

**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**

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## The Guardian

Wednesday, 2 March 2011

### One judge down: drama continues at the Charles Taylor trial

As a judge at the special court for Sierra Leone boycotts Courtenay Griffiths QC's disciplinary hearing, the importance of guiding this trial to conclusion could not be clearer



Charles Taylor's three-year trial has seen a supermodel in the witness box, his lawyer in the dock and now a missing judge  
Photograph: AP

First a lawyer in the dock. Now a missing judge. The strange gets stranger at the special court for Sierra Leone.

Another week, another twist at the Charles Taylor trial.

Just ten days ago, the proceedings hit an unexpected impasse when Taylor's lead defence counsel, Courtenay Griffiths, learned that his final brief - which had been delivered late - would not be accepted by the court. Griffiths declared that, absent the final brief, he did not see any further role in the case for himself or for his client. Then, in front of a host of international media, he walked out of the courtroom.

For his actions, the judges chose to subject Griffiths to a disciplinary hearing and set the date for Friday, February 25.

But then came the newest surprise, this time from the bench. As the parties gathered for the Griffiths hearing, there was a new notable absence. One of the trial's three judges, Justice Julia Sebutinde, had opted out.

Justice Sebutinde's dissatisfaction with the move to hold a disciplinary hearing was no secret. She had dissented from the order requiring Griffiths to apologise or face sanction. When the hearing was convened, she went a step further, stating that as a matter of principle she could not take part in the proceedings.

In a letter read by the presiding judge of the trial chamber, Justice Teresa Doherty, Justice Sebutinde wrote that

"in view of the recent developments in the trial chamber, and consistent with my earlier views and opinion on this matter, both in chamber and on the bench wherein I dissented from the directive to lead counsel, I will on principle not attend Friday's hearing."

In addition to making clear her position on the Griffiths hearing, Justice Sebutinde's message underscored that "recent developments in the trial chamber" have not been smooth. In the public gallery on Friday there was discussion about the body language displayed by the judges in recent weeks and the hints it offered about disagreement on many issues.

Nor was the drama finished for the day. With Justice Sebutinde absent, eyes turned to the alternate judge, Justice El Hadjj Malick Sow. But when defence lawyers suggested that Justice Sow be allowed to participate in the proceedings, the Senegalese judge did not wait for the presiding judge to comment before bursting out.

"Let me make this very clear," Justice Sow said.

"This bench is regularly composed with three judges sitting, as it shows. Two judges cannot sign decisions. When the bench is sitting, it's sitting with three judges, not two judges...I'm not here for decoration. I am a judge...I don't know how people can think that two judges - I don't know where in this world you will see two judges sitting. It's not possible. This bench is regularly composed with three judges...No matter how parties will look at it, it shows and it's apparent that this bench is composed with three judges. We are three judges sitting."

The words of a man who believes that he has been sidelined by his colleagues.

The guidelines on the alternate judge's role are spelled out in rule 16 of the Rules of procedure and evidence of the court. The rule reads,

"If a judge is, for any reason, unable to sit in a proceeding, trial or appeal which has not yet been heard but has been scheduled, the president may designate an alternate judge."

Rule 16 also states,

"The alternate judge may perform such other functions within the trial chamber or appeals chamber as the presiding judge in consultation with the other judges of the chamber may deem necessary."

Justice Doherty, as she adjourned the proceedings, invoked the rule but found it did not apply.

"The articles governing the composition of this court and the trial chamber mandate that it is to be composed of three judges," she said. "This is not a situation where rule 16 applies. Accordingly, in our view, this trial chamber is not properly constituted and we consider we have no alternative but to adjourn this hearing today."

The day's developments leave several unanswered questions, most notably whether Justice Sow should have been allowed to take part in the hearings since Justice Sebutinde was "unable to sit in a proceeding." Or, instead, if his participation falls within the ambit of when "the presiding judge in consultation with the other judges...may deem necessary."

These are all issues for the judges themselves to determine. What is important to note at this stage is that it is, in fact, very common for judges in all tribunals to have disagreements. And disagreements do not necessarily suggest any malfunction in the handling of the particular case. But judges should also be mindful that the eyes of the world are on them and that they carry the enormous responsibility of upholding the dignity and integrity of the judicial process. So, it is essential to make sure that any disagreements that arise not overshadow the substance of the case itself.

