

Case No. SCSL-2004-16-T
THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
ALEX TAMBA BRIMA
BRIMA BAZZY KAMARA
SANTIGIE BORBOR KANU

MONDAY, 3 OCTOBER 2005
9.20 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:	Teresa Doherty, Presiding Julia Sebutinde Richard Lussick
For Chambers:	Mr Simon Meisenberg
For the Registry:	Ms Susan Gunstone
For the Prosecution:	Ms Lesley Taylor Ms Melissa Pack Ms Maja Dimitrova (Case Manager) Ms Martine Durocher (intern)
For the Principal Defender:	Mr Ibrahim Foday Mansaray (Legal assistant)
For the accused Alex Tamba Brima:	Mr Kojo Graham Mr Brima Osman Keh Kamara
For the accused Brima Bazzy Kamara:	Mr Mohamed Pa-Momo Fofanah
For the accused Santigie Borbor Kanuu:	Mr Geert-Jan Alexander Knoop Mr Amadu Koroma

1 [AFRC03OCT2005 - AD]

2 Monday, 3 October, 2005

3 [Open session]

4 [The accused present]

5 [Upon commencing at 9.20 a.m.]

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. A new face.

7 MS TAYLOR: I beg your pardon, Your Honour.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do I see a new face behind you?

9 MS TAYLOR: The face behind me belongs to Ms Durocher, who
09:17:28 10 was introduced previously.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, my memory is playing tricks on me.
12 Thank you. If there are no other matters, I will ask the Court
13 Attendant to swear in the witness. Madam Court Attendant, would
14 you please swear in the witness?

09:17:48 15 Just pause one moment. Ms Taylor, I see we have a new
16 witness in Court. Could we have the details, please, and
17 language, please, for purposes of the record?

18 MS TAYLOR: Yes, Your Honour. This witness is Zainab
19 Bangura, who was the witness who was added to the Prosecution
09:18:06 20 witness list pursuant to Your Honour's decision on Prosecution
21 request for leave to call an additional witness, dated
22 5 August 2005. The witness will give evidence in English.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, please proceed, Madam Court
24 Attendant.

09:18:27 25 WITNESS: ZAINAB BANGURA [Sworn]

26 EXAMINED BY MS PACK:

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Ms Pack, please proceed.

28 MS PACK: Thank you, Your Honour.

29 Q. Good morning, Mrs Bangura. Could you give the Court your

1 full name for the record.

2 A. I am Zainab Hawa Bangura.

3 Q. Mrs Bangura, where were you born?

4 A. Yoni Bana, Tonkolili District, northern Sierra Leone.

09:19:19 5 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: We will need assistance with those
6 spellings, please.

7 MS PACK: Yes, Your Honour.

8 Q. I am afraid, Mrs Bangura, I can't spell --

9 A. Yoni Bana is Y-O-N-I B-A-N-A. Tonkolili District is
09:19:34 10 T-O-N-K-O-L-I-L-I.

11 Q. Thank you. What is your ethnicity?

12 A. I am a Temne.

13 Q. Where were educated finally?

14 A. I went to my elementary school in eastern Sierra Leone,
09:19:53 15 Kono District. I did my secondary school at a Magburaka Girls
16 Secondary School in the Tonkolili district, and at the Amadou
17 Muslim Secondary School in Kissi Dockyard and then did my sixth
18 form at the Annie Walsh Girls School.

19 Q. And finally university education?

09:20:19 20 A. I went to the University of Sierra Leone and then I went to
21 Nottingham University in the UK, the City Business School in
22 London, and then I did my fellowship at the Chartered Insurance
23 Institute in London.

24 Q. To spell Magburaka Secondary School is M-A-G-B-U-R-A-K-A.

09:20:42 25 The others were names you have heard before, Your Honours.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

27 MS PACK:

28 Q. Mrs Bangura, you have a curriculum vitae which has been
29 handed over to the Office of the Prosecutor and I am going to ask

1 that a copy be handed over to you. If I could have the

2 assistance of Madam Court Attendant?

3 [Document shown to witness]

4 Your Honours, it is the document with the filing number at
09:21:14 5 top, 14499.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Pack, we have that before
7 us.

8 MS PACK:

9 Q. Mrs Bangura, if you could just look at the document in
09:21:24 10 front of you. Is that a copy of your curriculum vitae?

11 A. Yes, as of the date it was handed over, it was submitted.

12 Q. Thank you.

13 MS PACK: Your Honours, I would like to tender the
14 curriculum vitae, please.

09:21:40 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Who is speaking on behalf of counsel for
16 the Defence? Mr Knoops?

17 MR KNOOPS: Thank you. No objections, Your Honour.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. That will be tendered. I
19 think it is P30.

09:21:54 20 [Exhibit No. P30 was admitted]

21 MS PACK: Thank you, Your Honour.

22 Q. Mrs Bangura, I am going to start by going through some
23 aspects of your professional background and experience. To start
24 off with, when did you first move into the field of civil rights?

09:22:15 25 A. I got involved in it specifically in 199 -- when my mother
26 died, when I lost my mother in 1995, I think, '95.

27 Q. Why did you move into the field of civil rights then, at
28 that time?

29 A. I think it was an accumulation of events. I come from a

1 very traditional family. Yoni Bana, where I come from, is the
2 most traditional part of Sierra Leone among the Temne. It is the
3 bedrock of traditional and customary. My father was an imam
4 also, so I come from a very strict Muslim background. My father,
09:23:03 5 when I was young --

6 MS PACK: Feel free to have a glass of water.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mrs Bangura, are you all right? Do you
8 need a break?

9 THE WITNESS: No.

09:23:18 10 MS PACK: Can we have a glass of water for the witness?

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could one of the witness support
12 personnel please come into the Court.

13 THE WITNESS: I am sorry. My father when I was 12 years
14 old threw me and my mother out, because I was a daughter and he
09:23:50 15 wanted to have sons. So I had to move with my mother to the
16 village because the Islamic legislation does not allow the
17 education of the girl, so at the age of 12 I was going to be
18 married off and I left. My mother and I left and we went back to
19 the village because we were living in Kono and I went to the
09:24:19 20 village. So it was a very difficult year going to school because
21 my mother had to suffer and do everything for me.

22 MS PACK:

23 Q. On your mother's death you went to the United States for a
24 civil rights program on the summer that she died; is that
09:24:41 25 correct?

26 A. Yes. During my mother's death -- before my mother died, I
27 actually had my son, and because my father was an Islamic
28 scholar, he rejected my son and myself. He never accepted us.
29 Then on my mother's death, when I went for my mother, he refused

1 to allow my husband now to actually participate in the funeral
2 with his family because I wasn't married. It was against the
3 custom. I actually had to get married on my mother's death, on
4 the very day my mother was to be buried or my mother wasn't going
09:25:03 5 to be buried. So I got married on that day. So then -- well, I
6 had to stay in my village for about two weeks because the custom
7 is that I had to go around the village because my mother came
8 from a chieftaincy house. She is the daughter of a chief, so I
9 had to go around and tell everybody about the funeral and the
09:25:24 10 arrangements because we have the 40th day ceremony in which the
11 family meets again. That is the end of the funeral arrangements.

12 During that course of the time I came to realise the level
13 of poverty and I tried to explain to people what my father's
14 family had done to me and the way my mother's body had to be put
09:25:45 15 on hold until actually we did the wedding. So that was when
16 everybody started explaining to me the custom and they didn't
17 think anything was wrong. It was right they had to do that. So
18 it was when I came back I realised something was wrong. I mean,
19 the way women were being treated was not fair, so I walked
09:26:02 20 straight to UNDP and I went to talk to the man. So it was then I
21 got involved in women issues and finally went to the United
22 States for a programme, international visitors programme. It was
23 after that programme I came and launched an organisation.

24 Q. What was the organisation?

09:26:17 25 MR FOFANA: Excuse me. I'm sorry, Your Honours. Can the
26 witness go a little slower, because we are taking notes. Sorry.

27 MS PACK: I'll ask the witness to go a bit slower.

28 Q. Mrs Bangura, I'll just remind you the judges are writing a
29 note, as are my friends for the accused, so if you could just

1 take it a bit slower?

2 A. Okay, I will just summarise. I got involved in women's
3 rights issues as a result of accumulation of things that affected
4 me personally and the realisation of the situation of women in
09:26:48 5 Sierra Leone culture-wise and religiously. So I started getting
6 involved through the UNDP and eventually went to the
7 United States on a programme called Pluralism and Grassroot
8 Democracy and it was after that programme that I actually asked
9 the US embassy for a grant and they gave me \$25,000 grant which I
09:27:09 10 used to actually start working on women's rights.

11 MS PACK: Pause a moment there. What was the first
12 organisation that you set up here in Sierra Leone?

13 A. It is WOMEN. The acronym is WOMEN, W-O-M-E-N. Woman
14 enlightening for a morally --

09:27:38 15 Q. Women Organising for --

16 A. Women Organising for Morally Enlightened Nation, it is
17 WOMEN.

18 Q. That organisation, what was it set up to do?

19 A. It was basically set up to work towards the democratisation
09:27:47 20 process, because I realised that getting involved in the UNDP and
21 the American embassy that you can not talk about women's rights
22 out of a democratic situation because women's rights are part and
23 parcel of the rule of law. So as a result of that, I used that
24 organisation to train women specifically and that is when we
09:28:10 25 created the Market Women's Association using grassroots women to
26 educate them about women's rights, about democracy, about the
27 rule of law, about their right in the Constitution and these
28 others things.

29 Q. Pause there a moment. That is the Sierra Leone Market

1 Women's Association?

2 A. The Sierra Leone Market Women's Association. It was
3 created as result of my creating WOMEN.

4 Q. And just pausing at that organisation, the Sierra Leone
09:28:34 5 Market Women's Association, what did you do? What was your
6 involvement with that organisation.

7 A. I worked with older women. The grassroots women, they
8 created that organisation and it developed into now it is the
9 biggest grassroots women's organisation in the country. We train
09:28:56 10 them on women's rights, on child rights and micro-credit
11 financing and a whole lot of issues that is actually supposed to
12 development their social, political and economic status in the
13 country.

14 Q. Do you combine work focused at the economic status of these
09:29:14 15 women with other more human rights leaning work?

16 A. Yes, for every support we give them, we include women's
17 right training. They particularly did women's right training
18 across the country. The secretary-general of the Markets Women's
19 Association we found that actually a high school dropout named
09:29:39 20 Mrs Mary Bangura, so we trained her and she went across the
21 country and trained women on women's rights issues, on children's
22 rights, on the SIDA documents and on the effect of the
23 traditional culture on women. So we did human rights training
24 across the country on women's rights.

09:29:55 25 Q. Just pausing there, you are the founding patron of the
26 Sierra Leone Market Women's Association?

27 A. Yes, one of the things when I started working with them,
28 they were very reluctant because they thought they had been used.
29 One of the things I did was for them to run the organisation

1 themselves. So in the office in which I used to run CGG I opened
2 an office for them and we had a grant from the American embassy
3 and the secretary-general who was selling in the markets left the
4 market and came joined my office. And we had an accountant for
09:30:35 5 them and collectors and a president who is also illiterate left
6 the market. She was put on the payroll as well as the
7 secretary-general.

8 So they were running it within my institution, so I
9 couldn't be the president. I told them: "No, you have to take
09:30:49 10 charge. You have run it. You have to be independent." So they
11 gave me the name "patron", as a lifelong patron, somebody who is
12 behind them. So I sort of promoted them and sent Mary to Guinea,
13 to Liberia. She even went to Dakar for training. Now she is
14 working out of an organisation. And I got her to do adult
09:31:07 15 literacy. So we even tried to do adult literacy for them.

16 Q. You have mentioned another organisation, CGG. Is that the
17 Campaign for Good Governance?

18 A. Yes, please.

19 Q. What has been your involvement in that organisations?

09:31:23 20 A. Through the women I led the campaign for democratic
21 elections in Sierra Leone. At the end of the election we
22 realised that democracy is a process and it needs to be nurtured.
23 So that is when I took leave from my insurance profession and
24 created a campaign for good governance on the 1st of July 1996.
09:31:44 25 Basically it was to include the participation of civil society
26 and governance. And initially that was what we were doing, to
27 support the democratic process. But when the war intensified and
28 we saw the level of atrocities that were committed, I had to go
29 into exile. I got a grant from the National Endowment for Media

1 Training, because the media was one of the people that we were
2 supposed to build their capacity and I got back to NED and told
3 them to change that grant, which was a \$21,000 grant to human
4 rights grants.

09:32:10 5 Q. Pause a moment. You used an acronym, NED.

6 A. The National Endowment for Democracy. It's a US-based,
7 congress-funded organisation that funds democracy.

8 Q. Campaign for Good Governance, what is the geographic spread
9 of CGG's work in Sierra Leone?

09:32:37 10 A. When I founded it, by the time I left in 2000, I had 46
11 staff. On the 1st of July 1998, when we opened the human rights
12 department, by the end of that year we had human rights monitors
13 across the country. Each district we trained somebody who was
14 documenting, monitoring and providing education in human rights.

09:33:08 15 So the whole country on monthly basis we collected data on human
16 rights violations and we did human rights training across the
17 country.

18 Q. Pause a moment. Your role at the time at CGG was what?

19 A. I was the national coordinator. I was heading the
09:33:25 20 organisation.

21 Q. How long did you hold that position for?

22 A. When I opened the office on the 1st of July 1996, up to
23 February 2002.

24 Q. You have already identified the objectives of CGG to
09:33:39 25 include rule of law and moving into human rights in July of the
26 year in which it was set up. You have told us that you had staff
27 who were trained in human rights. Where did they receive that
28 training from?

29 A. The UN mission provided training under a Michael

1 O'Flaherty, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, under
2 Doreen and others. So initially the training was provided by the
3 people. I even have some of the invitation letters and
4 everything here, the training that was done with them. So
09:34:21 5 various people need various training and other people who came.
6 Because at that time the human right documentation was done by
7 international people who would come to the country and who would
8 come to us so -- and then Kofi Woods, who was the head of the
9 Justice and Peace Commission in Liberia, was running the biggest
09:34:40 10 human rights organisation. I had sent -- during the course when
11 I was in exile, I had sent a lady called Salamba Sillah [phon] to
12 be with Kofi for six years, because they were in human rights
13 organisation. So she did an intern with them to be aware of what
14 they were doing in Liberia. So she came and she was the first
09:34:52 15 human rights officer with a background. A few months after she
16 came, Kofi Wood from Liberia came to help her set up the human
17 right department and tell us exactly the kind of strategies we
18 will need to be able to run the department.

19 Q. Just pausing their again. The reporting of human rights in
09:35:19 20 Sierra Leone at this time, how often were you receiving reports
21 from your human rights officers?

22 A. We were receiving monthly reports from the human rights
23 officers and the reports will come to my desk every month after
24 they did the training.

09:35:35 25 Q. You provided a report on the phenomenon of forced marriage
26 during the conflict in Sierra Leone. When did you first become
27 aware of the phenomenon about which you speak in your report?

28 A. It was after -- when the initial CGG reports were being
29 sent, we didn't pay a lot of attention to it. But it was after

1 the January incident of 1999 that we actually had to extend the
2 documentation to providing medical services to victims who had
3 suffered from this incident, because when Freetown was attacked a
4 lot of girls were taken away. And some of them when they came
09:36:24 5 back, they had a lot of medical problems. Here with me I have
6 the letter I sent to the British High Commission to give us money
7 because we didn't have it in our budget. So the scale of the
8 problem actually we became very much aware of it after the 1999
9 attack in Freetown.

09:36:39 10 Q. What sort of services were you then providing following on
11 from the attack on Freetown?

12 A. Medical. In hospital we paid their bills.

13 Q. When you are talking about "their bills", who are you
14 talking about?

09:36:54 15 A. We're talking about the bills of the girls who came who we
16 documented their testimonies, who told us about their experience
17 when they were captured and taken to the bush and then they
18 stayed there with the husband. They call it: "You are my wife."
19 Lot of them suffered from medical problems and so we took them.

09:37:12 20 There was one particular incidence of a girl who actually her
21 uterus had to be removed because of the effect. So we took care
22 of their families, because some of them were not actually
23 Freetown based, so we gave them money to be able to buy things
24 for them. We paid for the drugs, for the hospital, for the
09:37:31 25 medical tests. There is a break down of some of the things we
26 did with some of the money the British High Commission gave us.

27 Q. I will go very briefly through other aspects of your
28 professional experience. Looking at your curriculum vitae, you
29 have identified that, at the second page, which is 14500 for Your

1 Honours' reference, that you worked as a community empowerment
2 consultant for UNHCR between November 2002 and February 2003; it
3 that correct?

4 A. Yes, please.

09:38:05 5 Q. What briefly was your involvement -- what was the nature of
6 the work you did for UNHCR at this time?

7 A. UNHCR was trying to design a program which will actually
8 support communities, which will include returnees, refugees, as
9 well as IDPs. They didn't want to just target the IDPs, they
09:38:22 10 wanted to target the communities. So part of the issue was I had
11 to visit --

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could you just pause, Ms Bangura? You
13 are using letters.

14 THE WITNESS: Sorry.

09:38:31 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could you expand and tell us what those
16 letters meant?

17 MS PACK:

18 Q. You have referred to "returnees" and "IDPs". Could you
19 just break down what an IDP is?

09:38:41 20 A. Refugees, IDPs, internally displaced people, were the ones
21 who were staying in urban towns who did not go out of the
22 country.

23 Q. This was out of the country as a result of the conflict?

24 A. Yes, as a result of the conflict, those people who were
09:38:55 25 displaced. They were divided to two categories: The refugees
26 were those who went out of the country, the internally displaced
27 persons are the ones who stayed in the country but dislocated
28 from their communities. So the returnees are both groups. When
29 they return to their communities they call them returnees.

1 Because UNHCR was the UN agency responsible for people who have
2 been dislocated as a result of war or anything had a
3 responsibility to follow those people into their communities.
4 UNHCR wanted me to design a program that will not only target
5 these people that they were supposed to be responsible, but they
6 want the entire community to benefit that were specifically
7 stationed in this community. So they gave me a map where the
8 bulk of the people they were supposed to take care of were
9 stationed, which was in Kailahun, in Kono, in Kambia and in some
09:39:48 10 parts of Pujehun. So of course, I was hired to go into these
11 communities and talk to the communities, the different
12 stakeholders, people who live within these communities, talk to
13 them and see their needs are and then come and design a program,
14 a strategy, specifically that when UNHCR provides resources it is
09:40:09 15 going to benefit all of them at that community. So, one of the
16 first things you need to find out who are the main people within
17 those communities, the different categories, the returnees, the
18 chiefs and everything.

19 Q. Pause there. Who were the main categories or groups within
09:40:27 20 that group of returnees in Kailahun that you identified?

21 A. In Kailahun District, you had the people who came from
22 overseas, from Liberia and Guinea. They came from two
23 different -- because Kailahun is in between Liberia and Guinea.
24 You had people who came from the urban towns in Bo, Kenema. You
09:40:42 25 had RUF/AFRC ex-combatants, who were there because Kailahun was
26 the last district that was disarmed and was a stronghold of the
27 rebels, both the AFRC -- mostly the RUF. And you had indigenous
28 people, mostly young people, who had stayed behind who were not
29 active in the RUF but who had stayed in Kailahun because they

1 were born in Kailahun. Then you had people who had been abducted
2 who had been brought into Kailahun. It is a whole set of people
3 over the period of the war --

4 Q. Pausing there. Who was amongst abductees in Kailahun?

09:41:20 5 A. The abductees mostly were women, those who didn't go out
6 because they were women. These were the ones who were married to
7 the rebels who were within Kailahun District during the course of
8 the war. Those -- as the rest of the country also was being
9 disarmed some of them, the areas in which they were stationed,
09:41:39 10 they found it uncomfortable to live there because people were
11 returning. So most of them were looking for some places they
12 could feel comfortable. So a lot of them migrated to Kailahun
13 and settled. So even those who had not lived in Kailahun, but
14 who found it very difficult to stay in those communities, came
09:41:56 15 back and settled into Kailahun. So you had all these different
16 fragmentation of people within the Kailahun District.

17 Q. Did you interview those people from the different groups,
18 including the women who you have identified at that time?

19 A. Basically because I am normally biased when it comes to
09:42:14 20 women's issues, even in my program in CGG and even here now where
21 I am in NGA, I always tend to specifically source out women
22 within everything I work with. So I was very much particular to
23 deal with the women who were in Kailahun to find out where they
24 come from, what were their problems and which of these category
25 did they belong to.

26 Q. Did you find out what had happened to the women you
27 identified as a group in Kailahun?

28 A. Definitely. I spoke to them and I found that a lot of them
29 were married to rebels; they were rebels' wives, so they called

1 them "bush wife" or junta wife. Few of them have children. Some
2 of them were still living with their husband, the people that
3 they were married to who had abducted them. Some of them are
4 living with other sets of rebels, not the ones who abducted. The
5 ones who abducted maybe had died in an ambush or something, were
6 still there. Some of them were just living there, they were not
7 married to any particular person, because the person who had
8 abducted them had left. But they feel they were so badly
9 stigmatised they were not going back. So they stayed there. So
10 those were this combination of women and girls, mostly girls.

11 Q. Your location during the war was where? Did you leave
12 Sierra Leone at one time?

13 A. I only left Sierra Leone in June 1997 and came back during
14 the AFRC -- during the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, when
15 the government was overthrown, and came back in March with the
16 president, the government [indiscernible] and then went back that
17 March, two days later to bring back my family in April 1998.

18 Q. Thank you. During the war then, in this period in
19 particular when you were out of Sierra Leone, what happened to
20 Campaign for Good Governance?

21 A. We re-established the office in Conakry and we continued.
22 I got a grant from the DIFID and the US embassy. We continued to
23 have -- to get Sierra Leoneans back home -- Conakry to give us
24 information. We were constantly on the phone. So the DIFID had
25 to pay for the phone, especially the phone bill because we talked
26 for five times, ten times a day to Freetown. But we established
27 the office, which became the centre of civil society activity and
28 we trained youth groups in this building in human rights, in a
29 lot of activities and we contributed and participated in the

1 programs that were being developed from outside that was
2 targeting the Sierra Leone audience. We raised money for the
3 radio station that was being used to broadcast messages from
4 exile to here.

5 Q. Then going to other examples of your experience
6 professionally in research and report writing. You have
7 identified that you worked, in your curriculum vitae again -- at
8 14500 for Your Honours -- as a women's empowerment consultant for
9 the Mano River Union countries of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra
10 Leone. That was for the Open Society initiative, West Africa.
11 That was between March and July 2003, is that correct?

12 A. Yes, please.

13 Q. And just very briefly again, what was the work that you did
14 in this initiative?

15 A. I was a board member of the OSIWA and one of the issues I
16 raised was the funding of women's rights activities in the OSIWA.
17 So by the time I left, it was agreed that a special fund should
18 be put aside to support women's rights issues within the Mano
19 River Union countries. So I was asked that, "Since you are the
20 one who has been pushing this, can you go to those communities
21 and find out exactly what is needed." So I travelled to Guinea,
22 Liberia, and I travelled also around Sierra Leone, the same
23 countries that I thought were very traditional and which had
24 problems with women's rights, to basically find out what was
25 needed, who was funding what, where and how so that OSIWA could
26 actually come into the gap, the areas where the money was not
27 being spent and to look for groups that don't have access to big
28 donors. Because the big donors traditionally fund groups they
29 are very comfortable with. But you have smaller groups in

1 villages that might need \$500 or \$1,000 that would make a
2 difference in their life. These are the groups that they would
3 like to fund. So that is what I was supposed to do.

4 MS PACK: OSIWA, for Your Honour, is the Open Society
5 Initiative, West Africa.

6 Q. Another example of your work professionally is your work
7 for UNDP, the United Nations' Development Program.

8 MS PACK: Again at 14500 of the curriculum vitae, Your
9 Honours.

10 Q. Where you worked as a senior adviser and part-time
11 consultant between April and August 2004 and June and September
12 2003. Again, in summary, what was it that you did for UNDP in
13 these periods?

14 A. I had a lunch with the head of UNDP and I complained about
15 the fact that the UNDP is not targeting the marginalised group,
16 which are women and youth, and that I felt the war in Sierra
17 Leone was a result of that -- the war in Sierra Leone was as a
18 result that and the UNDP program is too top/bottom. So after my
19 lunch with him, he said, "Okay, let me hire you as a senior
09:47:40 20 advisor on inclusion and participation," basically to look at the
21 UNDP program and see how you could include women's issue in and
22 youth and how the existing programs that they have, how to
23 actually target. That program also, of course because I had a
24 vehicle at my disposal, also enabled me to travel across the
09:47:59 25 country, mostly in the border areas, mostly in the areas that
26 have been left out. So I went there, did a report and, of
27 course, UNDP was able to get a grant from the Japanese government
28 and they funded us. So some of the skills training that the
29 women in Kailahun that I had worked with actually underwent was

1 as a result of that program.

