

SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE
PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Enclosed are clippings of local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Press and Public Affairs Office as of:

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The press clips are produced Monday to Friday.
If you are aware of omissions or have any comments or suggestions please contact
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Penfold says: Norman is a hero

By Betty Milton

Former British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Peter Penfold has in his evidence at the Special Court described the National Coordinator of the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), Chief Sam Hinga Norman as a hero who “was

committed to President Tejan Kabbah”

Being the second witness for the defence team of the CDF, Mr. Penfold told the Court about the state of the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) after the general elections which were international monitored before the coup in May. He said the British, together with

the United States and Nigeria Governments decided to do some small military training for the military.

Before the training commenced, the witness noted, there was widespread corrupt practices and inefficiency within the army wherein it was discovered that the SLA was claiming to have

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Penfold says: Norman is a hero

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a strength of 15,000 men and thereby claiming more salaries and this he said was a burden on the government as this was consuming about 60% of Government's revenue.

The Former High Commissioner said as a result of this a meeting which was held with the Chief of Defence Staff Brigadier Hassan Conteh, he [Hassan Conteh] revealed that in effect there were about 8,000 men in the army "as a result they would not be able to undertake the training project which they we have worked."

Mr. Penfold went on to state that thy then reported the matter to the Deputy Defence Minister Chief Samuel Hinga Norman who became annoyed as he was trying to establish the number of soldiers in the army.

Later in early May 1997, a meeting was called by President Kabbah which was attended by Brigadier Hassan Conteh and Colonel

Max Kanga. During the meeting the witness said, Brigadier Conteh explained that it was not because of the lack of number but lack of resources such as uniforms that had prevented them from taking part in the training.

President Kabbah, he recalled, expressed concern over the contradictions in the number in the army and so decided to reduce the rice rations given them

Mr Penfold maintained that on 17 May 1997, he together with John Hirsh the Former American Ambassador to Sierra Leone and Berhanu Dinka the UN Special Representative to Sierra Leone held a meeting with President Kabbah at his house and advised him of the unrest in the army and warned him of a possible coup.

President Kabbah, he continued, told them that he too had heard rumours and that he would be addressing the military. But that on 25 May 1997, there was a coup and the President was flown out of the country to

neighbouring Guinea.

Mr. Peter Penfold further explained that he left Sierra Leone for Guinea on 2 June 1997 and that he sent a message to President Kabbah and briefed him about the list of demands the soldiers wanted and he [Kabbah] agreed to comply.

Since then, he noted, they started to hold meetings at the hotel he was residing. But he later realized that the President and Chief Norman were not in good speaking terms. So John Hirsh together with Berhanu Dinka went to Chief Norman and informed him that they should come together to restore the government.

At a meeting with President Kabbah it was decided that the CDF should assist in the restoration of democracy. "While we were in Guinea we heard talks of resistance to the AFRC by the Kamajors and other militia ... and there was the need to coordinate with ECOMOG as they had been mandated by ECOWAS to

reinstate the government," he said.

Mr. Penfold also revealed that President Kabbah informed them that he had formed a CDF Committee and the Chairman was the then Vice President Albert Joe Demby who was answerable to the President, and that Chief Norman was the National Coordinator because he had military experience.

After the restoration of the elected government, Mr. Penfold said he returned to Sierra Leone in March 1998 and went on a tour of Bo where he was introduced to the head of the Kamajors there, Daramy Rogers.

He also went to Pujehun where they met with Eddie Massally who was heading the Kamajors there. Both of them, he said, never regarded Norman as their boss.

Concluding, he stated, "In all my dealings with Chief Norman, he always discussed about the reinstatement and was committed to President Kabbah. In my view, Norman was a hero and he played a significant role in the restoration of peace in Sierra Leone."

As Peter Penfold testifies at the Special Court, he declares

“Hinga Norman is not a war criminal”

***By Tom E. Tommy
& Saffia S. Kabbah***

Former British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, His Excellency Peter Penfold during his testimony

yesterday in the ongoing indictment trial of Chief Sam Hinga Norman at the Special Court of Sierra Leone, said that Hinga Norman is not a War Criminal.

Giving his testimony, he

focused on different areas, including the May 25th 1997 coup, the formation and activities of the Civil Defence Forces and also his general idea about Chief Sam Hinga Norman.

“Hinga Norman is not a

War Criminal” was his initial response to Defence Lawyer, Dr. Bu-buakie Jabbie, when he was asked about his over all impression about Chief Hinga Norman.

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Hinga Norman is hero

From front page

"My general opinion about Chief Norman as I see him to be is that, Hinga Norman is a man of integrity, committed to his country's development. He is a model who spends more time engaged with governmental ministerial work more than his family. In the process of the restoration of democracy and the reinstatement of President Tejan Kabbah's government, Hinga Norman is a hero," Penfold told the court. He went on to refer to the indictment against Chief Norman as "a great injustice".

Mr. Penfold went on to explain that when he was in Conakry, he was approached by some Sierra Leoneans who were frustrated by the slow pace of the restoration process and even suggested to him that President Kabbah be abandoned and another person be chosen as their leader who could fast-track the restoration process. He (Penfold) said he then advised them to keep their cool and not to do things in a hurry, because, according to him, by so doing it will simply lead to the end of the international support for the government.

Hinga Norman, Mr. Penfold went on, never expressed such a view to him, rather, according to him, Chief Norman was firmly committed to the restoration of President Kabbah and his government back to power. On his return back home, after the government of President Kabbah has been restored, Mr. Penfold said Chief Norman was held in high esteem by the CDF fighters. To qualify this, Mr. Penfold noted he saw this show of respect in March 2000, when he accompanied Chief Norman to Moyamba. Mr. Penfold said that on their arrival, he said Norman was well received by the local chiefs and the entire populace of the area. He also noted that as a show of their appreciation for what Chief Norman did, the local people composed a song in which there were praises for ECOMOG, the British Government and the CDF for their pivotal contributions towards the restoration of democracy.

Speaking on what he knew about the formation of the CDF, Mr. Penfold it came about as a result of the reluctance and intransigence of the AFRC Junta to hand over power to the legitimately elected government.

He said that it was when they were in Conakry that it was agreed to coordinate the activities of the militia forces and if possible put them under a single command and control. Mr. Penfold went on to name the various militia groups that were to be put under this single command and control as: the Gbethies, the Kapras, the Donsos and the Tamaboros.

Mr. Penfold disclosed that while they in Guinea, it was President Kabbah who decided on the establishment of the Civil Defence Forces (CDF). According to him, it was the President who informed him later that Civil Defence Forces was going to be the collective name for the civil militia groups.

