

Case No. SCSL-2004-16-T THE PROSECUTOR OF THE SPECIAL COURT V.

ALEX TAMBA BRIMA BRIMA BAZZY KAMARA SANTIGIE BORBOR KANU

TUESDAY, 4 OCTOBER 2005 9. 25 A. M. TRI AL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges: Teresa Doherty, Presiding

Julia Sebutinde Richard Lussick

For Chambers: Mr Si mon Mei senberg

For the Registry: Ms Maureen Edmonds

For the Prosecution: Ms Lesley Taylor

Ms Melissa Pack Mr Jim Hodes

Ms Maja Dimitrova (Case Manager) Ms Martine Durocher (intern)

For the Principal Defender: Mr Ibrahim Foday Mansaray (legal

assi stant)

For the accused Alex Tamba

Brima:

Mr Kojo Graham

For the accused Brima Bazzy

Kamara:

Mr Mohamed Pa-Momo Fofanah

For the accused Santigie Borbor Mr Geert-Jan Alexander Knoops

Kanu:

Mr Geert-Jan Alexander Knoops Mr Ajibola E Manly-Spain

	1	[AFRCO4OCTO5A-SGH]
	2	Tuesday, 05 October 2005
	3	[Open Session]
	4	[The accused present]
09:08:43	5	[Upon commencing at 9.25 a.m.]
	6	WITNESS: ZAINAB BANGURA [Continued]
	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. Unless there is some other
	8	matter I will remind the witness of her oath and we will proceed
	9	with cross-examination. Good morning, Mrs Bangura.
09:22:36	10	THE WITNESS: Good morning.
	11	PRESIDING JUDGE: You recall that yesterday you took the
	12	oath and swore to tell the truth. That promise is still binding
	13	on you today and you are obliged to answer all questions
	14	truthfully. Do you understand this?
09:22:55	15	THE WITNESS: Yes, please.
	16	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mrs Bangura.
	17	THE WITNESS: Thank you.
	18	PRESIDING JUDGE: Who is next counsel? Mr Graham.
	19	MR GRAHAM: Good morning, Your Honours, I think Mr Fofanah
09:23:04	20	would cross-examine now.
	21	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Graham. Mr Fofana, please
	22	proceed.
	23	MR FOFANAH: Thank you, Your Honours.
	24	CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR FOFANAH:
09:23:19	25	Q. Good morning, Mrs Bangura.
	26	A. Good morning.
	27	Q. Mrs Bangura, I am going to go through with you a number of
	28	questions on the issue of forced marriage and then I will come to
	29	the report. When did you first come by the concept of forced

- 1 marriage?
- 2 A. The first time we actually experienced it and started
- 3 working was after 1999. It came in between the report but it
- 4 wasn't -- it came in between our monthly reports before the
- 09:23:53 5 invasion of Freetown in 1999. But it wasn't like a common
  - 6 phenomenon which came. But it was when Freetown was attacked in
  - 7 1999 that some of the ladies who were taken away, actually we
  - 8 started taking care of them, providing medical facilities and
  - 9 others, that's when the phenomena actually hit us, that it was a
- 09:24:16 10 common practice.
  - 11 Q. Did you know about the existence of this phenomena
  - generally, whether within or outside of Sierra Leone before 1999?
  - 13 A. Not really.
  - 14 Q. So up until some time in 1999 it was a strange phenomena to
- 09:24:37 15 you, forced marriage?
  - 16 A. Well, yes, because it happened in law -- sorry, in war. So
  - 17 I haven't read about war. I mean, when the war started we read a
  - 18 little bit about Rwanda, because I'm part of the Women's Network.
  - 19 So you hear about the problems in Rwanda, how women had suffered.
- 09:24:57 20 But it wasn't the issue of forced marriage. It was just about
  - 21 the sexual abuse and gang raping and others was what was always
  - 22 coming out.
  - 23 Q. Now, from your expert knowledge, can you tell the Court
  - 24 what you understand by the word "marriage"?
- 09:25:14 25 A. Marriage is a relationship, a legal binding relationship
  - 26 between a husband and wife, you know. And obviously
  - 27 traditionally you have to go through certain steps and certain
  - 28 things have to be done. In traditional Sierra Leone, marriage
  - 29 also brings family together because it's a relationship between

- 1 the families, the families are very much involved. So it takes
- the whole family between the male and the female, that's what
- 3 brings marriage.
- 4 Q. Now will you agree with me if I say that marriage, whether
- 09:25:51 5 it is traditionally, generally or otherwise, is always the social
  - 6 contract between a man and a woman?
  - 7 A. It depends. It depends where you go. Because normally the
  - 8 social contract takes place between the family before the man
  - 9 comes in in traditional Sierra Leone. So sometimes you don't
- 09:26:10 10 even know who your husband is. But the contract is not only
  - 11 between the man and the woman, it is also between the families as
  - 12 well. So in addition to the man and woman, it is between the
  - 13 family in traditional Sierra Leone where I come from.
  - 14 Q. So which one comes first, is it the contract between the
- 09:26:27 15 man and the woman or the contract between the families
  - 16 traditionally?
  - 17 A. I mean from my understanding and definition of contracts,
  - 18 it's an agreement where you have an offer and a consideration.
  - 19 So that actually takes place when the ceremony takes place, and
- 09:26:40 20 that is the day of the marriage, the wedding. But the
  - 21 understanding and the negotiations, like any contract, takes
  - 22 place within a certain period of time. So it is not an event, it
  - is a process.
  - 24 Q. But in any case, the man and the woman have to agree; not
- 09:27:00 25 so?
  - 26 A. Consent is definitely required.
  - 27 Q. Now, from your knowledge as an expert, as well as a rights
  - 28 activist, do you consider consent by a child, if given, as a
  - 29 valid form of consideration for marriage?

- 1 A. The issue of consent in marriage in Sierra Leone also has
- 2 to look at the Constitution, because our Constitution recognises
- 3 cultural and traditional laws, and that is one of the challenges
- 4 we face as women's rights activists. So your definition of that
- 09:27:41 5 also has to take the legal space in which it happened. Because
  - 6 the 1991 Constitution recognises traditional and cultural laws.
  - 7 And in Sierra Leone that affects us in marriage, inheritance and
  - 8 a few other areas, especially with regards to women.
  - 9 Q. But do you recognise consent by child, if given, in
- 09:28:09 10 marriage?
  - 11 A. If it is recognised by the Constitution I cannot go against
  - 12 it. That is why it is the parent has to come in. So the
  - 13 Constitution, I cannot go against it, something that you have to
  - 14 challenge in a court of law. But the 1991 Constitution
- 09:28:21 15 recognises traditional and customary law, as well as religious
  - 16 law. And marriage and inheritance actually is what is most
  - 17 affected. So that is one of the challenges we are facing. This
  - 18 is a court of law. I cannot say it is illegal, which means I am
  - 19 challenging my own constitution.
- 09:28:39 20 Q. We will come to that. But let me just ask you one more
  - 21 question before we actually come to the Constitution. What would
  - 22 be your definition for the word "wife"?
  - 23 A. Well, again, because Sierra Leone, in terms of marriage,
  - 24 operates three legal system, you have to look at it differently.
- 09:29:02 25 But it is a union between a man and woman that is agreed between
  - 26 the families. That the family agreed, that the process of
  - 27 negotiation before that person becomes a wife is done, and the
  - 28 man has an obligation and a responsibility within that
  - 29 relationship, so also the wife who has rights and

- 1 responsibilities within that relationship.
- 2 Q. Okay, let me make it simple for you. Will you agree with
- 3 me if I define "wife" as the female spouse in the marriage?
- 4 A. I think it is a most simplified way you can define it, but
- 09:29:37 5 it goes more than that.
  - 6 Q. And if it goes more than that, what would be your further
  - 7 definition?
  - 8 A. Well, this is what I have explained. It's a process --
  - 9 this is why, when a women dies among the Temne, if you are not
- 09:29:53 10 married there can be post mortem marriage. Before that man
  - 11 buries that woman he has to marry her. She is not his wife, he
  - 12 cannot take responsibility. So this is why I'm saying it's a
  - 13 very simplified language. It all depends where you are applying
  - 14 the language "married" or "wife". Even if you are living
- 09:30:12 15 together for 20 years, if you have not done the ceremony, when
  - 16 she dies you cannot bury her. You have to perform the ceremony
  - before you are allowed to bury her. So the definition of "wife"
  - 18 cannot be interpreted in modern language. You can live together
  - 19 for 20 years, but she's not your wife because it's not accepted
- 09:30:31 20 that she is your wife in the sense of the traditional marriage.
  - 21 So you have to perform it. This why when you do the inverted
  - 22 comma, you can say whether the consent was there, whether the
  - 23 ceremony was done. If it is not done then it is not legal.
  - 24 Q. So you now agree with me that in order to be considered a
- 09:30:51 25 wife, in whatever form, be it traditional, general -- by
  - 26 "general" I mean civil or Christian -- there has to be some form
  - of marriage ceremony; not so?
  - 28 A. Consent marriage ceremony, yes.
  - 29 Q. And you rightly said that marriage is all about a contract

- 1 between, in the case of a traditional setting, between a man and
- 2 a woman and as well as between two families of the spouses?
- 3 A. Accepted marriage and accepted wife. That this the
- 4 community. For you to be accepted that this person is legally
- 09:31:27 5 your wife, in a willing relationship, you have to have that
  - 6 ceremony.
  - 7 Q. I am a bit confused. Please, help me clarify this. What
  - 8 do you mean by "accepted marriage" and "unaccepted marriage"?
  - 9 A. Because, like I said, you can leave, you can call the
- 09:31:45 10 person, "She's my wife", which happens, people who live together.
  - 11 Because everybody think when somebody lives together, it is a
  - 12 wife and husband. You know that in this country. But for the
  - 13 people to accept you, this is why whenever there is an
  - 14 opportunity for you to reclaim your authority, it is not
- 09:31:59 15 accepted. So, for the community and the social society to accept
  - 16 you as a legal binding husband you have certain ceremony. So
  - 17 you can call the person your wife, which people do, which is why
  - 18 I said that the paramount chief in the Temnes allow post mortem
  - 19 marriage, because it creates the respect in the relationship. So
- 09:32:22 20 you can stay together as husband and wife because by living
  - 21 together, like in common law, but in the eyes of the community
  - 22 and the society for the respectability, for the children -- this
  - 23 why children who are not legally wed, the ceremony is not done,
  - 24 cannot inherit properties or chieftaincy. You cannot be a chief
- 09:32:43 25 if your mother is not legally married.
  - 26 Q. Yes, but is it not when the community actually accept the
  - 27 relationship that the word "marriage" comes into context?
  - 28 A. Marriage the activity; the wife is the byproduct.
  - 29 Q. Yes, but I am saying it is when the community, according to

- 1 what you have just said, recognises that relationship that the
- word "marriage" comes into it, I mean traditionally.
- 3 A. No, no, no. In traditionally, you married and the
- 4 community accepts it. But, like I said, you can live together
- 09:33:20 5 but they do not accept you, and it has certain repercussions. So
  - 6 you yourself can live as husband and wife. But for the
  - 7 community, for you to inherit in terms of chieftaincy, for you to
  - 8 be buried properly when your father -- or when you die or when
  - 9 your relationship die, you have to perform that ceremony. So you
- 09:33:40 10 can still be called a wife to the man, or the man can call you
  - 11 wife, you can call yourself a wife, but as far as the society is
  - 12 concerned, the community is concerned, you are not. This why I
  - 13 said -- when I started here I said to you that even when my own
  - 14 mother died they refused to allow my husband's family to perform
- 09:33:58 15 the ceremony until we did the marriage when my mother was lying
  - 16 dead.
  - 17 So, you can call the person, the issue of a name is not an
  - 18 issue; you can call yourself husband and wife. But the society
  - 19 will not accept you as husband and wife especially until a
- 09:34:14 20 situation occurs. So this is why people put pressure, when you
  - 21 die you live as husband and wife and wife die. You don't have a
  - 22 right over him, over her. So you have to do the ceremony. So
  - 23 you legitimise the relationship. That does not mean that you
  - 24 have not lived as husband and wife, you have not had a
- 09:34:33 25 relationship. It just means that you have to be accepted by the
  - 26 family and the community.
  - 27 Q. So there is actually a difference between marriage and a
  - 28 mere relationship, an ordinary relationship that does not have
  - 29 the fanfare that goes with marriage; not so?