2 Q. Other Sierra Leonean women's rights organisations that you
3 have been involved in, again looking at your curriculum vitae,
4 include the Sierra Leone Women's Forum, of which you were a
09:48:32 5 member in from 1995 to 1998, and another organisation,
6 nationally, the Yoni Bana, Malal, Mabang Women's Development
7 Association, of which you were founding patron and member. Is
8 that correct?

9 A. Yes, please.

09:48:47 10 Q. What is that association?

11 A. The Women's Forum was set as a result of the preparation
12 for the Beijing Conference. It is basically a network of women's
13 groups that bring all the different women's group. I was
14 actually heading the aspect that has to do with the political
09:49:05 15 participation of women, bringing it. It was through that
16 organisation that we led the campaign against the military. So
17 it has a monthly meeting where we share information and other
18 things. They had a grant from UNHCR to work on women's issues
19 and others. I come from Yoni and the sister's chiefdoms are Yoni
09:49:26 20 Bana, Malal and Mabang.

21 MS PACK: I will spell those. You have had Yoni Bana.

22 Malal is M-A-L-A-L and Mabang is M-A-B-A-N-G, Your Honour.

23 THE WITNESS: They feed traditionally in terms of
24 chiefdoms -- they feed into each other, because, for example, our
09:49:42 25 family is also the same family that is Mabang chiefdom from the
26 mothers's side. Because Yoni Bana is the most traditional part
27 of the Temne land in Sierra Leone you have less women from those
28 areas that actually go to school, and women have no rights in
29 those areas. And also as I speak to you, women are part of their

1 husband's property. When the husbands die, they dispose you with
2 the rest of the property. So after shouting about women's
3 rights, I called all the people within area, the women, and I
4 said it is very unfair that I go on campaigning about women's
09:50:23 5 rights and other issues and support women and raise money for
6 women's organisation when within my own community I haven't been
7 able to do that. So I call them and say, "I don't have the time,
8 because it means a full time. But I will give you all the
9 support I can; I will show how it is done and then you take it
09:50:39 10 from there. And I will be at the background to help you, but I
11 cannot be a full-time member, I would not be able to attend
12 meetings because I am very busy." So it was as a result that
13 that the organisation was set up. So I became a patron.

14 Q. I will list other international women's rights
09:50:57 15 organisations that you have been involved with. They include the
16 African Portfolio for the Global Fund for Women, for which you an
17 advisor.

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And Women waging Peace?

09:51:08 20 A. Yes, please.

21 Q. Could you explain briefly what Women Waging Peace is about?

22 A. Women Waging Peace brings together women from conflict, war
23 torn societies across the world. It is actually an organisation
24 founded by Swanee Hunt, who was President Clinton's ambassador to
09:51:23 25 Australia. She actually lectures at the Kennedy School of
26 Government at Harvard University. So she takes us to Harvard
27 University once a year and brings us together to share
28 information and talk about the problems faced and to develop
29 strategies. If I am visiting Washington, she makes arrangements

1 for you to meet policy people and talk about Sierra Leone and
2 talk about Liberia. She sort of brings the focus and she is also
3 very much involved in the campaign of Resolution 1325, getting
4 women involved to the peace process. She also did a study in
09:51:54 5 Sierra Leone, I think they call it "From Combatant to Women
6 Community" or something, which actually also deals with this
7 phenomenon. So I am a member of that network and it helped me
8 meet other people, women in Palestine, Congo, Sri Lanka, all over
9 these countries that are actually working on the same issues like
09:52:16 10 I work.

11 Q. And resolution 1325, that is a Security Council resolution?

12 A. That is a Security Council that works on women and peace.

13 Q. You have been the recipient of a number of awards, both
14 nationally and internationally. I am going read out some of
09:52:33 15 them, and just confirm that those are indeed awards that you have
16 received: The Democratic Woman of the Year in Sierra Leone, the
17 Sierra Leonean Women of Excellence Award, Woman of the Year from
18 Sierra Leone; internationally, the Africa International Award of
19 Merit and Leadership, the Human Rights Award from the Lawyers'
09:52:54 20 Committee of New York and the Bayard Rustin Humanitarian Award
21 from the United States.

22 A. Yes, please. Thank you.

23 Q. Presently you have identified you work for an organisation,
24 the acronym was NAG, what does that stand for?

09:53:08 25 A. It is National Accountability Group.

26 Q. What is your involvement with that organisations?

27 A. It works on corruption. I am the executive director. For
28 a number of years while I was working on the Campaign for Good
29 Governance I was the contact person for Transparency

1 International. That is a global network for corruption. But
2 because our work was so intensified in human rights,
3 specifically, we didn't have time to focus on corruption. So
4 before I left Campaign for Good Governance I decided we need to
09:53:44 5 take corruption out and create a whole new institution to work on
6 corruption so then it will give the Campaign for Good Governance
7 more time to focus on that. So this was how we launched it, but
8 it was never operational for about a year or two. So some of the
9 members said to me, "It is your dream, you are the kind of person
09:54:04 10 who have the ability build something, to develop it and you have
11 the ability to raise funds. So why don't you take it?" So I
12 then took the organisation and raised my first grant, which was
13 \$150,000. And we opened an office now in Freetown. So we are
14 the only civil society group in Sierra Leone, NGO registered,
09:54:23 15 that works exclusively on corruption, accountability and
16 transparency issues.

17 Q. And you took that over in July 2004?

18 A. July 2004.

19 Q. Thank you, Mrs Bangura.

09:54:32 20 A. Thank you.

21 Q. That is all I was going to deal with relating to your
22 professional background. Mrs Bangura, you have written a report
23 for the Office of the Prosecutor entitled "Expert report on the
24 phenomenon of forced marriage in the context of the conflict in
09:54:52 25 Sierra Leone, and more specifically in the context of the trials
26 against the RUF and AFRC accused only".

27 MS PACK: I would like to pass that report, please, Your
28 Honour, to Mrs Bangura with the assistance of Madam Court
29 attendant.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Can you please assist?

2 MS PACK:

3 Q. The document I have had passed up to you, is it a copy of
4 the report you prepared for the Office of the Prosecutor?

09:55:32 5 A. Yes, please.

6 Q. That was prepared by you completed in May 2005; is that
7 correct?

8 A. Yes, please.

9 MS PACK: Your Honour, I would like to tender the report at
09:55:46 10 this stage, please.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Knoops?

12 MR KNOOPS: We object. We believe at this stage the
13 tendering of this document should be denied, or at least the
14 tendering of this document is premature and should at least be
09:56:10 15 delayed until after the cross-examination. First of all, Your
16 Honours, I have four reasons for my objection. My first reason
17 lies in the arguments of the Defence as laid down in our initial
18 motion, in which we requested the exclusion of the report of the
19 expert witness. Secondly, the report itself is not simply a
09:56:41 20 document which reflects evidence of fact. It is not purely
21 documentary evidence of fact, which is actually one of the
22 requirements in the case-law of Yugoslav tribunal for tendering
23 of documents without the consent of the Defence. In this regard,
24 we should observe, Your Honours, that the report of Mrs Bangura
09:57:13 25 reflects to a high degree her personal experience, and this was
26 actually also acknowledged by my learned colleagues of the OTP
27 when they disputed our initial arguments in the motion to exclude
28 the report. It also enhances opinion evidence, such as
29 information of the expert regarding psychological effects of

1 forced marriage without scientific data, without facts and
2 figures and without statistics. Thirdly, we believe that the
3 report in its current form also addresses portions of the
4 ultimate issue rule, the ultimate issue. First of all, it
09:58:11 5 addresses the AFRC involvement and the RUF involvement. For
6 instance, on page 8 of the report reference is specifically made,
7 and I quote from the report:

8 "Kailahun was the only district that the RUF had control of
9 during the entire period of the war. It therefore became a
09:58:43 10 fortified and secure fortress for all RUF activities."

11 We believe that these issues may reflect the ultimate issue
12 also for the AFRC accused in the context of the underlying charge
13 of joint criminal enterprise.

14 Fourthly, Your Honours, the report reflected hearsay
09:59:08 15 information; namely, statements of third persons. When Your
16 Honours would look at page 14, 15 and 18 and 19, a summarisation
17 is given of several statements by individuals who are mentioned
18 with a number, the origin of which is not yet clear. We don't
19 know whether these statements, which are implemented in this
09:59:44 20 report, are extracted from other reports or are summarisations of
21 interviews be conducted by either of expert witness today or
22 third investigators. We have to bear in mind that the report of
23 this witness was not written in the context of a UN fact-finding
24 mission, but was written for the purposes of litigation. This
10:00:13 25 distinction is also quite relevant in the case-law of the ICTY
26 when it concerns the tendering of documents.

27 So, in sum, we believe that based on these four arguments
28 considered in combination, the tendering of this document in this
29 stage should be denied and, in the alternative, we as Defence

1 would suggest that Your Honours would decide on the tendering of
2 the report after the cross-examination by the Defence. Thank
3 you.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Knoops, you referred to a precedent
10:00:55 5 from the ICTY. Could you give me the name that precedent,
6 please?

7 MR KNOOPS: Yes, Your Honour. That is the decision I
8 believe we mentioned earlier during other objections.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: There were several.

10:01:06 10 MR KNOOPS: Yes, I know, Your Honour. The decision on the
11 Prosecution's application to admit the Tulica report and dossier
12 into evidence, an interlocutory decision of the Trial Chamber of
13 the ICTY, 29 July 1999, pages 19, 20 and 32.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that the Greve report?

10:01:38 15 MR KNOOPS: Tulica. T-U --

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that is the name of the --

17 MR KNOOPS: Yes.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: I am talking about the report that was
19 actually being tendered in that case.

10:01:48 20 MR KNOOPS: It was a combination, Your Honour, of reports
21 in which an exhumation report, witness statements, newspaper
22 articles, and part of that dossier, and also several reports were
23 implemented which enhanced statements of other individuals, in
24 which context the Defence also argued that the tendering of the
10:02:17 25 documents would indirectly allow for the admission of hearsay
26 statements without the authenticity being checked at this stage.
27 Also in this regard, I would say, we tender when Your Honours
28 would accept the report in its current form, in this stage, we
29 don't have from the expert witness any information as to the

1 authenticity of the statements which are implemented in the pages
2 14, 15 and 18 and 19. It is all summarisation of several
3 statements, in which statement reference is made to, inter alia,
4 in AFRC alleged AFRC persons.

10:03:05 5 With respect to the issue of the distinction between the
6 tendering of a document which stems from a UN fact-finding
7 mission on the one hand and a report which is written for the
8 purpose of litigation, I refer Your Honours also to page 208 of
9 book on criminal evidence of the late Judge May, on which page he
10:03:36 10 makes the distinction indeed between the admissibility of reports
11 in this regard on the one hand arising from UN fact-finding
12 missions, in which context the threshold may be history for the
13 tendering of documents, and on the other hand expert witness
14 records written for the purpose of litigation.

10:04:05 15 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: What is that decision?

16 MR KNOOPS: No, it is authority. Judge May has elaborated
17 on several decisions in this regard. On page 208 of his book
18 he --

19 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: What is the name of the book?

10:04:22 20 MR KNOOPS: The book, Your Honour, is "International
21 Criminal Evidence", written by Judge Richard May and Marieke
22 Wierda. It is published in 2002, French National Publishers, New
23 York, page 208.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Is that your submission,
10:04:58 25 Mr Knoops?

26 MR KNOOPS: Yes.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Pack, your reply please.

28 MS PACK: Thank you, Your Honour. I will deal with my
29 learned friend's points in turn, if I may. Last point is that

1 this report was prepared for the purposes of litigation and
2 therefore is not admissible. This report is, of course, prepared
3 for purpose of this litigation, Your Honours. This witness is an
4 expert witness and has been found to be an expert witness
10:05:31 5 qualified to provide a report by Your Honours in your decision
6 dated 5 August 2005. In my submission, it is inappropriate for
7 my learned friend to go back and to seek to go behind your
8 decision, which has addressed the question of this witness's
9 expertise, and also with the evidence that is provided in the
10:05:51 10 substance of the report. Indeed, at least one of the points
11 which my learned friend has made today, he made earlier, or, at
12 least, was made by the Defence in their earlier filing dealing
13 with this report.

14 Your Honours, if I could just take you to your own
10:06:12 15 decision -- page 12 of your decision. I cannot see the registry
16 filing reference at the top. It is 14396. I will read out what
17 Your Honours found at the end of the first paragraph, after
18 considering Mrs Bangura's qualifications and experience. Your
19 found:

10:06:31 20 "In the premise we find no merit in the Defence objection
21 to Mrs Bangura's qualifications and hold that she possesses
22 relevant experience and that the Prosecution is entitled to
23 call her as an expert witness, and disclose her report to
24 the Defence pursuant to the provisions of Rule 94 bis of
10:06:49 25 the Rules."

26 On the preceding page, Your Honours, you dealt with the
27 objections which the Defence had raised as to the substance of
28 the report. And I will read a couple of the objections which
29 were made by the Defence motion, or response, I think it was.

1 Paragraph 30 at small "b", halfway down the page, the submission

2 was made:

3 "The report is not relevant to the AFRC case as it is

4 mainly confined to research conducted in the province of

10:07:16 5 Kailahun, which Mrs Bangura alleges was the only district

6 that the RUF had control of during the entire period of the

7 war."

8 It appears to be the converse of the submission that has in

9 fact been made by my learned friend today. I think the objection

10:07:31 10 today, quoting from that part of the report, was that the report

11 therefore went to an ultimate issue. The point there made, Your

12 Honours, was addressed by you in the decision, in which you

13 found, again in the last 10 lines or so of paragraph 30:

14 "It is our considered view that all of the above concerns

10:07:53 15 are matters that go to the weight and not admissibility of

16 the evidence, and that can be adequately tested during

17 cross-examination. The weight to be attributed to expert

18 evidence will be determined by the Trial Chamber, not at

19 this stage, but rather at the end of the trial and in light

10:08:04 20 of all the evidence adduced. We also note that in the

21 interests of justice and a fair trial, the Defence are

22 themselves entitled not only to cross-examine Mrs Bangura

23 but also to submit expert findings to the contrary and to

24 call their own expert witness or witnesses in their

10:08:20 25 defence."

26 Your Honours, no doubt that is something the Defence will

27 do; they will no doubt cross-examine Mrs Bangura and seek to

28 obtain their own evidence in due course. The matters raised by

29 my learned friend are matters which may be cross-examined on, but

1 are certainly not matters that go to the issue of the
2 admissibility of this report.

3 My learned friend has raised further, and again something
4 that is dealt with in this decision by Your Honours specifically
10:08:53 5 addressed, with an earlier objection. Little paragraph "f" at
6 paragraph 30:

7 "The report numerous and unfounded statements, conclusions
8 and generalisations that disqualify it from the status of
9 expert opinion."

10:09:04 10 That is effectively what my learned friend is saying today
11 about the statements of individuals, girls, which are quoted in
12 Mrs Bangura's report. Again, Your Honours have dealt with that
13 issue; you have found that in your considered view that goes to
14 weight not admissibility. My learned friend is seeking to go
10:09:22 15 behind those parts of your decision today, in my submission, and
16 is quite wrong in seeking to do so.

17 Dealing then with the case-law that my learned friend has
18 addressed, the Tulica dossier is a decision that has been
19 referred to on frequent occasions by the Defence in other
10:09:44 20 contexts, in the context of evidence that is sought to be adduced
21 relating to summaries of materials by non-expert witnesses. I am
22 not sure, I don't have the decision at my fingertips, how that
23 decision relates to the evidence of an expert witness. Equally,
24 the quote from May and Wierda, my learned friend read the quote
10:10:05 25 out, I think, and referred to it as speaking of a distinction
26 between admissibility of reports from UN fact-finding missions
27 and expert witness reports. I am not sure that can be right
28 because, of course, the point of an expert report is that it is
29 prepared in the context of a litigation, it can't be equated to

1 documents that are prepared in the manner of these summaries of
2 witness statements which I think were the subject matter of these
3 ICTY decisions. They were about witnesses summarising a whole
4 bunch of documents and witness statements, effectively then
10:10:44 5 displacing the role of the tribunal, so it was argued in those
6 cases.

7 The ultimate issue rule -- of course, this has nothing to
8 do with the ultimate issue rule. This report doesn't address any
9 ultimate issue; it addresses a specific issue, which is the issue
10:10:59 10 of forced marriage. The ultimate issue would be whether or not
11 these accused can be found under their individual responsibility
12 liable for what is charged on this issue, and their individual
13 responsibility derives, obviously, from the statute and Articles
14 6(1) and 6(3). This report doesn't go anywhere near addressing
10:11:23 15 those issues.

16 I have the advantage of being given the reference in May
17 and Wierda, Your Honours. As I understand it, on that reference,
18 it is page 208, which is paragraph 6.103 of that book. The
19 expert was permitted to give evidence, in fact. That was the
10:12:32 20 case of Kovacevic, in which Defence objected to the admission of
21 a report on the grounds that the evidence was hearsay and not
22 subject to cross-examination and a witness cannot merely
23 summarise evidence and introduce it under the guise of being an
24 expert. This was a situation where a former member of the United
10:12:51 25 Nations Commission of Experts was going to give evidence for the
26 Prosecution, and in the course of her testimony the Prosecution
27 sought to enter into evidence her report, which was about events
28 in a region in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was based on about 400
29 witness statements and media reports. It was therefore

1 effectively almost a historical study. What the Chamber said --
2 in fact, what May and Wierda say is:

3 "However, the Trial Chamber admitted the evidence on the
4 basis that the witness was an expert in the sense that she
10:13:26 5 had made a study of the material and was qualified to give
6 evidence about it. Her status being analogous to a
7 contemporary historian. In so doing, the Trial Chamber
8 stated that it had in mind that the evidence was hearsay
9 and the Defence would not have the opportunity to
10:13:41 10 cross-exam the makers of the witness statements.
11 Accordingly, there was no question of the defendant being
12 convicted on any count based on this evidence alone and
13 other evidence would be required before he could be
14 convicted."

10:13:52 15 The point, Your Honour, of course, is that the issue here
16 goes to the weight of the evidence as opposed to its
17 admissibility. This evidence of this witness is obviously
18 different from the evidence of this contemporary historian in the
19 Kovacevic decision. But, in my submission, the principle stands
10:14:13 20 that this evidence is admissible and any concerns that the
21 Defence may have go to issues of weight, and that is something
22 that Your Honours have already adjudicated upon. Those are my
23 submissions, unless I can assist any further.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Pack. Mr Knoops, your
10:14:29 25 reply?

26 MR KNOOPS: Thank you, Your Honour. I must say, I totally
27 disagree with the submissions of the Prosecution. I think we
28 were also quite misinterpreted by our learned colleagues from the
29 Prosecution. First of all our objections, Your Honours, do not

1 raise the issue of the expertise of this witness. Our objections
2 are now founded on the matter that the tendering of these
3 documents is, at the least, premature. And we are in no way
4 trying to seek a review of your earlier decision or, to quote
10:15:08 5 Prosecution, "go behind" your decision. Your Honours may see on
6 page 32 of your decision of the 5th of August. It says:

7 "Regarding the Defence application to exclude Mrs Bangura's
8 report (Annex B) we note that this application is premature
9 as the Prosecution has not yet applied to tender the said
10:15:33 10 report in evidence."

11 Therefore, Your Honours took into account when giving this
12 decision that the Prosecution didn't apply yet for the tendering
13 of the document. Therefore, now that the Prosecution has applied
14 for the tendering of the document, a new situation clearly
10:15:58 15 emerges. I think we have the full right to raise now the issue
16 of the tendering of the document as such in light of the evidence
17 given by this expert as it stands now.

18 Secondly, Your Honour, the arguments we have raised just a
19 few minutes ago, especially the arguments three and four, the
10:16:22 20 ultimate issue matter and the tendering of hearsay statements
21 through this report, is as such not addressed in our earlier
22 motion.

23 Thirdly, my learned colleague from the Prosecutions read
24 out the portion of the book of Judge May and Ms Wierda, but they
10:16:51 25 didn't read out the important paragraph which follows, paragraph
26 6.103, namely. 6.104. There the authors say:

27 "The distinction between the report admitted in the
28 Kovacevic case" --

29 The case which was quoted by my learned colleague regarding

1 the admissibility of a report from a UN expert --

2 "And those of military experts excluded in Kordic case may
3 be found not only in the fact that the former Kovacevic
4 case report did not address the ultimate issue, but also
10:17:36 5 because it was compiled independently (for the United
6 Nations) as part of a fact-finding exercise and not for the
7 purposes of litigation. Therefore, the subtle distinction
8 between the admissibility of an expert report as such in
9 the Kovacevic case contrasted by the Kordic case. In that
10:18:04 10 case the military expert wrote a report in which he also
11 addressed certain aspects of command responsibility. In
12 that case, the ICTY said we will not allow the tendering of
13 that report in the Kordic case."

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Wasn't that part of an argument about the
10:18:23 15 ultimate issue?

16 MR KNOOPS: Yes, Your Honour. In the instant case, we
17 believe that the portions are referred to in this report of the
18 expert witness go at least indirectly to the ultimate issue,
19 because it specifically referred to the command and control of
10:18:45 20 the RUF in a certain district. In the context of the broad
21 framework of the current indictment - namely, an alleged joint
22 criminal enterprise between RUF and AFRC - the tendering of these
23 documents in the form as it stands now will affect, can affect,
24 the ultimate issue through these portions in the report.
10:19:20 25 Therefore, that is our main argument; we believe that at this
26 stage the tendering of the document is too early and should be
27 considered after the cross-examination and when it is totally
28 clear how the expert came about these conclusions and how these
29 statements, which also reflect from the AFRC directly in terms of

1 individual responsibility, how the experts came to these portions
2 on pages 14, 15 and 18, 19 of the report. Thank you, Your
3 Honour.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Knoops.

10:20:16 5 [Trial Chamber conferred]

6 [AFRC03OCT05B - SGH]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: We have considered the arguments of both
8 parties and the provisions of Rule 94 bis. The report shall be
9 marked for identification and we will consider admissibility at
10:29:46 10 the end of cross-examination. I think that is MFI-1, please.

11 MS PACK: Thank you, Your Honour.

12 Q. Mrs Bangura, could you turn to page 6 of the report, which
13 is 14481 for Your Honours. Mrs Bangura, at paragraph 1.1 or at
14 the heading 1.1 you have identified the purpose for which you
10:31:00 15 were instructed to write a report by the Office of the
16 Prosecutor. Could you identify for us what the report's mandate
17 was?

18 A. It was basically the context in which forced marriage
19 occurred during the conflict. The meaning of the word itself,
10:31:29 20 forced marriage during the conflict, the consequences of forced
21 marriage during the conflict on the victims and in the process I
22 have to go back and look at whether before the war there was any
23 issue that was somehow related which we call early and arranged
24 marriage. So I went back and I also looked at the issue of
10:31:55 25 marriage within our own legal system and structure, general law,
26 Islamic law and Muslim -- sorry, customary law to how it related
27 to marriage. So basically that's what it was.

28 Q. Thank you. And you set out at page 7 under the heading
29 "1.3 Methodology" the sources which you used in the preparation

1 of your report and you have broken those down in your first
2 paragraph at 1.3 into field research and secondary data. In the
3 following paragraph starting "Primary Sources" and the paragraphs
4 that follow you have identified what sort of field research was
10:32:47 5 carried out and that was, breaking it down, interviews by you,
6 interviews by CGG field staff and focus group meetings and I
7 would like to ask you about each of those in turn. Now the
8 interviews, firstly, carried out by you, whereabouts did you
9 yourself carry out interviews for the purposes of preparing the
10:33:03 10 report?

11 A. Basically I went to Kailahun, I went to Makeni, I went to
12 Kenema and spoke to the human rights officer in Kono, I went
13 briefly for one night. So I travelled to the areas where I
14 could. And the areas where I couldn't, I spoke to the human
10:33:29 15 rights officers, CGG and some of them I called to Freetown and
16 then they came and I spoke to them. And in the areas where I
17 went, they went with me for the sake of interpretation in the
18 language in which I couldn't speak because I can only speak Krio
19 and Temne. So I went with them where I went and they went where
10:34:01 20 they went. In Freetown the girls actually came to my office.

