe and North America.

As of January 20, 2009 the U.S. Department of Homeland Security began reopening all cases of Rwandan asylum seekers, and is criminalizing and threatening to deport legitimate refugees to Rwanda, actions that violate the 1951 United Nations High Commission for Refugees Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

(Keith Harmon Snow is the 2009 Regent's Lecturer in Law & Society at the University of California Santa Barbara, recognized for over a decade of work, outside of academia, contesting official narratives on war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide while also working as a genocide investigator for the United Nations and other bodies.)

## Trend

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<http://news-en.trend.az/print.shtml?newsid=1459542&lang=en>

### **Norwegian lawyers intend to litigate against Israeli ex-PM**

Six Norwegian lawyers intend to sue to Oslo Court against former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, and Defense Minister Ehud Barak on charges of war crimes committed during the war in the Gaza Strip, the Jerusalem Post reported.

Norwegian lawyers also will complaint against the Israeli Armed Forces General Staff Chief Gabi Ashkenazi, commander of the Air Force Ido Nehoshtan and others.

Under the Criminal Code of Norway, local court has jurisdiction to hear charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity, even if they had been committed outside the territory of Norway, and have no relationship to the citizens of the kingdom.

The suit will brought on behalf of the six Norwegian lawyers on charges of unlawful use of weapons - phosphorous shells against the civilian population, destruction of private and public property, shelling of emergency machines and bombing of hospitals.

On Dec. 27, 2008, Israel launched military operations against members of Hamas in Gaza. The operation continued 22 days, as the result of which 1,300 Palestinians were killed and about 5,000 people were wounded.

Israel said that 800 killed people were terrorists.

Gerald Stabel, a lawyer, believes that similar actions may be committed once again in the future," Jerusalem Post reported.

The Israeli Embassy in Oslo did not comment the issue.

In January 2009, a Spain Court considered similar charges against Israeli officials regarding the assassination of terrorist leader Salh Shkhade in 2002.

Do you have any feedback? Contact our journalist at: [trend@trend.az](mailto:trend@trend.az)