Mr. Penfold went on to disclose that the President Kabbah told him that the Chairman for this group was the Vice President, Dr. Albert Joe Demby, who was directly answerable to him as the President. In the case of Hinga Norman, Mr. Penfold noted that he was appointed as the National Coordinator, with the responsibility of interfacing between the CDF and ECOMOG because of his wealth of military experience and also because he was a senior member of government. Mr. Penfold noted further that Chief Norman was however obliged to perform his duties in Sierra Leone and with ECOMOG in Liberia as it was the CDF's source of arms, ammunition and other logistic supports.

Peter Penfold went on to reveal to the court that just after the May 25, 1997 coup, he heard that Hinga Norman was trying to rally loyal officers of the Sierra Leone Army who had joined the junta to put down their guns. He also stated that a little later, he heard again that the AFRC junta soldiers were searching for Hinga Norman during which time most of the senior members of government had fled the country. He stated also that Chief Norman hid at the Mammy Yoko Hotel which was by then guarded by Nigerian soldiers for five days until he was rescued by American Marines on board the USS Kearsage that had come to evacuate foreign nationals out of Sierra Leone.

Substantiating this submission, Mr. Penfold made reference to a book written by the the American Abassador

to Sierra Leone, John Hirsh titled, "Sierra Leone the struggle endowment".

On what he knew about the May 25th, 1997 coup, Mr. Penfold said he held a meeting with President Kabbah on the 17th May 1997 alongside the US Ambassador, John Hirsh and the United Nations Special Representative, Ambassador Dinka at the President's residence, where he disclosed that they advised the President about the rumour of an Arms Rest by the army and warned him of a possible coup. According to him, President Kabbah only told them that he had also heard the rumour and that he will talk to the army.

During the same month of May, Mr. Penfold said he held another meeting with the President together with Chief Hinga Norman in his capacity as Deputy Defence Minister, Vice President, Albert Joe Demby and Brigadier Hassan Conteh, the then Chief of Defence Staff (CDF). The meeting he indicated was to discuss ways of addressing recreation concerns raised by the army as indicated by the rumours.

At this meeting, Mr. Penfold revealed that Brigadier Hassan Conteh, on behalf of the Army said that they could not go ahead with recruitment plans because of lack of resources such as uniforms, rice supplies etc. He said President Kabbah then asked Brigadier Conteh to reduce the rice ration of senior officers so that they could commence recruitment and training at Beneguema Military Training Camp. Mr. Penfold said he later received information that Brigadier Conteh summoned a meeting at the Defence Headquarters during which he said Brigadier Conteh informed the meeting that he had received orders from President Kabbah to reduce the rice rations, as according to him, rice was rationed according to rank in the army. He revealed that the information he later received indicated that Brigadier Conteh rather decided to reduce the rice ration of the other ranks instead of senior officers. According to him, it was a week later following these meetings that the coup took place eventually on on Sunday 25th May 1997.

At Special Court ...

Penfold hails Norman and exposes Kabbah

By Joseph Turay

Former British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone- Peter Alfred Penfold Wednesday 8th February showered praises at indicted former pro-government Kamajor Militia National Co-ordinator, Chief

Sam Hinga Norman. He described Chief Norman as "a hero who fought for the restoration of democracy in this country." The former British Diplomat while testifying at the Trial Chamber No.1 said that the Court has done injustice to Norman- a man whom he maintained had

done great things for the people of Sierra Leone. "I found Norman as a man of integrity who was committed to the peace of this country," Penfold charged; adding that Norman sacrificed his life for the restoration of democracy and therefore should be seen as a true son of this nation.

"Norman is not a war criminal," he says. Penfold went further to state that the accused- Norman was appreciated by many Sierra Leoneans regarding the role he played for the peace the people are now enjoying. He cited that even when the Government

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Penfold hails Norman and exposes Kabbah

FROM PAGE 1

was in exile in Guinea, it was Norman amongst other officials, who were committed to President Kabbah in the drive to restore democracy. Penfold said Norman who he has great respect for, had never expressed negative things contrary to President Kabbah's dream for the restoration of his Government. While they were in Guinea, Penfold told the Court that in all his dealings with the accused, he found the him as a caring person who very "is considerate" regarding the people of this country and the Penfold family; noting that he sees Norman's role in the war as a former Military man who was the only one fit at the time to handle such positions. He noted that as Deputy Minister of Defence at the time, he was the only credible person fit to be appointed as National Coordinator of the CDF. At this stage of his statement, Penfold was halted by the three Judges of the Trial Chamber as he was told not to continue with such statements as it was against the rule of law for a witness to determine whether the Court has or do not have the right to indict Norman.

The Chamber further asked Penfold to withdraw part of his statement, particularly the word "injustice". In response, Penfold apologised to the Judges; saying that he was carried away by emotions and that he did not mean what he said. However, while continuing his testimony, Penfold revealed certain secrets that he had discussed with President Kabbah both in Sierra Leone and in exile in Guinea in 1997. He disclosed that he and

other diplomats had earlier informed President Kabbah about the May 25th 1997 coup. The former British High Commissioner explained that he had a meeting with the President at his Villa one week before the coup took place; adding that President Kabbah only told him that he had heard such rumours and that he was going to have talks with the Army. Peter Penfold went on to explain that while he was in exile in Guinea with President Kabbah, the latter told him about his plan to establish the Civil Defence Forces (CDF). Upon this Penfold said, it was the President who later told him that he had formed a fighting force named the CDF and that he would be the head while his Vice- Joe Demby would be the deputy and Chief Sam Hinga Norman who was the Deputy Defence Minister at the time would serve as the National

Coordinator. Penfold told the Court that while he was in Guinea and was just about to go on leave, he visited President Kabbah to bid him farewell. During the visit he explained, President Kabbah showed him a draft contract signed between him (Kabbah) and a company in the UK named- Sandline for proposed mining activities in Sierra Leone. Penfold revealed that the contract was for the company to have in return, mining concessions after providing training and equipment for the CDF including arms and ammunition. This deal Peter Penfold said came to past when loyal Forces of Kabbah under ECOMOG based in Lungi received a large consignment of arms and ammunition. The arms Penfold said on arrival in Lungi on 6th February 1998 was seized by ECOMOG troops deployed there at the time.

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“Norman’s Indictment Is Great Injustice...”

By *Mohamed Kai*

Former British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Komrabai Peter Penfold, yesterday

-Penfold Tells Special Court

told the well-attended special court room that the indictment

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“Norman’s Indictment Is Great Injustice...”

From front page

ment of Chief Sam Hinga Norman is a great injustice.

Led in evidence by Defence Counsel Dr. Bu-buakle Jabbie, Peter Penfold said that following the restoration of the democratically elected government of President Alhaji Tejan Kabbah in 1998, he visited Moyamba together with Mr Norman where he donated a consignment of food and non food items to displaced people.

Mr Penfold further told the court that during the donation, he observed that the recipients were appreciative of the effort of the kamajors in preventing their localities from rebel infiltration and the restoration of the democratically elected government.

He said he found Chief Sam Hinga Norman to be a man of integrity, a Sierra Leonean who loves his country and committed to democracy and further stated that Hinga Norman was fully committed to the restoration of democratic and constitutional normalcy in the country.