In this case, the overriding importance of guiding the trial to a conclusion could not be more clear. Taylor, the former president of Liberia, is on trial for allegedly supporting rebel forces in neighbouring Sierra Leone during the country's 11 year civil war. The trial is by now three years old and, before the recent complications, was set to enter its final stages. The Open Society Justice Initiative continues to track developments in the case on its monitoring site.

Prosecutors have brought evidence about how rebel forces in Sierra Leone marauded across the country, hacking off limbs, killing civilians and committing heinous crimes, including sexual violence. They have argued that these crimes would not have been possible without Taylor's support.

The defence team has argued that Taylor's role has been misunderstood - that he was a peacemaker, whose only involvement in Sierra Leone was in an effort to bring peace. They argue that he is on trial because Western countries wanted to see him out of Liberia.

Both sides have laboured to bring the case to this advanced stage, with the aim of bringing this trial to a conclusion - to a final verdict on whether Taylor is guilty or innocent of the charges against him.

In the interests of the victims of the conflict in Sierra Leone, of the brave men and women who travelled to The Hague to testify for both prosecution and defence, of Taylor's fair trial rights as an accused, and of the contribution that the special court should make toward preventing impunity and ensuring accountability for the most serious crimes, it is crucial to bring the trial to a satisfactory end.

# The Atlantic

Tuesday, 1 March 2011

## How Qaddafi Reshaped Africa

By Howard W. French

*The Libyan leader's dark legacy already includes some of the continent's worst regimes and conflicts*



Whenever most of us think of oil-rich, Arab-speaking countries, our imagination performs a trick with our sense of geography, placing us by default in the Middle East.

Of the three North African countries at the heart of the popular uprisings that have riveted the world over the last several weeks, Libya's Muammar Qaddafi has always done the most to assert his country's African identity, staking its prestige, its riches and his own personal influence above all on its place in the continent.

As a deep-pocketed and sparsely populated state ever in need of labor, it has always made sense for Qaddafi to look south. Libya is far too small and peripheral for it to ever aspire to real influence in the Arab world. By comparison, the almost equally small but far poorer countries of nearby West Africa, wracked as they are with chronic misrule and instability, loom temptingly on the horizon as fruit ripe for picking.

Whatever our loose or flawed sense of geography tells us, things have always been thus. For at least 1,000 years, Morocco's kingdoms have periodically thrust southward, establishing shape-shifting realms from present-day Niger all the way to Senegal.

Qaddafi's big idea was to meld a modern, anti-Western, anti-imperial discourse with an impassioned pan-Africanism, an ideal that still resonates deeply across the continent.

For decades in Africa, Qaddafi has put his money where his mouth was: showering petro-dollars on favored clients, funding liberation groups, nurturing political movements, and even paying civil servants. To make sure that no one missed the message, he has often paid a huge portion of the operating costs of the continental body, the African Union.

The problem with Qaddafi's pan-Africanism, like his rule in general is that it has steadily turned into a vessel for his megalomania.

As a reporter with a career-long association with the African continent, I have been in a rare position to witness this trend beginning with some of Qaddafi's earliest African exploits.

In 1983, I scrambled from Ivory Coast to Chad to witness the breakout of war between French and Libyan forces there. Qaddafi had recently spoken of fully "integrating" his country with its southern neighbor.

I quickly found my way to the eastern front, where I watched the conflict from a desert foxhole with French soldiers as they spotted screaming, low-flying Jaguar fighter bombers pounding Libyan positions nearby. That same year, I traveled to Burkina Faso, where Qaddafi had flown to celebrate the seizure of power by a charismatic young army captain, Thomas Sankara, who he clearly saw as a promising understudy.

They met at a military base near the border with Ghana. From there, Sankara's comrade, Blaise Compaoré had recently rallied paratroopers to free Sankara from detention and install him as president.

When I showed up, Qaddafi, surrounded by his famous all female bodyguard corps, angrily objected to my presence and demanded that Sankara not allow an American to ride with the motorcade for their triumphal, flag-waving trip to the capital, Ouagadougou. Sankara, who already knew me well, insisted on my presence. Four years later, he would be dead, murdered by Compaoré, it is widely believed, with Qaddafi's encouragement.