- 1 A. You can call yourself marriage. For example, I can give
- 2 you an example. You can married in England -- this why people
- 3 who live together in England, married they have licence, but they
- 4 come here and perform the ceremony. So, you can still married
- 09:35:05 5 and call yourself husband and wife, but you still have to do the
  - 6 tradition.
  - 7 Q. Mrs Bangura, it seems it's becoming a bit interesting.
  - 8 Now, you have heard about the objective and the subjective test;
  - 9 not so, for various forms of contract. Because now you are
- 09:35:19 10 saying that --
  - 11 A. I am not a lawyer, please. Thank you very much.
  - 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Fofanah, a subjective/objective test
  - 13 applying to what?
  - MR FOFANAH: Sorry, Your Honour, I was actually coming to
- 09:35:32 15 that.
  - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: I see.
  - 17 MR FOFANAH:
  - 18 Q. Now, Mrs Bangura, when you say that two parties coming
  - 19 together, one calls the other "husband" and the other calls the
- 09:35:47 20 other "wife". But this society, or the community in which they
  - 21 live, generally does not accept them as such. Isn't that the
  - 22 case of subjectivity on the part of that person and the other,
  - 23 the fact that the society does not, but they, left to themselves,
  - 24 regard themselves as such?
- 09:36:12 25 A. Well, the society has a right to do it. That is why,
  - 26 because the family unit is very important, there come a time when
  - 27 you have to do it. So you might be willing to do it within a
  - 28 certain period, but you yourself knows the repercussion. So that
  - 29 is why when anything happens to your family, those of us who are

- 1 in women's rights issues, fighting for women's rights, you can
- 2 understand that if your family dies you cannot contribute, if you
- 3 have a problem, nobody can come to you, and there is always the
- 4 issue of stigmatisation because you are not married. This is
- 09:36:45 5 part of society.
  - 6 Q. Now, I am going to spell this. You have heard about this
  - 7 phrase before "taptomi marriage".
  - 8 MR FOFANAH: "Taptomi" I will spell, Your Honours:
  - 9 T-A-P-T-O-M-I. It is a Krio word.
- 09:37:01 10 Q. I mean, you have heard about it, taptomi marriage; not so?
  - 11 A. It's common law wife.
  - 12 Q. Taptomi relationship, I mean.
  - 13 A. It is common law wife, what you call it.
  - 14 Q. Yes, it is a common law relationship.
- 09:37:08 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. And by "common law relationship", what do you mean?
  - 17 A. When you live together. You live together, you have
  - 18 relationship, you stay in the same place.
  - 19 Q. But you are officially not married; not so?
- 09:37:27 20 A. You are officially not married. Well, you are not married
  - 21 to their own eyes because you have not fulfilled the ceremony.
  - 22 Q. I mean, can a husband and a wife be married without the
  - official aspect? I mean, because I am still confused about this.
  - You say the husband and the wife can consider themselves married,
- 09:37:49 25 but then outwardly they are not.
  - 26 A. You can go to registry. You can go to registry. In
  - 27 Sierra Leone, because of tradition where we live as society, you
  - 28 can take somebody go to registry, as long as the tradition people
  - 29 are concerned you are not married because you have not performed

- 1 the tradition ceremony. So you can call yourself husband and
- 2 wife in the general law, civil law, but in the traditional law
- 3 you are still not husband and wife to them.
- 4 Q. We have to distinguish between these forms of marriage. As
- 09:38:21 5 far as I know they are all official forms of marriages. The
  - 6 registry marriage is otherwise called civil marriage; not so?
  - 7 A. Yes
  - 8 Q. Then you have a Christian marriage, according to our laws?
  - 9 A. The church.
- 09:38:31 10 Q. Then you have Islamic marriage, which hitherto was the
  - 11 Mohammedan marriage?
  - 12 A. Yes.
  - 13 Q. Of course, you have the customary marriage; not so?
  - 14 A. Yes.
- 09:38:43 15 Q. Yes. So these are all forms of marriage. Now I am talking
  - specifically about the common law relationship, which you have
  - 17 rightly agreed with me is not a form of marriage officially; not
  - 18 so?
  - 19 A. It has certain rights in civil law. You know that if you
- 09:38:59 20 live together with somebody, you have certain rights as a woman
  - 21 within that. But that doesn't mean that, you know, you are
  - 22 married in the traditional way. You have rights as a woman.
  - 23 Q. Would you be considered married in the general way? By
  - 24 "general", I mean civil, Christian or otherwise --
- 09:39:11 25 A. No.
  - 26 Q. So, officially, the common law relationship is not a form
  - 27 of marriage?
  - 28 A. But it's a marriage between the two people.
  - 29 Q. Is it officially a form of marriage between the two people?

- 1 A. Well, if they so decide it, they accept it with them, but
- 2 it is not in the customary accepted, it is not in the civil
- 3 accepted, it is not in the Mohammedan accepted. But it is a
- 4 decision between the two of you that you want to stay together as
- 09:39:45 5 husband and wife.
  - 6 Q. As well as in the Christian form it is not accepted?
  - 7 A. Oh, it's not.
  - 8 Q. Okay, so we will move on from there now.
  - 9 Mrs Bangura, you talked yesterday about arranged or early
- 09:40:05 10 marriages; not so?
  - 11 A. Yes.
  - 12 Q. You even mentioned that in your report. Now do you
  - 13 consider these forms of marriages as a form of forced marriage?
  - 14 A. Well, not really in the sense of the word, because marriage
- 09:40:22 15 involves -- it's an arrangement, an agreement and it involves
  - 16 consent between two families, mostly in the African tradition.
  - 17 Sorry, in the northern Sierra Leone and south and east, apart
  - 18 from the Western Area. And it is a reason why I mention that the
  - 19 consent of the parents -- marriage is a relationship between two
- 09:40:40 20 families.
  - 21 Q. Yes, but it is as well a relationship between two people?
  - 22 A. Well, not in all cases then they would know. Because you
  - 23 and I know here in Sierra Leone that you can marry a wife that
  - 24 you don't even know; you meet the person very near to the day of
- 09:41:03 25 marriage. You can marry a husband, but it is arranged between
  - 26 you. That's what you call "arranged marriage", which is the
  - 27 agreement -- the family of the wife thinks that they need their
  - 28 daughter into this family in the various instance I gave in the
  - 29 report. The family of the husband thinks that this daughter will

- 1 make a good wife for our son. So they go and talk to the mother
- 2 of the daughter, and she agrees, or they talk, or they go and
- 3 arrange between the families. So, in that case, the discussion
- 4 takes place even before either the wife or the husband knows.
- 09:41:35 5 Eventually they will know, but that is in a well advanced stage.
  - 6 Q. Now, suppose this discussion is done between the families
  - 7 and then the daughter refuses and says no. Will you consider
  - 8 that a form of forced marriage if the marriage goes ahead?
  - 9 A. Not exactly, because I don't want to go into detail of
- 09:42:00 10 issues like FGM and others. But, invariably, like I mentioned in
  - 11 the report, if you read the report, I said those people
  - 12 eventually do agree, because they know that -- they know what the
  - 13 family means to them, they understand they cannot continue
  - 14 rejecting it, and so they have to live within that. And so
- 09:42:22 15 eventually they accept it. You are not tied, or you are not
  - taken against your will at that wedding. You are spoken to.
  - 17 That is why they send the mother, that's why they have the
  - 18 godmother. They come, they talk to you and prevail on you, and
  - 19 eventually you accept, you go through the ceremony. So you are
- 09:42:41 20 not dragged in there unwilling. They talk to you and they give
  - 21 you a lot of presents, they do all sorts of arrangements for you,
  - 22 and then you get married.
  - 23 Q. Is it always the case that daughters will accept after
  - families have consented to their marriage?
- 09:43:00 25 A. When I spoke to the paramount chief in Makeni -- he is one
  - of the people that I spoke to -- and he said to me that it was
  - 27 because education was not -- in Sierra Leone most of time the
  - 28 girls were not educated -- but now a lot of parents don't insist
  - 29 on getting their children first to be marriage or arranging the

- 1 marriage for them, because eventually they know that the child
- 2 has to agree on the marriage. So now it is not as if, if you
- 3 don't agree we force you on it.
- 4 Q. No, you have given a different answer to my question. I
- 09:43:36 5 was not talking about the parents, I was talking about the
  - 6 daughters. I mean, let's forget about the male spouse. Is it
  - 7 all the case, because you have rightly -- well, you have
  - 8 indicated to the court that, I mean, in traditional settings it
  - 9 is always the case that after the parents have consented to
- 09:43:55 10 marriage they will cajole, prevail or use other forms of --
  - 11 A. Negotiate.
  - 12 Q. Negotiation. But then, I mean, the female spouse, be her
  - 13 daughter or a woman, will consequently agree. Isn't that what
  - 14 you just said?
- 09:44:09 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. Now, is that always the case?
  - 17 A. Oh yes; they do agree.
  - 18 Q. So was your case the exception when at the age of 12 you
  - 19 chose to leave after your father had insisted?
- 09:44:23 20 A. I didn't leave. My mother made the choice. I didn't
  - 21 Leave. I couldn't Leave at the age of 12. I told you that my
  - 22 father wanted me to get married at the age of 12, my mother said
  - 23 no so we packed out. My mother wanted me to go to school. So it
  - 24 was -- I didn't get involved in that situation.
- 09:44:46 25 Q. Now among the Temnes is it not the case that the husbands
  - 26 carry the day when it comes to -- let's say the father -- the
  - 27 father's consent is primary. It is in fact the paramount issue
  - when it comes to marriage among the Temnes.
  - 29 A. It is true to a large extent. It is also depends on the

- 1 family where the mother comes from.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mrs Bangura, I want to clarify when you
- 3 say consent is that consent on the female side or consent on the
- 4 male side of the partnership?
- 09:45:29 5 MR FOFANAH: I mean family consent. Okay, the female side,
  - 6 you're right.
  - 7 Q. Did you not even indicate that among ethnic groupings that
  - 8 trace their heritage patrilineally that men have the day when it
  - 9 comes to --
- 09:45:45 10 A. Yes, especially in the north.
  - 11 Q. Yes. So in your case you were fully aware of the
  - 12 situation, not so, when you left with your mother? You knew what
  - was going on?
  - 14 A. I just knew my father didn't want to pay my school fees.
- 09:46:07 15 He said he wasn't going to pay any more and that he was going to
  - 16 take a second wife.
  - 17 Q. And you knew as well that he was insisting that you will be
  - married to somebody else?
  - 19 A. He wanted, because as an imam who was preaching against
- 09:46:20 20 early pregnancy and other things, he started coming under
  - 21 pressure. So he raised the issue and he wanted that.
  - 22 Q. So you will consequently agree with me that because you had
  - 23 wanted to be educated, you had wanted to go to school, you were
  - 24 not interested in marriage at that time; not so?
- 09:46:39 25 A. My mother wanted -- I was 12 years old. My mother wanted
  - 26 me to go to school. She insisted I was an only child because she
  - 27 wasn't allowed to go to school because she was a girl and all her
  - 28 brothers went to school. So she wanted me and she insisted that
  - 29 I have to go to school.