“Hinga Norman played a significant role in the restoration of the government of President Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah and constitutional normalcy,” Penfold told the Special Court.

The former British High Commissioner said he held several meetings with the then Chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, the now fugitive Johnny Paul Koroma, following their overthrow of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah's government on Sunday 25 May 1997 in the presence of the then American Ambassador Mr. John Hirsch, the Nigerian High Commissioner to Sierra Leone M.C. Abu Bakarr and other diplomatic representative as to how the killings, maiming and burning of residential homes could be halted.

At the meeting he went on, Johnny Paul Koroma apologized on behalf of the junta regime and promised the gathering that he would do everything possible to reverse the situation.

Exclusive

9 February 2006

Secret Revealed

***Kabbah Ordered Sandline To Supply Arms**

By Mohamed Kai

Implicating revelations had already started coming out

at Special Court since Chief Hinga Norman started testifying. Yester-

day saw yet another nerve tingling revela-
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***Kabbah Ordered Sandline To Supply Arms**

From front page

tions as the former British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Chief Kombrabai Peter Penfold, took the podium to testify. In his testimony, Peter Penfold told the crowded court room that at a particular occasion, President Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, the CDF indictee, Sam Hinga Norman and himself held a meeting in Guinea, Conakry in which president Kabbah discussed plans to contact Sandline International, a mercenary outfit to explore possibility for the purchase and supply of arms and ammunition to reverse the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) coup.

Penfold further explained that after that meeting, he returned to the United Kingdom and that he later received a telephone call from the Director of Sandline International Mr. Cizer informing him about the discussion between him and President Kabbah with regards the supply of arms and ammunition.

While in London, Penfold stated that Mr. Cizer told him that president Kabbah had struck a deal with him to supply a consignment of arms and ammunition, stressing that the arms and ammunition were brought to Lungi and handed over to the ECOMOG troops but could not tell whether the arms and ammunitions were supplied to any fighting group.

Penfold also recalled that in 1998, he visited Bo where Mr. Daramy Rogers was introduced to him as Commander of 'Kamajors' troops deployed in Bo Town and disclosed that he observed that the civil populace was appreciative of the efforts of the Kamajors from protecting their homes and villages from marauding rebels. In another separate meeting with the president, Penfold further explained that he discussed (with him the idea of setting up a civil militia which were very resistant to attacks launched by the rebel outfit on civilians, towns and villages and also confirmed that after these meetings, the president formally appointed Sam Hinga Norman as the National Co-coordinator of Civil Defence Forces (CDF).

The trial continues today

Akim, 'Leather Boot', others freed

After six year in detention at the Pademba Road Prison, the High Court in Freetown has Wednesday 8th February discharged Akim Turay, Idriss Amid Kamara a.k.a 'Leather Boot' and thirty others- all of Revolutionary United Front (RUF). They were set free after the Court had proven that there is no written statement regarding their case as some of the accused were already held in Prison prior to the May 8th demonstration in 2000.

However, four of the defendants- Tamba Mague, Gina Brima, Saluie Jalloh and Joseph Koroma who still have a case to answer were sent back to be remanded at the Pademba Road Prison. Among the thirty freed RUF ex-fighters were: Sorieba Mansaray, Junior Momoh, Lawrence Wormandia, Sgt. Ibrahim Sesay, Sheik Abu Bakarr Nabie, Lt. Christian B.E. Boltman, Idriss Amid Kamara and Kabba Michael



Released RUF/AFRC detainees, jubilating at Pademba Road

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Akim, 'Leather Boot', others freed

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Sheku. Among those discharged were: Vandy Kosia, Amidu Baffor, Tamba Makuie, Alex George Williams, Sheku Sesay, Emmanuel Williams, Francis Momoh Musa, Osman Koroma, Foday Turay, Aiah Alfred Bockarie, Ibrahim Fofanah, Idriss Dumbuya, Bai Kanu and Paul Veal. The four other who still have a case to answer wouls make another appearance in Court on 14th February.

Pa Alimamy Turay, Akim's father said after hearing about his son's release: "I am happy that my son has been finally released after six years of imprisonment without sentence, which they did not

deserve unnecessary detention for."

He however thanked Government for saving the life of his son. In a related incident, the Revolutionary United Front Party (RUF) Secretary General- Jonathan Kposowa on behalf of his Party expressed gratitude to Government for the release of their members from detention while appealing further to His Excellency President Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to grant pardon to those still held in detention as there is no way they can be set free other than through his Presidential pardon.

22 RUF Suspects discharged

By Ophaniel Gooding
Thunderous exclamations broke the graveyard silence at the Freetown High Court No.2 yesterday as Justice Patrick Hamilton discharged 22 accused
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22 RUF Suspects discharged

From Front Page

persons of the defunct Revolutionary United Front (RUF) who had been standing trial for various offences over the last six years.

Due to the large number of accused persons and the limited space in the dock, the judge had early ruled that the accused should be separated into two groups. (RUF1 and 2)

Yesterday's judgment was for RUF 2, which comprised 27 accused persons. Those discharged were Paul Veal, Bai Kanu, Issa Dumbuya, Aiah Alfred Bockarie, Ibrahim Fofanah, Foday Turay, Osman Koroma and Sheku Sesay.

Others include: Francis Momoh Musa, Emmanuel Williams, Alex George Williams, Vandy Kosia, Aiah Baffor, Kabba Michael Sheik Dumbuya, Idrissa Amid Kamara, Lt. Christina B.E. Boltman, Sheik Abu Bakarr Nabie, Sgt. Idrissa Ibrahim Sesay, Lawrence Warmandia, Junior Momoh, Akim Turay, Soriba Mansaray and Philip Moses Garber.

The grounds for their discharge were that some of the accused were incarcerated at the central prisons before the May 8, 2000 incident.

The May 8th demonstration against deceased RUF leader, Corporal Foday Sankoh, ended in pandemonium as some protesters were injured and others killed during the riot.

Another reason preferred was that statements were not obtained from some of the accused.

The judge pointed out that, "The accused were arrested for specific criminal offences and not for belonging to the RUF". Adding that, "this does not create any object in our law"

Justice Hamilton thanked both Prosecution and Defence throughout the proceedings "for their full dedication in the pursuit of justice."

Speaking to one of the accused persons with tears rolling down his cheeks he stated, "I'm going home to rest after six years of unlawful imprisonment, God has finally set me free from those who piloted evil against me. I have forgiven them, as I go home to start a new life."

Justice Hamilton however remanded four others in custody. They are Joseph Koroma, Sallieu Jalloh, Tamba Makieu and Gina Brima saying that they had cases to answer.