21 Q. Just starting then with Kailahun. In your report you
22 identify that there were 28 interviews of women from villages
23 outside Kailahun Town and 50 interviews of women - and these are
24 women you describe as bush wives - in Kailahun Town. Of the
10:34:22 25 total of those interviews how many of those did you yourself
26 carry out?

27 A. In Kailahun I did all the interviews. In Kailahun District
28 I did all the interviews. I was involved in the focus group
29 meetings myself, I organised them. So I was present in each and

1 every of those interviews. Only the interpretation, that was

2 done for me.

3 Q. Okay. On the following page at 14483 at page 8 of your

4 report you identify those focus group meetings. I will just deal

10:34:53 5 with those briefly. You said four focus group meetings were held

6 in Kailahun District with 32 bush wives and ten other women as

7 well. So you say you carried out those?

8 A. I did. I was in Kailahun for a few days. I did.

9 Q. And pausing at those focus group meetings, what did they

10:35:05 10 involve?

11 A. Well, basically talking to the women around and discussing

12 the issues and identifying the problems and them giving me

13 description, personal experiences and general -- because some of

14 them were like together, some of them were individually and

10:35:26 15 because amongst them they have been discussing those problems, so

16 we sat down and talked. And they were just women, so nobody was

17 actually there other than the person who was interpreting.

18 Q. And Freetown, you have identified at page 7, again the

19 second paragraph below the heading 1.3, that there were four

10:35:47 20 interviews of former bush wives carried out in Freetown. How

21 many of those did you carry out yourself?

22 A. All of them I carried out and in that case there was no

23 interpretation, just individually the girls with me in my office.

24 Q. You also identify in that same paragraph that there were

10:36:01 25 interviews of fifteen bush wives in Makeni District. How many of

26 those interviews did you carry out?

27 A. In Makeni -- five of them I did in Makeni, because the list

28 was given, I wanted to verify some of them, so I went there

29 myself. And so I went to where they were and I did the

1 interviews.

2 Q. Why did you carry out so many of the interviews in
3 Kailahun?

4 A. Well, the issue is that if those who understand the war,
10:36:38 5 the history of the war, and through my own work, whether in CGG,
6 Campaign for Good Governance, whether with the UNHCR, the bulk of
7 the ex-combatants, the bulk of the girls who were very
8 uncomfortable about going back, all of them, whether by AFRC or
9 RUF, resorted to Kailahun as the rest of the country was being
10:37:05 10 demobilised and decentralised -- sorry, demobilised. Kailahun
11 was the last country to be disarmed, the last district. And so
12 the difficult cases, those who found it difficult -- as people
13 returning to their communities found out they couldn't because
14 they were in control; the AFRC or the RUF, whoever were in
10:37:26 15 control of their areas. And as people come back, as government
16 authority come back, as the police were brought in and the
17 military took control, the people who were uncomfortable, who
18 found out they couldn't work, resorted to Kailahun. So Kailahun
19 had a combination because Kailahun became a safe haven and there
10:37:46 20 was the relationship -- if you look at even the Lome Peace
21 Agreement and reports on human rights, there is always this issue
22 of AFRC/RUF. People treat them as one group. And so the rivalry
23 between them came after the peace agreement with Foday Sankoh
24 personally. But at the down level on the ground they were
10:38:05 25 working together. And so Kailahun was a safe haven that had been
26 created by the RUF, retained and controlled by them. So
27 whichever rebel, whether AFRC or RUF, felt much more comfortable,
28 including their victims, their wives and their families. So they
29 all resorted to Kailahun. So Kailahun, if you go there now as I

1 speak to you you will find it's overcrowded with all this
2 combination of people. And few of the rebels, both AFRC and RUF,
3 who actually went back to Liberia used Kailahun as an exit point
4 to go into Liberia.

10:38:36 5 Q. Pausing there. In light of what you said about your
6 earlier work in Kailahun District, had you met the women who you
7 interviewed in the villages around Kailahun and in Kailahun Town
8 itself on an earlier occasion?

9 A. The ones in Kailahun Town I met on an earlier occasion and
10:38:54 10 it was when I went the last time that I now decided I cannot
11 limit myself in the city, I need to go out of the city. So when
12 I arrived in Kenema, after I had the meeting with the Kenema
13 human rights officer and explained to him what I wanted and on my
14 way back I'll then stay in Kenema and interview. I entered
10:39:16 15 Kailahun District. I started interviewing before I actually went
16 to sleep in Kailahun Town. I even have an itinerary in my book,
17 my notebook I took. So I finally arrived in Kailahun Town at
18 about 11.00 at night, because I went straight into the interview
19 and so the towns before Kailahun Town, Daru, Segbwema, I did
10:39:35 20 these towns and eventually ended up in Kailahun and took the
21 other angle of Kailahun villages. So I was based in Kailahun
22 Town, in the morning I'll get out and travel out of Kailahun Town
23 and do the interviews and then come back and sleep in Kailahun.

24 Q. And you hadn't been to the villages before?

10:39:47 25 A. No, I hadn't been to the villages before. So to do the
26 interview -- because normally I just drive into Kailahun, Daru, I
27 talked to women in Daru and Segbwema, but this time, if you look
28 at my reports, I hardly ever spoke to them. I went actually in
29 the interior of --

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, Mrs Bangura, you have raced ahead

2 of us here.

3 THE WITNESS: Sorry.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: You have named quite a few places which
10:40:05 5 we haven't caught the names of and I am sure defence counsel also
6 need those names

7 MS PACK: I will spell them, Your Honour, Daru and
8 Segbwema.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: We would be grateful, Ms Pack. Thank
10:40:15 10 you.

11 Q. It was two names you identified, Mrs Bangura. It was Daru,
12 D-A-R-U and Segbwema which is S-E-G-B-W-E-M-A?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. I will be corrected if I am wrong.

10:40:21 15 A. Yes. If maybe I need to explain for them. The way
16 Kailahun District is run is the district is almost at the end of
17 the -- Kailahun Town, the headquarter, is at the end. Daru and
18 Segbwema are two big towns that you have to go thorough them. So
19 a lot of activities take place within those two towns and
10:40:52 20 Kailahun Town itself is isolated and cut off a lot of the time.

21 Q. You said you had carried out interviews of the women in the
22 town, Kailahun Town, before?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Did that have any impact on your ability to gather
10:41:09 25 information from them on this occasion when you met them for the
26 purposes of this report?

27 A. I think the way it affected is the fact that they are much
28 more comfortable with me. I have spoken to them on a few
29 occasions and every time I come with them, they now can open to

1 me and they know that I work on these issues and it is not
2 somebody that will look at them in a different way, because they
3 are very sensitive how they talk. So we have sort of come to
4 know each other and they know exactly that I know the problem and
10:41:40 5 I know the issue and so they are very much more open to me than
6 they will to another person.

7 Q. Apart from your interviews that you personally carried out
8 with bush wives and with former bush wives, who else did you
9 interview for the purposes of preparing this report?

10:41:58 10 A. Because I had to look at the whole concept of early
11 marriage and arranged marriage and related to forced marriage,
12 everywhere I will go I will talk to the paramount chief, I will
13 talk to the court clerk, he actually is like the custodian of the
14 tradition, I will talk to religious leaders, Imams. And even the
10:42:20 15 places where I did not do the interview they gave me the list of
16 people they spoke to. In Freetown I spoke to the -- they have a
17 council of Imams which is a council of all the religious leaders
18 in country. I spoke to the spiritual leader who is in Freetown.
19 He is the head of all the Imams in the country. I had an

10:42:38 20 interview with him. So like in Makeni I spoke to the paramount
21 chief of Makeni who is well educated and understands. And
22 sometimes the paramount chiefs will refer me to court clerk.
23 They said he is the one who deal with it. And I spoke --

24 Q. Pausing there, just to explain the importance of the court
10:42:56 25 clerk. You said you were referred to the court clerk. What sort
26 of courts did the court clerk --

27 A. Local courts. Because our custom or tradition or the legal
28 system at the community level is handled by the local courts, the
29 court clerk is like the man who knows everything. You know, so

1 they refer to you that you have to talk to him.

2 Q. And what sort of law -- do you know what sort of law the
3 court clerk is applying?

4 A. Customary law.

10:43:25 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Pack, would that be a convenient time
6 to adjourn? This is the time we normally have our mid-morning
7 adjournment.

8 MS PACK: Yes, Your Honour.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that a convenient point in your
10:43:32 10 examination-in-chief?

11 MS PACK: Yes, it is, Your Honour.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very well. We will adjourn for 15
13 minutes, please. Madam Court Attendant, please adjourn court for
14 15 minutes.

10:44:14 15 [Break taken at 10.47 a.m.]

16 [On resuming at 11.02 a.m.]

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Pack, just before you continue with
18 your examination-in-chief, I have been advised that the document
19 that has only been marked MFI, we have not got to a point of
11:01:57 20 tendering any documents. So any numbers that have been given
21 will have to be given properly at the end if and when the
22 document is tendered. I think there was a mention of a P30, that
23 should not be used for the record.

24 MS PACK: Thank you, Your Honour.

11:02:21 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, it's the curriculum vitae of
26 Mrs Bangura, the witness, should be P31.

27 MS PACK: Thank you, Your Honour.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: I hope that's clear. Yes, Ms Pack,
29 please continue.

1 Q. Mrs Bangura, just before we had the break you were telling
2 the Court about your interviews that you personally conducted and
3 you told us about the interviews of traditional and religious
4 leaders that you had carried out. Were there other interviews --
11:03:10 5 apart from of traditional religious leaders and the former bush
6 wives - were there other interviews that you personally carried
7 out?

8 A. I spoke to some of the ex-combatants who were husbands.
9 Some of them were actually present at the interview. I spoke to
11:03:22 10 them.

11 Q. Whereabouts were they? Which district did you speak to
12 ex-combatants in?

13 A. It was mostly in Kailahun.

14 Q. The religious leaders -- you've said you spoke to an imam
11:03:39 15 at the mosque in Freetown or a leader at the mosque in Freetown?

16 A. Yes. He is the spiritual head of the Council of Imams.

17 Q. Generally as you were interviewing religious leaders, from
18 what religion were these individuals?

19 A. Mostly from the Muslim religion but I spoke to Christian
11:04:07 20 leaders in Freetown because in terms of marriage traditional,
21 Muslim marriage is the most common because the Christians really
22 don't really -- mostly you do it under the general law. So it is
23 mostly the Muslim religious leaders that have a separate law --
24 legal system with regards to marriage.

11:04:23 25 Q. How did you record the information that you obtained in
26 your interviews?

27 A. I have a ledger. I write longhand.

28 Q. The staff from CGG who also carried out interviews,
29 whereabouts were the interviews that they carried out? Which

1 locations?

2 A. In Makeni, in Kenema, in Kono and in Kabala, Koinadugu
3 District.

4 Q. How did they record the information that they obtained?

11:04:59 5 A. They wrote them on piece of -- they wrote them handwritten.
6 The one in Kabala, because it is so difficult to come, he
7 normally sends it on email.

8 Q. And did you receive the other handwritten notes prepared by
9 the other staff members?

11:05:11 10 A. Yes, I did.

11 Q. The CGG staff, who did they interview? Was it just bush
12 wives or were there others that they interviewed?

13 A. They interviewed the religious leaders, they interviewed
14 the court clerks, they interviewed traditional leaders. Not just
11:05:38 15 the bush wives, because in terms of marriage, for example, in the
16 Koinadugu - Kabala - District the system of marriage was
17 different so I wanted to see whether there were comparative
18 differences in terms of marriage, how it relates.

19 Q. Had the CGG staff who carried out interviews for you -- had
11:06:04 20 they had experience in this sort of work before?

21 A. Yes. Not only on the monthly documentation they did at
22 CGG, but when the Security Council agreed that we are going to
23 have a Special Court and the TRC, the discussion debates --
24 because we were very much involved, we were a part of the working
11:06:26 25 group of the TRC. We actually -- I had asked for a grant from
26 the Open Society office in New York. They gave us a grant and in
27 that, part of that grant included 13 digital cameras. So we had
28 somebody, Ahwad Dabu [phon] who was then working from UNAMSIL and
29 somebody initially from South Africa who came and trained them on

1 documenting testimonies. So even before the Special Court --
2 sorry, the TRC came into being they had documented testimony
3 because we -- they came back, in their monthly report told us it
4 is important that some of the testimonies were actually
11:07:05 5 documented, because as people were getting integrated they don't
6 want to talk, some of the evidences were going to be wiped out.
7 So that's why we applied for this grant and we got other 13
8 digital cameras and so they were trained in documenting
9 testimony. Somebody came from South Africa and trained them. So
11:07:22 10 they went out into the field and after the entire information was
11 documented and processed, we now applied for a second grant -
12 that was just as I was leaving - in which the UN commission
13 actually sent Ahwad Dabu to now come and process that information
14 which became a document of the Human Rights Commission. They
11:07:46 15 took it literally. So they have the experience of documenting
16 testimonies.

17 Q. What sort of questions did you ask the traditional and
18 religious leaders whom you spoke to?

19 A. Well, basically the issue was around marriage, what does it
11:08:07 20 mean, the way it is handled, the processes you have to go through
21 and whether there was -- the definition of early an arranged
22 marriage, why it took place, if it is allowed within the custom.
23 And that was where I realised that in Islam it is actually
24 legally wrong, you know. So my question around them was around
11:08:27 25 the concept of marriage, especially early and arranged marriage.

26 Q. Was that in times of peace or in times of war?

27 A. In times of peace.

28 Q. And you said just before we had the break that you spoke to
29 the court clerk and you said that he applied customary law in

1 local courts.

2 A. A part of the chieftaincy is that each paramount chief has
3 a local court in the chiefdom and they have a court clerk that
4 actually manages the courts. So he is like the institutional
11:09:00 5 memory of the court. So a lot of time they tell you, "Go to talk
6 to him, he is the one who will give you the history of how things
7 are arranged at the traditional level".

8 Q. Going again back to the sort of questions you were asking
9 in preparing your report, what sort of questions were you asking
11:09:20 10 the former bush wives?

11 A. Basically I wanted to know first and foremost their name
12 and when and where they were captured, who did it and what was
13 their age at that time and what was said to them and their own
14 feeling at that time and what happened. They explained to me the
11:09:44 15 period which they were living with them, how was the

16 relationship, what happened. And the experience within the bush
17 because most of them were like nomad, they keep moving because
18 they were not stationed in one particular place, they keep
19 moving. So they will tell you their experiences in a specific
11:10:02 20 area where they were, the life of this. And later you tell them

21 how they feel right now they are there. Some of them who are
22 living with their husbands, I will ask them why you are living
23 with them and how is the relationship and I will ask them why
24 haven't you gone back. Some of them who are still with their
11:10:19 25 husbands, I ask them why haven't you gone back, would you like to
26 go back, what are you doing, how do you see the future. So these
27 were the questions around which we spoke.

28 Q. And when you spoke to the ex-combatants what sort of
29 questions were you asking them?

1 A. Basically it's about the relationship, because they are
2 very reluctant to talk that they abducted them. You know, so
3 it's about how they feel their relationship with them now and why
4 they themselves -- because I found out that a lot of them also
11:10:46 5 were not going home, because most of them come from different
6 parts of the country as well as with the wives. So invariably
7 some of them also are dislocated in a way and so I will ask them
8 why they don't want to go, you know, and how do they see the
9 future. And sometimes it goes beyond the interview and talk why
11:11:08 10 did you go into the war, what happened, your experience.

11 Q. What was the aim of your line of questioning of each of
12 these groups of people who you interviewed?

13 A. Basically, first and foremost, I need to identify who was
14 the one that captured the girls and invariably they give the name
11:11:28 15 of the person and where they are. And having worked in this
16 area, you can understand when they refer to one particular group.
17 There you know it's the one that's like rebel junta, junta rebel,
18 RUF rebel. You know, it's easy for you to pin out who they are
19 referring to. And when they were captured and why they called
11:11:48 20 them wife or how -- where did the language come from. They will
21 explain to you when did it actually come into the relationship
22 and how they were treated. And at the end if they had children
23 what were their experience with these people.

24 Q. Who created the methodology for the interviews that were
11:12:11 25 conducted by you and also the human rights officers?

26 A. I was the one who did it.

27 Q. The human rights officers, how did they learn about what it
28 was they were supposed to ask about?

29 A. Well, like I said, they have experience. They have done a

1 whole -- it was a whole year exercise they did.

2 Q. For the purposes of this report?

3 A. For the purpose of this report, we sat with them and I told
4 them exactly the pattern. Because first I explained to them the
11:12:39 5 information I'd like and the way in which I think they should ask
6 the question to be able to make sure they get the precise
7 information that I think is important for me to write the report.

8 Q. You provide short summaries of accounts from bush wives of
9 their experiences in the body of your report -- at various points
11:13:01 10 in the body of your report. Where are those summaries from? The
11 short summaries you provide, and perhaps I will just give you an
12 example of one set of summaries at page 14 of your report,
13 registry page 14489. Just looking at those, broadly speaking,
14 the summaries from halfway down the page, where were those
11:13:16 15 summaries from?

16 A. It was the interview because for the report which is a
17 public document you actually like to keep the name of the person
18 out, this is why I gave them these numbers. But in my ledger the
19 name is there. I write the name, the age, who captured, the
11:13:37 20 year, so for the purposes of the report I had to write. Because
21 I spoke to them one to one, they actually gave me their stories.
22 They told me exactly what happened to them, so I wrote them by
23 longhand.

24 Q. Mrs Bangura, you also identify - again going back to page
11:13:55 25 7 - that you used secondary data in the preparation of your
26 report as well as these primary sources. Why have you relied
27 upon secondary data in compiling your report?

28 A. Because the war in Sierra Leone has been highly documented
29 and there is no way you can capture everything on your own

1 obviously. So I went back to look at groups. I worked with the
2 Human Rights Watch because they trained our people and they
3 collected a lot of data from us, and when they were going to the
4 community we had a relationship with them. We gave the names of
11:14:32 5 our human rights monitors. So in a lot of areas they were
6 interpreters for them. So I know that their reports were
7 collected from firsthand stories. So I was able to read their
8 reports. And I read a Security Council study that was submitted
9 as a research, "Women, Peace and Security". That I know is an
11:14:56 10 authentic document. And I know a report was written by women,
11 war and peace by UNIFEM. And Elizabeth Rehn who was the deputy
12 minister of defence in Finland and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf were
13 here; I was there when they came. I met them, I had a meeting
14 with them and so when the report was published they sent me a
11:15:13 15 copy so I know the sources of their reporting. The fact that
16 they had stayed there for a few days so it was one of the
17 documents I looked. It is an independent expert assessment on
18 the impact of armed conflict on women.

19 And also the Women Waging Peace actually conducted a study
11:15:32 20 here which is "From Combatant to Community: Women and Girls of
21 Sierra Leone". And I was -- because I am a member of the network
22 when the report was actually going to be published, I was given
23 an advance. So those were the research papers which I looked at,
24 the secondary. And the human rights, Amnesty International also
11:15:48 25 did reports.

26 So I specifically only read those documents that I knew the
27 people who wrote them and was aware when the documents were
28 written, when the studies were done. So those, they are ones I
29 restricted myself. I went into it. There are a lot of other

1 reports I saw in the internet, from Crime Watch and the others,
2 but those ones, because I didn't know who the authors were -- and
3 having been in Sierra Leone for so long and been part of the
4 process, I have seen reports in which I myself have criticised,
11:16:13 5 you know, in which I know some of the facts are not the same.
6 They are not the real thing that happened because I was on the
7 ground when the incidents happened so some of those reports I did
8 not use.

9 Q. What is the availability of public statistics on the
11:16:30 10 practice and prevalence of forced marriage during the war?

11 A. I think like every other statistics in Sierra Leone, most
12 of us that is in Sierra Leone is provided by international NGOs
13 who work on specific areas like child combatants; it is easy to
14 get it from UNICEF and the others. But with regards to forced
11:16:51 15 marriage because they have not been targeted specifically for
16 support, nobody can give you real statistics of how many of them
17 are there on the ground and what are their problems. And so it
18 is difficult, unless you are able to go yourself and talk to
19 them. So it is impossible for me to say there are 3,000 or there
11:17:10 20 5,000. Or like amputees, they had a camp where they were put
21 together so somebody specifically worked on them and provided
22 support. So you cannot have statistics analysis of the problem
23 so far.

24 So that was why one of the reasons I did was for me to go
11:17:24 25 there myself and talk to the ones I am able to talk and to look
26 at the areas where they come from and speak to them. So there is
27 no real -- there is no statistics data in the country that will
28 tell you, neither in the international community, this is the
29 number of people that were involved in the situation.

1 Q. And is there an attitude, either generally in Sierra Leone
2 or on the part of former bush wives, towards giving information
3 or generating information that has had an impact on the
4 availability of public information on this topic?

11:17:58 5 A. Well, they want to put it behind them. It is a fact that
6 they still feel that they are stigmatised, that people look down
7 on them, that people will label them, the way they call and point
8 fingers at them. So they are very -- until they are comfortable,
9 they never talk to you. And that is why a lot of them have not
11:18:13 10 lived in their own communities, they go back. Even with me in my
11 family I have two people I can't trace up to now and I know they
12 are alive. So that is the problem. It is the social aspect of
13 it or the psychological. They are very reluctant to talk about
14 it, especially in areas where they have successfully been
11:18:35 15 reintegrated. They just want to move ahead with their lives.

16 They don't want people who don't know them to know that they were
17 actually part of that process. Because they feel people will
18 point fingers at them.

19 Q. I think you have already touched on this but perhaps if you
11:18:57 20 just tell us this: Why is there an emphasis on Kailahun in your
21 report?

22 A. Like I said if you look at the long term consequences on
23 the issue of forced marriages the social and the stigmatisation
24 aspect, the fact that you are labeled, you tend to find it much
11:19:19 25 easier to be in areas in which you were accustomed to, so you are
26 much more confident. And I think because that is the reason a
27 lot of them went to Kailahun. Not because they were in Kailahun
28 during the war. Some of them who are now in Kailahun were never
29 in Kailahun, but as the country was handed over to the government

1 a lot of them reverted to Kailahun. So by the time the
2 demobilisation and disarmament of ex-combatants had taken place,
3 Kailahun became a safe haven where they were able to link up with
4 each other, find comfort with each other, because people there
11:19:57 5 accepted them for what they were.

6 And some of them, nobody knows them because you can in
7 Kailahun you can find people as far as from Kabala, who came from
8 Kabala. It is like the extreme end of the country so nobody
9 knows them in Kailahun. He is okay he is comfortable. They know
11:20:15 10 he was this person, he lived this kind of life, he does not want
11 to go back because back home, especially when it's a young girl
12 who was captured, say, by the age of ten or eleven or twelve.
13 She is now sixteen years old, she can't go back to school. What
14 life is she going to live? She has two children. Who is going
11:20:30 15 to take care of her? So for them its much better you live in
16 Kailahun and work there and do whatever you can in Kailahun.
17 Then it's a whole -- it's starting a whole new life, chapter in
18 your life.

19 Q. I am going to ask you to turn to another section in your
11:20:43 20 report. Page 14, which is the section 2.1, headed: The meaning
21 of forced marriage during the conflict. And that is 14489 of the
22 registry pages, Your Honour.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

24 MS PACK:

11:21:05 25 Q. What do you mean by use of the language, forced marriage in
26 the context of the conflict in Sierra Leone?

27 A. I use it for girls who have been who had been abducted and
28 literally taken as wives, because when I spoke to this girl, I
29 said, "What happened?" She said, "When he comes to the house,

1 when he captured, he said, 'You now me wife'." That you are my
2 wife.

3 Q. "You now me wife" is?

4 A. "You now me wife", you are my wife.

11:21:35 5 Q. Is that Krio?

6 A. It is a Krio word and we use it, this language, "You now me
7 wife." So I am taking you, you are my wife. So the -- right

8 from the beginning of the entire relationship with him he

9 identifies you as his wife, which means you belong to him. You

11:21:53 10 are with him and you are part of his property, I might say,

11 because he takes care of you, he protects you, he feeds you. So

12 you are part and parcel of him.

13 Q. Why do you use the language "forced marriage"?

14 A. Because being a wife means you have to be married to him.

11:22:12 15 And for them you are not willing, you do it against your wish.

16 You don't have an option. You don't have an alternative. You

17 become a wife by his own definition, not by your or not by

18 consent which means he has taken you against your consent,

19 against your will.

11:22:28 20 Q. Where does the language "bush wife" come from?