- 1 Q. What did you want? Did you want marriage or school at that
- 2 time?
- 3 A. At 12, how do you know?
- 4 PRESI DI NG JUDGE: Pause, Mrs Bangura. Mr Fofanah, we
- 09:47:05 5 appear to be getting into cross-examination concerning the
  - 6 witness's personal life, not her report. What is the relevance
  - 7 of this line of questioning?
  - 8 MR FOFANAH: The witness has made a generalised statement
  - 9 that it is always the case that if her parents consent to
- 09:47:27 10 marriage the females spouse will consequently consent. I was
  - 11 just trying to see if her case was the exception. That is what
  - 12 I'm trying to establish.
  - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, I think you have explored that
  - 14 sufficiently.
- 09:47:36 15 MR FOFANAH: As Your Honour pleases.
  - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Curtail your questions to the issues in
  - 17 this case.
  - 18 MR FOFANAH: Most grateful.
  - 19 Q. Mrs Bangura, I am putting it to you that in many cases, in
- 09:47:51 20 many cases in Sierra Leone, girls and by girls I actually mean
  - 21 people below the age of 18 have often not given consent to
  - 22 marriage when they are asked by their parents to do so.
  - 23 A. Well, I don't have a statistical analysis on that and I
  - 24 haven't done analysis on that. So I know what is the theory,
- 09:48:23 25 what actually happens. But for me to have done a study on the
  - 26 number of people who have refused to get married because their
  - 27 parents want them to get married, I cannot be in a position to
  - 28 say that here. I know that now with the advance of education
  - 29 parents know the benefit of education for the girl child, so it

- 1 is not so common practice for parents to insist that their
- 2 children must get married. The reason why early marriage was
- 3 done was because they don't want their children to get pregnant
- 4 in school. So because of various reasons parents insist. But
- 09:48:51 5 with education -- this was what some of the people said. With
  - 6 education now people are not forcing their children and in any
  - 7 case you can't. Now we have lot of issues on child rights
  - 8 education, everybody knows what it means. And of course with the
  - 9 war, if you talk to the Minister of Education they will tell
- 09:49:10 10 you'll since the end of the war there has been a massive increase
  - in the number of the girl child in school. So much so that the
  - 12 government has responded by making education for the girl child
  - in the Northern Province a free education, including uniform and
  - 14 books. So there has been an increase of girls in school as a
- 09:49:28 15 result of the war because when people went into displaced camp
  - and IDP camps, internally displaced camp and refugee camps, they
  - 17 had a lot of schools there to get their children. They saw what
  - 18 their daughters did for them during the war. So that was a
  - 19 phenomenon maybe before, but I don't have an analysis of that.
- 09:49:46 20 But I know there has been over a hundred per cent increase on the
  - 21 girl child enrolment in schools.
  - 22 Q. But notwithstanding, there are still many teenagers out
  - there who are in fact not going to school?
  - 24 A. Well, that's not their fault. That's not their fault.
- 09:50:02 25 It's the cost of living, it's the high rate of unemployment. So
  - 26 it's not their fault that they are not going to school. It is
  - 27 the failure of government to provide the facilities.
  - 28 Q. I take that to be an affirmative answer to my question. So
  - 29 in that scenario, given that there are teenage girls out there

- 1 who are not going to school, is it not the case that the parents
- of those girls often seek their hands in marriages with or
- 3 without their consent?
- 4 A. It is really not common now, Mr Fofanah, for parents to
- 09:50:35 5 force their children for marriage. It is not common. I mean
  - 6 even in the most illiterate people it is not common now that
  - 7 parents insist their children should get married and force them
  - 8 to get married.
  - 9 Q. Mrs Bangura, are you aware of a consultative conference
- 09:50:54 10 that was held in Sierra Leone in between May 21 and 24, 2001 by
  - 11 the Commonwealth Secretariat titled "Women and Men In Partnership
  - 12 For Postconflict Reconstruction"?
  - 13 A. I think it was actually the office participated but I
  - 14 wasn't able to go.
- 09:51:23 15 Q. But at least you knew about that conference; not so?
  - 16 A. Yes, definitely. By the Minister of Gender.
  - 17 Q. Yes. Are you aware that in that conference the concept of
  - 18 forced marriages was discussed at length?
  - 19 A. I didn't attend the conference so I'm not aware.
- 09:51:42 20 Q. Have you, by chance, seen the report produced by the
  - 21 participants of that conference?
  - 22 A. The report was sent to me but I didn't read it.
  - 23 Q. You didn't read it.
  - 24 A. No.
- 09:51:52 25 Q. So if that report had discussed forced marriages then you
  - wouldn't have known; not so?
  - 27 A. No.
  - 28 Q. Are you also aware, Mrs Bangura, through the length and
  - 29 breadth of your research that the UNICEF fact sheet on early

- 1 marriages describes forced marriages as the notion of consent --
- 2 as the notion where if consent is not given then it amounts to an
- 3 abuse of the rights of especially people below the age of 18.
- 4 A. Well, you should accept that from UNICEF because they work
- 09:52:51 5 on children's rights. So their definition actually has to be on
  - 6 the rights of the child.
  - 7 Q. Do you accept that as an activist?
  - 8 A. Well, I have to take -- even as an activist I work within
  - 9 my environment. There are certain basic things you cannot accept
- 09:53:08 10 because you know it is impossible to deal with it at that
  - 11 particular time. As an advocacy who works in it, you know there
  - 12 are certain things you can't take head on in your own community
  - 13 because you are not going to be able to make any result. It's
  - 14 like we fight for FGM, you can't make any result in Sierra Leone
- 09:53:24 15 at the moment.
  - 16 Q. So should a girl child at the age of 13 be asked to seek
  - 17 her hands in marriage with an adult male?
  - 18 A. They talk to you.
  - 19 Q. No, I am still asking, I am framing my question.
- 09:53:42 20 A. Okay.
  - 21 Q. If a girl child at the age of 13 is asked to seek her hand
  - 22 in marriage to a male adult and that child refuses and says she
  - 23 prefers school but the parents force her on, will you be ready to
  - 24 consider that as a form of forced marriage nowadays?
- 09:54:05 25 A. I don't know about other traditional but I know, where I
  - 26 come from, when both your parents agree on something, when they
  - 27 talk to you it is almost impossible for you to disagree. It's
  - 28 fait accompli because of the family. So when they talk to you,
  - 29 you invariably do not deny. The traditional Sierra Leonean

- 1 society, you know you do not deny. Even if you don't want it,
- 2 you accept. So there is no issue of argument, unless if one of
- 3 the parents disagree. So that's why the discussion takes place
- 4 between the parents, they're agreed. This is why they talk to
- 09:54:49 5 individual parents. So it's the father and the mother. Even
  - 6 though it is the father that normally takes the final decision,
  - 7 invariably he discusses with his wife or he discusses with the
  - 8 elder wife. So the issue of the child disagreeing, it is not in
  - 9 our own culture to disobey your family.
- 09:55:06 10 Q. Would you consider it lawful?
  - 11 A. Of course it is lawful within your traditional custom. It
  - 12 is lawful. You can't use the English -- the general law to
  - 13 interpret the tradition because the circumstances doesn't vary
  - 14 and you have to remember that even at the traditional law you
- 09:55:21 15 don't even have Magistrate's Court. Why does the law of Sierra
  - 16 Leone accept customary law at a particular community?
  - 17 Q. In that case, Mrs Bangura, I will look at your report and
  - 18 see if you still hold that view.
  - 19 MR FOFANAH: Your Honours, I am referring to page 11 of the
- 09:55:41 20 report under the rubric "Marriage Under General Law". May
  - 21 proceed, Your Honour?
  - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Fofanah. We have that before us.
  - MR FOFANAH:
  - Q. Could you be kind enough to read out, it's a short
- 09:56:17 25 paragraph under that rubric, Mrs Bangura?
  - 26 A. Excuse me, under "Marriage Under General Law"?
  - 27 Q. Yes, Mrs Bangura.
  - 28 A. "In practice most Christian and civil marriages are
  - 29 celebrated after the age of 18. This is a marked contrast to the

- 1 situation under customary law whereby girls are often married at
- 2 an early age, as young as 10 or 12 years. Marriage at this age
- 3 is" --
- THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, the witness is reading too
- 09:56:44 5 fast for us to keep up. Mrs Bangura, she's reading too fast for
  - 6 the interpreters to keep up with her.
  - 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Interpreter. Mrs Bangura,
  - 8 you are going too fast for the interpreters, so if you could
  - 9 please start again from the beginning and read more slowly.
- 09:56:56 10 Thank you.
  - 11 THE WITNESS: "In practice most Christian and civil
  - marriages are celebrated after the age of 18. This is a marked
  - 13 contrast to the situation under customary law whereby girls are
  - 14 often married at an early age, as young as 10 or 12. Marriage at
- 09:57:16 15 this law under the general statutory law, contrary to section 6
  - and 7 of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act 31 of the laws
  - of Sierra Leone whereby sexual intercourse with a girl under 14
  - 18 with or without her consent is a criminal offence."
  - 19 Q. So do you now agree with me that if a girl under the age of
- 09:57:39 20 14 is forced into marriage it becomes unlawful?
  - 21 A. Under general law. Mr Fofanah, in traditional Sierra Leone
  - 22 you apply customary law. You do not apply general law. The law
  - 23 that controls the life of people in that traditional setting is
  - 24 customary law. This is the reason why even if you are in the
- 09:58:03 25 Western Area, you are a Muslim, your husband dies, the estate is
  - 26 interpreted according to the Mohammedan law irrespective of
  - 27 whether you are in the Western Area. It has happened to educated
  - 28 people. So this general law we are talking about is what we use
  - 29 in the Western Area. And so in customary law when they know

- 1 this, if you go back into my reports I will tell you when I spoke
- 2 about sometime the man's child is identified as a wife even
- 3 before she is born. But in puberty she doesn't go into that
- 4 relationship until they feel she can carry a baby and it is at
- 09:58:43 5 puberty which is when your breast is big enough and I gave an
  - 6 example of what that age means.
  - 7 So you cannot use the general law as defined here to apply
  - 8 to customary law when that is what controls what most people's
  - 9 life. You don't have magistrates in most of country upcountry.
- 09:59:00 10 So we, even as human rights advocate, we use this here in the
  - 11 Magistrate's Court but we have not ever used it in customary law
  - 12 where you have a court clerk in the village.
  - 13 Q. Now, let's leave intestate or testate succession aside.
  - 14 mean, I am basically talking about what you have described as
- 09:59:16 15 amounting to a criminal offence.
  - 16 A. Under the general law.
  - 17 Q. Yes, I am coming, please. Now the general law of
  - 18 Sierra Leone and the customary law of Sierra Leone, which one is
  - 19 supreme?
- 09:59:27 20 A. Well, you have to tell me, you are legal. But as far as
  - 21 I'm concerned, one of things I am fighting as women's rights,
  - 22 it's making sure the constitution takes that section which
  - 23 recognises customary and Mohammedan law which contradicts what it
  - 24 says when the general law is more supreme. So I know it is in
- 09:59:45 25 theory, but you and I know it is not in practice. It doesn't
  - 26 happen in practice.
  - 27 Q. So in theory at least you will agree with me that the
  - 28 general law is supreme to customary law?
  - 29 A. Which applies to a very limited number of people.