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The Liberian Debacle

Once again, a trouble is brewing in the sub region which if not properly managed, could lead to another crisis of unprecedented proportion. The ongoing uncertainty in Liberia in the aftermath of that country's controversial elections should be a matter of concern to the leaders and people in the Mano River Basin. The elections are over but George Weah, who was a very strong contender for that country's presidency is still aggrieved about the results, which he continues to contest for according to him, being fraudulent. Yet no leader in the sub region has come out to suggest a plausible solution to forestall this impending doom and its attendant consequences to countries in the subregion should the situation get out of hands in that country. Why can't the candidate who has been elected president take the onus to call the aggrieved

candidate for a tete-a tete to solve the problem. She ought as a matter of urgency and in the interest of peace and stability, borrow a page from the German scenario were in after the stalemate of the election, a consensus government was formed to appease all sides in the interest of peace and the development of the country. Liberia is once more drifting along dangerous paths with Ellen ignoring George Weah and underestimating the magnitude of the consequences because she feels she has the support of the international community which to say the least, is a serious mistake. Elen herself did at a point acknowledge that George Weah has the support of the youth. If so, then why can't she take Weah seriously in order to save Liberia from another possible crisis. Sadly, Ecowa leaders from whom much is ex-

pected are sitting complacently watching as the security situation continues to deteriorate in Liberia. West African leaders should insist on a government of national unity. They should not see it as interference in the internal affairs of another state because if anything goes wrong, it is the whole region that will bear the brunt of it. We should learn from our past mistakes. Charles Taylor was grossly disappointed when he so confidently felt he could use military might to stay in power and we are all witnesses to mayhem that resulted from his over confidence. So now that Ellen Johnson Sirleaf has been declared the winner of the elections, she must take the lead by calling Mr. Weah and sort things out with him for the sake of Liberia

Experts, US Officials Say Taylor Still Threatens Liberia

By Dan Robinson
Washington
09 February 2006



Charles Taylor (file photo)

Experts have told members of the U.S. Congress peace in Liberia and the success of the new government there depend on former president Charles Taylor being turned over for prosecution on war crimes charges to the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

The recent inauguration of Liberian president Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf raised some optimism for Liberians after years of a bloody civil war that left an estimated 600,000 people dead.

However, Charles Taylor, who has been indicted for war crimes, remains in Nigeria where he lives in an internationally negotiated exile.

So far the Nigerian government has not turned him over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone to be prosecuted. President Johnson-Sirleaf has given no specific answers about Taylor's surrender.



VOA photo - D. Robinson

David Crane, the court's former Chief Prosecutor until last year, says Taylor continues to be a threat for Liberia. "He meant it then, and he means it to this day -- he will be back. Charles Taylor knows [that] the western world, to include the United States, better than we do ourselves. He is relatively young, wealthy, influential and has a supportive base militarily and politically within Liberia and the Mano River region. Taylor knows that the west, particularly this country, will never send its sons and daughters to West Africa, to stabilize a faltering Liberia," he said.

David Crane

Crane was among witnesses at a hearing [Wednesday] of the House Africa Subcommittee. All expressed concern a combination of Taylor's influence in Liberia, easily-obtainable weapons, and economic strife could undermine President Johnson-Sirleaf.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Jendayi Frazer, says nothing stands in the way of Taylor being transferred to the court. "We have said, and Secretary [of State] Rice has said to [Nigerian] President Obasanjo in her meetings with him, as well as to President Sirleaf Johnson, that we would want to make sure that Charles Taylor is turned over to the Sierra Leone Court, sooner the better," she said.



VOA photo - D. Robinson

Jendayi Frazer

Republican Congressman Ed Royce says it is time Nigeria turns over Taylor, in response to an expected request from the newly-elected Liberian government. "Until he is tried, he continues to plot in seaside Calabar, Nigeria. Taylor says he will return to Liberia and I would say that his track record suggests that he would do that if he isn't stopped," he said.

In other testimony, West Africa expert J. Peter Pham of James Madison University, says Liberia

confronts big challenges: building a national government, overcoming constitutional flaws, updating out-dated laws and a shattered judicial system, and holding former officials accountable.

Liberia, he says, could be a beacon of success in a combustible region where problems persist in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, and Guinea, while the alternative is not pretty. "If on the other hand, Liberia stagnates or worse, slides back into chaos it will once again serve both as a catalyst and fuel in a regional conflagration that will undo a decade's worth of patient efforts by the United States, our British and French allies in Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire respectively, and the international community in general," he said.

Charles Taylor was the first African head of state ever indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

U.S. lawmakers have spoken out strongly on the question of his transfer to the Special Court for Sierra Leone, including a House [of Representatives] resolution last year approved overwhelmingly calling for him to be handed over for prosecution.

They are also urging the Bush administration to maintain adequate funding levels for the Special Court in its final months of operation.

Former Special Prosecutor Crane says any future financial aid to Liberia should be linked to good governance by the Liberian government. He also urges creation of a South Africa-style Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and what he calls a hybrid war crimes tribunal.

Print



UNMIL Public Information Office Media Summary 8 Feb 2006

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

International Clips on Liberia**Hearing in Liberian ex-president asylum case adjourned**

ABUJA, Feb 7, 2006 (AFP) - Hearings in a suit filed to challenge the asylum granted by Nigeria to Liberian former president Charles Taylor resumed Tuesday at a federal high court here, after a two-month suspension, and then adjourned.

At its last sitting on November 1, Judge Steven Adah had ruled that his court had jurisdiction to entertain the suit, which was filed by two Nigerians who had lost limbs in Sierra Leone, allegedly on Taylor's orders. They challenged the asylum granted Taylor by the Nigerian government in August 2003. Nigerian government lawyers later filed an appeal against Adah's ruling.

Bangladeshi peace-keeping force leaves for Liberia

DHAKA, Feb 8, 2006 (Xinhua via COMTEX) -- A batch of around 300 Bangladeshi soldiers left Dhaka Wednesday night for Liberia to join the peace-keeping force there, an army official said. The team will replace another Bangladeshi batch already in Liberia, which has finished its scheduled term there, the army official told Xinhua Wednesday.

With New Government in Place, Future of Liberia's Police Looking Up: UN Official

Feb 07, 2006 (UN News Service/All Africa Global Media via COMTEX) --Successful recent elections in Liberia and the inauguration last month of a new president bode well for the rebuilding of the West African nation's police force, a senior United Nations law enforcement official said today. Ingrid Dagestad, Deputy Police Commissioner with the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), said the country's force still has a long way to go in dealing with the effects of more than a decade of brutal civil war but voiced confidence that it is on the right track towards reform.

International Clips on West Africa**UN sanctions "unjust, ineffective", Ivorian 'patriot'**

ABIDJAN, Feb 8, 2006 (AFP) - UN sanctions slapped Tuesday on three Ivorian politicians seen as obstacles to peace in the west African country are "unjust and ineffective", one of those affected by the ban said Wednesday.