The Libyan's determination to eliminate his erstwhile protégé had nothing to do with me, of course. Most signs point instead to Sankara's refusal to acquiesce in a much bigger decision: to sponsor an invasion of Liberia by Charles Taylor, a leader who is now before the Hague on war crime charges related to his instigation of what would go on to become one of Africa's most horrific conflicts.

Taylor, a kindred megalomaniac, who was trained and financed by Libya, invaded Liberia in 1989. A few years later, I would cover that war for The New York Times as well, watching the rebel leader ride one of the first mass deployments of child soldiers into power.

Were it not for the British intervention in Sierra Leone's civil war next door, another Libyan project, the Taylor-Qaddafi axis would have taken over that country next, before turning its sights on other wobbling dominos nearby, whether Guinea or Ivory Coast. From Liberia, I went to Zaire to cover the fall of Mobutu Sese Seko at the hands of Laurent Kabila, an obscure revolutionary who had cut his teeth in 1960 liberation movements before seemingly going into hibernation. Although Rwanda was his main patron, it turns out that Qaddafi had invested in Kabila, too.

A map of the places where I watched Qaddafi play similar games would stretch from Seychelles to the Central African Republic to Guinea, far vaster even than the Moroccan domains of old.

Even today, when one looks around the continent at zones of conflict, it's a safe bet that the Libyan leader has a line in, ever willing to take long odds that eventually his strategy of cobbling together a pan-African realm will pan out.

As such dreams crumble along with his power, however, Qaddafi will leave a final destabilizing legacy

for the continent. Among the million-plus sub-Saharan migrants living in his country, many have already faced suspicion and brutal reprisals because of Qaddafi's use of black mercenaries as a desperate, final rampart.

But there is worse still. It is all but certain that there are new Charles Taylors out there, trained and armed by Qaddafi and eager to mount violent bids for power. And with their patron going down in flames, they will be heading home.

## National Public Radio

Thursday, 3 March 2011

### Gadhafi's Dream To Wear Africa's Crown

by Ofeibea Quist-Arcton



Ben Curtis/AP

Libyan Leader Moammar Gadhafi adjusts his gown after speaking to supporters and the media in Tripoli on Wednesday.

Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi has had a checkered relationship with the African continent over the years. His pursuit of a United States of Africa — with himself as the continent's self-styled King of Kings — is one of the mercurial colonel's more recent projects.



Credit: NPR

"Shortly after Operation Eldorado Canyon, where the Americans bombed Moammar Gadhafi's headquarters [in 1986], he backed away from the Arab League and declared that he wanted to be the Emperor of Africa," says Syracuse University law professor David Crane. "He invited various individuals who were willing to be his surrogates, and he trained them in various terrorist camps throughout Libya and then sent them south to West Africa to do his bidding."

Crane was the founding prosecutor of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, where Liberia's ex-president, Charles Taylor, is currently on trial. Taylor faces war crimes charges for fuelling and funding the brutal rebellion in neighboring Sierra Leone. Crane says West Africa felt the malign hand of Gaddafi, courtesy of amenable regional rogues, like Taylor.

"Moammar Gadhafi's plan was a geopolitical one. He intended to take over West Africa, placing each of these surrogates in various countries," Crane says.

### **A Contradiction**

But political analyst Issaka Souare of South Africa's Institute of Security Studies says Gadhafi's legacy in Africa is mixed, that he blows hot and cold in his dealings with the continent.

"You could describe Gadhafi both as an arsonist and a firefighter. He actually contributed to the destabilization of many African countries: Chad, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone," Souare says. "But he also came to play a role in brokering peace between the warring factions in some of the same countries that he was destabilizing."

### **Related NPR Stories**



Gadhafi has dominated and helped fund the African Union since its creation in 2003. He's well known in Africa for his fiery anti-Western speeches and crisscrossing the continent with his bespoke Bedouin tent. Analysts say Gadhafi distributes Libya's oil largesse among his brother leaders. To date, few African heads of state have spoken out publicly against him.

The African Union last week issued a statement saying it deplored what it called the disproportionate use of force. Botswana went further and cut diplomatic ties.