- 1 Q. Do you agree with me? It is a yes or no question.
- 2 A. I cannot agree, because when people don't know about it and
- 3 they don't it apply it within the environment in which they live,
- 4 in the technical sense it does not apply to them because they
- 10:00:10 5 can't use it. Something only applies to you when it is
  - 6 accessible to you, when you can use it.
  - 7 Q. We'll leave the technicality and the practicality aside. I
  - 8 am still talking about the theory. In theory do you agree that
  - 9 the general law is supreme to customary law?
- 10:00:27 10 A. Well, you have to tell me that. You are the lawyer, I am
  - 11 not the lawyer.
  - 12 Q. Well, I'm putting it to you, Mrs Bangura, that the general
  - 13 law of Sierra Leone is supreme to customary law.
  - 14 A. If you say so.
- 10:00:40 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: The witness has already said you are the
  - 16 Lawyer, she is not the Lawyer. She has answered that question,
  - 17 Mr Fofanah. You are asking a legal question.
  - 18 MR FOFANAH:
  - 19 Q. Now, will you agree with me, Mrs Bangura, if I say that
- 10:00:58 20 there is a provision in our laws that a customary law which is
  - 21 held to be repugnant, which is held to be contrary to natural
  - justice, good conscience and equity is illegal in Sierra Leone?
  - 23 A. It is very interesting to tell what is legal, what is not
  - 24 legal. For me, as an activist and somebody who works on women's
- 10:01:27 25 rights, the issue of legality is only when it can be applied.
  - 26 Because, like I mentioned here, that I said customary law is even
  - 27 illegal in Freetown, but as you sit there as a lawyer you know
  - 28 there are hundreds of customs -- customary law courts in the city
  - 29 of Freetown and the government cannot do anything about it and

- 1 the judiciary cannot do anything about it. And on a daily basis
- 2 Sierra Leoneans are subjected, they are fined, every sort of
- 3 activity takes place and nobody is taking actions. So for that
- 4 man, an ordinary man who cannot read and write, there is nothing
- 10:02:03 5 you can tell him about the issue of legality. Because it is
  - 6 where its effective life, that is what matters. That is why the
  - 7 issue of custom comes in. Until the judicial system makes that a
  - 8 reform and make sure action is taken and people who practice it
  - 9 are punishable by the law, then you can then tell an individual
- 10:02:23 10 that this law is supreme above the other law.
  - 11 Q. I am taking you back to your words. When did customary law
  - 12 become illegal in the Western Area in the Sierra Leone?
  - 13 A. That's why people are saying. Because in the human rights,
  - 14 when people come to us and complain that I have been taken to the
- 10:02:41 15 this law when the Temne tribal man has a court also, you talk to
  - 16 lawyers, which we talk to a lot of them, they tell you this court
  - 17 are not legal in the Western Area, they should not practice them
  - 18 here. It is the Magistrates Court. But nobody takes action.
  - 19 And we have gone to court several times and these people are
- 10:02:57 20 fined hundreds of thousands and yet they cannot have any redress.
  - 21 Q. So when you say customary law is illegal in the Western
  - 22 Area of Sierra Leone, is it a matter of fact or a hearsay?
  - 23 A. Well, that's what the lawyers say, that they are not
  - 24 supposed to have this court existing in the Western Area. They
- 10:03:14 25 cannot have -- you have to take this in cases to the magistrates
  - courts.
  - 27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Fofanah, we have again wandered into
  - 28 legal theory. Address the issue in the case.
  - 29 MR FOFANAH: Unfortunately, Your Honour, I mean, this

- 1 witness has actually delved a lot into the law in her report.
- 2 I mean, in fact she went extensively to town at page 11. I mean,
- 3 giving various forms, I mean, marriages under the general law,
- 4 customary law, Mohammedan law, and then even expanding.
- 10:03:50 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Page 11 deals with marriage and matters
  - 6 related to marriage. You are going into a much wider theory of
  - 7 constitution, et cetera. Confine yourself to the issue.
  - 8 MR FOFANAH: Okay, I will confine myself.
  - 9 Q. Do you know about the Kroo community in Freetown?
- 10:04:08 10 A. No. I have heard about them, but I have never worked with
  - 11 them.
  - 12 Q. But you know about them; not so?
  - 13 A. I know they live around Kroo.
  - 14 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Could we have the spelling of that word,
- 10:04:14 15 please?
  - 16 MR FOFANAH: K-R-O-O, Your Honour. The Kroo community.
  - 17 Q. So you are aware that they live somewhere around Kroo Town
  - 18 Road: not so?
  - 19 A. It is a very minority, yes, I know, from Liberia.
- 10:04:33 20 Q. Are you aware that these people have their own customs and
  - 21 traditional practices?
  - 22 A. Well, every ethnic group in Sierra Leone has their custom
  - 23 and traditions. Some of them are similar, some are not.
  - 24 Q. Okay. So let me take you now to --
- 10:04:51 25 MR FOFANAH: Since Your Honours have ruled that I am going
  - 26 a bit constitutional, I will take Mrs Bangura back to her report
  - 27 and see what she said about constitution again. Yes, Your
  - 28 Honours, I am still referring to page 11 under the rubric
  - 29 "Customary Law". I think it is the third paragraph from the top.

- 1 Q. Mrs Bangura, this how you defined customary law in your
- 2 report. With Your Honours leave I will just read out.
- 3 "Customary law is defined by the 1991 Constitution as 'the rules
- 4 of law by which customs are applicable to particular communities
- 10:05:46 5 in Sierra Leone'." That is how you defined customary law;
  - 6 correct?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. And you were quoting the Constitution of Sierra Leone 1991;
  - 9 not so?
- 10:05:57 10 A. Mm-hm.
  - 11 MR FOFANAH: I wanted to read the exact provision in the
  - 12 Constitution and I have it here with me, Your Honours, which I
  - 13 believe Mrs Bangura was quoting from. It is section 170
  - 14 subsection 3.
- 10:06:29 15 MS PACK: Your Honour, I object to going further down again
  - this line of questioning on the detail of the 1991 Constitution.
  - 17 This provision has been identified, or part of it, by Mrs Bangura
  - 18 in her report as a background and the analysis on the law, at
  - 19 least the setting out of the law, is confined to the frameworks
- 10:06:53 20 for marriage. So I object that Your Honours have indicated to
  - 21 counsel for the second accused that this is a line of questioning
  - 22 that has gone far enough, in my submission it really has and to
  - 23 go further down it is inappropriate.
  - 24 MR FOFANAH: Your Honours, what I was basically trying to
- 10:07:11 25 do, because I realise that the quotation is slightly different
  - 26 from what is contained in the actual provision in the
  - 27 Constitution which the witness was quoting from. So if we get
  - 28 the actual quotation I was not going to expand on that. I just
  - 29 want the Court to be fully seized of the provisions as they are

- 1 or as they, I mean, supposed to be within the relevant section of
- 2 the Constitution. Because these are not my words. They were
- 3 quotations made by the witness.
- 4 PRESIDING JUDGE: What is the relevance of this,
- 10:07:48 5 Mr Fofanah?
  - 6 MR FOFANAH: Because I want to ascertain that, I mean,
  - 7 customary law is applicable to particular communities in Sierra
  - 8 Leone and that the Kroo communities were one such community.
  - 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think that has already been
- 10:08:02 10 established.
  - 11 MR FOFANAH: If Your Honour pleases.
  - 12 Q. So you agree with me, Mrs Bangura, that customary law is
  - 13 law by which customs that are applicable to particular
  - 14 communities in Sierra Leone are engaged; not so?
- 10:08:26 15 A. Yes. Yes.
  - 16 Q. When the Kroos, for example, practice their custom and
  - 17 tradition in Freetown at Kroo Town Road, they're actually
  - 18 considered to be practising customary law; not so?
  - 19 A. Within themselves.
- 10:08:42 20 Q. So in that case, customary law will not be illegal in the
  - 21 Western Area, including Freetown?
  - 22 A. I'm talking about courts. You and I were talking about
  - 23 courts. If you had listened very carefully I told you that the
  - 24 courts are not supposed to operate. The courts. It is the
- 10:08:57 25 courts, the legal system. The courts. They're operating sitting
  - 26 courts and that is what the lawyers are saying.
  - 27 Q. And by "court" you mean?
  - 28 A. A legal court like the one you are in. Because it is not a
  - 29 trained magistrate. Customary courts are allowed out of Freetown

	1	in the Western Area and under the chieftaincy. They are part and
	2	parcel of the process of chieftaincy. In every chiefdom you have
	3	a chief, you have a court, you have his own chiefdom police. So
	4	you have a strategy, you have all this system that goes with him.
10:09:33	5	So that is the traditional system. That is why Sierra Leone has
	6	two systems of governance. You have the traditional system of
	7	governance, which takes the paramount chief and apply out of the
	8	Western Area, and then you have the modern democratic system.
	9	And for those of us who are working on governance, that has been
10:09:49	10	our biggest problem, because one is different from the other.
	11	They completely contradict each other. So when I talk about
	12	courts, I am talking about the courts that operate in chiefs.
	13	And you and I know that in Freetown we are not supposed to
	14	have paramount chiefs. We are supposed to have tribal heads.
10:10:06	15	And these tribal heads, because of the failure of government, has
	16	transformed themselves into traditional leaders and they have
	17	ceremonial chiefs which they are not supposed to have. If you
	18	are a Temne, you know they have Kanta in which is the society
	19	where they put chiefs within a certain period of time. And our
10:10:21	20	paramount chiefs from the northern province do not like it. They
	21	disagreed, because they said those people are tribal heads, they
	22	are not paramount chiefs. Because to be paramount chief you have
	23	to come from a particular family. You inherit it. And here it
	24	is not. It is the government that appoints you. So there is
10:10:41	25	if you are very aware with the problems with traditional things,
	26	you know there is a contestation between our traditional leaders
	27	and their relationship with tribal head in the Western Area.
	28	So what I said to you, the fact that the tribal heads have
	29	had their own courts same plans to the paramount chiefs' courts

- 1 out of Freetown, the paramount chiefs do not want it and the
- 2 government is saying, "People, it's illegal in our books." It's
- 3 saying that you cannot have tribal or whatever you call them,
- 4 traditional courts, held in the city. That's what I'm -- I am
- 10:11:16 5 not talking about customs. The customs you practice in Freetown.
  - 6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mrs Bangura.
  - 7 THE WITNESS: Thank you.
  - 8 MR FOFANAH:
  - 9 Q. And If you practice those customs in Freetown --
- 10:11:24 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Again, Mr Fofanah, I am asking you the
  - 11 relevance of this line of cross-examination. You are talking
  - 12 theories. The report is before the Court. You are
  - 13 cross-examining on that report.
  - 14 MR FOFANAH: With respect, Your Honour, this witness is an
- 10:11:38 15 expert witness. She has gone to town in laying the basis of my
  - 16 questioning by actually using customary law as the foundation for
  - 17 her expose on forced marriages. And I am basically trying to
  - 18 explore that. I mean, first of all, establishing that, I mean,
  - 19 it is in fact not true, as well as it is in fact not the law that
- 10:12:06 20 customary law doesn't apply in the Western Area and that if
  - 21 communities are settled in the Western Area and practice --
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: If that is the issue you put that issue.
  - 23 MR FOFANAH: As Your Honour pleases. I have been trying to
  - 24 do.
- 10:12:19 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do not be impertinent, Mr Fofanah.
  - MR FOFANAH: I didn't mean that, Your Honour, with respect.
  - 27 PRESIDING JUDGE: You were at Kroo Town Road.
  - 28 MR FOFANAH: As Your Honour pleases.
  - 29 Q. Mrs Bangura, you recall in your report, as well as in your

- 1 testimony, that the majority of Sierra Leoneans are in fact
- 2 governed by customary law; not so?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. You even stated that more than 70 per cent of the
- 10:13:02 5 popul ati on?
  - 6 A. Yes.
  - 7 Q. Is it the case that the courts that you have referred to,
  - 8 the traditional courts, everywhere in Sierra Leone apart from the
  - 9 Western Area are presided over by paramount chiefs?
- 10:13:17 10 A. Court clerks.
  - 11 Q. I used the word "preside".
  - 12 A. Okay.
  - 13 Q. Who preside over those courts; is it the paramount chief?
  - 14 A. It is under the chieftaincy system. It's paramount chief.
- 10:13:35 15 Q. In every of the local courts that you know?
  - 16 A. No. You know they have the president of the court, the
  - 17 chairman of the court. They have a chairman of the court. In my
  - 18 village they call them the president of the court. He actually
  - 19 presides. But chiefs have their own traditional court. Because
- 10:13:49 20 if you come from a chieftaincy home, you are in a house, you know
  - 21 that you wake up at 5.00 in morning, you see people full in your
  - 22 house and somebody has brought somebody because somebody has
  - 23 bewitched you or his wife has committed adultery. So they hold
  - 24 their own court. But in the traditional court it is the court
- 10:14:05 25 chairman or the president of the court they used to call them.
  - 26 They are the ones who preside over the courts.
  - 27 Q. And in most cases, if not all, these court chairman or
  - 28 president are in fact not paramount chiefs; not so?
  - 29 A. No, no, they are different from paramount chief. This