21 A. I think if you talk to a lot of the people, even in

22 Freetown or everybody, they always talk. That is why you can

23 hear the talk jungle rebel. Jungle. They use the word jungle

24 meaning bush because these people never stayed in one fixed

11:22:47 25 position. They never stayed in one particular town. They will

26 attack them, they will leave. So a lot of the time because they

27 were running away from attack from whether ECOMOG or soldiers,

28 they invariably lived in the bush, in places where you cannot

29 easily see them. So they didn't have a home. So they were

1 bush -- running from one push to the other and then they will
2 attack another village and then they will move. So that's how
3 the word came out, "bush wife", which means this was a
4 relationship that happened out there in the jungle during the
11:23:14 5 course of the war, while you were running across the country.
6 But of course it is not a marriage that is acceptable in town
7 when you come back to live a normal life.

8 Q. Now you have touched on this already, language used by the
9 men and you have used a phrase in Krio, I think, "You now me
11:23:28 10 wife" which translated as wife.

11 A. You are my wife.

12 Q. Why do you think the language "wife" was used by the men?

13 A. It is a sign of control. It is a sign of ownership. It is
14 like -- because in our tradition when somebody is your wife, you
11:23:52 15 have complete control over him.

16 Q. In your tradition meaning?

17 A. In Sierra Leone, normally culturally in Sierra Leone
18 whether you are in south or in the east, in Temne or Mende,
19 somebody who is your wife, you are given that woman for the rest
11:24:06 20 of your life. That is why if you go back to the tradition of
21 Sierra Leone, we don't technically have divorce in a way, you
22 know. So even when your husband dies, among the Temnes, you are
23 inherited by the elder brothers or the uncle or somebody. So you
24 are part of that property, you are part of his property. So a
11:24:25 25 wife means somebody who has complete control over you, who
26 decides what you shall do, who feeds you, who clothes you and
27 everything. You are at his disposal any time.

28 Q. So just to clarify, the husband has control over the wife?

29 A. Totally.

1 Q. Were there expectations which flowed from the use of the
2 language of marriage, of wife?

3 A. Yes. Because when you become a wife of a rebel, it means
4 you service him alone, you take care of him, you do his laundry.
11:25:02 5 And he of course takes care of you, he protects you, and you
6 belong to him, so nobody else among the other rebels can tamper
7 with you, can either attack you or rape you. Because there are
8 two sets of women, the one normally they have sex. So these are
9 the ones when they go around all the rebels have their wives with
11:25:23 10 them, you carry their load. So those of you who are not wives
11 live in a group, in a compound, which is also part of our
12 tradition, because you live, you sleep in the same place. And
13 while you are there anybody can do anything to you. Of course,
14 because there is no rule of law there in the bush you can't
11:25:36 15 resort to any police or anything and nobody can protect you.

16 So but, so for you it's much better when you are with one
17 particular person, you know he is the one who decides, including
18 having sexual relationship, you are only open to him. Until and
19 unless he wants to dispose of you. Then he sends you out into
11:25:53 20 the open, but at that particular time, nobody else can touch you.

21 Q. And just turning then to your report at page 16, which is
22 14491 of the registry copy, you have identified there what it was
23 that a bush wife was expected to do and that is under heading,
24 little paragraph two, halfway down the page: "Bush wives were
11:26:19 25 expected to carry out all the functions of a wife and more." And
26 you've identified carrying her husband's possessions, gratifying
27 her husband's sexual wishes, cooking for her husband, showing
28 loyalty and rewarding him with love and affection and so on.
29 Those are matters that you have identified there. What's the

1 source of -- for this information that you have identified.

2 A. I spoke to the girls themselves, you know, telling me their
3 story, what they were expected to do while they were living with
4 these husbands, the bush husbands and how their life was. So
11:26:58 5 they were the one who were giving me detailed stories and
6 sometimes even the consequences of trying to run away because I
7 asked some of them what happens. In cases where sometimes they
8 fall under ambush, you know, they part company and the wife goes
9 another way. Sometimes the husband captures them and tells their
11:27:16 10 own specific story, she gave me what actually he did to her.

11 Because like I mentioned, she is not supposed to have sex
12 with any other person with him so when they fell under ambush and
13 they parted company and eventually they sort of met back in the
14 bush. Because everybody was crawling to find their way out and
11:27:34 15 because he didn't see her for a day or two, when he saw her the
16 first thing he did that, "I am sure you have gone to sleep with
17 the ECOMOG or somebody else." And she denied and he actually
18 forced her and opened her to look at her to make sure to verify
19 that you have not. So she is his property. "You belong to me
11:27:52 20 and I am the only one who have to have a relationship with you".

21 Q. And you identify, you say that "bush wives were expected to
22 carry out all the functions of a wife". What do you mean by the
23 function of a wife?

24 A. In the Sierra Leone traditional system, mainly from the
11:28:09 25 Temne myself, you know, the usual is, say, when you married to a
26 wife, they teach you, that's what you do. A parent tells you,
27 you have to cook, you have to take care of him, you have to
28 listen what he says, you have to ask his permission for
29 everything. This is why even when you have a funeral, you know,

1 they don't allow you to go. You they have come and tell him and
2 they seek his permission for you to go.

3 Q. Is this just in the Temne tradition or does it transcend?

4 A. No, it does transcend to all ethnic groups, with the
11:28:36 5 exception of the Krios, who are in the Western Area.

6 Q. In your report, and I am looking at page 14, if you just
7 look at that again under this same heading, section 2.1 at
8 paragraph two, just the first sentence, you say, "Forced marriage
9 became a means of survival for most girls in the bush." What do
11:29:03 10 you mean by that? How did forced marriage becomes a means of
11 survival?

12 A. Because it's the law of the jungle. You are there; there
13 is no system or a system wherein you manage the society, it's
14 gone. These are people just running from one place to the other.
11:29:28 15 You are, as an abducted girl, you are at the mercy of the people
16 at that time. And so for girls who are identified as wife by
17 individual, these people protect them from all the other problems
18 that --

19 Q. Who protects them?

11:29:46 20 A. The husband, the rebel husband, bush husband protects them.
21 Normally because when they run out of fighting soldiers the women
22 are trained, which is one of the issues we raise in the women's
23 rights issue because women are not taken into consideration as
24 secondary fighter in the disarmament process. Some of them are
11:30:05 25 trained and they are actually sent out into the front. They are
26 used as spies. And because they move -- for example, if you are
27 settled in one particular area and then somebody comes in and
28 says there is going to be an attack tonight or there's going to
29 be an attack tomorrow. Or if they have ambushed a truck, load of

1 food and everything, these things have to be carried from one
2 part of -- so these people who really don't belong to people, who
3 are just part of the group that are running around, are the ones
4 who do a lot of this work.

11:30:32 5 Q. That is women you are talking about?

6 A. That is most of the women, the young girls who were
7 abducted. So when you are married to a husband you have your
8 bush husband. He stands there to say, "No, no, she can't do
9 this. She's with me. I am taking care of her". So he stands
11:30:47 10 there as your protector. So, as a result of that, even if you
11 hate him, the fact that he is standing there to help you and when
12 you see what happens to the other girls, especially at night.

13 There is a lot of gang raping. In the middle of the night
14 somebody comes, you don't even know who he is, and he comes in
11:31:04 15 and he pounces on you and maybe before the end of the night two
16 or three other people come in. So for you, you will be prepared
17 to subject yourself to him alone because at least you know he is
18 the only person. Rather than you being out there in the
19 wilderness when you don't know anybody, you don't have your

11:31:20 20 family network to protect you, there is no law and order, he can
21 do anything they want to you. So for you it's a means of
22 survival because you are saved from some of the worst atrocities
23 that are happening to your other colleagues. That's why some of
24 the girls said, "They saved us". And that's how you got -- some
11:31:35 25 of them now are sort of like -- psychologically they are saying,
26 "Actually without him I could have been worse".

27 Q. So you are talking about this aspect of protection that was
28 provided by the rebel husbands. In times of peace how important
29 is marriage in conferring protection on a woman, or doesn't it

1 have any importance?

2 [AFRC03OCT05C - CR?]

3 A. Oh, it is very important. I mean, when you are married to
4 the man, he's the one there who protects you at any time,
11:32:04 5 whatever happens to you, even those of us who were educated here.
6 Your husband stands as a barrier against a lot of other things
7 that happens and in times of problems in your family, he's the
8 one who comes there. Nobody can go to you to harm you if you
9 have a husband. The first thing they go, they go to a man. You
11:32:19 10 husband is prepared to do anything to protect you.

11 Q. You talked about the family network. What role does the
12 family network play in times of peace?

13 A. The family unit is the unit that holds the community
14 together. If you go back to the Sierra Leone wherein -- I don't
11:32:36 15 want to call it a dysfunctional state, where the state doesn't
16 provide basic services and facilities, where the family holds
17 people together. So, you depend on your family to take care of
18 you, to help you in times of crisis, to provide support to you.
19 In times of problems they are there who come there. So, family
11:32:55 20 unit is very, very important in Sierra Leone and for parents of
21 those of us who are first generation of educated, your child is
22 an investment for the future, you don't have a pension. It is
23 only now they've introduced a national insurance security. But
24 before, you educate your children with the hope that your
11:33:12 25 children take care of you. So, those of us who come from rural
26 area, you know that as long as you are educated that's it,
27 because your family is guaranteed a bag of rice every month, you
28 take care of their medical bills, you educate other people in the
29 family. So you are an insurance for a better future. So that is

1 why parents value their children's education, send them to
2 school, so that at the end of day, they know when they are old
3 enough, they have somebody who takes care of them. So the
4 family -- that's the way the family works around.

11:33:40 5 Q. Was there a consequence for girls, women, who were abducted
6 in not having a family network available to them in the bush?

7 A. Well, if you operate in a community where the community is
8 based around family, and it is the family you turn to in terms of
9 problem. It is a family that helps you for your children's
11:34:04 10 school and everything. When you are dislocated from Kabala and

11 you end up finding yourself in Kailahun where you have two,
12 three, children, it's not very easy because first, the ethnic
13 language is different. Secondly, in the most difficult times,
14 there is nobody around you. Because traditionally back in my

11:34:23 15 language, when a girl is pregnant, during the last month of the
16 pregnancies, they send you to your mother to have the baby,
17 because they feel you need the comfort of the family with you.
18 So they pack things and everything and send you and go and have
19 your children, your baby with your parents. And after that when

11:34:39 20 the child is old enough, you come. That tells you how much they
21 want you to be around people who care for you.

22 Q. And thinking about just during the conflict specifically,
23 not looking about long-term consequences, but just after
24 abduction, was there a consequence then that you identified for
11:34:55 25 young women or girls who had been abducted in not having their
26 family network around them?

27 A. Because it's a time of -- a lot of these girls are girls
28 who were going to school. I met a lot of them who were
29 school-going girls, who were, of course, abducted in their

1 communities and taken at a very young age when they didn't even
2 know anything about life and a lot of them, this was the first
3 time they had sex. Of course, that sex took place in a very --
4 in the circumstances which it took place, it is not something you
11:35:26 5 had agreed and the aftermath of it, the way you were treated
6 psychological during that time, you know, beaten by someone, most
7 of them would give you experiences how they were beaten, you
8 know, assaulted and treated. So it's a drastic move from the
9 family comfort to the bush. Living there in very difficult
11:35:46 10 conditions. Not sleeping on a bed, having to do things that you
11 are not used to do. So, that affected the girls and they were
12 telling me those experiences of what it meant to them, you know,
13 leaving their homes, leaving their fathers, leaving their
14 mothers, and sisters and brothers. Not knowing whether they are
11:36:02 15 even alive up to now. So they still carry that burden with them.

16 Q. You have spoken about, in your evidence today, about how a
17 view was expressed to you by some of the bush wives who you
18 interviewed that they were saved from the worst atrocities; they
19 viewed their rebel husband as having saved them in some way. Can
11:36:23 20 you explain what you mean by that?

21 A. Well, these are people, I interviewed some of them, the
22 husbands came and they showed me their husbands and I said to
23 them, "Why are you still with him?" You know, and some of them
24 said, "Well, I have children. What am I going to do with these
11:36:43 25 two children? You know, nobody is going to marry me any more."
26 Some of them said, "Well, he saved me. You know, I saw what
27 happened. This person was trying to beat me. He took me away
28 from him. So a lot could have happened to me. Or this person
29 was going to kill me." So, for them it was -- this person had

1 demonstrated some amount of love, that's the way they feel. Some
2 of them said, "He took care of me. You know, he gave me money,
3 he bought clothes for me, which tells me that he loved me. So I
4 really believe." And some of them even took their husbands,
11:37:15 5 their bush husbands to their family to meet them. Of course, go
6 back to where they were.

7 Q. Once captured, what was the alternative to young women or
8 girls to being a bush wife?

9 A. Well, this was at the disposal of everyone because when a
11:37:31 10 village is raided or when like Freetown was attacked, when they
11 captured these girls, they all go in groups to where they are.
12 Because before they attacked, they assembled somewhere else, and
13 where they leave some of their property and then come they
14 attack. And when they attack, they go with them. And so
11:37:46 15 obviously, when they go, they live in that particular community,
16 so you see what happens to other people that do not belong to any
17 particular person. That is just there as the band of girls that
18 have been captured.

19 Q. When you say they are there for everybody, what do you mean
11:38:01 20 by that?

21 A. Which means it's not a home. Basically, because the rebels
22 move, as I said earlier on, in the jungle, the girls who were
23 captured, if you are not taken by a rebel as your wife, it means
24 you're there as part of the gang that keeps moving from one place
11:38:22 25 to the other. So anybody who feels like having sex can have sex
26 with you and sometimes two, three, four people and there's nobody
27 to defend you. No matter how much you scream, no matter how much
28 you shout, everybody pretends not to hear. So most of that, that
29 is why even with bush wives, when your husband decides to beat

1 you up if you do something against him and he gets annoyed,
2 frustrated, nobody comes to part you, because there is no law
3 within the system. The law is themselves. They are the one who
4 decide what they want to do.

11:38:52 5 Q. You've identified at page 16 of your report, if you could
6 just look at that, it's at 14491 of the Registry copy. You've
7 identified a heading (ii), "Some of the bush wives accepted their
8 status for several reasons based on what non-bush wives were
9 expected to do. Non-bush wives," and then you have identified
11:39:18 10 various matters, various things that they were required to do:

11 "carry the camp's heavy loads and food supplies; regularly
12 sexually abused by any rebel in the camp, because they did not
13 belong to a particular rebel. They were at the disposal of any
14 man who felt like having sex and they dared not refuse." You go
11:39:37 15 on, "were not provided with food," and said "they were expected
16 to find food for others as well as themselves; were expected to
17 do most of the hard work in the camps; They also did the general
18 laundry and worked for the bush wives and could be sent to the
19 war front to fight; were sometimes sent as spies on

11:39:54 20 reconnaissance missions," and so on. What sources did you use in
21 identifying these matters?

22 A. I spoke to the girls themselves. The bush wives
23 themselves.

24 Q. I would like to take you to one of your examples. At page
11:40:13 25 15 --

26 MS PACK: Your Honours, it is at Registry page 14490.

27 Q. One of the examples on that page begins, "YYY was
28 abducted." Before I ask you to look at that, these examples
29 here on this page -- let's just look at YYY. What's the source

1 of this summary account of YYY's experience?

2 A. She was a victim herself.

3 Q. Who obtained this information from her? Do you know if it
4 was either you or a member of the CGG staff who interviewed this
11:41:04 5 girl?

6 A. It was myself.

7 Q. You say YYY was abducted in 1998 from her father's house
8 and so on. Then you quote her, "You accept to be a wife because
9 you have to survive in the jungle. Sometimes you see your
11:41:25 10 family, friends and relatives being killed in front of your eyes.
11 You need food and somebody to protect you. At least as a wife,
12 you only sleep with one person, you only take care of him and
13 only he is allowed to beat you up and you are not sent to the
14 front to fight. It is a matter of trying to survive at all cost
11:41:41 15 and in the most difficult circumstances. As a wife, you have no
16 alternative but follow your husband wherever he goes and do
17 whatever he says. I tried to go back to my relatives, but there
18 was no way I could escape," and so on. Is this an interview you
19 recall carrying out?

11:42:00 20 A. Pardon?

21 Q. Is this an interview that you recall carrying out?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Do you remember anything about the girl whom you
24 interviewed for the purposes of this account?

11:42:12 25 A. Yes, she was back in school. You know, so we had to bring
26 her, you know, to the chief's compound -- I couldn't interview
27 her in the camp. She was in one of the camps that was still
28 there, but she was going back to school.

29 Q. Do you remember how old she was, roughly?

1 A. It's difficult to tell their age, but she must be over 17
2 or more.

3 Q. Mrs Bangura, I would like you to look now at a different
4 section of your report, going back to page 9, section 2 is the
11:42:43 5 heading.

6 MS PACK: That, Your Honours, is 14484.

7 THE WITNESS: Page 2?

8 MS PACK:

9 Q. It is page 9, section 2, page 9, the numbering at the
11:43:03 10 bottom right-hand corner. The heading 2 is, "context in which
11 forced marriage during the conflict occurred" sub-heading,
12 "Describe the practice of early or arranged marriages in Sierra
13 Leone in times of peace." You discussed how you gathered
14 information for the purposes of writing this section of the
11:43:20 15 report. Can you explain, for the Chamber, what has been the
16 practice of early or arranged marriages in Sierra Leone during
17 times of peace?

18 A. I think arranged marriage or early marriage, first there is
19 no stipulated age for marriage in a traditional and it's when
11:43:40 20 somebody has a breast and when she started menstruating and
21 normally, they choose a husband for you. It's not the one you
22 choose.

23 Q. Who does the choosing?

24 A. Invariably it's the father. But sometimes it's the mother.
11:43:56 25 You know, it depends who is the strong person in the family or
26 how the -- the purpose of the marriage is important, because
27 there are different areas where marriages are -- and why marriage
28 is arranged. So, the talking and the negotiation takes place
29 between the families, you know, the husband's family and the

1 wife's family. So, you -- the wife herself is the last person to
2 know about the marriage. So, until the last minute when,
3 finally, your mother or your aunt or somebody who is close to you
4 in the family comes and tells you exactly what is taking place
11:44:29 5 and when is the wedding going to take place and what it is. If
6 you are still very young, you are going to school, then obviously
7 they will be bringing things, paying your school fees, buying
8 things for you, so you know. Sometimes they send you there to
9 collect things. So, basically, it's when marriage is arranged at
11:44:46 10 a very early age for a girl, or even at an older age, without her
11 making the choice herself and it is decided by the family or
12 friends and relations.

13 Q. Was it common, before the war, early or arranged marriages?

14 A. Well, with more education, it has ceased, but it was common
11:45:08 15 at the local level at the tradition for various reasons. It is
16 not an everyday occurrence, but it does happen. Far, far back
17 just before the war, it wasn't -- as people became more
18 enlightened and educated, they tried to avoid it, but it still
19 happens.

11:45:30 20 Q. Where is it more of a practice?

21 A. I think with the exception of Freetown, but even in
22 Freetown, even if you are educated and professional, sometimes if
23 you bring a girl, you know, home, your parents don't like her,
24 they look at the background. It's not as bad as it is out of
11:45:45 25 Freetown, because no matter what happened, wherever you have to
26 have the consent of your family. You know, but out there, the
27 first decision for the marriage is taken outside your own
28 control.

29 Q. Out there, meaning?

1 A. Out of Freetown. Because we have Freetown and the rest.
2 Freetown is predominantly controlled by Krio, so they actually
3 tend to live within the general law, the civil law. Out of
4 Freetown, they practice customary law and religious law. Even
11:46:15 5 though inside Freetown they do practice customary religious law.
6 But predominantly out of Freetown, customary and traditional, and
7 Muslim/Islamic laws for most of them who are Muslims.

8 Q. You deal with the legal frameworks for marriage in Sierra
9 Leone on the following page 10 of your report, 14485. You have
11:46:35 10 touched upon these frameworks already, you talk about the general
11 or the civil law. You have spoken about religious law, Islamic
12 law and you've also spoken about customary law. I'm going to
13 just ask you about customary law. How much of the country is
14 governed by customary law?

11:47:02 15 A. Technically, Freetown should not be governed by customary
16 law, but even in Freetown, you still have customary law courts
17 across the country, which is one thing a lot of people are
18 fighting. But with the collapse of the legal system and
19 one-party rule and the collapse of the judicial system, 70/80 per
11:47:23 20 cent of disputes, marriages and everything -- I am not married in
21 civil law, I am married in customary law. So even those of us
22 who are educated are married under customary law.

23 Q. Are you talking about Freetown or outside of Freetown?

24 A. Freetown, that's what I'm saying. Freetown is generally
11:47:44 25 civil law, but even in Freetown, as I speak to you today, I'm
26 sure over 50 per cent of people in Freetown go to court law
27 courts -- customary law courts which are established in Freetown,
28 even though they are illegal. But out of Freetown, for over 10
29 or more years before the war or during the war, there was no

1 court system. So everybody, everything was done around customary
2 law. But mostly marriage is around customary law and Islamic
3 law. So people don't go to courts to marry because you don't
4 have any registry out of Freetown. So marriage invariably is
11:48:18 5 arranged under customary law. So even people who are educated,
6 we call it engagement. People who go to church, they actually do
7 a customary before they do the legal marriage.

8 Q. You have summarised the various legal frameworks in your
9 report. What were the sources that you used in identifying the
11:48:43 10 legal frameworks and going into their detail?

11 A. Well, there are studies done on women's issues, studies
12 done by the government of Sierra Leone, which was funded I think
13 by UNDP, UNESCO, which I looked at.

14 Q. Is this the situational analysis --

11:49:03 15 A. Yes, the situational analysis studied by the government,
16 the government of Sierra Leone.

17 Q. And you identify that in your bibliography --

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. -- at 14497.

11:49:08 20 A. Yes. The only person who was written under customary
21 marriages in this country was Dr Joko Smart who actually was my
22 professor in law at the university. He wrote a book a long time
23 ago. That book is one of the main authorities on customary law.

24 Q. That again you have identified in your bibliography --

11:49:28 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. -- at 14497 Joko, J-O-K-O, Smart --

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. -- Sierra Leone --

29 A. He was a Supreme Court judge, just retired. And then of

1 course, talking to traditional leaders, they tell you --
2 paramount chief and court clerk, you know, they tell you about
3 marriage. Because the issue of adultery and other things is a
4 huge thing. When it happens in the community, they go to the
11:49:52 5 local court. So obviously they have to know what it means about
6 married, how you get married, what is the responsibility and
7 rights and other things. So that is why lots of the court clerks
8 are the ones who have the authority. So even when you go to
9 Paramount Chief, they tell you, "Let me talk to an elder, call
11:50:06 10 somebody who is an elder, court clerk. I can talk to you what I
11 know, but they are the authorities." So I spoke to them. This
12 was why in the interview I made sure every community I go to I
13 tried to talk to the man -- talking to the CGG staff, I told
14 them. And of course, under Islamic law, I spoke to the spiritual
11:50:23 15 head and I spoke to other imams. And so even at home, when we do
16 Muslim marriage, they do Muslim marriage at home, but they bring
17 the imams at home, so now they give certificates. So they also
18 have a lot of marriages take place - even for educated people -
19 it takes place at home or in the mosques.

11:50:40 20 Q. Early or arranged marriage, is it a practice of customary
21 law or of Islamic law or of the civil law?

22 A. It is mostly a traditional thing. It is done under
23 customary law. Islam, when I spoke to the spiritual people, they
24 told me that forced marriage -- sorry, arranged marriage or early
11:51:02 25 marriage is not allowed in Islam, because in Islam you need the
26 consent of the wife, the bride. She is asked for the consent.
27 But of course, invariably, the family will prevail on her if that
28 is to her choice. So she won't have anything, because she knows
29 that if she doesn't, she will be treated as an outcast. But the

1 law itself, what it says is that she needs to give her consent.
2 This is why when the ceremony has taken place, she collects the
3 calabash from the people who have brought it and they ask her
4 three times whether the family shall accept it. They say, "We
11:51:33 5 can't refund it back, so you have to tell us." And she agrees
6 yes, you can accept it, yes, you can accept it, and then she
7 hands it over to her own family, which means she has given her
8 consent. So without that, giving it over and accepting, the
9 marriage doesn't take place.