Eugene Djue, one of the two leaders of the nationalist "Young Patriots" loyal to Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo, who were blamed for anti-UN disturbances last month in the west African nation, called for calm in the aftermath of the penalties. "The sanctions are unjust and ineffective. We did not attack Ivory Coast, we defended our country," Djue told AFP in his first reaction to the 12-month travel ban and asset freeze.

Local Media – Newspapers

Government Fails to Resolve Go-Slow at Firestone

(Daily Observer, The News, The Analyst and New Democrat)

- A government delegation consisting of the Labour Minister- designate, Kofi Woods and the Agriculture Minister-designate, Chris Toe yesterday failed to reach a compromise with striking workers of the Firestone Rubber Plantation in Harbel, Margibi County.

Senate confirms More Presidential Nominees

(The News, New Democrat and Heritage)

- The Liberian Senate yesterday confirmed additional five nominees for cabinet positions. Those confirmed are Jeremiah Sulunteh, Transport Minister; Varbah Gayflor, Minister of Gender and Development; Dr. Joseph Kortoe, Minister of Education; Jackson E. Doe, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications and Francis Karpeh, Deputy Finance Minister for Administration.

Nigeria Begins Troops Withdrawal From UNMIL

(New Democrat)

- A Nigerian newspaper, *Daily Trust*, reported recently that Nigeria had begun a phase-withdrawal from its peacekeeping role in Liberia with the recent departure of 109 troops from the 21 Armoured Brigade. The paper reportedly said that the withdrawal was prompted by successful presidential and legislative elections in Liberia and the country's gradual return to stability.

Rebel Build-UP in Gbarpolu County Says Lawmaker

(New Democrat)

- Senate National Security Committee Chairman Prince Johnson recently quoted intelligence report that people are undergoing military training in the forest of Gbarpolu to carry out subversion against the state.

UN Envoy Praises EU Elections Report

(New Democrat)

- Speaking in Monrovia recently, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Alan Doss said that the European Union's Election Observer Mission (EOM) report declaring the elections in Liberia as free and fair lent international and regional credibility to the result.

UN Panel of Experts Want Escrow Account for Maritime Funds

(The News)

- The UN Panel of Experts on Liberia recently recommended that an escrow account be set up by the Security Council Committee for all revenues generated from the Liberia Shipping and Corporate Registry (LISCR).

Local Media – Radio Veritas *(News monitored yesterday at 18:45 pm)*

Senate confirms More Presidential Nominees

(Also reported on ELBS and Star Radio)

Government Fails to Resolve Go-Slow at Firestone

(Also reported on ELBS and Star Radio)

Legislature considers repealing National Port Authority Act

- A Bill sponsored by Maryland County Representative James Banney, which seeks to repeal the Public Act of the National Port Authority (NPA) on contract and management, was yesterday introduced in the House.

(Also reported on ELBS and Star Radio)

Governance Reform Commission Holds Consultation on Code of Conduct for Public Servants

- The Governance Reform Commission (GRC) yesterday conducted a one-day working session with civil society and human rights groups on a draft Code of Conduct for public servants in the country.

(Also reported on Star Radio)

STAR RADIO *(News culled from website today at 09:00 am)*

Presidential Appointments not based on Religious Affiliations

- Unity Party Chief Coordinator Aisha Conneh told Star Radio yesterday that appointments in government should not necessarily take religion into account. She was reacting to All Liberian Coalition Party's standard bearer Alhaji Kromah's claims of religious imbalance in the cabinet nominations being made by President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf.

Sierra Leonean delegation in Liberia to attend Peace Conference

- A three-man delegation from Sierra Leone arrived in Monrovia yesterday to participate in a peace conference tomorrow under the auspices of the Liberia Chapter of the Federation of World Peace.

Complete versions of the UNMIL International Press Clips, UNMIL Daily Liberian Radio Summary and UNMIL Liberian Newspapers Summary are posted each day on the UNMIL Bulletin Board. If you are unable to access the UNMIL Bulletin Board or would like further information on the content of the summaries, please contact Mr. Jeddi Armah at armahj@un.org.

Testimony by Assistant Secretary Jendayi E. Frazer on The Impact of Liberia's Election on West Africa

United States Department of State (Washington, DC)

February 8, 2006

Testimony by Assistant Secretary Jendayi E. Frazer "The Impact of Liberia's Election on West Africa" House International Relations Committee Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations Chairman Christopher H. Smith

-SNIP-

Liberia's former president Charles Taylor bears much of the responsibility for Liberia's suffering. The U.S. Government has consistently maintained that Taylor must be brought to justice before the Special Court. This will significantly help to bring closure to a tragic chapter in Liberia's history and help all of West Africa overcome patterns of impunity, illicit trade, and civil conflict.

Liberia's condition is clearly of concern beyond its own borders. If Liberia is internally secure, all of West Africa will benefit. It becomes easier for the region to address the ongoing unrest in Cote d'Ivoire, as well as fragile situations in Guinea and Sierra Leone. A stable Liberia is a force for regional stability.

-SNIP-

*House International Relations Committee
Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights
And International Operations*

**“I’ll be back”
Charles Taylor and the Future of Liberia**

Testimony of

David M. Crane¹
Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law
Syracuse University
College of Law

8 February 2006

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman and other distinguished members of this sub-committee, good afternoon. I appreciate the opportunity to come before you and talk about the tenuous future of a struggling democracy, the Republic of Liberia.

Before I do that, however, I want to recognize the tremendous, steadfast, and bi-partisan support this committee has given me professionally, politically, and personally during my tenure as the founding Chief Prosecutor of the world’s first hybrid international war crimes tribunal in West Africa, the Special Court for Sierra Leone. For three years we *all* worked together to face down impunity in West Africa and to seek justice for the murder, rape, maiming, and mutilation of approximately 500,000 Sierra Leoneans ruined in a type of civil war over a period of ten years of brutal and sadistic fighting on all sides.² I am here to tell you, Mr. Chairman, that you and your esteemed colleagues, to include Chairman Hyde and the ranking democratic member, Mr. Lantos, as well as the bi-partisan Human Rights Caucus of the

¹ Former founding Chief Prosecutor, Special Court for Sierra Leone 2002-2005. Professor Crane indicted then sitting President Charles Taylor for 17 Counts of War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity.

² This was most evident in the tremendous bi-partisan effort embodied in House Resolution 127, May 2005 where the House of Representatives called for Charles Taylor to be handed over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone by a vote of 420-1. All the people of West Africa were heartened by this call for action. HR 127 followed a similar call for the hand over of Charles Taylor by the European Parliament in February of 2005. That resolution passed that body 95-0.

House of Representatives, have made a difference in West Africa.³ From my heart, thank you all.