- 1 is like the judiciary arm of the chieftaincy system.
- 2 Q. So it necessarily does not follow that the courts are
- actually held by the paramount chiefs?
- 4 A. Well, we have mentioned that this is under the chieftaincy
- 10:14:38 5 system, but it is not presided by the chief. It is the chairman
  - of the court or the president of the court that presides over,
  - 7 but he is answerable directly to the paramount chief. It is
  - 8 under the chieftaincy. Like you have the chiefdom clerk, or you
  - 9 have the chiefdom police; it is under the paramount chief. Or
- 10:14:54 10 you have the chiefdom prison; it is under paramount chief. So
  - 11 they have the whole governance structure which is answerable to
  - 12 them. But they have different people who head these institutions
  - 13 and structures.
  - 14 Q. Have you ever heard the term judicial advisers or customary
- 10:15:11 15 | law officer?
  - 16 A. Yes.
  - 17 MS PACK: Your Honour, there cannot be any relevance to
  - 18 questions concerning who presides over or who takes part in the
  - 19 customary law courts system. So I object to this latter question
- 10:15:28 20 and any further questions along this line.
  - 21 MR FOFANAH: With respect, Your Honour, my Learned
  - 22 colleague went to town with the issue of whether the witness
  - 23 interviewed officials of the local court in her report. I mean,
  - 24 gathering information relating to her report. In fact, they went
- 10:15:49 25 to the town on the issue of court clerks. And then the witness
  - 26 even said, if I can vividly recall, that court clerks are like, I
  - 27 mean, the institutional memory of the local court.
  - 28 [AFRC040CT05B CR]
  - 29 So I am just trying to explore that to see if the witness

- 1 exhausted the basic issues which are relevant to ascertaining
- 2 customary law in especially the provinces. That is why I was
- 3 asking about the customary law officer who happens to be a very
- 4 crucial official in the administration of customary law in the
- 10:16:21 5 provinces.
  - 6 [Trial Chamber conferred]
  - 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: We allow that question.
  - 8 MR FOFANAH: Most grateful, Your Honour.
  - 9 Q. So have you ever heard about the words "judicial adviser"
- 10:16:52 10 or "customary law officer"?
  - 11 A. I have.
  - 12 Q. Do you know the rule within the customary law court system?
  - 13 A. Yes, they are the people that connect between the customary
  - 14 law and provide legal advice to the customary law -- sorry, to
- 10:17:08 15 the Local Courts and other things.
  - 16 Q. Did you talk to any of them when you were preparing your
  - 17 research?
  - 18 A. Because they are not custodian of customary law, they
  - 19 advise. Because the customary law officers advise and
- 10:17:23 20 interconnect between the modern legal system and the custom.
  - 21 They are not custodians, they are legal people who studied in law
  - 22 schools. And if you go to anywhere, any community, you talk to
  - them, they will tell you who are the custodian of customary law,
  - 24 who are the people that understand the customary law and deal
- 10:17:40 25 with it. So those are the people you --
  - 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mrs Bangura, you haven't actually
  - 27 answered the question. Please answer the question.
  - THE WITNESS: No, I haven't. I didn't talk to them.
  - 29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

- 1 MR FOFANAH:
- 2 Q. Are you aware that these officials advise on issues of
- 3 customary law in the provinces; they give legal advice?
- 4 A. Yes, they give more than legal advice. They give legal
- 10:18:03 5 advice.
  - 6 Q. Will you consider your report to be complete without
  - 7 interviewing them?
  - 8 A. Yes.
  - 9 Q. Okay. Now, let's come to the factual issues. Mrs Bangura,
- 10:18:24 10 where were you -- to the best of your knowledge, when was it that
  - 11 you said rebels invaded Freetown? Do you recall the time?
  - 12 A. Which rebels?
  - 13 Q. I think you were referring to RUF and AFRC.
  - 14 A. I made the analysis that why information is always been
- 10:18:57 15 distorted and why some of the reports I don't read. I gave an
  - 16 example of that. That's one area where I mention when Freetown
  - 17 was attacked in January 1999. The second aspect of when I spoke
  - 18 about some of the girls, where we started providing medical aid
  - 19 and services to girls who have been affected and that phenomenon
- 10:19:20 20 we started after the invasion of Freetown in January 1999.
  - 21 That's when we started providing medical service, and I mentioned
  - 22 the first money we had was from the British High Commission,
  - 23 because when the girls were -- some of them ran away, they came,
  - 24 we found out that they had serious medical problems. So those
- 10:19:37 25 are very clear instances why I mentioned when Freetown was
  - i nvaded.
  - 27 Q. Were you in Freetown when this invasion occurred?
  - 28 A. Oh, definitely. I left Freetown in February to go and
  - 29 monitor the elections in Nigeria, the 1999 elections.

- 1 Q. Mrs Bangura, were you not taken to a naval boat parked --
- 2 were you not taken to a naval boat that was berthed somewhere
- around the coast of Freetown by the British?
- 4 A. I have never been in a naval boat. You can ask Dr Julius
- 10:20:13 5 Spencer. You can ask the High Commission of Sierra Leone and you
  - 6 can even ask President Kabbah. I stayed in Freetown. This was
  - 7 some of the rumours, that they said I ran away. But I can tell
  - 8 you that I left Freetown in February. You can ask the British
  - 9 High Commission, and you can ask the Lebanese community. So, I
- 10:20:33 10 can give you a whole list of people that you can ask and will
  - 11 tell you I was in Freetown in January when Freetown was attacked,
  - 12 and the time I left Freetown was in February to go and monitor
  - 13 the elections in Nigeria under the Commonwealth. So, I have
  - 14 never been in a naval ship, in any case other than watching them
- 10:20:50 15 when they come or going for lunch or dinner. But that was not a
  - 16 true story.
  - 17 Q. During your stay in Freetown between January and February
  - 18 before you left, were you able to monitor events in Freetown?
  - 19 A. When Freetown was attacked in January, the government fled.
- 10:21:07 20 It is now the High Commission in Sierra Leone, Ali Bangura, who
  - 21 went to my house and told me that we had to get up. We were the
  - 22 ones who opened the stadium to allow the people to go there as
  - 23 refugees. We were the ones who went to the East End with a
  - 24 battalion of Nigerians to see how much food was in stock at the
- 10:21:26 25 Water Quay and to allow them to open and we were the ones who
  - 26 were negotiating with the Nigerians to allow the citizens to come
  - 27 out of their house. So I was very active. And I joked to people
  - 28 I was the vice-president, I ran the states. So, I was very
  - 29 active. We documented. We set up a committee to document the

- 1 people whose houses had been burnt. How many blankets they need.
- 2 You can ask CGG yourselves. So if you ask all the people who are
- 3 working on humanitarian at that time. I was one of the key
- 4 people who were organising the humanitarian assistance and
- 10:21:59 5 documenting the atrocities and everything. We set up offices at
  - $\,$  the ECOMOG headquarters. I went to the British High Commission
  - 7 to get a computer so that the civil society can set up an office.
  - 8 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, the witness is moving at a
  - 9 very high velocity. We cannot cope with her in the interpreter's
- 10:22:18 10 booth.
  - 11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Interpreter. You have
  - 12 speeded up again. The interpreters are having trouble keeping up
  - 13 with you.
  - 14 THE WITNESS: Sorry.
- 10:22:25 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think you have answered the question.
  - 16 Please move on, Mr Fofanah.
  - 17 MR FOFANAH: I am grateful, Your Honour.
  - 18 Q. Mrs Bangura, in your testimony yesterday whilst you have
  - 19 been cross-examined, you actually was speaking -- you were
- 10:22:40 20 speaking about bush wives and non-bush wives. You said that, I
  - 21 mean, a lot of bush wives only knew the situation that affected
  - 22 non-bush wives after the fact; not so?
  - 23 A. After they became bush wives.
  - 24 Q. Now, in the course of your interview, were you informed by
- 10:23:08 25 any of your interviewees that they spent some time with the
  - 26 rebels before they became wives?
  - 27 A. I mentioned yesterday that when I spoke to the girls, I had
  - said, "When did you become a wife? How do you become a wife?"
  - 29 They mentioned to me that when you are captured, they say, "so

- 1 you now me wife". Invariably, in the majority of cases, that's
- 2 what happened. Unless, if you go back, some of them, their
- 3 husbands or bush husband died and somebody else picks them up.
- 4 But invariably it is at the instant of being captured when the
- 10:23:46 5 village or community of Freetown was raided, that's when he holds
  - 6 your hand says, "You are my wife, so let's go." And from the
  - 7 documentation we had, some of the people we spoke to in the
  - 8 Freetown, not in the Western Area after the events of February,
  - 9 when people were going into houses, doors were being broken.
- 10:24:03 10 They were looking specifically for young girls, and there are at
  - 11 least one or two instances where they said to the parents, "She
  - 12 is my wife. If I come here I don't meet I'm going to kill you.
  - 13 This one is my wife. So you have to make sure that I come back
  - 14 and meet her. That when they advance." So it is at the very
- 10:24:23 15 first interaction that the word "wife" is used.
  - So this was why I mentioned that they only come to know
  - 17 after about the others when they go now into the community in
  - 18 which these people live. But it's the very first interaction,
  - 19 invariably in the majority of the cases, that's where you are
- 10:24:39 20 identified as a wife and you are taken as a wife.
  - 21 Q. Is it your testimony that every girl, or every woman who
  - 22 was captured, according to you, was in fact made a wife?
  - 23 A. No, no, no, no, no, I didn't say that. I didn't say that.
  - 24 There were girls who were abducted and they were used to carry
- 10:24:57 25 Loads. They were different. So it depends, the person who
  - 26 captured, whether he likes you or not and he wants to take you
  - 27 for himself. But other than that, even in the house in which it
  - 28 is looted, it is the girls and the young boys that they put the
  - 29 load on them, when they take the things, the things that they

- 1 take from the house and from neighbours. So they used them to
- 2 carry them. So it is not every girl that is captured is a bush
- 3 wife. They are used for different reasons.
- 4 Q. So was it the case that some rebels in fact chose their
- 10:25:25 5 wives much later in the bush from the non-bush wives?
  - 6 A. Oh yes, in some cases, definitely.
  - 7 Q. So in that case, these non-bush wives, who subsequently
  - 8 becomes a bush wife, would have known the fact before; not so?
  - 9 A. Oh, yes, because some of them have been bush wife before,
- 10:25:41 10 so their second time. So I mentioned that some of the people I
  - 11 met told me that especially when your first husband dies, she
  - 12 knows that she goes and does a lot of other things and she does
  - 13 so somebody else comes. So, they tell you, "This is the second
  - 14 person. He was the one who saved me." So definitely. So it's
- 10:25:58 15 not a general statement.
  - 16 Q. You also said, according to you, every village in Kailahun
  - 17 District has an ex-combatant?
  - 18 A. Oh, yes, definitely.
  - 19 Q. How did you come to that conclusion?
- 10:26:15 20 A. From talking to all of them, talking to the people who are
  - 21 in Kailahun. And, like I said, I mentioned here yesterday,
  - 22 Kailahun is the one district that I have visited more than all
  - 23 the other districts in the country. And because you have a high
  - 24 concentration of ex-combatants in Kailahun and they took the
- 10:26:32 25 country -- generally the district under their control for such a
  - 26 long time it is very difficult, if not impossible, to meet any
  - 27 place in Kailahun that you don't have one person who has served
  - 28 in the war. That is one of the challenges. There are even
  - 29 people, when I talk about those rebels, there are people who