11:51:47 10 Q. Is there a typical age which girls marry in customary law?
11 A. There is no age, really, for marriage. It is a description
12 of how mature she is, like puberty, whether she has breasts. She
13 cannot marry without going through the Bondo society. That's
14 not -- you cannot do that. So she goes in. But the
11:52:10 15 identification of her as a wife, sometimes even before she is
16 born, somebody says, "If that is a girl, she is going to be my
17 wife." Sometimes it takes place. Sometimes when she is very
18 young, "I like her for my son. I will save her for my son." But
19 she doesn't get married to husband until -- so the ages differ
11:52:29 20 when the discussion starts, but she doesn't go to the husband's
21 house and become a wife before she gets to puberty. And that age
22 difference -- because different girls mature at different levels.
23 So this is why you have a high rate sometimes, they say, of death
24 at childbirth. Because people in use of a medical say she is not
11:52:49 25 mature enough to carry babies. But then as far as the customary
26 law is concerned, she has breasts and then she started
27 menstruating, so she is ready, because anything can happen. She
28 can go and get pregnant if she has sex.

29 Q. You deal in your report also with the differences between

1 forced marriage as it occurred during the war and early or
2 arranged marriage in times of peace in Sierra Leone. That's at
3 page 12 and following of your report, section 2, subsection 3.
4 That's at 14487 of the Registry copy. What is the key difference
11:53:34 5 between forced marriage as it occurred in the war and early or
6 arranged marriages in Sierra Leone in times of peace?

7 A. Traditionally, really, marriage is between two families.
8 You know, whether it is among the Temnes. It unites two families
9 and it is important that the family rule is very important in the
11:54:04 10 marriage institution. So the family have to accept, they have to
11 agree. And this is why in my -- in the Temne tradition, the
12 wife, when she gets married to a man, she belongs to his family.
13 She doesn't go back to her family. Even when the man dies, she
14 becomes part of the property. So invariably, she is given
11:54:23 15 back by -- taken back by a brother, an uncle and aunt.

16 So that family role, and the concept given by the family
17 and the process which takes place, the interaction between the
18 two families, is very paramount, fundamental to the marriage
19 institution in Sierra Leone. Then the second aspect is the
11:54:47 20 consent. Because, whether it is the Muslim religion, even where
21 the marriage is arranged for you, you don't like the person, your
22 mother is the one that they give the responsibility in the
23 family, you have to go and prevail on your daughter that she has
24 to marry this person. So she has that talking to you, pleading
11:55:07 25 with you. Eventually you have to agree, because you can't take
26 the pressure off.

27 But that consent of both your family and yourself is
28 important, is required, so that you know when you're going to get
29 married, if have you a problem you can always fall back on

1 somebody. This is why they have intermediaries, godfathers or
2 godmothers you call them. At the end of the day, they are the
3 ones who come on behalf of the parents of the husband, and they
4 are the ones who come on behalf of the parents of the wife. So
11:55:36 5 it is they who are the forefront of intermediary. They are the
6 one who the wife is given to so that if she has a problem with
7 her husband, she doesn't go to her parents. She goes to the
8 godparents and complain to them. And they are the ones -- for
9 the Muslim they are the ones who sign, they are the ones who sit
11:55:54 10 in front. The wife is not given to the husband. She is not.
11 She is given to the godparents.

12 That's a process of family ties and family connections and
13 relationships, and uniting two families and the consent of the
14 wife and everything is so fundamental in marriage that the
11:56:12 15 absence of it makes the marriage itself meaningful. So these
16 were the things that were missing in this marriage. Some of the
17 girls I spoke to said to me after the war when they went actually
18 with their husbands to go back to their parents and say, "You
19 know, he saved me. I have a child with him and everything," they
11:56:34 20 believe that the family has to accept and know the person,
21 otherwise they cannot continue living with that person.

22 Q. Was there an impact that you found, when you were carrying
23 out your research or writing the report, of girls or young women
24 not having the intermediaries to fall back on once abducted and
11:56:54 25 becoming a bush wife?

26 A. You are at his mercy. Because during the process of
27 marriage, the family gives conditions that you can't beat my
28 daughter, you can't do this, I have to see, and these sorts of
29 things. So you have a responsibility and obligation towards that

1 marriage. It is clearly spelt to you during the process. You
2 know if anything happens - if he treats you badly, he flogs you,
3 he doesn't give you food, you know, he doesn't take care of your
4 children or he goes and has another wife, he didn't consult you -
11:57:27 5 you always have a fall back, which was somebody to go and talk
6 to. Somebody that will come and sit with him and say, "No, you
7 cannot do this", and try to bring you together. That is absent.
8 And because of that, you don't have a fall back position.
9 Anything he does to you, have you to -- especially where you are
11:57:42 10 stuck with two children. Your life is ruined. You can't start
11 back, you can't go back to school. Nobody can go and marry you
12 for this children. Apart from the fact that you are stigmatised,
13 because of the economic situation in the country, nobody wants a
14 young girl with two children or with a child. So as a result of
11:57:58 15 that, you are stuck in that relationship and you have to
16 undertake and do everything that is -- no matter how he treats
17 you, you have to accept because you know you don't have anywhere
18 to go, you can't complain to anybody. And when they know that,
19 they take advantage of the situation, because they know at the
11:58:18 20 end of the day you can't run away from them.

21 Q. We have touched on this already today, but I want to look a
22 little at the long-term consequences of forced marriage. You
23 deal with that in section 2.2 of your report, which starts at
24 page 16, if you could look at that. Registry page 14491. You
11:58:50 25 have touched on the example of Kailahun, and you deal with
26 Kailahun in some detail in this section, too, in relation to the
27 consequences of forced marriage during the conflict for its
28 victims. Do your findings in relation to these women whom you
29 interviewed from Kailahun differ from your findings in relation

1 to women interviewed in other areas in Sierra Leone?

2 A. The first aspect of the family tie, because a lot of the
3 women who finally went and settled in Kailahun, most of them are
4 disconnected from their families. The consequences of the
11:59:33 5 destruction of the family tie and the protection you get from the
6 family and the support and everything differs. Because for those
7 ones who finally were integrated, their problem is more of
8 psychological, you know, physical and psychological impact. So
9 they live with it, they suffered from medical problems. And
11:59:51 10 of course, in one particular one, she cannot have a baby anymore
11 because her uterus was taken. And the trauma, the psychosocial
12 trauma that you have to deal with for the rest of your life. The
13 way you feel about yourself as a human being, because you have
14 been not only psychologically but sexually abused. The dignity
12:00:19 15 takes away, the self-confidence of your ability to deal with
16 other people, always thinking if somebody knows you hiding this,
17 lives with them more, those who were integrated. That is one of
18 their biggest burden.

19 Q. If you look, then, in your example of the Makeni bush
12:00:34 20 wives - and you deal with their situation at page 20 of your
21 report, again section 2.2 and that is page 14495 of the Registry
22 copy - you deal with the example of bush wives whom you
23 interviewed in Makeni, halfway down the page. You say that, "In
24 Makeni, those interviewed had been accepted by their families and
12:00:59 25 successfully re-integrated in their communities. Their return
26 was facilitated by national and international NGOs and they
27 received skills training," and so on. Why have these wives been
28 successfully re-integrated into their communities as compared to,
29 for example, the Kailahun wives who you spoke to?

1 A. A lot of them were taken for shorter period. Some of them,
2 their families were able to trace them at a very early stage and
3 they don't have any children, so it was much easier for them to
4 be part of the Save the Children programme and others. So, the
12:01:42 5 knowledge of their past is limited to them and their family
6 members. So, they're able to deal with it and resume a so-called
7 normal life, which is different from people who have children.
8 Or people who come from, for example, in Pujehun. I mean,
9 Pujehun District, I found out, whether it is ex-combatants, men,
12:02:05 10 or whether it is girls, a lot of them have not been able to
11 return because the community is the most hostile to that set of
12 people across -- in the country. The whole country. It is the
13 most hostile community. So, a lot of the people you find have
14 been reluctant to go. Some it's just the fear, "that what I'll
12:02:27 15 face. I might not be able to face it and deal with it, so I want
16 to keep it. So, I would rather stay here," because the
17 uncertainty of what they are going to face is what is preventing
18 people. But, invariably, they are the ones that have children,
19 because they already -- they go back as somebody else. They are
12:02:42 20 not going as a young girl. They are going as a mother of two or
21 three children.

22 Q. I think again you have touched on this a little. The long
23 term consequences that have been experienced by those bush wives
24 who have returned to their communities. You have touched on this
12:03:01 25 a little, but what long-term consequences did you identify for
26 those women who have been returned to their communities?

27 A. Like I said earlier, it is psychological. You know, it is
28 the self-confidence, it takes away from you the self-dignity as a
29 woman. I mean, no woman, no matter who you are, cannot

1 psychologically deal with the rape as a person. It takes away
2 some part of you that you can never return. And for people,
3 young girls who do not understand this, and sometimes they start
4 questioning themselves, like any rape victim, "Did I cause this?"
12:03:39 5 You know, "What will happen to me? Do people know?" They feel
6 ashamed. So, a lot of them are very shy and keep to themselves.
7 In a country where we have only one psychiatrist, you know, it is
8 very difficult. The people in the Ministry of Health will tell
9 you, that invariably over 80 per cent of Sierra Leonean have some
12:04:02 10 form of psycho-social problem. They tell you that when you do
11 this -- explain and they say it is the effect of the war. So you
12 find this much more within people who had been physically abused
13 or sexually abused who had been taken out from their family at a
14 very tender age and went through this bad trauma, and then
12:04:18 15 eventually, they had to return back to their family. So, it's a
16 chapter in their life they want to close, but once in a while it
17 comes up and so they don't want to talk about it. You go to any
18 part of the country, Makeni, anywhere, you will never get anybody
19 to accept, "I was this because it is closed. Let's forget about
12:04:38 20 it and move ahead."

21 Q. And in the example then of those bush wives who chose to
22 stay with their rebel husbands; why have they stayed?
23 A. A lot of them have children. I spoke to them. I saw the
24 children. They tell you, "Where am I going to take these
12:05:04 25 children." Some of them tell you, "He saved my life." That's a
26 psychological problem. "He saved my life. He loved me. He took
27 care of me when we were in the bush. He was very particular
28 about me. So, I mean, I love him." It is difficult for me to
29 understand, but that is what she says. "I love him and I just

1 want to stay with him." Because for her, her life has already
2 been interrupted. She can't go back to school. She can't do
3 anything with her life. So she might as well get married which
4 is the only other option. She hasn't got any skill. Even if she
12:05:39 5 has, skill like those of us who were trained, she hasn't got the
6 money to start her own business. She cannot be employed. So,
7 the only thing left with her is to get married and live with the
8 husband happily ever after.

9 Q. You have spoken about the fear or uncertainty about what to
12:06:02 10 expect if they went back to their communities. Why is it that
11 bush wives have encountered difficulties when they have returned
12 to their communities?

13 A. There was a time in this country that a word was coined,
14 collaborators, that you connived with these people. The
12:06:25 15 consequences of that led to peoples' death. You know, some
16 people had tyres put around their neck, they were burnt alive. A
17 lot of people died. So that news, of course, filtered. Bush
18 wives, because they stayed with these people for a much longer
19 period, have that fear that they are seen as part and parcel of
12:06:45 20 them and it is not easy for somebody to forgive them. We
21 shouldn't like somebody who is -- when a village is attacked,
22 somebody is raped, and they abandoned them, they go there and the
23 community comes, takes that person and treats them, and
24 everything. But once you have gone there, people have witnessed
12:06:59 25 the consequences. People who manage to escape when they come
26 back. They are killed, brutally killed and murdered, chopped
27 into pieces and all sorts of thing. So, for them, "How will they
28 see me now that they feel I am married to this man?" And so
29 that's why in some of the people I spoke to they tell you they

1 call rebel wives, rebel blood. They have all these things
2 originally. When I was in CGG, we had to go to the police with
3 the girls we later interviewed in Freetown to actually get the
4 police to give an injunction to their neighbours that, "If you
12:07:35 5 use this word against them, we will take you to court". We had
6 to come in. So, it is the fact that you are labelled as somebody
7 who collaborates with the rebel, who works with them, who is part
8 of them. They do not see the fact that you were taken away by
9 force and that you stayed there against your wish. But the fact
12:07:50 10 that you stayed there means you benefited something and you were
11 part of them. So, the anger against them, because they can't get
12 them, it's you they resort to. So it is difficult for you to
13 explain that you were not really willing.

14 Q. This example you have just spoken about, the example in
12:08:07 15 Freetown when CGG intervened, can you remember anything about
16 this incident about the young girls --

17 A. They were two sisters, they were actually two sisters who
18 were abducted on January 6. They came -- they live somewhere in
19 central Freetown. So, when they came, when we were documenting
12:08:24 20 the atrocities that were committed against the city, we came
21 across these two girls. So we took their testimonies. Later
22 they started telling us, that even when they were going to
23 school, the people in the compound had started telling people,
24 "These were rebel's wives, you know. They took them, they went
12:08:46 25 to the jungle." And they started saying things against them like
26 "rebel blood". Even in their school, they started teasing them
27 that they were infested with HIV. You know, so their life became
28 hell in the neighbourhood, in the street. So we went back to the
29 officers and made a complaint. Then we went to the police

1 station and they sent people at the police station to come to the
2 community and give them a warning and said, "If you do that,
3 we'll take to you to court." Because this incident happened. So
4 we had to intervene in some cases and actually get a stop to the
12:09:15 5 neighbourhood in Freetown in the city. So these are some of the
6 examples. In addition to the fact that the way people who came
7 back, who managed to escape during this time were treated by
8 neighbours, because the anger was there. You know, at the same
9 time these people who had been cut off from their communities, it
12:09:29 10 is very difficult for you to tell how they will receive you. So
11 when you hear this person went and they killed him, this person
12 went and they burnt his house and everything, you just decide, "I
13 don't want to go there."

14 Q. Just a question of language. You have used the word
12:09:41 15 "rebel" in the course of your report and also in your testimony.
16 What do you mean by that word?

17 A. Basically we have three fighting forces in this country:
18 The CDF, the RUF and the AFRC. I have never seen a report, I
19 have never interviewed anybody where they called a CDF a rebel.
12:10:03 20 The rebel was associated both to the AFRC and the RUF. And the
21 RUF and everybody tell you RUF rebel. So, that's how you know
22 them. They put the RUF in front. With the AFRC, they can call
23 them AFRC junta rebel, junta rebel, rebel junta. So the word
24 "rebel" is used between the RUF and the AFRC and, of course, the
12:10:27 25 word junta is specifically, which is like military, it is
26 specifically limited to AFRC. So that's how in collecting the
27 report, in testimony at our office, we came to -- when somebody
28 is making a statement, you know exactly who he is referring to.
29 If he says junta rebel, you know it is the AFRC. If he says

1 rebel junta, you know he is the AFRC. So it's the AFRC junta.
2 Then he can say the RUF rebels. So when he says rebel, I said,
3 "Which one of them?" He said RUF rebel or AFRC junta, and so on
4 like that.

12:10:55 5 Q. You have recorded various summaries of accounts that were
6 given to you, and you have use language like, for example, AFRC,
7 junta rebel or junta. Is that your language or is it the
8 language of the girls or young women whom you interviewed that
9 you are recording?

12:11:11 10 A. The girls? The country. It is a word that is used
11 everywhere. That's the word that developed during the course of
12 the war.

13 Q. Finally, I wanted to look at one further quotation that
14 you -- one further part of your report. Page 17, which is 14492
12:11:29 15 of the Registry copy of the report. You touched on this aspect
16 of the response to communities to young women who returned. You
17 have identified in the second paragraph, second-to-last
18 sentence --

19 A. Which page, please?

12:11:48 20 Q. 17 on your copy. You say, second-to-last sentence, second
21 paragraph: "Bush wives who are rejected by their communities
22 face a bleak future as rejection by the community is one of the
23 worst experiences that an individual can face in Sierra Leone."
24 Why do you say that?

12:12:11 25 A. Because the community and the family unity is the centre of
26 life in rural Sierra Leone out of Freetown. It is where you will
27 go back in times of trouble. It is the ones who come to you to
28 support you and help you. And for those of us who come from that
29 background, you know that there are cases where when you go to

1 school, the whole community participates in educating you,
2 providing money. That, for example, when I had my first salary,
3 my mother refused to allow me to eat the money. I had to buy
4 something and I went house to house to give it because to thank
12:12:51 5 them for supporting me during my education. That is how
6 community life is in rural -- typical rural -- not in urban
7 towns. So, you belong to the community and you are part of the
8 community and the community protects you and guides you. So,
9 when you are taken from that, especially in the context where the
12:13:11 10 government doesn't have the protection that is needed to give to
11 individual, you know, like, for example, the police, you can't go
12 just to the police and make a statement and you expect them to
13 protect you because we know how difficult it is. You can't go to
14 court and you actually get justice. You know, so, you depend on
12:13:31 15 that family to give you that support to help you in times of
16 crisis, to take care of your children, to take care of your
17 family and other things. So, when you are uprooted, it is like
18 an empty shell. You become an empty shell without the protection
19 that is needed for you. So, that's why it is difficult for girls
12:13:47 20 who are taken away from these, the way they feel, when they go,
21 when you talk to them.

22 Q. Thank you, Mrs Bangura, those are all the questions I have
23 for you, but there will be questions from learned friends for the
24 Defence.

12:14:08 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Cross-examination? Mr Knoops, you are
26 leading in the cross-examination, are you?

27 MR KNOOPS: Yes, Your Honour.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very well. Please proceed.

29 MR KNOOPS: Thank you, Your Honour.

1 CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR KNOOPS:

2 Q. Good afternoon, Mrs Bangura.

3 A. Good afternoon.

4 Q. Mrs Bangura, is this the first report you have written on
12:14:38 5 the subject of forced marriage?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Your submissions, with respect to this report, were they in
8 any way reviewed by a form of peer review?

9 A. I did not get a seat like you get people come together to
12:15:02 10 peer review, but I spoke to people who had worked -- for example,
11 during the course of the war in Sierra Leone, the lady who
12 jointly wrote the report, she's now in London, she was the one
13 who was working with the AFRC. She specifically was dealing --
14 because we did training of the AFRC combatant, all of them on
12:15:27 15 peace-building and other things. We were the intermediary

16 between AFRC and the government and international donor
17 community. So, she was specifically assigned with working with
18 the AFRC. She understands them. She knows some of the problems.
19 The other person, of course, is dealing with the RUF. So that is
12:15:42 20 why I got her involved in the report, because she was involved
21 initially as the human rights officer and others. Then, of the
22 people, when I have finally written the report, I spoke about,
23 for example, the Council of Imam, I spoke back to him and said,
24 "This is what I wrote, is it okay?" But I didn't get a group to
12:16:00 25 sit together and discuss it.

26 Q. I mean with academic, peer review, academic peer review.

27 A. Well, there is very little literature on forced marriage.
28 Academic -- there is no academic material on it.

29 Q. Thank you. When we look into your report as an overall

1 document, can you say that certain portions of your report were
2 extracted from existing reports, you mentioned, for instance, in
3 your references?

4 A. Yes.

12:16:31 5 Q. Are you able to identify which portions you extracted from
6 existing reports referred to in your references?

7 A. Some of them, I gave them quotations and I indexed. Some
8 of them I didn't. For example, on the issue of marriage, which
9 defined the different marriages. Because after I had spoken to
12:17:05 10 the Council of Imam, I had my notes and I looked at the
11 literature that was written and it definitely the same
12 literature, so I wrote -- most of it I wrote.

13 Q. With respect to the interviews referred to in your report,
14 if you may look at it, pages 18 and 19, also pages 14 and 15.

12:17:32 15 Are you able to say whether you conducted the interviews
16 mentioned there or summarised there, all of them, or were some of
17 them done by you and some of them by others?

18 A. Page 18?

19 Q. Yes, 18, 19, 14 and 15.

12:17:57 20 A. Some of them were by me and some of them were not by me.

21 Q. Is there a record kept by you based on which you are able
22 to say which interviews you did yourself and which were provided
23 to you by others?

24 A. For example, in BJ1, it's in the ledger. I have my ledger
12:18:24 25 here. Because every interview I do, I have a particular ledger
26 which I used, a blue ledger to do and I put the date and the
27 names of the people that I interviewed.

28 Q. Yes. So that counts for BJ1. Is there any other interview
29 on this list on page 18, 19 done by you?

1 A. SCT. SCT was done by me in the office. I have the report
2 on it. AM1 was done by me in Kailahun, Baiwala or something. I
3 have that with me. She was captured. IKK was not done by me and
4 MKAC was not done by me. But the first three were specifically
12:19:22 5 done by me. The third one in Kailahun and the two in Freetown.

6 Q. The one mentioned on page 19, IK5. Page 19 at the top.

7 A. This was done by me.

8 Q. Mrs Bangura, could you please turn to page 14 and 15 and
9 indicate to the Court which interview was mentioned there
12:20:10 10 conducted by yourself?

11 A. Definitely not SKA and not FY19. And so JK -- the Kabala
12 ones.

13 Q. And HRS?

14 A. No, the Kabala was not by me. These were documents from
12:20:41 15 the siege, not me.

16 Q. Mrs Bangura, with respect to page 15, we know from the
17 interview mentioned there that it was done by you, the first one.
18 What about BAK, GSM and ABA, the three?

19 A. I did GSM, not ABA.

12:21:16 20 Q. And BAK?

21 A. Not. No, not BAK.

22 Q. Thank you. So it's fair to say that your report, part of
23 it, was composed on materials you got from other individuals,
24 statements and existing reports you rely on in your references?

12:21:45 25 A. Reliable reports from people who I had worked with, I had
26 trained and who had done that work previously.

27 Q. With respect to the literature you used, we have observed
28 that in your list of references you mentioned some references
29 which are not fully matching with the methodology and the use of

1 secondary data which you refer to on page 7. On page 7 you say
2 that secondary data were collected from archived monthly human
3 rights reports --

4 A. CGG.

12:22:46 5 Q. Yes. Working papers, internet sources and reports from
6 Forum of Conscience, research report.

7 A. Mm-hm.

8 Q. Now, I recall during the examination-in-chief you indicated
9 that you selected certain reports for your research and some of
12:23:11 10 the existing materials you didn't use. Could you please
11 indicate, for the Court, what your selection criteria were in
12 terms of the implementation of existing reports into your own
13 research?

14 A. The war for me, as somebody who lived in Sierra Leone
12:23:42 15 during the war, was an active player, there is a lot of
16 distortion. I can give you one specific reason. You read a lot
17 of literature, people will tell you it was the RUF that came to
18 Freetown in January. In a lot of international forum I have had
19 to dispute people. Literature written. Authority by authority
12:23:57 20 people. So you have to be very careful what you read. This is
21 why a lot of time when people write their report, they send it to
22 me. There are a lot of people who write reports and say, "Can
23 you have a look at it and tell us which is right." Now, I am
24 looking at one for a British university. Invariably when I
12:24:16 25 choose a report for reference, I know the background, the people
26 who have written it and whether they have come to Sierra Leone.
27 So I don't quote report. I went into internet, I looked at a lot
28 of reports that people have written. Sometimes that is the first
29 time I saw some of the distortion, so I didn't quote them.

1 Specifically the ones I quoted are the ones to a large degree I
2 can verify the people came here, they were here and I've read the
3 report, and that there was some -- at least if there is any
4 discrepancies, not as much as a lot of other people. In areas
12:24:46 5 where I quote I know I didn't go. Because, of course, the
6 interviews I did, I spoke with people I spoke to.

7 This is why when I mention about the issue of marriage, the
8 Christian and the Muslim, when I compare what the imam told me
9 and I looked at the situation analysis, and I saw it is the same
12:24:59 10 thing, I just wrote the one on the situation analysis. If I had
11 found that it was different, then I couldn't have written what I
12 was told, not only what consultants did. It was on that basis.
13 This was why when I explained the reports, I systematically
14 called them and I said the people who wrote them and I explained
12:25:15 15 the reason why I chose to read them. And at least be able to
16 educate myself more, especially in areas where I wasn't able to
17 go. They had more time to do research, a year, sometimes six
18 months. I didn't have that time. So I had to depend on some of
19 the sources.

12:25:37 20 Q. Is it fair to say in that regard, when it comes to the
21 selection of your sources, that for you an important factor was
22 your personal account of the events during the war?

23 A. My knowledge of the source of the information, taking into
24 consideration the level of distortion in the Sierra Leone crisis.
12:25:56 25 So I only rely on the ones I am sure and can guarantee are
26 reliable sources of information. Other than that, I don't use
27 them.

28 Q. But how were you able to assess the level of distortion?
29 What was the basis for saying that source was influenced by a

1 kind of distortion and that source was not?