If I may, Mr. Chairman, I would also like to recognize the incredibly important role non-governmental organizations played and continue to play in supporting the work of the Special Court. We could not have accomplished what we have thus far without their counsel, perspectives, advice, and political support. Additionally, the group of interested states who have provided the much needed financial support necessary to run a modern day international war crimes tribunal is very much appreciated as well.⁴ Of those states, the United States, under the leadership of a bi-partisan Congress, has been our biggest supporter.⁵

I also want to recognize, for the record, if I might, the quiet and steady support of my wife, Judith Ponder Crane, a public servant, who represents the wonderful families who allowed us to do our important work in West Africa. As you know an assignment to the Special Court is an unaccompanied post. Without her, and the other families, the Special Court would not be the success it is today.⁶

WE CAN CHANGE THE COURSE OF HISTORY!

We have a chance to change the course of history for the better in West Africa. I believe the Special Court for Sierra Leone placed the international community on the correct path, a path of truth and justice. The opportunity presented to us today is to show the people of West Africa, all of Africa in large measure, that they matter, that we care, and that they are not alone. During my many town hall meetings throughout Sierra Leone, where I stood before my client and listened to them tell me about the horrors that took

³ Additionally, the dedicated and professional staff of the House International Relations Committee was very effective in sustaining political and financial backing for the Office of the Prosecutor throughout my tenure in Freetown. Each of them was magnificent.

⁴ Under the guidance of the UN sponsored Management Committee (consisting of the UN secretariat, the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and the Netherlands) there are around 31 nations who contribute money, goods, and services to the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

⁵ The United States Congress needs to ensure that the Special Court for Sierra Leone remains properly funded throughout its remaining months. This tribunal is a model for efficiency and effectiveness, costing the international community only an average of \$25 million per year, compared to the \$125-130 million each of the current ad hoc tribunals cost per year. It is contemplated that the Special Court will be done with its work in West Africa in 2007, just 5 years from its beginning.

⁶ Of the 70 persons in the Office of the Prosecutor who worked there in Freetown, a vast majority stayed with me for over three years, all having left their families behind. Their dedication to the rule of law was a daily inspiration for me.

place in their town, village, district or province; I told them three things: that the law is fair, no one is above the law, and that the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of the gun.⁷

When I arrested 6 of the 13 individuals I indicted, in a textbook 55 minute arrest operation throughout Sierra Leone in Operation Justice, March 2003, to include the Minister of Interior at his desk, there was dancing in the streets.⁸ The people of Sierra Leone began to believe that no one was above the law.

When we opened the three joint criminal trials against the leadership of the Civil Defense Force, the Revolutionary United Front, and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, over a period of time, the people of West Africa saw that the law was fair.⁹ And when I unsealed that 17 count indictment against President Charles Taylor for the atrocities he committed on the people of West Africa; stripping the most powerful warlord in Africa of that power with the simple stroke of a pen; the people of this embattled region of the world realized that the rule of law was more powerful than the rule of the gun.¹⁰ For the first time in his life, Charles Taylor ran into an immovable

⁷ The Office of the Prosecutor Town Hall Program became the cornerstone of the now world famous Special Court Outreach Program, led by a Sierra Leonean, Binta Manserey and a team of outreach officers in each district of Sierra Leone. In the first 4 months of my tenure in Sierra Leone, I literally walked the entire countryside listening to the people of Sierra Leone by the tens of thousands. In the remaining years, I traveled frequently up-country to report back to them the progress of their tribunal and to listen to their concerns, questions, and issues. After all this was their tribunal and they were going to have to live with the result.

⁸ Part of our overall strategic plan, preparation for Operation Justice began in October of 2002, just three months after our arrival. The plan was executed on 10 March 2003 with the tremendous support of the Sierra Leonean Police, the UN Peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone, the United Kingdom, as well as the United States. The Sierra Leonean Police made all of the arrests, assisted by investigators from the Office of the Prosecutor of the Special Court. After the arrests, the 6 indictees were whisked away to a temporary detention facility on Bonthe Island, put together by the Office of the Registrar in UN and US provided MI-8 helicopters. The HMS Iron Duke, from the British Navy, arrived to provide stability should additional forces prove to be needed. They were not. The tactical surprise was absolute and no one was killed or injured. As I told the press and the people of West Africa that afternoon at a press conference, on 10 March, the people of Sierra Leone will wake up tomorrow to a new Sierra Leone. It was a special moment for them.

⁹ According to my prosecutorial strategy, all of the leadership, those who bore the greatest responsibility for what took place in Sierra Leone, were grouped into two, and then three joint trials representing all of the major fighting factions in the civil war.

¹⁰ The indictment signed in a moving ceremony on 3 March 2003, in my office in Freetown, Sierra Leone, is attached as an appendix. I told the assembled trial counsel and investigators that “the ghosts of a hundred thousand Sierra Leoneans are in this room right now.” The unsealing of the indictment against Charles Taylor on the day he arrived in Accra, Ghana for the peace talks in June of 2003 was a calculated move on my part to publicly strip, in front of the world, this warlord of his power by my signature on the indictment. It was never intended to force his transfer that day to the tribunal, though we would have accepted him and were ready to arraign him on the charges within the indictment immediately. My intent was to humble and

object—the victims of this tragedy, who shouted never again and no more. Humbled and beaten, he fled to a type of political limbo in Calabar, Nigeria.

Charles Taylor has been the catalyst of most of the human tragedy and political instability of the region, backed by his compatriots, Col. Muammar Abu Minyar al-QADHAFI of Libya and President Blasé Campore of Burkina Faso, among other criminal elements.¹¹ That relationship with these two heads of state and the resultant political instability still remains. Overlay Taylor's continued meddling in the affairs of the region, to include the attempted assassination of President Conte of Guinea in 2005, attest to his determination to do what he promised as he was escorted up the steps of that Nigerian airliner, in August of 2003, with various presidents of several African countries, that *he would be back*. He meant it then and he means it to this day. He will be back.

Charles Taylor knows the western world, to include the United States, better than we do ourselves. He is relatively young, wealthy, influential, and has a supportive base militarily and politically within Liberia and the Mano River Region.¹² Taylor knows that the west, particularly this country, will never send its sons and daughters to West Africa to stabilize a faltering Liberia. Currently, the United Nations has a large peacekeeping force there, under

humiliate him before his peers, the leaders of Africa and to serve notice to Taylor and others that the days of impunity in Africa were over. Taylor is the first African head of state ever to be indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity and only the second in history. His indictment paved the way for the eventual election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the first fairly elected President of Liberia, and also the first African woman ever to be elected a head of state. It must be noted that the United States was given a copy of the Taylor indictment two months before I unsealed it in June of 2003. It was personally given to Walter Kansteiner, then the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa at a breakfast meeting in April of 2003 with the US Ambassador, Peter Chavez at his home in Freetown. Another copy was given to Pierre Prosper, the Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues as well. All parties were warned 24 hours in advance of the unsealing while Taylor was in Accra. The government of Ghana was served with the indictment and the warrant of arrest the morning of the unsealing of Taylor's indictment.