- 1 stayed, young people who stayed behind and some of them said, "We
- 2 stayed to protect our place, our villages, because we couldn't
- 3 go. If we go, our villages could have been destroyed." So there
- 4 are young -- a certain percentage of young people who stayed, who
- 10:27:02 5 never left and, of course, they worked with the rebel. As I
  - 6 mentioned here, that the phenomenon is as long as you are with
  - 7 them, people insist that you are part of them. So, that's it.
  - 8 Q. Did you visit every village in Kailahun?
  - 9 A. I couldn't have visited every village. I visited the
- 10:27:21 10 majority of the chiefdoms. I didn't visit every village.
  - 11 Q. Do you know how many villages there are in Kailahun
  - 12 District?
  - 13 A. I don't know.
  - 14 Q. Do you know how many chiefdoms?
- 10:27:33 15 A. I can't remember off my head, but my human rights officer,
  - 16 who is in Kailahun, I can specifically -- CGG human officer, I
  - 17 can specifically say to you, there has not been any village he's
  - 18 not visited in Kailahun District in the monitoring of his human
  - 19 rights.
- 10:27:48 20 Q. Mrs Bangura, I put it to you that the marriages you
  - 21 referred to as forced marriages which took place in the bush or
  - 22 at the jungle, were mere relationships, social relationships.
  - They were never marriages.
  - 24 A. Well, that's not how the girls see them, because the issue
- 10:28:12 25 of wife was used. The word "wife" was used. They will tell you,
  - 26 "I was married." Even the communities, the stigmatisation --
  - 27 when people come they tell you "this my rebel wife." And even in
  - 28 Freetown, you know that in Freetown, that people are pointed and
  - 29 they said, "This now junta wife". In Freetown here, people who

- 1 had relationship, they point fingers to them and say, "This now
- 2 junta wife". That is referring to the AFRC.
- 3 Q. I also put it to you that a marriage without consent is not
- 4 a marriage.
- 10:28:42 5 A. Well, that's why I said -- that's why I used the word
  - 6 "forced". I used the marriage to describe the relationship, what
  - 7 takes place, what a wife does, which you are expected to do
  - 8 within that relationship. And you go into that relationship by
  - 9 force, you don't go there with your consent. So this is why I
- 10:29:00 10 described in my report, I specifically spelt out what she is
  - 11 expected to do, which is basically what a wife is expected to do
  - 12 to her husband. This is why, when I talk about force, I put the
  - inverted comma, which is against your will.
  - 14 Q. Do you consider a marriage without consent as a marriage?
- 10:29:20 15 A. If the person says it is so, that's why they talk about --
  - 16 you mentioned here about taptomi. This is why people look at
  - 17 those ones as if they are married, because you are expected to do
  - 18 certain -- because if you are not under obligation, if you do not
  - 19 become a wife to do certain things.
- 10:29:36 20 Q. I'm directing the question to you as an expert on this
  - 21 question of forced marriages. Would you, as an expert, consider
  - 22 marriage in which consent is lacking as a form of marriage?
  - 23 A. Oh, yes, because they are expected to do the things of a
  - 24 wife, which you are told to do and which you have to do under
- 10:29:58 25 question. You don't have an option.
  - 26 Q. Mrs Bangura, I'm putting it to you the term or the phrase
  - 27 "forced marriage" is a flat contradiction in terms.
  - 28 A. If you say so. That's your own opinion.
  - 29 Q. In other words, I'm saying --

- 1 A. It's a statement of opinion.
- 2 Q. I'm saying any relationship that is forced cannot be
- 3 marriage.
- 4 A. If you say so, that's your own opinion.
- 10:30:38 5 Q. Finally, Mrs Bangura, you prepared this report in 2005; not
  - 6 so, this year?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. Before you prepared the report, sometime in 2004, in
  - 9 fact, May 2004 the Special Court had created a new offence that
- 10:30:54 10 bordered on forced marriages; not so?
  - 11 A. Yes.
  - 12 Q. So your research into this exercise came after the Court
  - has made forced marriage a crime against humanity; not so?
  - 14 A. Putting it, yes.
- 10:31:20 15 MR FOFANAH: In that case, I have no further questions,
  - 16 thank you.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Fofanah. Mr Graham, any
  - 18 questions of the witness?
  - 19 CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR GRAHAM:
- 10:31:35 20 Q. Good morning, Madam Bangura.
  - A. Good morning.
  - 22 Q. I have a few questions here for you. I'm first going to
  - 23 ask you questions in relation to the methodology of your expert
  - 24 report, if you bear with me.
- 10:31:43 25 A. Thank you.
  - 26 Q. You have a copy of your report?
  - 27 A. Yes, please.
  - 28 MR GRAHAM: Your Honours, I'm referring to Registry page
  - 29 14482 of the expert report.

- 1 THE WITNESS: What page of the report?
- 2 MR GRAHAM:
- 3 Q. Page 7 of the report, basically the penultimate paragraph,
- 4 line 1, which reads as follows, "The primary forces included in
- 10:32:23 5 the semi-structured interviews" --
  - THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, could counsel go much
  - 7 slowly? Please take that again.
  - 8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Have you heard the interpreter? He's
  - 9 asked if you would go more slowly, please. Perhaps if you start
- 10:32:37 10 again at the beginning.
  - 11 MR GRAHAM:
  - 12 Q. I was referring to page 7 of the expert report, basically
  - 13 the penultimate paragraph and I'm reading from the first line,
  - 14 which reads as follows: "Primary sources included in the
- 10:33:03 15 semi-structured interviews with 28 bush wives from villages
  - 16 outside of Kailahun Town." Madam Bangura, can you tell us what
  - 17 you mean by semi-structured interviews?
  - 18 A. That is a terminology, you know. Basically, it's not like
  - 19 an interview where you put a question paper where people -- we do
- 10:33:36 20 surveys. This is a question, well, you sit with the people and
  - 21 you talk to them. You know, you ask them questions, because
  - 22 normally if you go out and do surveys, you do questionnaire and
  - 23 you take it bit by bit and they answered it. Sometimes, it's one
  - of them, and sometimes it's one or two of them.
- 10:33:53 25 Q. Thank you. Madam Bangura, I will also refer to, I think,
  - the same page, page 7 of your expert report. This time paragraph
  - 27 5 of the report, which I will read. It reads as follows, reading
  - 28 from the second line:
  - 29 "The secondary data was collected from archived monthly

- 1 human rights reports from Campaign For Good Governance,
- 2 reports from Human Rights Watch, reports from Forum of
- Conscience, research reports, working papers, as well as
- 4 Internet sources."
- 10:34:32 5 Madam Bangura, it is your case that these were your key
  - 6 sources of research for your expert report; is that right?
  - 7 A. Yes, yes, yes.
  - 8 Q. Then if I may go back to page 22 of the expert report,
  - 9 which is Registry 14497. What you have here is a list of the
- 10:34:58 10 references that I presume you relied on?
  - 11 A. No, some of the references, not all of them.
  - 12 Q. That is exactly my point. Is there any reason why you did
  - 13 not include the list of your references on page 22, the list of
  - 14 your key references that you relied on?
- 10:35:16 15 A. Not really, because I knew if they asked me I could name
  - 16 them in the document I have with me.
  - 17 Q. So you agree with me, to that extent, the report is
  - 18 incomplete in so far as your list of references is concerned?
  - 19 A. This is why I said general research papers. I added, and I
- 10:35:33 20 specifically spelt out -- the ones I spelt out, you saw the name
  - 21 Human Rights Watch, Forum of Conscience. I write the specific
  - 22 document I used, and then I said research report. So you could
  - 23 see there is much more reports than that, than the ones I
  - 24 labelled here.
- 10:35:52 25 Q. What I'm trying to find out is if there is any reason why
  - you decided to leave out those key references?
  - 27 A. No, I didn't, because I thought after mentioning them here,
  - 28 if they do cross-examination, I could bring them with me in
  - 29 Court, which I've done, or I can actually give the names and

- 1 somebody can go and look at them.
- 2 Q. Madam Bangura, in your prior testimony before this Court
- 3 yesterday, you did indicate that the word "rebel" was used
- 4 generally to refer to both the RUF and the AFRC rebels; is that
- 10:36:28 5 right?
  - 6 A. It was interchangeably used.
  - 7 Q. I also believe you went on further to draw a distinction
  - 8 that you heard the AFRC rebels being referred to as the AFRC
  - 9 junta, or the junta rebels; is that right?
- 10:36:43 10 A. AFRC junta; junta rebels; rebel junta. When somebody uses
  - 11 that word, then, you know, invariably, even though have you to
  - 12 confirm he's referring to the AFRC, and when he uses RUF rebel,
  - 13 he's referring. There are some cases, where they do, even in the
  - 14 Lome Peace Agreement, you can see they write AFRC/RUF. That tell
- 10:37:05 15 you AFRC/RUF, the person doesn't seem to know, he's just
  - 16 combined, because in some cases, there is confusion who is who.
  - 17 Q. Madam Bangura, did your expert report, determine the
  - 18 percentage of the bush wives you interviewed that were abducted
  - 19 by the RUF or the AFRC?
- 10:37:27 20 A. No.
  - 21 Q. Why no?
  - 22 A. Because that's why I if you look at the reports, I made
  - 23 sure when this was abducted by the AFRC, or this was abducted by
  - 24 an RUF. So not in every cases, at least I tried to specify
- 10:37:45 25 there.
  - 26 Q. I will refer to page 14 of the expert report, which is
  - 27 Registry 14489. Here you have a list of some of the
  - 28 interviewees, the abductees. I think if you are reading from
  - 29 paragraph 4, it indicates that the first, SKA, was abducted by an

- 1 RUF rebel?
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. If you move on to the next paragraph, it talks about FY90,
- 4 if I am right, was also abducted by an AFRC junta rebel; is that
- 10:38:35 5 right?
  - 6 A. Yes.
  - 7 Q. Then you go on to the next paragraph, which also talks
  - 8 about ZGK, who was also abducted by an RUF rebel; is that right?
  - A. Mmm hmm.
- 10:38:47 10 Q. Moving on to the next paragraph, you talk about HRS, but
  - 11 there's no --
  - 12 A. There is junta there.
  - 13 Q. It talks about junta, that is also AFRC; is that right?
  - 14 A. Yes.
- 10:39:03 15 Q. Then you go on to YYY, but then there is no indication as
  - to whether she was abducted by an RUF or AFRC rebel; is that
  - 17 right?
  - 18 A. No.
  - 19 Q. Then we go on further to BAK, who was also abducted by the
- 10:39:19 20 RUF, I believe.
  - A. Mmm-hmm.
  - 22 Q. Then you also have JSM, who was also abducted in Makeni
  - 23 Town in 2000.
  - 24 A. Mmm.
- 10:39:30 25 Q. There is also no indication whether she was abducted by the
  - 26 AFRC or the RUF; is that right?
  - 27 A. Yes.
  - 28 Q. Then you move on to ABA?
  - 29 A. Mmm.