2 A. Initially I had given an earlier indication. You read a
3 lot of book, they will tell you that the RUF was the one who
4 came. That is just one example. It was the RUF that came to
12:26:32 5 Freetown in January 1999. Those of us who stayed, who were here,
6 who interacted with them and had to deal with them, know it was
7 the AFRC. So, there are little things when you read them, you
8 find that a lot of reports are written -- when you read the
9 reports, you find that a lot of things that are said in this
12:26:51 10 report are not true. Because I was here in Freetown. I worked
11 here, I stayed here. And even when I went into exile for 9/10
12 months, I came back. So when it comes to the reality of the
13 situation on the ground, because I was very much involved in the
14 whole process, I develop a relationship with the AFRC and RUF. I
12:27:06 15 trained them during the process, which was a week for each group.
16 And so I listened to them when they were giving their own story,
17 because they had to talk and make a commitment. So some of the
18 things they said.

19 And, secondly, as the coordinator for the Campaign For Good
12:27:26 20 Governance, on a monthly basis my monitors actually collated
21 human rights reports. And even in areas where, for example, in
22 the north, where when the RUF/AFRC took it over, it was cut off
23 from the rest of the country, we had to negotiate so people who
24 were living with them to give us reports of what was happening to
12:27:47 25 them. So on a monthly basis I was able to read all those reports
26 from the 12 districts. So I kept track of what was happening in
27 the country, I knew who was doing what where.

28 So my knowledge on the war and the crisis in the war is
29 much more richer than a lot of people. We were the only group in

1 this country that had monitors in the 12 districts that
2 documented what was happening and had a whole, rich archive. So
3 that knowledge I use. So when I read reports written by people,
4 or literature or research paper or working papers, it is easy for
12:28:19 5 me to say, no, no, this one is not truth. What they have said is
6 not exactly what happened. So I have, at least, a memory of some
7 of those things.

8 Q. You already pointed to that issue. When we looked through
9 your qualifications, we observed that you were involved in the
12:28:42 10 reinstatement of the democratically elected government of
11 President Kabbah, and you supported the campaign and mobilisation
12 of international support to reinstate that. When you wrote this
13 report, were you at that moment still politically involved?

14 A. If you ask the people who are defending the AFRC, they will
12:29:11 15 tell you that my job, I took a position because it was wrong to
16 remove the government. And when they came back, I was one people
17 who gave them more support than any other group in this country.
18 When Johnny Paul Koroma was appointed as a chairman of that
19 commission, it was my office that actually provided every little
12:29:35 20 working material he needed in his office. I worked with him, I
21 sat with him, and I provided support and linked him up with every
22 individual. So whenever big person is coming, whether it's
23 [indiscernible] or anybody, I will sit with him and talk to him
24 and try to highlight him of his problems.

12:29:52 25 They come to me when they have problem, they explain. So I
26 worked with them. And when he realised their capacity was weak
27 in terms of implementing the peace process, we organised training
28 for all the combatants of the AFRC. Over 40 of them were trained
29 by us for a week by a trainer from Ethiopia and Kenya and Ghana.

1 It was under the one which is the West African Network for Peace
2 Building. Came and trained them for a week to prepare them to
3 engage in the peace process and to effectively and generally
4 participate. So my job, I worked with all of them. This was how
12:30:19 5 I divided my two key staff, Christiana Solomon with the AFRC and
6 Abdulai Bayraytay with the RUF. So that every occasion and
7 opportunity, we would link with them and get them involved in the
8 peace process. So everything. So with the issue of bias, I
9 cannot use it if my job, because I fight for certain principles
12:30:44 10 and value, and that I demonstrated to them and everybody. so In
11 the end, nobody was my friend. It was on the principle I was
12 working on.

13 Q. Were you, Mrs Bangura, interviewed by the Truth and
14 Reconciliation Commission as an expert?

12:31:01 15 A. I refused.

16 Q. Were you were --

17 A. I was invited, but I refused to go.

18 Q. Was there a specific reason for that?

19 A. I would rather not say, but I didn't go, I didn't want to
12:31:12 20 go.

21 Q. With respect to the methodology of your report, if I count
22 it well, you yourself interviewed 59 witnesses: 50 bush wives in
23 Kailahun; five in Makeni; and four in Freetown, exclusive to the
24 four focus group meetings with 35 bush wives.

12:31:52 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. Is that correct?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. You also indicated during the examination-in-chief that
29 there are no statistics.

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Why, then, are you, in your report, extrapolating your
3 experiences and your interviews to qualifications such as, "Women
4 and girls in particular were targeted as thousands of them were
12:32:27 5 abducted. Hundreds have relocated to other communities." This
6 is part of page 8 of the report. Is it fair to say that for a
7 certain part of your report, you extrapolated your research to a
8 more generalisation of the situation?

9 A. There are statistics on abducted girls. People keep
12:33:01 10 records because a lot of people -- there are no statistics on
11 forced marriage, because not every girl that was abducted was in
12 a forced marriage. People who were integrated, you have NGOs who
13 have statistics. So the statistics that are not available is
14 under forced marriage, because it is not an item that has been
12:33:23 15 taken out. Invariably, you look at a lot of literature in this
16 country and people will give you an approximate number of how
17 many girls were abducted. For example, in Freetown, when people
18 talk about it, they will tell you about 3,000 or 4,000. They
19 will tell you the number of people who were amputated. But they
12:33:39 20 will tell you about the abducted girls. Some were abducted and
21 after a while, they returned. But nobody can tell you because
22 these are personal events that happened to people which they are
23 not willing to talk about. But parents who had their daughters
24 abducted were able to tell others, "My daughter was taken away
12:33:52 25 from me." So through that you can do an approximation. The
26 thing you have quoted is talking about girls who have been
27 abducted, because it was a systematic process that was done, but
28 not on forced marriage. When I tell you there are no statistics,
29 I said on forced marriage, because no particular NGO or donor has

1 specifically targeted those remained for support and taken a
2 statistical analysis on that particular aspect.

3 Q. But, Mrs Bangura, your report also says on page 8, if you
4 please have a look at it in the sixth sentence from below, "Many
12:34:26 5 of these bush wives later had babies and after the war could not
6 go back home to the parents because of the stigmatisation
7 associated with being a bush wife. Hundreds have been relocated
8 to other communities, especially around the Kailahun area."

9 My question is: this qualification "hundreds of them"
12:34:53 10 clearly does not meet the number of interviews you conducted
11 yourself and also taking into account the other reports and
12 assessments, so how were you able to extrapolate that to the
13 qualification, "Hundreds have relocated to other communities,"
14 et cetera.

12:35:24 15 A. When I went for the UNHCR report, UNHCR consultancy, I took
16 a different angle of Kailahun, the road which leads you to
17 Koindu. And One of the thing I know about Kailahun which my
18 report UNDP says, no village in Kailahun that hasn't got
19 ex-combatant, no village. In some villages, there are more
12:35:39 20 ex-combatants than the community people. So from previous work,
21 you can talk about them, not the ones that I interviewed. When
22 you take an estimation of the number of people that you've come
23 across that are from other areas, because of the work I had to
24 do, this time, unfortunately, I don't have a map here, but if you
12:36:00 25 look at the towns, they flow along a particular angle of
26 Kailahun, all the towns I recall that I visited, because these
27 were the towns I had not visited previously with my UNDP and
28 UNHCR consultancy. So that's the angle I took. The other angle
29 was going towards Koindu, and Liberia and Guinea I had done

1 previously, so I didn't bother to go there. When I do the
2 estimation, I base it on my knowledge of the area and my previous
3 visits. But when I talk about specific instances, I talk about
4 those who I dealt with on this particular issue.

12:36:36 5 Q. Mrs Bangura, in that regard, your report on page 6 under
6 the subheading 1.1 "Purpose", it's the sixth sentence, it says,
7 "I was also asked to clearly identify the factual assumptions I
8 make." Is it correct that when using the words "factual
9 assumptions" in this context, this is also referring to what you
12:37:17 10 just said, that you were making, for a certain extent of your
11 report, which portion of the report you could not rely on
12 statistics, you had to extrapolate or make factual assumptions?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. My question is: were you able to verify, other than what
12:37:34 15 you just said, these factual assumptions in any sense?

16 A. In what way?

17 Q. For instance, by conferring with other experts on this
18 area, or by checking your assumptions with other information
19 which may have come to you, or was this factual assumption merely
12:38:00 20 an assumption based on your personal account of events?

21 A. For example, when I first went to Kailahun, with the grants
22 that the UNDP provided from the Japanese government, there was an
23 institution that was dealing with these women specifically which
24 was funded. Obviously part of the training was dealing with the
12:38:21 25 trauma counseling. He was just like the principal -- his name is
26 in my previous ledger from the UNHCR consultancy. He came and I
27 spoke to him. So he can give me an estimate of how many of those
28 girls who have gone through his own training, you know, his own
29 training, and they come from around the country. Because I had

1 gone to his institution, I had met those girls at a previous
2 meeting. Of course, when I went back the program was finished.
3 By then, they had given them a sewing machine and everything.
4 So he came to talk to me and I asked him how was the
12:38:55 5 experience, what did they do with the sewing machine, these sorts
6 of things. For a person like that, I was able to get an
7 estimated amount of what happened, so key people who were dealing
8 with them, I spoke to because I had met them previously with this
9 girl. Not all of them were there. Of course, with the CGG
12:39:12 10 staff, like I said, previously, these are people that I hired, I
11 worked with, I trained, and they have been in the human rights
12 field for the last five or six years. Obviously, I have some
13 amount of reliability on what they are doing and what they are
14 capable of doing. I didn't just pick up the phone and call them.
12:39:30 15 All of them came to Freetown. The one in Kenema, I met. The one
16 in Makeni, I went there. The one in Kabala came. We sat down,
17 we held discussions. So even when they gave me their reports, we
18 also had discussions with them: how did the interview go; who
19 did you talk to? So some of the things I wrote, like the names
12:39:44 20 of the imam and other things I wrote on a pen [sic], I wanted to
21 keep to make sure that I have that. Invariably, I took it from
22 people I could rely on, where the areas were I couldn't go and
23 then of course the areas I went to, I had a very clear idea.
24 Kailahun is the one district I have visited more than any other
12:40:01 25 district in this country, because almost all the consultancies I
26 did had gone. The reason being that during my CGG as
27 coordinator, I was never able to go there. Because like I
28 mentioned, it was completely under the control of the -- so at
29 the end of the day, I have visited that district more than any

1 other district in the country. So when it comes to detail and
2 facts and issues, and talking to people, I attend, I still work
3 in Kailahun.

4 Q. The information you just referred to, was that information
12:40:32 5 brought to you in writing?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. The summarisations in your report of the witness
8 statements, were they provided to you in a verbatim form?

9 A. No, they were provided written.

12:40:48 10 Q. I mean, were they transcribed in a verbatim way?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Who made the summaries of these?

13 A. I did because the reports were given in writing. I did the
14 summary. Like I said, the only one who didn't give me his report
12:41:02 15 in writing was the one in Kabala because he's very far. So he
16 has an internet. He uses the UNAMSIL internet, so he sends his
17 own email.

18 Q. When you are saying that the most devastating effect on
19 women of the war was the phenomenon of bush wives, were you in
12:41:22 20 any way able to verify that based on certain other data?

21 A. Like I mentioned to you, there is no data. It is only what
22 I collected, the people I spoke to. You ask them how they felt
23 and the literature I have read, because it is a different
24 category. It is a different effect. They stayed much longer in
12:41:45 25 a situation which they were forced to be, and the effect on their
26 life. It is really those who were children. People who are just
27 raped, or who were a wife for a week or two can go back and lead
28 a normal life. But when you have children, you have a baggage
29 that lives with you for the rest of your life. It is also a

1 memory of what happened. It means you cannot wipe out that
2 period of your life. For them, that is why the devastation is --
3 most of them who cannot be reintegrated is because they have
4 children, a lot of them. That is a memory. You can't wipe it
12:42:15 5 out. That's why I said the devastation, the effects. Then of
6 course the medical side. I told you there is one particular
7 person, a child, her uterus had to be taken out and, up to now,
8 she doesn't even know it. Who is going to tell her? Her parent
9 are dead, her grandmother is dead. So that's why the day when
12:42:32 10 she will know, you can imagine the consequences. That's why I
11 said the devastating effects on that, because of the long time.
12 It happens because of the period in which they stayed and what
13 happened after that.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Knoops, I note the time. We normally
12:42:49 15 adjourn at this time. Are you at a particular part of your
16 cross-examination where it would be convenient to adjourn, or do
17 you want to ask more questions on that aspect?

18 MR KNOOPS: I could, Your Honour, finish with two
19 additional questions on the summary of the report.

12:43:06 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please do so.

21 MR KNOOPS:
22 Q. Mrs Bangura, in the summary of your report on page 6, you
23 refer to the physical and psychological abuse of women which were
24 subjected to being a bush wife. Other than the interviews you
12:43:26 25 mentioned, the 59 interviews you conducted yourself, were you
26 able to assess this psychological abuse in any way?

27 A. I'm not a medical doctor. I'm not a mental doctor. There
28 is no way. It's what the person tells me, the way she feels and
29 how she is handling it. That's the only way you can be able to

1 describe it. I'm not medically competent enough to tell you that
2 this is what should happen. I never did counsel or social
3 counselor, or whatever you call it, I have never studied it.

4 Q. To your recollection, were any of these women ever
12:44:10 5 subjected to a psychiatric or psychological evaluation?

6 A. No, there is one only. The only person that I know that
7 was Baiwala or something, you know, in Kailahun district I met,
8 she doesn't need a medical person. Because one thing that they
9 told me in the committee, she doesn't have a memory of her past.
12:44:33 10 So she can't remember her name; she can't remember who she is;
11 she can't remember where she comes from. That one is the only
12 extreme case I have encountered. I don't think -- of course, in
13 the country there is nowhere you can do a psychiatrist
14 evaluation. We only have one psychiatrist in this whole country.

12:44:54 15 So there is no way I can use that to measure. That's the only
16 one extreme case I came across that she has to be given a new
17 identity, because she doesn't remember her whole identity, who
18 doesn't remember who she is. Other than that, I haven't seen
19 anyone that somebody can say she has so been disturbed mentally
12:45:09 20 that she cannot be herself.

21 Q. So the qualification the most devastating effect of the war
22 in relation to the phenomenon of bush wives, ie, the
23 psychological trauma you describe is, in fact, only founded on
24 your interviews?

12:45:29 25 MS PACK: I'm not sure if that's a quotation. If it is, it
26 is a misquotation of page 6, the devastating effect. Perhaps if
27 my learned friend could make sure if he's going to quote from a
28 paragraph on page 6 he quotes it in full.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Can you refer us to that line, please,

1 Mr Knoops?

2 MR KNOOPS: Yes, Your Honour. It is page 6 under the
3 subheading "Summary", 1.2, the fifth sentence: "However, the
4 most devastating effect on women of the war was the phenomenon
12:46:04 5 called bush wife, rebel's wife or jungle wife."

6 Q. When I read your summary, this assessment of the most
7 devastating effect was also founded on the psychological abuse of
8 women; is that correct?

9 A. If I can take you back, for those of us who have been in
12:46:28 10 the war, who have been affected, if you talk to Sierra Leoneans
11 who have been affected by the war, every time you try to talk to
12 them, they cry. "I lost my house, everything." Up to now,
13 nobody I want to talk about it. It's over, forgotten about in my
14 past. Every time somebody brings it up, they just burst into
12:46:52 15 tears. I don't think anybody needs to tell you psychological,
16 because you want to forget about it, you don't want to be
17 remembered. I know as an educated person, when somebody is
18 traumatised by a particular issue, she doesn't want to talk about
19 it. Those of us who have gone through abuse in childhood or any
12:47:08 20 other things, or discrimination in whatever form, you want to
21 move ahead with your life.

22 For me, my knowledge of psychology is how it affects you as
23 a person. So when you talk to somebody and you start talking and
24 the person comes down with tears and she keeps crying, she
12:47:23 25 doesn't want to talk about it, you know that thing has
26 traumatised her. She doesn't want to remember it. So using the
27 word "psychology", I'm not using "psychology" as a professional
28 person. I'm using "psychology" as the effects of the war on
29 people and all of us who have been thrown into it. So in

1 interviews, these girls, when you talk to them, the way they
2 respond to you. You know it is something they don't want to
3 bring out. It is something that brings a lot of bad memories for
4 them and it's something that hurts their feelings, they can't do
12:47:51 5 anything about it. But it brings back some of the things she
6 carries with her. Because we don't have counseling facilities,
7 you can't respond. When we were in CGG, most of the girls we
8 dealt with, we send them to FAWE for counseling. But there are
9 very limited counseling facilities. Secondly, there is very
12:48:08 10 little statistics about issues like that, or you don't have the
11 capacity or the resources to, one, get the psychiatrist, somebody
12 to come and deal with it and then the person can tell you this
13 person is not a psychological framework to deal with this, or
14 this is how it has [sic] handled it. Basically, on that basis,
12:48:22 15 that is why. So if you have gone through trauma yourself, you
16 know what it means and you know how you feel about it and you
17 know how you respond to questions about it.

18 Q. My question was, and thank you for your answer - my last
19 question before the break - is it correct to say that the
12:48:40 20 assessment of the most devastating effect, as just quoted from
21 page 6, was founded by you on only the 59 interviews you took?

22 A. Yes. And the literature I have read, yes.

23 MR KNOOPS: That concludes this portion, Your Honour.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Knoops. We will adjourn
12:49:07 25 for lunch.

26 [Luncheon recess taken at 12.53 p.m.]

27 [AFRC03OCT05D - SV]

28 [Upon resuming at 2.27 p.m.]

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I note there aren't any of the accused

1 persons in court. Is there any reason for that?

2 MR KNOOPS: Not to my knowledge, Your Honour. I'm sorry.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Maybe logistics of getting them back
4 here. So there's no particular reason. They'll turn up in due
14:25:03 5 course.

6 MR FOFANAH: They are coming.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Excellent. Thank you. Mrs Bangura,
8 there are likely to be more questions for you in the course of
9 the afternoon. Could I make one request, as we mentioned this
14:25:14 10 morning. If you could speak a little more slowly. All of us are
11 making notes, but also we have an official transcriber, and she's
12 typing away as hard as she can to keep up with you. So when
13 you're answering try not to speed up, if you could assist us in
14 that way. Mr Knoops, you were in the midst of your
14:25:35 15 cross-examination.

16 MR KNOOPS: Thank you, Your Honour.

17 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Perhaps the witness could wear her
18 headphones and switch on the microphone.

19 MR KNOOPS:

14:25:58 20 Q. Good afternoon, Mrs Bangura.

21 A. Good afternoon.

22 Q. I have one additional query about the summary of your
23 report. Mrs Bangura, on page 20 of your report, if you could
24 have a look at the top of page 20 under the subheading "IV",
14:26:28 25 second paragraph, you indicate that, first, there are no
26 statistics to show the number of bush wives nation-wide.
27 Therefore, it's impossible to determine how many have been
28 reintegrated. It's a statement you still deem appropriate; you
29 agree with that?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Yes. In your summary of your report at page 6, if you
3 please could have a look at the fifth sentence from below, it
4 says, "Currently there are --

14:27:17 5 MS PACK: We have a page number, just so Mrs Bangura has a
6 page number for that. Page 6, which is 14481 for the record.

7 MR KNOOPS: Thank you for your assistance.

8 Q. Do you have it before you, Mrs Bangura?

9 A. Yes, please.

14:27:40 10 Q. It's the fifth sentence from below:

11 "Currently there are thousands of bush wives who have not
12 been reintegrated and who do not have any source of
13 livelihood, especially in Kailahun."

14 In light of your observation on page 20, is it fair to say
14:27:54 15 that this qualification "thousands of bush wives" is an
16 assumption of yours, an assessment based on your own personal
17 account, or do you have any reasons to give us a foundation for?

18 A. Statistically it is known that the unemployment rate in
19 this country is over 70, 80 percent. And it is a known fact that
14:28:29 20 in places like Kailahun, where you have very little investment
21 opportunities, a cash crop economy, and it's a fact that when
22 you're unskilled and untrained you have lesser opportunity for
23 employment. So based on that, it was easy for me to come to that
24 assumption that the opportunity for them to be employed and to
14:28:57 25 have a living is just impossible if you're living in Kailahun.

26 Q. But you agree with me that it states an assumption of you?
27 There is no scientific evidence for this remark you make on page
28 6?

29 A. Definitely.

1 Q. Thank you. I would like to move on to the next topic. In
2 your report and the interviews you conducted, 59 interviews
3 conducted by yourself, 23 interviews by CGG and four focus group
4 interviews or consultations with 32 women, according to your
14:29:43 5 report, that this report and these interviews are based on the
6 assumption that the women you interviewed were bush wives. You
7 can expect my question. Was there any methodology determined by
8 you before you started this research how to assess whether a
9 woman was a bush wife or not, and how this has been verified by
14:30:19 10 yourself or your researchers?

11 A. When you come from the word -- when you encounter the word
12 "wife", the first question you ask is, "why did he call you a
13 wife", and most of them, apart from the fact of what you need to
14 do, which it is generally and traditionally accepted is the duty
14:30:46 15 of a wife, she tells you, "He told me you are my wife." So it is
16 a language that they themselves use. And the bush came from the
17 fact that they were not living in town. It was an arrangement
18 that took place while they were within a particular environmental
19 circumstances. Immediately they come out of town, that
14:31:11 20 relationship is over. And when we were in CGG, after January 9,
21 1999, one of the problems we had were some of the girls who
22 managed to escape and came back to the city, and people followed
23 them and say "You are my wife."

24 So we had a few cases where we had to go to the police
14:31:37 25 because this gentleman or gentlemen actually went to the family
26 and insisted that "She's my wife; I own her." So we had to go to
27 the police to get injunction to restrain them from coming near
28 the houses of the women that they had claimed, because those
29 people wanted to put this thing behind them. They managed to

1 escape and survive and they came to town, they want to live a
2 normal life. And yet some of these people followed them. So we
3 had to deal with those when I was in CGG. So it's based on the
4 circumstances, the relationship and talking to the people
14:32:12 5 themselves. So it was something that kept appearing and we saw
6 instances of it and we spoke to them who were still there. So,
7 the combination of the word "wife" and the "bush" is a result of
8 the relationship the wife and what he says to you when he
9 captures you. One particular lady says to me, "He holds your
14:32:32 10 hand and says you are my wife." And then, of course, how they
11 relate to you when they came to town and some of them who still
12 stayed with them.

13 Q. I can understand your reasoning when it concerns these 59
14 interviews you conducted yourself. But how were you able to
14:32:47 15 verify whether the interviews conducted by, for instance, CGG and
16 the other interviews in which you did not directly participate
17 relating to women who were actually bush wives?

18 A. They give you the name of person, they give you the dates,
19 and sometimes they give you the period and how long they were
14:33:13 20 with them. So she tells you, "He was my husband within this
21 period. I was captured by so and so person," and then they gave
22 you the name. Then, like I mentioned earlier on, he will tell
23 you he is an AFRC junta, then you know he is an AFRC, if he tells
24 you he is a junta rebel you know it's an AFRC, it's a rebel
14:33:30 25 junta, you know it's an AFRC. Then they tell you whether it's an
26 RUF rebel. So from that specification you know exactly the
27 category where the person comes from and you know how long it was
28 and what they said. So it was from themselves that the word came
29 from.

1 Q. But I mean, Mrs Bangura, other than information from the
2 women who were interviewed, was in any way in the research any
3 form of verification conducted as to the authenticity of their
4 status as bush wife? So, I mean, I understand what you say that
14:34:06 5 you relied upon their information, but was that information in
6 any way checked by yourself or the other researchers?

7 A. The first person you can check information is the person it
8 affects. The rebels were not there. You can't talk -- you only
9 talk to those who were still with their wives, and they still
14:34:26 10 continue to be wives. So there's no need to even talk to them,
11 because they said, "I'm still with him. I met him in the bush.
12 He saved my life." So he's still married in the word, not in the
13 traditional ceremony married to him. The ones that are not
14 married said, "This is what he said." So you don't have the
14:34:40 15 person to exist around. You know working through the war in
16 Sierra Leone, getting reports, talking to people, you know
17 definitely there was always -- even in the city now you can talk
18 to people. They'll tell you, "This one was the rebel wife."
19 They'll tell you. They still use it around. So within the
14:34:57 20 course of the war, we developed certainly vocabulary that was
21 used in relating to certain issues. That is why initially I
22 came -- we say "collaborator". Anybody who is there -- even if
23 you ask your client they will tell that a lot of people verified
24 on the issue just by naming them as collaborators. When they
14:35:12 25 tell you a collaborator, it means you are working with them
26 willingly, you connive with them and you meet the penalty like
27 they should have given to them. So these were words that were
28 developed along, during the course of the war, to describe
29 certain situations and environments. So it's common everywhere

1 and so we use it -- we saw it in literatures, we saw it in the
2 monitor documents and you talk to the person. So when they
3 explain to you, it makes -- it enables you to understand what
4 they are saying, because you've heard it several times over.