¹¹ According to close sources who acted as lead witnesses during our investigation of Taylor and those involved in the joint criminal enterprise that destroyed two countries and threatened a third, the Ivory Coast; Taylor, Foday Sankoh, Campore, and Qadhafi, apparently sat down and developed a secret plan to undermine the current governments within West Africa and then replace them with surrogates, such as Taylor, who were beholden to Qadhafi. This plan remains in place to this day. I chose not to indict Qadhafi and Campore only because of evidentiary issues and the practical reality of indicting two more heads of state within West Africa which would have politically undermined the work of the tribunal. However, I did choose to name Qadhafi within the Taylor indictment as a key member of the joint criminal enterprise. Within the American criminal system Qadhafi would have been what we call an unindicted co-conspirator. He remains a threat to West Africa.

¹² This support is found mainly in Lofa County, Taylor's home county and where he started his reign of terror back in 1989-90. As of the summer of 2005, our sources reported that there was a battalion size element standing by to do his bidding.

the able leadership of Alan Doss, one of the United Nation's best career diplomats; yet they are not going to be there forever.¹³ I posit that five years from now, when the international community is challenged by other crises, Taylor, in Calabar, under the protection of Nigeria, will make his move.¹⁴ We will wake up one morning and watch on CNN as Taylor rides triumphantly down the main street in Monrovia to the executive mansion, daring all of us to come get him. Unless he is handed over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone, this scenario is not out of the realm of possibility. More importantly, the people of West Africa know it all too well, that Taylor is a street fighter, a thug, and a survivor.

The fact is, as we consider changing history, together, we can stop this from happening today, right now. We've got Taylor; it is just a matter of turning him over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone for a fair trial.

HOW DO WE DO ASSURE LIBERIA'S FUTURE?

Ultimately, what we do about Charles Taylor in the next several weeks will determine the fate of Liberia and the new administration of its President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Charles Taylor hangs like a dark and ominous cloud over this ravaged country which he personally, for his own criminal gain, destroyed, as he did Sierra Leone. There will be no prospect for peace in Liberia or the Mano River region¹⁵, as long as he remains outside the

¹³ Alan Doss was the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General (DSRSG) in Sierra Leone through most of my tenure as Chief Prosecutor, 2002-2005. His quiet support was instrumental in the success of Operation Justice. I never briefed his boss, the SRSR, Oluyemi Adeniji (currently the Foreign Minister of Nigeria) on any of my operations related to the investigations as I did not trust him. He did not like the presence of the Special Court in Sierra Leone. Just a month before Operation Justice, Adeniji tried to quietly sneak two of the targeted indictees out of Sierra Leone. I sent a message through Alan Doss to Adeniji that I would prosecute him for obstruction of justice if he did so. It did not happen. Adeniji was never told about Operation Justice until it was over. As Foreign Minister, Adeniji remains a serious stumbling block in the handover of Taylor to the tribunal.

¹⁴ President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria was induced by the United States, the United Kingdom, with the concurrence of the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, to take Taylor out of Liberia and place him in Calabar. Initially, I supported this, even calling for his removal from Liberia, now that he was indicted. It was important that the peace process move forward and Liberia stabilize. But it has now been over two years, peace is at hand with a new government (contemplated by the Accra Peace Accord), and it is now time for this handover by the Nigerian government. I only hope the President of Nigeria has the moral courage to do so, something lacking in many African leaders today.

¹⁵ The Mano River region consists of Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. The Mano River Union was formed initially in 1973. Due to conflict and internal strife it was largely defunct until being reactivated at a summit May of 2004. Each of these countries is so tied together culturally, politically, and

custody of the international tribunal in Freetown. In my opinion, nothing constructive can be developed in the long term in Liberia, unless Charles Taylor is accounted for and turned over to the Special Court. It is that simple. Again, he will be back.

Here is my suggested roadmap for a successful beginning for Liberia:

First: Hand Charles Taylor over the Special Court for Sierra Leone for a fair trial.¹⁶ This takes him out of the local and regional dynamic that is West Africa.¹⁷ The new president can move forward confident that Charles Taylor is not lurking in the shadows undermining her initial efforts to develop a legitimate and accountable government in Monrovia. This has to happen first, *and now*, or the rest of my suggestions and recommendations, and the ones you are considering for Liberia's future, will be a waste of time, money, and effort.¹⁸

Second: Tie any financial and political support to good governance in Liberia.¹⁹ I am impressed with early attempts to restore respect for the government by the new president. This has to be continued and earmarking any aid to specific programs that enhance good governance is a must.²⁰

Third: Encourage the new administration in Liberia to establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission called for in the earlier peace accords of 2003.²¹ The victims of any atrocity need to be able to tell their story,

economically, where one falters or fails, the others do as well. In all of West Africa, this grouping of three nations is the Achilles heel of West Africa. The supposed goal is to foster economic opportunity.

¹⁶ Legally there is no impediment for the handover. The Appellate Chamber of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, in a landmark ruling of *Prosecutor v. Taylor*, May 2004, ruled that Charles Taylor has no head of state immunity that absolves him of his war crimes and crimes against humanity thus paving the way for his handover. The next legal step is his handover and arraignment on the charges, followed by pretrial motions and then trial.

¹⁷ There are two aspects to West Africa, the West Africa we see and the West Africa that is. We must deal with the West Africa that is in order to ensure a better future for Liberia.

¹⁸ The hundreds of millions of dollars the international community, to include the United States, has invested in Liberia's future could be siphoned off to line the pockets of greedy Liberian politicians. This apparently was the case in the transitional government led by Gyude Bryant.

¹⁹ This Congress has already sent letters to the Bush administration essentially stating that any future aid to Liberia should be tied to a hand over of Charles Taylor to the Special Court for Sierra Leone. This Committee has been instrumental in this effort.

²⁰ President Sirleaf just this past week (2 February 2006) sent a strong signal that she will not stand for corruption by firing numerous individuals within the Finance Ministry. However, she will have a huge challenge in the guise of the Liberian legislature as there are numerous Taylor supporters within that body.

²¹ Article XIII, Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Accra, Ghana 18 August 2003.

officially. It is an important part of reconciliation for a country in transition from war to peace. It worked in Sierra Leone and it can in Liberia.²² Recall, that what took place in Liberia over a period of ten years under the iron fist of Charles Taylor caused the murder, rape, maiming, and mutilation of around 600,000 Liberians.²³ The victims, their families, and towns need to tell the world what happened there. A truth commission can assist in this and to allow them to begin to put the horror behind them.