"Ordinary protestors were being shot at, and then he's breathing fire on his own people," Botswana's foreign minister, Phandu Skelemani, says. "You don't expect a leader to come out and say, 'I'm going to kill the lot of you,' saying people are cockroaches and rats which must be eliminated and killed."

### **Regional Reverberations**

The unrest in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya has not sparked similar revolts in sub-Saharan Africa. Uganda's opposition called for a popular uprising to keep President Yoweri Museveni from extending his 25-year rule. Museveni dismissed the call and said he had a solution.

"Very simple, just lock them up," he said. "Simple, in as a humane a manner as possible, bundle them into jails and that will be the end of the story."

Human rights lawyer Irene Petros says Zimbabwe's veteran President Robert Mugabe is watching closely. Zimbabwe denies sending weapons or troops to help Gadhafi in Libya. But, Petros say, the 46 people charged with treason for watching TV footage of the Egyptian revolution serve as an example for others.

"If you even attempt to talk about something like this, then we'll come and get you," she says. "The government has become so paranoid about the possibility of mass protests, because of what is happening in other parts of the continent."

But the soundtrack of the regional uprisings continues to reverberate around the continent.

## Radio Netherlands

Tuesday, 1 March 2011

### **Charles Taylor's arms supplier back in Dutch court**

A new trial has begun in the case of Guus Kouwenhoven, the Dutch businessman accused of international arms trafficking.

Kouwenhoven was convicted in 2006 of illegal arms shipments to Liberia. That judgment was overturned on appeal, but the Dutch Supreme Court ruled that the appeal process must be repeated.

One of the witnesses expected to appear this time is former Liberian president Charles Taylor, who is on trial in the Netherlands for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

FamilySecurityMatters.org

Thursday, 3 March 2011

[http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/publications/id.8876/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/publications/id.8876/pub_detail.asp)

## The Battle for Libya: Implications for Africa

J.Peter Pham, PhD

-SNIP-

As I documented in my two books on the West African wars of the 1990s, Libya's interest in Sub-Saharan Africa was nothing short of catastrophic for millions of Africans, especially his backing of warlord Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and Foday Sankoh's Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone (RUF/SL) which together unleashed more than decade of havoc across West Africa from which the subregion is just now recovering. Although he did not indict Qadhafi along with his two West African allies out of concern for losing international backing for the then novel Special Court for Sierra Leone, my friend David Crane, the chief prosecutor for the tribunal, has long described the Libyan ruler as "the center of a long-term criminal conspiracy" to subjugate the region and exploit its riches.

While the resolution unanimously adopted by the United Nations Security Council last Saturday refers the actions of the Qadhafi regime to the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court for investigation, I argued in this column more than four years ago:

*Charles Taylor now faces an international war crimes tribunal for being one of those who bore "the greatest responsibility for crimes against humanity" in the Sierra Leonean conflict. Even if, for obvious reasons of realpolitik, Taylor's Libyan patron cannot at the present time be tossed into the dock with him, shouldn't Muammar Qadhafi at least be named—and shamed—as the principal co-conspirator in the Liberian's rampage of terror and destruction? Don't we owe that much to the millions of shattered lives in West Africa as well as to our common humanity?*

In any event, there is a poetic dimension to the fact that the protests against Qadhafi's 42-year rule began in Benghazi exactly a week after prosecutors in The Hague made their closing arguments before the trial chamber of the Special Court for Sierra Leone in the war crimes case of his onetime protégé, Taylor.

-SNIP-

For years Qadhafi also ran a network of training camps for aspiring African revolutionaries and strongmen like Liberia's Taylor and Sierra Leone's Sankoh. While the former is now behind bars—and likely to stay there for the rest of his life—and the latter has gone to the judgment of a higher tribunal, there were thousands of other alumni from across Africa. When Qadhafi abandoned his plans for military conquest, some trainees filtered home, while others were eventually recruited into the elite units like the 32nd Brigade (the so-called "Khamis Brigade" commanded by youngest son Khamis al-Qadhafi) which are now fighting for their paymasters' survival. The real danger now, as former New York Times Africa correspondent Howard French put it succinctly earlier this week,

*"It is all but certain that there are new Charles Taylors out there, trained and armed by Qadhafi and eager to mount violent bids for power. And with their patron going down in flames, they will be heading home."*