14:35:41 5 Q. But when you did set up this research and you were faced
6 with the methodology you had to pursue in this case, it's for the
7 first time that apparently the phenomenon of forced marriages is
8 investigated upon. Did you beforehand exclude the responsibility
9 to verify potential statements of women who would say, "I am a
14:36:14 10 bush wife", or was this a decision which you took pending your
11 research when you faced all kinds of practical problems? I mean,
12 was it a fundamental decision in your research before you started
13 that you would just rely on the statements of the women you were
14 going to interview, or was your research actually handicapped by
14:36:41 15 the incapability to investigate these statements pending your
16 investigation?

17 MS PACK: Your Honour, I heard quite a few questions there.
18 If my learned friend could break down and maybe just ask one
19 question, I think it would be easier for us all to understand.

14:36:59 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Indeed, Mr Knoops, you had three
21 questions in there. So one at a time please. And Mrs Bangura,
22 you may not realise it but you speeded up again there.

23 THE WITNESS: Sorry.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's all right. You'll get used to it.

14:37:22 25 MR KNOOPS: Thank you, Your Honour. I am sorry for the
26 combination of questions.

27 Q. Mrs Bangura, was it part of the methodology which underlies
28 this report that the research would be confined to just obtaining
29 statements of bush wives?

1 A. Definitely not. Definitely not, because the first village
2 I went to there were a lot of women I spoke to. There was one
3 interesting experience because there was a lady who was 80 years
4 old -- sorry, she was not 80, but very old and she kept telling
14:37:54 5 me, "I was raped, I was taken away." And so they explained.
6 They explained to me. I didn't take their story. I had to
7 pretend like I was writing because everybody wanted to tell me
8 what happened to them. And specifically I was paying attention
9 to all of them because and when someone told me -- because we
14:38:09 10 were sitting in the focus group meeting, each one of them was
11 explaining. So there were incidents of a lot of other things
12 people told me about. But the only one I paid attention to were
13 the one that described that "I stayed with this person; we were
14 married and he was my husband there", and this is what happened.
14:38:28 15 They were the ones that I was able to fish out. But I met a lot
16 of women along the discussion and lots of lots of them affected
17 in various ways. But then I listened to their story and this was
18 not what I documented.

19 Q. But out of the 59 statements you obtained, the interviews
14:38:46 20 you conducted yourself, of how many statements or interviews you
21 obtained you were able to determine, other than by obtaining the
22 statement of the wife, that she was indeed a bush wife for a
23 rebel or a junta?

24 A. She tells you. There are some of you who tells you, "I was
14:39:09 25 with them. I took loads. I carried things." Some of them will
26 specifically tell you, "I married this person," and they will
27 give you the specific name. And then you can then continue the
28 interview and say, "For how long? Under what circumstances?
29 What were you expected to do?" So all the ones that I put the

1 numbers were the ones who said they were married to one person or
2 the other. Some of them, when they said their husbands were
3 dead, I didn't bother to write that name because then he's dead,
4 it's not an issue any longer. But I made sure I took the ones
14:39:40 5 that specifically pointed the name of the people, that they
6 explained to you, "We married. He was my husband," and they give
7 you a specific name. "We run around from this village and that
8 village and this is how we went." So basically those were the
9 ones that I paid attention to because I wanted to know the
14:40:01 10 content under which this thing happened, their relationship with
11 them, and what happened during the process of the relationship
12 and the war.

13 Q. What do you mean with, "I paid attention to"?

14 A. I listened to more attentively those who told me that they
14:40:10 15 were married to rebels. That, "He was my husband." They gave
16 you a name.

17 Q. In your research did you approach any of these individuals
18 which were referred to in the statements by the women you
19 interviewed?

14:40:26 20 A. The only ones I spoke to were the ones who were still
21 married with them. They were the ones -- for example, the only
22 people that told me that they could remember where the people
23 were are the ones I interviewed in Freetown here, who told me --
24 I asked them because they told me that I said, "Do you still know
14:40:47 25 where they are?" One of the girls said to me, "No, but I met her
26 boss and he called the name of the officer who told me that is
27 station is so and so place, but that's it." They didn't -- they
28 were the only people in Freetown who told me they know where
29 these people were and I didn't go to interview these people

1 because they were now in the army.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mrs Bangura, you've said "those people".

3 Who do you mean?

4 THE WITNESS: The girls in Freetown. Two of the sisters
14:41:12 5 that we had to have a police injunction to stop the other
6 neighbours calling them rebel wives. They were the only people
7 of all the ones I interviewed who told me that they know that the
8 rebel husband they had were still in the army. They saw them
9 because their boss, the bosses of these two boys, actually met
14:41:31 10 the girls some time. He was also in uniform and told them that
11 these people were asking for them and they were in such and such
12 a place. But I didn't follow to find out those people.

13 MR KNOOPS:

14 Q. So, out of the 59 interviews, two of them refer to the
14:41:47 15 example you just gave. The two sisters?

16 A. Who knows where the men are. The others don't know.

17 Q. So, out of the 59, you were actually -- you had to rely for
18 the other 57 on the statements of the women you interviewed?

19 A. Because their statements were very specific with a name and
14:42:08 20 a date and a time. So, they know exactly what they are saying.

21 Q. Thank you. Mrs Bangura, with respect to the other
22 interviews you were provided with, undertaken by the CGG and the
23 focus group, did you receive additional information from the
24 people who conducted these interviews with respect to the way
14:42:37 25 they were able to verify whether the interviewees were actually
26 bush wives?

27 A. The one that had a problem, because we were very reluctant
28 to talk where I had to go, was in Makeni because he specifically
29 told me that it was very difficult to talk to the people because

1 they have been reintegrated, they had problems accepting. But
2 because they had done the previous statement-taking and
3 testimony-taking on other things during their previous work they
4 know exactly who they are and where. So, that was the reason why
14:43:13 5 I had to make a trip to Makeni myself and try to talk to them and
6 got them out and got even the chief to be able to direct me to
7 some of the places. So, he was the only person who sort of had
8 difficulties because these people had been reintegrated. So I
9 had to make a trip to Makeni myself and talk to the people -- the
14:43:33 10 children themselves.

11 Q. How many witnesses this trip related or was it a general
12 trip during which you tried to obtain information?

13 A. No, it was specifically for this purpose.

14 Q. But is it fair to say that from the other two groups who
14:43:49 15 were interviewed by first of all the CGG and secondly during the
16 four focus group meetings, the information you had to rely on was
17 only confined to the statements of the women?

18 A. I definitely believe so because during the course of the
19 war there is no way you can accept, even because there was so
14:44:15 20 much information I had, the fact that the TRC was going to take
21 place and so they couldn't give you information. They would
22 definitely -- the rebels themselves will definitely, definitely,
23 not give you information. And for my relationship with all of
24 them, right from the top, including Foday Sankoh and everyone, I
14:44:32 25 had to do it on a personal level, they will never accept -- they
26 never accepted this happened. So, as far as they're concerned,
27 it never happened. So, there is no way he's going to take
28 responsibility for what he did.

29 Q. With respect to the four focus group meetings which were

1 held in the Kailahun District with 35 bush wives, is it fair to
2 say that these can be qualified as collective interviews? Was
3 this a meeting with all 32 women in one room and questions and
4 answers were exchanged?

14:45:08 5 A. It was an issue of sharing experiences, talking to them.
6 Because, like I said earlier again, Kailahun District, there is
7 no village, no village in Kailahun District that hasn't got ex-
8 combatants and their family. As a result of that, the way the
9 issue of stigmatisation and the reluctance of people to talk
14:45:34 10 about it and deal with it, you will not find in Kailahun, as you
11 find in other countries, where the majority of the people who
12 came back. For example, in Kono whole communities went away and
13 they came back as refugees and IDPs and you have a lot of
14 communities in Kono that has no ex-combatants. So, in Kailahun
14:45:55 15 people are much more open in talking about it. So since it is an
16 issue that affected women -- just women's groups and so we talk
17 about it, each one of them was willing to explain their
18 relationship; what happened there; how they experienced it and
19 what they felt and so-so. It was an open topic, because one or
14:46:09 20 the other, the majority of them, had gone through the process, so
21 they were able to freely talk about it. And because they were
22 also comfortable with me, I had worked other areas, they know me,
23 and they know because I work on women's rights, they understand
24 that I am advocate of women issues. So they are prepared to say
14:46:26 25 to me exactly what they thought was the right story and what
26 really happened to them.

27 Q. So, these focus group meetings with 32 wives were not
28 conducted in a personal -- by way of personal interviews?

29 A. No, no, no, no, no. It's in Kailahun Town. It was in a

1 room, an enclosed place, but all of them -- all of us were
2 sitting there and I was sitting on the side. And in some of the
3 villages, it's also in a confined area, but not in public but
4 just me and them.

14:46:55 5 Q. And any information given during these meetings, was it
6 transcribed or was it taken on record, or was it being
7 audio-taped?

8 A. No, I had a notebook. I didn't use a tape, I had a
9 notebook. Because a lot of -- some of them talk in Mende,
14:47:10 10 somebody -- one of them has to interpret or maybe the human
11 rights officer who was with me has to interrupt.

12 Q. Thank you. Mrs Bangura, on page 8 of your report you speak
13 about the majority of the bush wives interviewed in Kailahun.
14 The report written by you on page 8 in the third paragraph,
14:47:39 15 starting the second sentence, "Kailahun was the only district
16 that the RUF had control of during the entire period of the war.
17 They had used it as their biggest training camp and for years as
18 the main RUF HQ." Was this information obtained from the
19 interviewees?

14:48:10 20 A. The fact that Kailahun -- can you repeat the question,
21 please?

22 Q. Was the information stated in your report, namely Kailahun
23 was the only district that the RUF had control of during the
24 entire period of the war, they had used it as their biggest
14:48:35 25 training camp and for years as the main RUF HQ; was that
26 information extracted from the interviewees?

27 A. It's a statement of facts because throughout the war I was
28 here, the UN was here, everybody was here and everybody knows the
29 war started in Kailahun, the 23rd March. And that Kailahun was

1 the last district to be disarmed, because the disarmament
2 timetable was always public and the human rights officer we had
3 for Kailahun District was always coming to Freetown, he had to
4 move to Kenema. So, on the exception of the enclave of Daru,
14:49:21 5 where you had Nigerian soldiers, that little town of Daru, the
6 whole of Kailahun, everybody in Sierra Leone who is -- who knows
7 the war inside of Sierra Leone, who knows that from the beginning
8 to the end. So, when the negotiation for disarmament was taking
9 place, the calendar was set and it was agreed that Kailahun was
14:49:39 10 the last district, and everybody knows that. So it's a statement
11 of fact, not only from me, but it's something in the UN documents
12 and those of us who were working on the peace building and
13 everyone in Sierra Leone knew exactly that Kailahun was the last
14 district.

14:49:56 15 Q. Do you refer to your references when you say, "I refer to
16 certain reports in this regard"?

17 A. Which ones?

18 Q. I refer to your list of references on page 22. Is there
19 any reference which could serve as a foundation for --

14:50:21 20 A. For that statement.

21 Q. -- statement of fact?

22 A. No, I don't need a reference for that statement. I lived
23 in Sierra Leone during the course of the war. I followed the
24 war. I was an active participant in the peace process. I was in
14:50:37 25 Abidjan when we signed the first process. I was very much
26 involved in the signing of the second process and I also, with
27 regards to the history of the war and what happened and the
28 players and the stakeholders, I don't think I need to reference.
29 This was why I initially said, "When you take back to the

1 marriage there are certain things which you know, you verify it
2 in a document. So when write it as a reference, you know it's
3 not true, you don't use it. But this one I don't need to
4 reference. It's a statement of fact that I know by virtue of my
14:51:08 5 own staying here and working in Sierra Leone and being involved
6 in the war in Sierra Leone.

7 Q. Does it also count for your qualification that the RUF had
8 control of that district during the entire period of the war?

9 A. Yes.

14:51:23 10 Q. Does it also count for your statement, it's in the fourth
11 sentence of that paragraph, "It therefore became a fortified and
12 secure fortress for all RUF activities"?

13 A. Because they were the control people who controlled it. So
14 that everything that has to do with the war that relates to them,
14:51:37 15 they were there.

16 Q. Mrs Bangura, in this regard was there a methodology
17 determined by you to verify what an interview meant with a rebel,
18 a junta or an AFRC?

19 A. Ohm definitely. Anything that is junta is military and
14:52:11 20 that means the military; the AFRC. They tell you, "It's the
21 SLA". Normally they call them SLA. But when they say junta,
22 they mean SLA because you ask them over and over.

23 Q. But was there, for instance, in the questionnaire was there
24 any form of verification implemented how to secure that the
14:52:29 25 interviewee was able to know whether she was taken under the
26 control of a rebel or an AFRC or a junta?

27 A. One, they can tell you where they belong. Two, they tell
28 you where they captured. If you look at the history of the war,
29 you will know where the AFRC was stronghold. So she can tell

1 you, for example, in Kabala she said, "I was captured in Kabala
2 by the AFRC and they travelled the length and breadth until they
3 get to Kailahun. And so, after the war, when Kailahun was
4 disarmed and demobilised, a lot of the other people from the
14:53:05 5 other areas came to Kailahun. Now whether they were AFRC or RUF.
6 So when she tells you where she was captured, this was why right
7 from where I mentioned to you the issue of Freetown. When people
8 know that when you talk to girls who were captured in Freetown,
9 you definitely invariably know it was the AFRC. When they tell
14:53:24 10 you, "I was in Kabala" they will tell you it's the AFRC. And
11 when they tell you it's Makeni, you will be able to know.

12 They tell you in Kono -- there are all districts like, for
13 example, in Kono which change hands. So you will know from the
14 districts they were captured and they will give you the
14:53:42 15 description of the person. So most of these interviews were not
16 ones originally who were in Kailahun, were the ones who went to
17 Kailahun at the end of the disarmament program, that's where they
18 resettled finally. So they were not in Kailahun during the
19 process of the war. They resettled in Kailahun when the rest of
14:54:07 20 the country had been disarmed and they found it difficult. And
21 some of them, their husbands had not disarmed or didn't want to
22 disarm, so everybody flocked into Kailahun. That's how they
23 ended up in Kailahun.

24 Q. May I give you one example, please, on page 14. If you
14:54:24 25 please have a look at page 14 of the report, it's the second
26 paragraph from below. It says: "ZGK was 16 years old when she
27 was captured in her hometown of Bilimaia, Kabala by RUF rebels in
28 1999." I don't recall that you took this statement yourself?

29 A. No.

1 Q. But for instance with this interview, how was it possible
2 for the researchers to verify whether this person was actually
3 captured in her hometown by RUF rebels, is my first question?

4 A. First, he lived in Kabala, he worked in Kabala. Secondly,
14:55:23 5 Kabala was taken over by the AFRC after the February 19 -- I
6 can't remember when. Until they drove them out. So Kabala
7 became an AFRC territory where Savage was, because it's a name we
8 all came to recognise, that he took it over. In the earlier
9 stages the RUF were there. But later the AFRC took over until
14:55:58 10 when 2000, I think, or 1999, I can't remember, when eventually
11 the RUF took over Bombali District and removed the AFRC and sent
12 them back to the Kabala area before they were evacuated by
13 ECOMOG. So there are certain areas that would interchange, there
14 were certain areas that originally in the beginning of the war
14:56:20 15 the RUF attacked.

16 And, secondly, if you go back to the beginning of the war,
17 the strategy was not to hold land. The strategy was never to
18 occupy a space and keep it. The strategy was to attack and leave
19 away. So the strategy of the war changed at various times. So
14:56:40 20 when you are involved in the documentation of the war and dealing
21 with the experts, they will tell you at a particular time who was
22 in this particular area. So when they attack, that's why they
23 tell you, "We move out". So when they attack, they move and they
24 move into another area. So they were very mobile. They never
14:56:59 25 stayed in one particular place because there was attack and
26 counterattack and counterattack so they keep moving at every
27 direction. But that is why specifically when you talk to them
28 they will tell you it's RUF rebel, they will tell you it's AFRC
29 junta, they will tell you it's rebel junta. So as a person who

1 is very much involved in it, you get used to these terms and the
2 words and you know that when it is said it particularly refers to
3 a particular person.

4 Q. Were the interviewees asked how they were able to say when
14:57:33 5 somebody belonged to the RUF or the junta or the AFRC?

6 A. It is the group. When they attack, the group tells you,
7 you know whether they are RUF or whether they are AFRC because
8 the group themselves -- because you stay with them for a few days
9 or a while you know exactly which group they are because when
14:57:48 10 somebody else come and attack they will tell you this other group
11 is coming to attack us. So you get to know them, you get to know
12 the commanders who is there and you will be able to know whether
13 they are AFRC or RUF.

14 Q. But my question is do you recall that to all the
14:58:06 15 interviewees these questions were asked; how they were able to
16 say that somebody belonged to RUF?

17 A. I said, "Who captured you" and they were very specific.
18 "Who was the one who took you?" They said, "It was an RUF
19 rebel".

14:58:18 20 Q. I can imagine that you were able to do that with your own
21 interviews, the 59 interviews. What about the other two sections
22 of interviews by the CGG and --

23 A. Well, I told them. I told them to ask and in those CGG
24 archives they are always the people, because even when attacks
14:58:41 25 were taken they were informed on the report who attacked, when
26 and how. So because they know there was this fluidity between
27 the different groups, it was always important that we know who
28 did what. Because for the purpose of accountability it always
29 has to be very specific to know exactly who did what at what

1 time. So it was an issue that we made point right at the
2 training because there was not just one faction in the war.
3 There was the CDF, there was the RUF and there was the AFRC. So
4 it was very important for our own documentation throughout the
14:59:16 5 process I was in CGG and including when I took this work to be
6 able to know exactly who did what.

7 Q. Thank you. Mrs Bangura, I will move on to the next
8 subject. The distinction between forced marriage outside a war
9 situation and in times of peace. Do you agree that as a
14:59:40 10 preliminary remark it's fair to say that forced marriage has
11 always been part of the system of Sierra Leone, at least the
12 customary law system, and is still a common practice within
13 Sierra Leone?

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: You've got two questions there,
15:00:00 15 Mr Knoops.

16 MR KNOOPS: Yes.

17 Q. My first question is: Do you agree that forced marriage
18 has been part of customary law in Sierra Leone?

19 A. The way I spelt it here, it's not. It's arranged marriage,
15:00:20 20 that's why I differentiated. Because the consent, the family
21 relationships is not there. So this was why even though the ones
22 who fell in love, who became attached psychologically to the
23 people they were married to felt it obligated to go back to the
24 family. So the comparison, it cannot be because the way I define
15:00:44 25 forced marriage here is wherein the consent of the family is not
26 taken and the normal tradition and ceremony and processes under
27 which a daughter is given to you as your wife does not apply in
28 this case. So in the other case, that's why I called it arranged
29 marriage. Because this was something that was done without your

1 consent but it has the respectability of the community and the
2 participation of the family. So you cannot compare the two. So
3 it's not forced marriage. Maybe you can define it, but for me,
4 for what I use for the purpose of this report, I cannot call it
15:01:19 5 forced marriage because I gave a clear description of what I
6 meant by forced marriage.

7 Q. In your report, Mrs Bangura, you have relied on the report
8 Human Rights Watch report titled "We'll Kill You If You Cry;
9 Sexual Violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict"?

15:01:39 10 A. Yes, please.

11 Q. On page 17 of that report, which is mentioned in your
12 reference, it is stated that: "Marriages are usually arranged
13 and the consent of the bride to be is not considered essential in
14 most ethnic groups, but the consent of the girl/woman's family is
15:02:08 15 required. The fact that a girl is considered ready for marriage
16 at such a young age and her consent is not sought has contributed
17 to the common practice of early forced marriages". That's the
18 quotation from the Human Rights Watch report which you rely on.
19 Is it your view that the Human Rights Watch report in this regard

15:02:47 20 should not be followed when it concerns the qualification of
21 common practice of early forced marriages?

22 A. I'm sure she did the force in inverted commas. So that's
23 our own best way of describing it so that it can be very clear,
24 and I'm sure that's why she put in "arranged marriage". But even
15:03:09 25 in that she will be able to tell you that the consent of the
26 family is essential and fundamental and the involvement of the
27 family is fundamental and essential. So that's a very big
28 distinction and, the family unit being the bedrock of the
29 community in Sierra Leone, it's important. If it is not there,

1 it cannot be.

2 Q. The Human Rights report specifically refers to the common
3 practice of early forced marriages. Do you agree that the
4 concept of what you call arranged marriage is still existing
15:04:00 5 right now in Sierra Leone as part of customary law?

6 A. Yes. As I describe it in the report, it still exists under
7 the circumstances which I described in the report.

8 Q. Now you make a distinction in your report between forced
9 marriage in peace and in war. Is that distinction also made by
15:04:23 10 Professor Joko Smart in his book of 1983?

11 A. Joko Smart wrote his book well before the war. I was still
12 at college.

13 Q. I know that.

14 A. So there was no way he could have realised there was going
15:04:37 15 to be a war, so he couldn't have mentioned war time.

16 Q. Of course I know that there was no war at that time but was
17 he able to elaborate on any distinction in this regard?

18 MS PACK: I don't understand the question. I'm not sure
19 how Professor Smart, as the witness has pointed out, writing a
15:04:53 20 book in 1983 can be of any assistance on forced marriage during
21 the war.

22 MR KNOOPS:

23 Q. Not during the war, a war?

24 A. He couldn't. Nobody thought there was going to be a war in
15:05:04 25 Sierra Leone. The war is the last thing we would think about.

26 Q. No, I don't refer to the war in Sierra Leone. Was he able
27 to make a distinction in general between forced marriage in times
28 of peace and in times of war?

29 A. He could not have.

1 Q. Thank you. As I understand your report well, you say the
2 fundamental difference between an early and arranged marriage in
3 times of peace and that of a forced marriage during the war is
4 that the family members are not involved in the arrangement; is
15:05:33 5 that correct?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Do you agree that from the point of the women who do not
8 consent, who do not consent in a marriage, there isn't really a
9 difference between what you call arranged marriage in times of
15:06:00 10 peace and forced marriage in times of war in the event you look
11 at it from the perspective of the wife?

12 A. If they felt it didn't matter they couldn't have wanted to
13 take their husbands to be accepted by their families. So even
14 those who still live there, you ask them and they will say, "We
15:06:28 15 went. I went and introduced him, I wanted my family to meet him
16 and accept him," and they came back. So for them, they
17 understand that the family has to accept, has to give their
18 consent. I met one particular gentleman who said he actually
19 went and worked in the farm of his in-laws for a number of
15:06:46 20 months, a whole season, just so to get acceptance from them. So
21 for them, they also know it is fundamental.

22 And those who are still living with them who have not been
23 able to go, they're so afraid they will not accept them and they
24 are tied up with the children and they know it's not possible to
15:07:01 25 leave these people. So they rather stay away from the family and
26 just stay there. So they themselves realise the consent is very
27 important and is fundamental for their own benefit.

28 Q. With respect to the issue of consent, you, in your
29 evidence-in-chief, elaborated on the situation what could happen

1 if a woman comes back after the conflict to her parents and seeks
2 for consent. Have you found any examples of situations - you
3 refer to Makeni in your report - in which the parents actually in
4 a retrospective sense agreed with the marriage?

15:07:54 5 A. Yes, I spoke to them. They went. They said -- some of
6 them who said they went, the family agreed and said, "Okay, you
7 can go back" because the family has -- you come with two children
8 and there's nothing the family can do. The family, as long as
9 you're alive, you're okay, that's it. So you can go ahead and
15:08:17 10 live your life. So none of them told me that a marriage ceremony
11 was performed. But they introduced them to their family and
12 their family said it's okay, agreed, "We met him, okay, thank you
13 very much," and they went back. They didn't stay with the
14 family. They returned back where they came from.

15:08:31 15 Q. In your opinion, when a woman comes back after the war and
16 seeks after all consent of her parents and the parents consent,
17 you still believe it's forced marriage?

18 A. It is after the war. For me, the description of forced
19 marriage took place during the course of the war. So as long as
15:08:51 20 the relationship is still there, it's an ongoing relationship.
21 So she was forced to marry him during the course of the war. And
22 then of course after the war they had events, they literally come
23 to introduce him, to tell them, "This is the person that saved me
24 in the war". The family are happy to see you are living, that's
15:09:10 25 okay, you go back. So none of them, like I said earlier on,
26 actually told me the family said to them you have to come and
27 deliver with the exception of this one fellow I met who told me
28 that he had to work in the farm of the parents -- of the father
29 of the girl and so after that he went back. For him it's now

1 sort of legitimised, the relationship, that I have been accepted.
2 But he didn't live there, he was not asked to come and bring kola
3 nuts or calabash or bring your own family.