Fourth: Within the next few years or so, another hybrid war crimes tribunal needs to be established to account for the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Charles Taylor and his henchmen from 1990-2003 in Liberia. As most of these atrocities took place outside the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, an alternate model must be used. That model is the hybrid concept that proved to be so successful next door in Sierra Leone. The domestic court system in Liberia is incapable of accomplishing this task.²⁴ Liberia, working together with the international community and under the auspices of the United Nations, can account for what Charles Taylor did to his own countryman. *Note that these are separate conflicts with consequent war crimes and crimes against humanity.* Charles Taylor has destroyed two nations, not just one! He must be prosecuted for any crimes he is alleged to have committed in Liberia, after he is tried for what he did in Sierra Leone. Couple both of these conflicts together and Charles Taylor, sitting as a free man in Nigeria, is individually criminally responsible for the destruction of 1.2 million human beings.

If one then takes these four recommendations, justice, truth, good governance, and the rule of law, the future of Liberia as a new democracy

²² During my sit downs with the people of Sierra Leone they stood up and described crimes that are beyond description in any language. They knew that the very persons that actually committed the atrocities would not be prosecuted before the tribunal as those who bore the greatest responsibility, yet they wanted some type of official record of what happened to their family member(s). A truth commission can do that. I encouraged them to go before the truth and reconciliation commission to tell their story. They did by the thousands.

²³ This number is approximate as the true number can never be known due to lack of accounting or a proper census. This figure could be off as much as 25% either way, yet the numbers are still massive and tragic.

²⁴ As stated in a report on Liberia in 2005 by Amnesty International at page 10, : *May 2005, local observers were concerned at the slow progress in addressing the lack of qualified personnel and that recruitment, vetting and training of judicial personnel was not taking place. On the 28 June the transitional government commissioned eleven circuit court judges and six specialized court judges. The judges will serve in criminal and specialized courts in Montserrado County and in circuit and specialized courts in eight other counties. Prior to the commissioning of these judges there had only been 11 circuit court judges in the country yet there had been 21 posts to fill. At least 7 of them had been of retirement age or in poor health. Funding has been promised by the US Department of State, although it is unclear when it will be available.*

may be less cloudy and tenuous. To have a sustainable peace in Liberia you must have truth and justice, under the mantle of the rule of law and good governance. It is a simple A plus B equals C proposition—truth plus justice equals a sustainable peace. Certainly with this equation, Congress could be more assured that any funding and political capital expended would not be flushed down the drain.

There are many other challenges ahead for Liberia: Corruption, so endemic in all of West Africa; the abuse of natural resources; a whole lost generation of children to war as child soldiers; and international terrorists moving about the entire region, among many other concerns.²⁵ These very real challenges will require the United States to monitor, for years to come, how the Liberian government manages its legal, political, and financial assets.

Accountability is the key. Make that government accountable to its people and its international backers.²⁶ I respectfully ask this Committee to tie any future monetary aid to accountability and good governance. This approach will allow proper expenditures of US taxpayer's hard earned money.

CONCLUSION—TURN CHARLES TAYLOR OVER TO THE SPECIAL COURT OR THERE WILL BE NO REAL FUTURE FOR LIBERIA

In conclusion, I would ask this committee to continue to forcefully urge the Bush administration, and the new president in Liberia, to demand that Nigeria hand over war crimes indictee Charles Taylor to the Special Court to answer for his crimes. Nothing else that follows can happen with any assurance of success without it. In this period of time when we celebrate and recognize the principles laid down at Nuremberg 60 years ago, we must resolve as human beings who care about humanity and the rule of law, that there cannot be an African exception to those principles.

²⁵ For three years the Office of the Prosecutor carefully developed an information asset system throughout the region providing essential evidence, criminal information, and intelligence. Several of these assets are placed very close to the various actors in the joint criminal enterprise. Over time they have proven to be 75-80% accurate, and in some cases completely so. These sources helped us uncover evidence that Charles Taylor harbored Al Qaeda terrorists, and Hamas, in Monrovia for years, to include, we allege, several of the terrorists who brought down the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya to include, apparently, Abdullah Ahmed Abdullah and Sheikh Ahmed Salim Swedan. One well placed source has Charles Taylor dealing with an operative in Burkina Faso as late as 6 April of 2005 named Fazul Abdullah Mohammed. All of this information has been passed to appropriate governments and law enforcement agencies.

²⁶ Believe me, the trick to getting a West African leader's attention is cash, plain and simple.

If I may, Mr. Chairman, I would like to close my remarks with an excerpt from my opening statement in the joint criminal trial against the leadership of the Revolutionary United Front in July of 2004. As I read this to the Committee, **Charles Taylor, we allege, is individually criminally responsible for what took place, as described below, at Penduma...**

In 1999, another witness in Koidu will testify that when RUF and AFRC rebels drove the Kamajors from the town they began to burn the houses of Koidu. The witness and his family fled to a nearby village. The RUF rebels followed them in a number of trucks filled with young women. The rebel commander took the 16 year old sister of the witness. He declared loudly that he was going to take her as his wife. The witness tried to protect his younger sister, but was told he would be killed. The rebels left with around ten girls from the town, the youngest being 12. His younger sister was kept by the rebels for four long years.

The witness will further testify that upon hearing that ECOMOG troops had taken Koidu town the family decided to return, walking for four days. When they reached Penduma village it was overrun with armed RUF rebels. Twenty civilians who attempted to flee were shot dead. The rest of the survivors were grouped together and told to wait for the commander. Upon arrival the commander addressed the frightened civilians saying to them, "so you are the supporters of Tejan Kabbah." They were separated into three groups the witness will declare: first, pregnant women, suckling mothers and children; second, men and boys; and third females—teenagers to grandmothers. Twenty-five men and women were picked out at random from the last two groups. The commander gave the order, "Una take them. Make una burn dem." These civilians were placed in a house which was set on fire by the rebels. All of them were burned alive while the others were forced to listen to their agonized screams.

The commander then pointed at the group of females. There were around twenty. The wife of the witness was one of them. The women were raped in front of everyone. The witness will testify that he and his children were forced to watch while his wife and their mother was raped by eight different RUF rebels before she was stabbed to death with a bayonet by the last RUF rapist. Why does he recall there being eight rapists, he will be asked, because the witness had to count out loud the number as they tore into his wife. Two other women were likewise gang raped and then murdered. Note,

while this is taking place, twenty-five human beings are roasting to death in a burning house, their cries adding to this true living hell on earth.

Fifteen of the men were marched away by rebels armed with knives. Two who attempted to run were shot. The remaining had their throats cut.

Incredibly, the witness and eight others remained. Each of them was called forward and had a hand cut off. When the witness attempted to retrieve his severed hand he was struck in the back with a bayonet. The commander of the rebels told the witness to go to Tejan Kabbah.²⁷

Thank you for this chance to provide my humble perspectives and I look forward to your questions and continued efforts in bringing Charles Taylor to justice, accounting for the destruction of over a million West Africans, and building a new democracy in that part of the world.

²⁷ The Opening Statement of David M. Crane, Chief Prosecutor against Issa Hassan Sesay, Morris Kallon, Augustine Gbao, in an Amended Consolidated Indictment, Case no. SCSL—2004-15-PT, 5 July 2004; Freetown, Sierra Leone.