- 1 Q. Who, I believe, was also abducted by an RUF rebel?
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. I'm saying that even just looking, is it fair for me to
- 4 conclude from the short profile that we have here that a higher
- 10:39:53 5 percentage of the abductees were abducted by RUF rebels?
  - 6 A. It depends on the area where they come from, the area you
  - 7 talk to.
  - 8 Q. I'm basing my statement on the reported information --
  - 9 A. I think the essence is whether the practice was done by the
- 10:40:10 10 RUF and the AFRC. It's not a matter of percentage. It's whether
  - 11 it was applied. If you take -- for example, when you talk about
  - 12 child combatants, if you ask the CDF, they will tell you, "We
  - 13 didn't have child combatants." That's what they say. When you
  - 14 look at every group, you will know that what is specific about
- 10:40:33 15 it. Here, my essence is whether it was something that was done
  - 16 by the groups and who did it. It is not a percentage for me to
  - 17 say who did it, what and who, what. I wasn't doing that. I just
  - 18 wanted to establish a fact that it happened and it happened
  - 19 across the board. So my report was not to find out who did the
- 10:40:50 20 highest level of abduction or who did the highest level of forced
  - 21 marriage. So I wasn't into that, then I could have done a
  - 22 percentage of it, but I didn't do that.
  - 23 Q. Mrs Bangura, I believe also in your report it is fair to
  - 24 state that you made it very clear that the major problem that was
- 10:41:14 25 faced by the bush wives was one of rejection by their
  - 26 communities; is that right? Madam Bangura, did you conduct a
  - 27 survey of public opinion in the Kailahun District as to the
  - 28 public perception of bush wives?
  - 29 A. Yes. That was not for this report. Because one of the

- 1 first complaint I encountered with the bush wives who stayed in
- 2 Kailahun, she they gave me when I went for the UNDP complaint,
- 3 was the fact that when they arrived, they had occupied people's
- 4 houses and when the people came, they threw them out of their
- 10:41:47 5 houses. So even the people in the community were telling them,
  - 6 "You are rebel wives," you know. So it was a big complaint among
  - 7 them. It was an issue that was designed to be dealt with. The
  - 8 community really and truly doesn't want them. I had to talk to
  - 9 some of the elders in the community to find out the perception
- 10:42:08 10 about them. They told me that among the returnees, the Guineans
  - 11 are the hostile ones. It is something I had to explain to UNHCR,
  - 12 to explain why Guineans, people who are returning from the
  - 13 refugee camp in Guinea, are more aggressive and hostile than
  - 14 those who were coming out from Liberia.
- 10:42:25 15 Of course, UNHCR came to explain is because of the Guinean,
  - the way they do things, their mentality, their behaviour,
  - 17 everything. So this issue of their relationship with the
  - 18 community came out not in the study, but right from the beginning
  - 19 when I was working for UNHCR and UNDP because in designing the
- 10:42:43 20 community empowerment program, it means you have to design a
  - 21 program that embraces the whole community.
  - 22 Q. Unfortunately, Madam Bangura, I have to limit and restrict
  - 23 myself only to the contents of your report I have here with me.
  - 24 A. Thank you.
- 10:42:56 25 Q. The scope of my question is limited to the contents of the
  - 26 report.
  - 27 A. I knew, yes.
  - 28 Q. Soit is fair --
  - 29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Graham, I notice it's the time we

- 1 usually have a break. Would this be a convenient time in your
- 2 questi oni ng?
- 3 MR GRAHAM: Yes. Your Honour.
- 4 [Break taken at 10.46 a.m.]
- 11:00:46 5 [Upon resuming at 11.00 a.m.]
  - 6 MR GRAHAM:
  - 7 Q. Mrs Bangura, before we took the short recess I think we
  - 8 were discussing -- I asked the question on the issue of whether
  - 9 you had conducted a survey of public opinion from the communities
- 11:03:50 10 where the interviews were conducted. Your answer was no, that
  - that had not been done in the district in Kailahun.
  - 12 A. In district for this report.
  - 13 Q. Yes, for this report.
  - 14 A. Yes.
- 11:04:04 15 Q. Also for this report, I need to find out whether you
  - 16 conducted a survey of public opinion in Makeni or any of the
  - 17 other areas apart from Kailahun?
  - 18 A. Well, you can't talk about that in Makeni, a lot of the
  - 19 other areas. I mentioned in the report that because of the
- 11:04:19 20 stigmatisation, which is more intense in the other countries,
  - 21 it's not an issue that people like to discuss. Because in this
  - 22 district --
  - 23 Q. I'm sorry, I think that -- let me rephrase.
  - 24 A. Rephrase it, okay.
- 11:04:33 25 Q. I said I was talking about the issue of public opinion.
  - 26 A. Okay.
  - 27 Q. And one issue that I think is very clear in your report is
  - 28 the fact that one of the major problems that was faced by the
  - 29 bush wives was one of rejection by their communities. And as a

- 1 follow-up, I had asked whether you had conducted a public opinion
- 2 survey of Kailahun to determine whether these were actual
- 3 perceptions held by the community insofar as the bush wives were
- 4 concerned.
- 11:05:00 5 A. I said it's a perception, very common, but I did not do
  - 6 that discussion, discuss it here on this. It is something that I
  - 7 had come across during my previous visit.
  - 8 Q. So I'm fair in saying that insofar as this report is
  - 9 concerned, the issue of rejection of bush wives by the
- 11:05:19 10 communities is strictly that from the perspective of the bush
  - 11 wives so far as this report is concerned and there is no
  - 12 scientific basis at all.
  - 13 A. Nobody did a survey. But it's when they experienced the
  - 14 experience on a personal -- I'm talking to them why they
- 11:05:36 15 returned. Cause like I said, because a lot of them were, for
  - 16 example, in Kailahun, you talk to them, "Why didn't you go back?"
  - 17 And some of them, of course, told that "we went and we came
  - 18 back." It is out of this discussion that I realised, for
  - 19 example, if you look at the percentage from the district where
- 11:05:54 20 they come from, this is why I mentioned that Pujehun is one
  - 21 district that is very hostile to people who have been involved in
  - 22 the war, and so you find out they couldn't, but they can talk
  - 23 about that in Kailahun. But in areas because of the
  - 24 stigmatisation, how scared, people don't want to talk about it.
- 11:06:14 25 They refuse to discuss.
  - 26 Q. My question still remains. So far as this report is
  - 27 concerned, the issue of rejection of bush wives by the
  - 28 communities, as told in this report, is only strictly from the
  - 29 perspective of the bush wives.

- 1 A. No, no, no. When I spoke to her, I told you that I spoke
- 2 to some -- for example, like in Makeni, I spoke to the paramount
- 3 chiefs. They are still very hostile. They know that from the
- 4 first reaction, if I don't want to even specify about bush wife
- 11:06:46 5 alone, I did mention the instance here, even people they call
  - 6 collaborators, and I mentioned personal experience that even with
  - 7 me, I have two cousins I can trace. One came back and
  - 8 disappeared with her daughter, who she left during the war, and
  - 9 nobody knows where, I can't even trace her. Even in the course
- 11:07:05 10 of my work, I haven't been able to trace her. So it is the
  - 11 community itself. When you talk to individual people, they don't
  - 12 want to talk about it. Even their own mothers, they pretend
  - those children don't exist. They don't want to talk about it.
  - 14 Q. I believe that you still have not answered my question,
- 11:07:22 15 Madam Bangura.
  - 16 A. The perspective is talking to people, ordinary people, and
  - 17 it's living in Sierra Leone. So, for the purpose of this report,
  - 18 I spoke to bush wife and other people. But as a Sierra Leonean
  - 19 who travels the length and breadth and work on additional issues
- 11:07:40 20 out of this report, you know exactly what is the situation in the
  - 21 country.
  - 22 Q. So, I'm right in saying that is your personal opinion.
  - 23 A. Yes, of talking to other people, definitely.
  - 24 Q. So to that extent, there is no scientific basis in this
- 11:07:55 25 report for us to accept the fact that they were actually rejected
  - 26 by their communities.
  - 27 A. I did this report based on the information I have
  - 28 available. So the report is not a scientific report, because I
  - 29 didn't do surveys. A diagnosis study, I didn't do it.

- 1 Q. Okay, we'll move on.
- 2 A. Thank you.
- 3 Q. Madam Bangura, you are dedicated and committed to the cause
- 4 of women's rights and emancipation issues; is that so?
- 11:08:18 5 A. Yes, please.
  - 6 Q. And you know about the TRC?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. Can you briefly tell us why the TRC was set up?
  - 9 A. Well, it's one of the preconditions of the Lome Peace
- 11:08:28 10 Agreement. When the agreement was signed, there are specific
  - 11 institutions and structures that needed to be set up, and the TRC
  - 12 was one of it. Because to be able to sign agreement, the -- it
  - 13 is important for us as a country to ascertain what happened
  - 14 before the war and why, actually, the war happened, to do an
- 11:08:55 15 historic analysis of the war, so that at the end of the day we
  - 16 could not go through that process again.
  - 17 Q. Thank you. So to that extent you would agree with me the
  - objects of the TRC, either directly or indirectly, would
  - 19 positively impact women's human rights issues, at the very least
- 11:09:16 20 so far as it creates a platform to discuss the suffering that
  - 21 women in Sierra Leone went through during the war years?
  - 22 A. Yes, it did.
  - 23 Q. Yesterday my Learned friend asked of you whether you were
  - 24 interviewed by the TRC as an expert. Your answer was that you
- 11:09:35 25 refused.
  - 26 A. They wrote me a letter; I never responded.
  - 27 Q. Is there a reason why you refused?
  - 28 MS PACK: Your Honours, this isn't a relevant line of
  - 29 questioning in my submission. The report wasn't about the TRC.

29

2 Mrs Bangura testified on that Commission is of no relevance, in 3 my submission. PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Graham, you have heard the objection. 4 MR GRAHAM: Yes, Your Honour. I believe we've heard to a 11:10:01 5 great extent from Madam Bangura the fact that she is a promoter 6 7 of women's rights. Also in her resume we have a litany of 8 activities that I think she has undertaken in the past, always promoting the cause of women's rights. I asked an earlier question which she answered in the affirmative, that she would 11:10:24 10 11 agree with me that the objects of the TRC, either directly or 12 indirectly, positively impact issues of women's rights insofar as it creates a platform for the suffering of women in Sierra Leone 13 to be discussed, and she also agreed. 14 11:10:41 15 Your Honour, my point is that both the Special Court and the TRC are institutions which are geared towards trying to 16 17 achieve some form of justice from the war. Your Honour, if Madam 18 Bangura has decided to come here today before the Special Court, 19 indeed, she has gone through the task of preparing an expert 11:11:00 20 report, I think it is fair to know why she did not appear before 21 the TRC. That is just simply --22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Why is it fair to know that? MR GRAHAM: Your Honour, as I said earlier --23 24 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is a question about her personally. 11:11:14 25 We are dealing with the report. Why is it fair we should know that? 26 27 MR GRAHAM: Your Honour, I'm saying that the witness has in 28 no uncertain terms stated a commitment to women's rights in

It was about the issue of forced marriage and whether or not

Sierra Leone, and I believe that --

- 1 PRESIDING JUDGE: And that's the reason --
- 2 MR GRAHAM: -- the TRC is also an institution, as I said,
- 3 that in one way or the other, is also, by way of its activities,
- 4 going to promote the issues of women's rights insofar as it
- 11:11:35 5 creates a platform for these matters to be discussed. So indeed,
  - 6 Your Honour, I think it is fair to know, at least so far as the
  - 7 issue of motive is concerned, why she would prefer to be here
  - 8 before the Special Court today on not even, on one hand also to
  - 9 refuse to appear before the TRC.
- 11:11:59 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
  - 11 [Trial Chamber conferred]
  - 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: The objection is upheld. The question is
  - 13 not allowed.
  - MR GRAHAM: Thank you. I will move on.
- 11:13:02 15 Q. Madam Bangura, are you for or against military overthrow of
  - 16 constitutionally elected governments?
  - 17 MS PACK: Your Honour, this isn't a relevant question on
  - 18 the issue of forced marriage. It's not a relevant question for
  - 19 this witness.
- 11:13:25 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: I will just record it first and then I
  - 21 will take the reply. Yes, Mr Graham, your reply.
  - 22 MR GRAHAM: Yesterday in Madam Bangura's testimony, if I
  - 23 may refer to the draft transcript of yesterday's proceedings,
  - 24 particularly page 86 from lines 15 to 24. Madam Bangura talks
- 11:13:54 25 about the kind of relationship she had with Johnny Paul Koroma.
  - 26 Your Honours, if I may read, with your permission -- I think it
  - 27 is page 86 of the draft transcript, lines 15 to 24. She says:
  - 28 "If you ask the people who are defending the AFRC, they will tell
  - 29 you that my job, I took a position because it was wrong to remove

- 1 the government. When they came back, I was one people who gave
- them more support than any other group in this country. When
- 3 Johnny Paul Koroma was appointed as a chairman of that
- 4 commission, it was my office that actually provided every little
- 11:14:47 5 working material he needed in his office. I worked with him; I
  - 6 sat with him; and I provided support and linked him up with every
  - 7 individual. So whenever a big person is coming, whether he
  - 8 is" -- it's indiscernible -- "or anybody else, I will sit with
  - 9 him and talk to him and try to highlight him or his problems."
- 11:15:09 10 That is the way the transcript reads.
  - 11 Your Honour, I think this is relevant in this regard,
  - 12 principally because it is clear from the background of
  - 13 Madam Bangura that she is a pro-democracy activist. In a sense,
  - 14 it raises contradictions as to why she would want to associate
- 11:15:29 15 and collaborate with Johnny Paul Koroma. That is exactly the
  - 16 issue. This is just -- I'm building up to some follow-up
  - 17 questions in relation to that which will arise out of this very
  - 18 specific --
  - 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Your question, Mr Graham, as I heard it
- 11:15:51 20 was: are you for or against military overthrow of a
  - 21 democratically elected government. Well, that is a worldwide --
  - 22 MR GRAHAM: Thank you, Your Honour. I will rephrase the
  - 23 questi on.
  - 24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Rephrase it. If it is necessary to give
- 11:16:02 25 a ruling, I will consult with my learned colleagues.
  - 26 MR GRAHAM:
  - 27 Q. Madam Bangura, did you support the overthrow of the Kabbah
  - 28 government by the AFRC in 1997?
  - 29 A. How could I have?