4 Because when you say you want to marry somebody nobody
15:09:40 5 across Sierra Leone, with the exception of Western Area, will
6 accept you. They tell you, "Go back and bring your family". So
7 you have to go and bring your family. And the fact that none of
8 the parents of those girls said, "Who are your parents, go and
9 bring them back," because marriage is between two families. So
15:09:57 10 it's not for you to come into my house and tell me you want my
11 daughter. It is for your own parents, your family, to come and
12 tell me that they want my daughter for you. And the fact that
13 that has not been done tells you, at the bottom of it, that still
14 families still don't want to deal with it.

15:10:15 15 Q. On page 20, Mrs Bangura, in this regard, it's in the fifth
16 paragraph, it's written: "In Makeni those interviewed had been
17 accepted by their families and successfully reintegrated in their
18 communities". Does the words "have been accepted" also extend to
19 the acceptance of the marriage, as such, during the war?

15:10:43 20 A. No, no, no. These were girls who have been reintegrated on
21 their own.

22 [AFRC30CT05E - AD]

23 Q. Okay. Out of the 59 interviews you conducted yourself,
24 were there any examples emerging for consent post facto, so to
15:11:02 25 say?

26 A. I think it has to be explained further, because, when I
27 mean, consent involves legitimising the process. Consent in
28 accepting the relationship is different from consent in actually
29 getting you to perform the ceremony which you have not performed.

1 I have not come across any of them who told me I had to bring my
2 family to meet this other's family. The consent is that they
3 accept that you are alive. This was the person, I have seen him,
4 I saw him. It is one step. And so that one a few of them told
15:11:39 5 me that they did because they thought it had to be done. But
6 none of them told me that we had to do the ceremony which we have
7 to bring our relationship, because, again, the phenomenon is that
8 a lot of them -- some of the husbands RUF/AFRC who are there also
9 are not in their own community; they are also not natives of
15:12:01 10 Kailahun. They are also reluctant to go. So they themselves
11 have not been reintegrated. So how are you going to take your
12 own family to go and get the consent of another family in the
13 whole district? So I am sure that was the problem there; this
14 was why they just went with the wives in tradition to the family.
15:12:16 15 But they did not bring their family. And in our tradition, as
16 long as your family, the boy's family, does not come to the
17 family of the wife, the marriage is not taken -- it is not a
18 binding marriage; it is not a real marriage. So that has not
19 taken place.

15:12:32 20 Q. Was this issue specifically inquired by you?

21 A. Oh, yes. I asked them, when you stayed, after you
22 became -- did you go back to your home to meet, and they told me,
23 yes. "And what happened?" "How did your family react?" "Did
24 you do the ceremony?" So those were the questions. Because,
15:12:51 25 having looked at the issue of marriage and what it means, and the
26 circumstances under which it takes place and the definition, the
27 way it is accepted by the religion and traditional people, you
28 definitely have to go and ask the question, "After the war, now
29 that you are sitting and you have children, did you go back to

1 your family", when you asked them where they come from. So they
2 tell you whether we went or I went alone. You know, at least
3 there was one person who said she went alone. You tell them,
4 "When did you go? How did the family react to you? How was your
15:13:21 5 experience with them?" Basically the question keeps going on and
6 on to get the real story.

7 Q. In this regard, Mrs Bangura, if you could please have a
8 look at your report page 13, the last paragraph, the fourth
9 sentence from below. It says:

15:13:41 10 "Some parents did not even request a legitimisation of the
11 marriage. Knowing that the children were alive was all
12 that they cared to know."

13 Is it correct that, referring to these situations, for the
14 parents no issue of forced marriage arose at that time?

15:14:13 15 MS PACK: Perhaps if my learned friend could read the
16 following sentence, which says, "Some of these girls felt that
17 psychologically they were dead to their parents and that their
18 parents had adjusted to that." I think the whole of the context
19 would probably be a better reflection of the proceeding sentence.

15:14:30 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think counsel is entitled to put his
21 question, Ms Pack.

22 THE WITNESS: Can you repeat the question, please?

23 MR KNOOPS:

24 Q. Speaking about the issue of consent and an official
15:14:48 25 ceremony post facto, I referred to your remark on page 13:

26 "Some parents did not even request legitimisation of the
27 marriage. Knowing that the children were alive was all
28 that they cared to know."

29 Is it so that in these situations for the parents no form

1 of official marriage was necessary and that they actually
2 accepted the issue of forced marriage for their child?
3 A. Well, if you look at the process of marriage, for the
4 parents to request a legitimisation means they have to identify
15:15:37 5 who the person is, where he comes from. And marriage here is
6 public, because everybody who is in Sierra Leone knows that when
7 you marry it is a big ceremony outdoor. Obviously that will
8 bring back memory what their child went through and they didn't
9 want it. So, for them it is better you have children, you are
15:15:50 10 settled with him, you are happy with him, you want him, that's
11 it. So, it is a part of the life that we have to accept, so you
12 can go and live of with him. But to request him to bring his
13 parents and to come and explain who he is, and to explain where
14 you met -- because when I spoke to the imam, the spiritual aide,
15:16:17 15 some of the questions they asked the bride, groom or the husband
16 is where you met, how you met, the circumstances. All those are
17 detailed questions that you are asked during the process of
18 marriage. So, for parents it means bringing back the memory of
19 what happened to their children and getting more people to know,
15:16:37 20 because you have to invite family members and friends. It is not
21 a ceremony inside an open room; it is in an open place. So, you
22 do not want to go through it. You just accept them as long as
23 they are happy, they want to go with it, you live with it. So
24 that is it. It is accepted. They go. That doesn't mean you are
15:16:54 25 happy with it. But it means it is a fait accompli. So you
26 cannot complain. And the forced marriage, for me, as I say about
27 it, it is at the time the marriage took place. The girl was
28 captured, and during the time she lived with him before the end
29 of the war. So that was where the focus of it and the fact that

1 she had to do it against her own consent, and the fact that her
2 family were not there, they were not asked, they did not
3 participate, that is the basis upon which I am discussing the
4 issue of forced marriage. After the war, if they want to stay or
15:17:31 5 whatever reason, this is why when they tell me "I love him", I
6 said okay. So I didn't go about it after, because that wasn't an
7 issue anymore.

8 Q. If you speak about some parents did not even request
9 legitimisation of the marriage, what should be envisioned with
15:17:52 10 the words "some parents"? Have you any figure?

11 A. No, no. Sorry, I don't. Because only those ones who told
12 that me they actually went are not all of them. That they made
13 attempt to go back to their community to trace their family
14 members. And there are some of them who didn't bother, who have
15:18:12 15 not actually gone.

16 Q. Out of the 59 interviewees you spoke to, how many of them
17 went back?

18 A. Less than 10; less than 10. Because not all of them have
19 children. Less than 10; those who are still with their husbands.

15:18:33 20 Q. This group of less than 10, was this group after the war
21 accepted by the parents?

22 A. They were not living with the parents; they were still
23 living where they had made a home. But they thought they should
24 go to the parents and actually for the parents to know they were
15:18:54 25 arrived. So they went back. But when I interviewed they have
26 returned back to the place where they were still with their
27 husbands.

28 Q. When you speak in this regard of -- same page 13, last line
29 first sentence:

1 "Some bush wives took their husbands to meet their families
2 after the conflict complained that their families were very
3 cold towards them."
4 Can you give an estimation as to "some bush wives"?

15:19:30 5 A. I can't; I'm sorry.

6 Q. Is it your personal estimation that there were more than
7 one who took their husband to their families after the conflict?

8 A. Oh, yes. Because I can remember definitely somebody in
9 Baiwala, I can remember somebody in Giema who I met. So
10 definitely there is more than one of them. I told you the
11 instance of the boy I met who had this young girl and told me he
12 went to work for the farm. So definitely there is more than one.

13 Q. You were not able to tell us how many of the 59?

14 A. I can't remember. Of the 59, not all of them are married
15 with their husband.

16 Q. No.

17 A. Exactly. So, the 59 is not all of them that still live
18 with their husbands.

19 Q. I will move on, Mrs Bangura, to the next topic. Speaking
15:20:29 20 about the meaning of forced marriage during the conflict, on page
21 14 of your report the second paragraph, it says:
22 "Forced marriage became a means of survival for most girls
23 in the bush."
24 Out of the 59 interviewees you spoke to, and also the other
15:20:58 25 interviews you received from CGG and the interviews and
26 conversations during the focus group meetings, how many, by way
27 of estimation, told you that forced marriage was a means of
28 survival for them in the bush?

29 A. Most of them. Most of them accepted it because they don't

1 have an option. It is less punishment for them.

2 Q. And did all of these girls actually say that it saved their
3 lives, that they were forced to go into a marriage?

4 A. Like when I asked them why, how did you know he was
15:21:49 5 marriage, they told me all this, some of them are still attached
6 to them because when they saw the level of punishment. I think
7 you have to put this in the context of the fact that these people
8 didn't live in towns and villages. There were no modern
9 amenities. A lot of them lived in the bush where there are no
15:22:08 10 houses, there are no markets, and they kept moving one and the
11 other, and you always encounter ambushes. So, for most of them
12 at that particular time when taking into consideration the
13 constant raping that was taking place -- so at that period they
14 felt that it was easy -- "I had to do it"; "I had no option"; "I
15:22:34 15 couldn't refuse"; "anyway there was no alternative". So you look
16 at the alternative, it is even worse than the other. The issue
17 is the fact that they are captured, abducted and detained against
18 their will. That was the issue. So among all of them of them
19 who were the victims, they had to be assigned to particular
15:22:55 20 individuals.

21 Q. In your report in this regard in this same paragraph you
22 say that -- it is the third sentence of the second paragraph:
23 "However, when the husbands decided to take second bush
24 wife, the first one was thrown out and she no longer
15:23:16 25 enjoyed his protection."

26 Is that correct?

27 A. Yes, please.

28 Q. Did you inquire the situation when a certain individual was
29 forced into marriage and a second woman took over her place, and,

1 specifically, what happened afterwards?

2 A. When he takes -- he finds somebody more beautiful or maybe
3 younger, or he just raided a new village and he has taken
4 somebody else, obviously he cannot take care of two wives. Other
15:24:08 5 than the commanders, which what they said, some commanders had
6 two wives, of course, or mistresses, which you can't dispute
7 because they are not under your control, but invariably because
8 they all sleep unto one, it means he is not going to spend all of
9 his time with you. So you are shifted out from that privilege
15:24:23 10 position. So you go and join the rest of the other girls who
11 don't have husbands, who are just part of the group.

12 Q. Out of the interviewees you spoke to, how many mentioned
13 this situation, that they were thrown out by way of second?

14 A. I cannot give you an exact figure, but a few of them. I
15:24:47 15 can't remember an exact figure.

16 Q. You say "few", you have -- is that more than one?

17 A. Oh, yes, more than one.

18 Q. More than five, more than 10?

19 A. Not more than 10.

15:25:03 20 Q. Did you encounter any situations whereby one of the
21 interviewees you spoke to indicated that there were certain
22 individuals, rebels, member of the junta or of the AFRC who had
23 actually had more than one wife around him?

24 A. Only the commanders. Only the commanders, because these
15:25:29 25 people were mobile. They kept move from one place to the other.
26 It was basically holding you and going along with you. So the
27 commanders who were settled, for example, when I went -- I can't
28 remember the name -- where you had -- they will tell you this is
29 this person's house, this is where this person lives. So very

1 few of them actually were stationary. A lot of them kept moving
2 as they captured area and lost it and captured it. So you were
3 moving with him all over the country. So you don't have a fixed
4 abode, so you move with him.

15:26:08 5 Q. Did you find in this regard any example of a commander
6 having more than one wife whilst all the wives were accepted and
7 not thrown out?

8 A. Oh, yes, the commanders. Yes, the commanders had more than
9 one wives. The commanders, because the commanders had settled.
15:26:27 10 The commanders had control of a particular regiment or whatever.

11 For example, if you talk about Savage, or you talk about -- he is
12 AFRC. He controls a particular area, so all the people fighting
13 within that area -- so invariably he doesn't really go in and
14 out, especially where they feel much more comfortable in the

15:26:42 15 area. So he doesn't go fighting, so he develops a family, a home
16 and settles there. But these other young boys, who are the ones
17 that they put in the war front, are invariably the ones who keep
18 moving from one place to the other. So they are the ones who
19 find it difficult to have two, three wives. But the commanders,

15:26:58 20 who had homes and stationed in towns, actually had more than one
21 wives.

22 Q. You just indicated that these women had no option than to
23 accept the situation. On page 16 of your report in the second
24 paragraph, it says:

15:27:29 25 "Some of the bush wives accepted their status for several
26 reasons based on what non-bush wives were expected to do."

27 Then you enumerate a list of several items. First of all,
28 was this information obtained from the interviewees?

29 A. Yes, please.

1 Q. Does it also count for the second paragraph saying, "bush
2 wives were expected to carry out all the functions of a wife and
3 more"?

4 A. Yes.

15:28:08 5 Q. In how far were you able to detect during your interviews
6 that the acceptance of the status by the bush wives was based
7 upon their account of the situation and that, in a sense, they
8 were able to choose based on their free will for the forced
9 marriage or not?

15:28:43 10 A. They became wives against their will; they had no option.
11 Because like I demonstrated to you, one of them demonstrated -- I
12 said when he captures you and he holds you and says to you, "You
13 are my wife".

14 Q. But in times of war, do you agree that it was for them a
15:29:04 15 specific choice to live, to stay alive?

16 A. Oh, yes. The survival instinct is more important to you.

17 Q. And that -- sorry.

18 A. The survival is more important to you.

19 Q. So, in a way, they were able to, although under forceable
15:29:21 20 conditions, to make a choice based upon several options. In this
21 regard there was a form of free will for them?

22 A. You were not given a choice. He grabs you and says, "You
23 are my wife." So he doesn't ask you, "Do you want to come with
24 me?", or "Can you be my wife?" He grabs you and says, "You are
15:29:41 25 my wife." And while you are with him against your will, without
26 your consent, and while you live with him and go along with him,
27 you now see what happens to people who are not wives. So that it
28 is only after the event of you being a forced wife that you are
29 now able to compare what it is between. This is why a lot of

1 them who tell you when they drove them out this is the problem
2 they have. The decision to become a wife -- you can't explain
3 it. You become a wife automatically he captures you. So you do
4 not have the ability to compare between you and a non-bush wife,
15:30:22 5 because you don't know who is a non-bush wife. It is only after
6 you live with him, while you keep going with him under terrified
7 notion of what is happening, then you now realise within that
8 difficult and challenges there are people you are better off
9 than. So that is where you take the consolation and why you
15:30:41 10 cannot resist any more. So you try as much as you can to please
11 him so that he doesn't throw you out, because you know if he
12 throws you out you are going to be in a worse position.

13 Q. Mrs Bangura, there was a choice for these women. You
14 pointed it yourself in your report. They had an alternative;
15:31:00 15 namely, if they would refuse to marry they were expected to carry
16 out other functions as a wife. You enumerate on page 16. So
17 there was an option to refuse. That would of course imply that
18 they had to do additional --

19 A. The option was afterwards. Because you can still refuse
15:31:21 20 with him when he takes you or when he goes away. This is after
21 you have been a forced wife. Because when he captures you, he
22 tells you immediately you are a forced wife. As terrified as you
23 are, you don't even understand what it means. It is as you go
24 along, you now realise what it means to be a forced wife.

15:31:37 25 Obviously, when you get exposed to their own environment and the
26 area in which they operate, you now realise there are two
27 different alternatives. There are people who do not belong to
28 anybody and you see the way they are punished. So you see what
29 they do. That is where the comparison comes in. So, at the

1 beginning the issue is when she is captured, immediately at that
2 time he tells them, "You are my wife." So he holds you and then
3 he gets you into where they are. He abducts you and takes you
4 where they are. It is while you are there as his wife that you
15:32:11 5 get exposed to the environment and the way they live. You now
6 start seeing those who are not wives, who do not belong to
7 anybody, do not have the protection in the jungle. Because that
8 is basically, that is what they call them, but it is in the bush.
9 They don't have any protection. So you are not given a choice at
15:32:27 10 the time of being taken. You see the alternative and you realise
11 you are better off where you are, and you continue to hope that
12 you will stay there.

13 Q. So in that regard it was a choice between better and worse?

14 A. If you say so.

15:32:45 15 Q. I am asking you.

16 A. Well, at the beginning you don't have a choice. That is
17 the issue I am saying. When it happens you do not have a choice;
18 the choice comes afterwards. When you see the situation, that's
19 when you know that there is an alternative. Because when you are
15:32:59 20 captured -- for example, let's take for Freetown, when they
21 raided Freetown. People were in their homes and their houses and
22 these girls were forcibly taken out. And he tells you, "You are
23 my wife. I am taking you to the jungle." And he travels with
24 you 10, 20, 30 miles. And, of course, in the process you sleep
15:33:18 25 in different villages and communities. And then sexually he
26 satisfies, you carry his bag, the things that he has looted in
27 Freetown he gives you to put on his head and you go along with
28 him. Along that line you start understanding what it means to be
29 your wife. That means he has constant sex with you, you help him

1 with his things, you find food, and he also protects you. Then
2 when you now go where their camp is, which sometimes takes a day,
3 which sometimes takes three days, which sometimes takes a week,
4 you are with him. It is in that environment, in that
15:33:46 5 environment, you now see different other wives, you are
6 understand what it means, and then you see those who do not
7 belong to anybody, how they are treated. So the comparison for
8 you, the option that you are given is not given to you at the
9 time at which you become a forced wife. It is given to you after
15:34:01 10 you come to understand what a forced wife means, and then you see
11 among that in the jungle there is an alternative. You then
12 realise that even though my situation is bad, which you had gone
13 through for a week so, but at least there is a situation than I
14 am, so I better stay where I am because already I am out from my
15:34:20 15 parents' protection. Nobody can protect me here; I don't have
16 anywhere I can go; I am within their own confines, so I have to
17 do what they want.

18 Q. In this regard, from your perception, it is then a choice
19 between two social situations post factum.

15:34:41 20 A. If you say so.

21 Q. Did you inquire into the situation whereby a bush wife
22 refused to marry?

23 A. I think as terrified as the girls were you couldn't. I
24 mean, if there is no place that was raided that had not been put
15:35:08 25 under pressure within a certain number of days before it is
26 raided. If I give example in the Western Area, Freetown was
27 raided on the 6th of July. But obviously the entire country had
28 been taken systematically. So the terror and the anticipation of
29 what would happen and the stories puts you in such a traumatic

1 situation that when you are actually now captured you expect the
2 worst. In that situation you don't have a choice. You know you
3 are captured, you are taken away. Within that period, the trauma
4 you go through, you are not in a position to say when he tells
15:35:49 5 you, "I want you to be my wife", to say no or yes. If you can
6 scream, you scream, and then, of course, he will slap you. If
7 you can shout -- but he takes you away. There is no way you can
8 reject; there is no way you can refuse, because they have the gun
9 and you know that there are stories - nobody knows whether they
15:36:07 10 are true or not - of people who have been killed. And you know
11 that they kill people, they burn houses and you see it. So there
12 is nothing you can do. You just accept and hope that when you
13 get there you might be able to escape, which some of them did,
14 especially when there is a counterattack, and then everybody is
15:36:25 15 scattered and people go into different directions.

16 Q. Mrs Bangura, suppose the situation you describe -- you
17 describe the situation of bush wives and their status and
18 obligations on the one hand, and, secondly, the situation of
19 non-bush wives with the increased, what you say, burden of
15:36:48 20 functioning and tasks for their husbands. You suppose that the
21 bush wife is forcibly married to a person. When she envisioned
22 the situation where she is in and she decides not to stay with
23 her husband, and she chooses to be, for instance, a second wife
24 or she voluntarily chooses not to function as his wife anymore
15:37:26 25 and to fulfill these extra functions, can you still say that in
26 such a situation there is no free will?

27 A. Of course, there is no free will, because you are not
28 allowed to go back home, because for you, you have been brought
29 somewhere against your will. If you had an option, the road is

1 open and they said, "If you want to go, you can go", but you know
2 and you are being told in no uncertain terms in any attempt by
3 you to escape will lead to death, and you see some of your
4 colleagues who have died as a result of them trying to escape,
15:38:04 5 there is no free will. The free will is when you know and he is
6 willing to let you go. Then you have a free will. But as long
7 as you were staying there under duress and the surround of a gun,
8 whatever decision you make at that time is not based on free
9 will, it is based on the circumstances in which you find
15:38:24 10 yourself, you didn't have an alternative. That is the way I look
11 at it.

12 Q. Isn't that more a matter of being forcibly abducted instead
13 of forcibly married?

14 A. Forcibly married because already the act was done before
15:38:35 15 and you have to stay in that marriage as a result of the
16 circumstances and the situation and the alternative. So, you
17 still stay in a forced marriage because the alternative is less,
18 or is worse than in which you should have found yourself. So you
19 still stay in the marriage.

15:38:55 20 Q. In your research, specifically these 59 interviews you
21 undertook, was there a situation encountered by you as described
22 by me, that a woman is forcibly married, during the marriage she
23 decides not to be married anymore and decides to opt for this
24 other status, and subsequently what happens then?

15:39:36 25 A. I didn't meet anybody who told me they opted out of it, no.
26 The only person -- I met somebody who told me that "I was thrown
27 out, he met somebody and so he threw me out." But none of them I
28 met actually willing said to me, "I decided to take the decision
29 to leave out from him."

1 Q. Was that situation specifically researched on?

2 A. No, no, no.

3 Q. So, the hypothetical situation described by me in this
4 example was not part of your research and therefore you cannot
15:40:13 5 able to --

6 A. No, when you asked them about their situation in marriage
7 and you asked them why they stayed in marriage, and they tell you
8 the alternative, and then they tell you the experiences of people
9 who had been thrown out of the marriage -- you know, somebody
15:40:29 10 decides that I don't want you any more and so off you go -- and
11 you lose the protection that he gives to you, so obviously you
12 know as well as they do, and everybody does, none of them would
13 be prepared to subject themselves to that kind of condition after
14 what they have seen happen to people who, even though they don't
15:40:48 15 want her to go out. And even those who lost their husband,

16 because some of them were married and then, of course, in
17 ambushes and other things the rebel husbands died or were killed,
18 so all of a sudden they join the rest of the other people, unless
19 if you are lucky somebody else picks you up. But generally you
15:41:08 20 lose that protection of that one particular person, so you become
21 the low. So these were instances as I called. And so these
22 other women of course knew that they cannot. So every day you
23 pray that either you escape or you are able to go, or they do an
24 ambush and you are able to survive, they catch you, or that you
15:41:23 25 survive with him and you leave.

26 Q. But you are not able to tell us any data on that situation
27 as you described?

28 A. No.

29 MR KNOOPS: Thank you, Your Honour. That concludes my --

1 THE WITNESS: Can I use the bathroom?

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Certainly, Mrs Bangura. Will somebody
3 from witness support assist the witness, please. Thank you,
4 Mr Knoops.

15:41:49 5 [The witness stood down]

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Counsel, I note the time, and it would
7 appear there will only be a very short time for new
8 cross-examination. In the circumstances, it might be more
9 practical to start tomorrow. I will however wait until the
10 witness returns in order to give her, the witness, the usual
11 warning we given when a matter is not completed.

12 [The witness entered court]

13 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: You are welcome, Mrs Bangura.
15:44:15 15 Mrs Bangura, it is getting very close to the time when this Court
16 normally adjourns for the day. There are two other lawyers who
17 may have questions for you. In the circumstances, we will
18 adjourn now, because there is only a few minutes, and I ask you
19 to come back tomorrow to complete the cross-examination. I
15:44:34 20 should warn you that until all your evidence is finished, the
21 oath and promise you took this morning to tell the truth will be
22 binding upon you until the end of your evidence and between now
23 and the time all your evidence is finished you should not discuss
24 your evidence or the report or any other matters relating to your
15:44:52 25 evidence with anyone. Do you understand this?

26 THE WITNESS: Yes, please. Thank you.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mrs Bangura. Mr Court
28 Attendant, please adjourn Court until tomorrow at 9.15 a.m.

29 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 3.49 p.m.,

1 to be reconvened on Tuesday, 4 October 2005, at
2 9.15 a.m.]
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EXHIBITS:

Exhibit No. P30 4

WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION:

WITNESS: ZAINAB BANGURA 2

EXAMINED BY MS PACK 2

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR KNOOPS 81