- 1 Q. I take that to mean no?
- 2 A. I couldn't because I was not even aware. Even if I were, I
- 3 couldn't have supported it.
- 4 Q. I don't mean support prior to the coup. I mean once it was
- 11:16:23 5 announced that the coup are taking place?
  - 6 A. The coup is illegal. It's illegal.
  - 7 Q. So your position is that you don't support -- you did not
  - 8 support the AFRC?
  - 9 A. I don't support bad governance. I campaign against bad
- 11:16:37 10 governance; I campaign against one-party rule; I campaign against
  - 11 military dictatorship. Because my principles are good
  - 12 governance. Those are values and principles I hold. So
  - 13 irrespective of whether you are a democratically elected
  - 14 government, if you do not practice the principles of good
- 11:16:57 15 governance, I do not support you.
  - 16 Q. I think my question is answered.
  - 17 A. Thank you.
  - 18 Q. Madam Bangura, I will go back again to your testimony
  - 19 yesterday. I think yesterday in your testimony you said you
- 11:17:04 20 raised money for the radio station that was being used to
  - 21 broadcast messages from exile to Freetown.
  - 22 A. Yes, Radio Democracy.
  - 23 Q. That is the name of the radio station?
  - 24 A. Radio station, yes.
- 11:17:14 25 Q. Madam Bangura, can you tell us the kind of messages that
  - 26 were broadcast on this radio station?
  - 27 A. Well, I didn't listen to the radio station, because it
  - 28 wasn't broadcast in Guinea. But we trained youth. I mentioned
  - 29 yesterday if it was recorded, on peace building and conflict

- 1 resolution. We broadcast -- in my office, CGG, which campaigned
- 2 for good government, which we opened in Guinea. The radio
- 3 station was basically to inform citizens here what we were doing
- 4 out of Sierra Leone. That was the reason why in Guinea in exile,
- 11:17:48 5 the effort we were doing, and the lobbying and the advocacy, we
  - 6 were so they become aware that the government was just not run
  - 7 and left to them, especially those who stayed behind. So a lot
  - 8 of what we did was -- I spoke on the radio station myself and
  - 9 basically was talking about what I was doing, the effort I was
- 11:18:07 10 doing travelling across the country, lobbying other governments
  - 11 to make sure that the government returns to power.
  - 12 Q. Okay. Did you ever at any point in time propagate any
  - 13 messages yourself?
  - 14 A. I told you, yes. I spoke. I did add my voice because
- 11:18:21 15 everybody knows my voice, so I didn't disguise my name.
  - 16 Q. Madam Bangura, is it true that a lot of civilians were
  - 17 killed as a result of misinformation from the radio station under
  - 18 reference?
  - 19 A. I wasn't operating the radio station. I wasn't living in
- 11:18:44 20 Freetown. Even in Guinea, I had listed because I travelled the
  - 21 length and breadth of the world trying to campaign.
  - 22 Q. Did you have any knowledge of the fact that a lot of
  - 23 civilians were killed, allegedly by bombs dropped by ECOMOG Alpha
  - 24 Jets, as a result of information given from this radio station?
- 11:19:02 25 A. What I know for a fact, that citizens who they found out
  - 26 listening to these radio stations were killed because the radio
  - 27 station was illegal. Everybody thought you shouldn't. So I know
  - 28 for a fact that people who listened to the radio station were
  - 29 killed, and I know ECOMOG was fighting on behalf of the

- 1 government. So both sides were attacking each other. When it
- 2 comes to that, you cannot specifically blame anybody. For me, I
- 3 know ECOMOG was attacking. I know several efforts were made to
- 4 attack Lungi airport where the radio station was, and a lot of
- 11:19:35 5 people were killed in the event. So ECOMOG also retaliated. It
  - 6 was a war. So, for me, I didn't take any statistic studies of
  - 7 who or where they were killed. These were rumour. You hear here
  - 8 that your colleague said that I was on a naval boat, and this was
  - 9 something that was written in a newspaper in this country.
- 11:19:55 10 Knowing Sierra Leone as you do, it's not always you take things
  - 11 literally when you hear them. Of course they were rumour, but I
  - 12 never verified any of those rumours. I cannot say to you it was
  - 13 a statement of fact. So even the ones they say people were
  - 14 killed because they listened to the radio, I couldn't verify
- 11:20:14 15 them. So I can't come out and say these were true, because I
  - 16 wasn't there, I wasn't in the country; I was out.
  - 17 Q. Thank you. Is it also true, tell me if it's not, that you
  - 18 announced over this radio station that all women of Freetown
  - 19 should come out in the streets holding their sticks, kitchen
- 11:20:35 20 utensils, to fight against any person suspected of being a junta
  - or rebel collaborator; is that so?
  - 22 A. No, this was not on the radio. This was in December 1998
  - when Freetown was under siege, so it wasn't on the radio.
  - 24 Q. This was 1998?
- 11:20:50 25 A. This was February -- this was January. Sorry, December
  - 26 1998 when the entire country had been circled and Freetown had
  - 27 been circled and the rebel had arrived as far as Waterloo. So
  - 28 Freetown was under siege and we knew definitely that we were
  - 29 going to be attacked. That was when I made a statement. So it

- 1 wasn't on the radio station. This was carried by other radio
- 2 stations.
- 3 Q. But the statement was made and it was carried on radio?
- 4 A. Of course. I told everybody to defend themselves. Because
- 11:21:18 5 by then, you have to remember after 1997, half of the army or a
  - 6 large majority of the army had gone into the bush, so the Sierra
  - 7 Leone government did not have an army. They were being protected
  - 8 by ECOMOG. We realised by then, that even with ECOMOG, they
  - 9 couldn't. So I said everybody to defend themselves, so you don't
- 11:21:36 10 have to wait until you are killed.
  - 11 Q. Yes, to defend themselves as well as to fight against and
  - 12 attack anyone suspected of being a junta or rebel collaborator?
  - 13 A. Not suspected of being a junta. I said we will defend
  - 14 ourself. If they tell you the truth, they would tell you that I
- 11:21:51 15 said we will fight with sticks and everything and, if they come,
  - 16 we will fight them. So whoever gave you that, they didn't give
  - 17 you the right recording. That was exactly my word I said.
  - 18 Because I remember when we were training the AFRC in the
  - 19 Lighthouse, all the commanders of the AFRC, sometime in 1999, it
- 11:22:12 20 was one of the things they held against me when there was a
  - 21 problem in Freetown. One of them said, "You were the one who
  - 22 said you will have sticks and other things to challenge us, so
  - 23 when we get you, we will get at you." So I didn't say they
  - 24 should attack them. I said, "If you're attacked, you defend
- 11:22:29 25 yourself," and we are ready and fight. If we don't have soldiers
  - 26 we will fight ourself.
  - 27 Q. They never had the opportunity to defend themselves with
  - their sticks and kitchen utensils?
  - 29 A. How can they defend when about 7,000 of citizens were

- 1 killed, houses were burnt? We couldn't. You can't fight when
- 2 you have guns and everybody attacking you, when 70 per cent of
- 3 the city was in flames.
- 4 Q. Thank you, Madam Bangura. I think I am going to move on to
- 11:22:50 5 the issue of collaborators, referred to briefly yesterday.
  - 6 A. Thank you.
  - 7 Q. Madam Bangura, am I right that in your testimony yesterday
  - 8 you did indicate that people were attacked simply because they
  - 9 were classified as collaborators of the junta or AFRC regime; is
- 11:23:11 10 that right?
  - 11 A. I mentioned that in relation to the stigmatisation and the
  - 12 fear that the first bush wives had. I said one of the reasons
  - 13 why they were so afraid was because here, after the war, even if
  - 14 you were labelled as a collaborator, you can see what happens to
- 11:23:27 15 you and the way the society reacts to you. So anybody who is
  - 16 associated with a rebel is -- the community reacts to you very
  - 17 violent. It is out of that fear that these girls who had stayed
  - 18 in the bush with the rebels were afraid to come back. This is
  - 19 the difference I mentioned between somebody who is being raped
- 11:23:46 20 and somebody who has been taken as a wife. So, it is within that
  - 21 context that your association with the rebel normally leads to
  - 22 death and I gave the example of just ordinary citizens who were
  - 23 called collaborators.
  - 24 Q. Who were killed as a result of them being classified as --
- 11:24:04 25 A. Oh, yes, definitely.
  - 26 Q. But you agree with me, Madam Bangura, that the issue of
  - 27 collaborators was a two-way traffic in the sense that you also
  - 28 had AFRC and junta supporters who were classified as
  - 29 collaborators, who were also killed by pro-government supporters;

- 1 is that right?
- 2 A. Of course.
- 3 Q. Madam Bangura, do you, per chance, know one Imam Basharia
- 4 who was a Chief Imam of Sierra Leone sometime back?
- 11:24:35 5 A. Yes, we worked with him before Freetown was attacked. He
  - 6 was part of the civil society movement.
  - 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could I have the name, Mr Graham, please?
  - 8 MR GRAHAM: I'm sorry, Your Honour. It is Imam, I-M-A-M,
  - 9 and Basharia, I think, if I am right, is spelt B-A-S-H-A-R-I-A.
- 11:25:02 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
  - 11 MR GRAHAM:
  - 12 Q. Do you know what happened to this imam?
  - 13 A. I wasn't in the country, but that's what they told me, that
  - 14 he was killed.
- 11:25:11 15 Q. He ws killed by who?
  - 16 A. I -- didn't give me a name, but they said he was killed
  - 17 because he was identified as a collaborator.
  - 18 Q. A collaborator of?
  - 19 A. Of the rebel.
- 11:25:21 20 Q. He was killed because he was deemed to be a junta
  - 21 collaborator?
  - 22 A. He was killed because he was associated with having a
  - relationship with the rebels.
  - Q. Do you also recall or have any knowledge about this name
- 11:25:34 25 Chi ef Abu Bl ack?
  - 26 A. Yes.
  - 27 Q. Was he per chance a Temne tribe chief?
  - 28 A. He was a tribal head man, not a chief. This is the
  - 29 difference, tribal head man in the Western Area.

- 1 Q. Thank you. Do you also know what happened to him during
- 2 the war?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. What?
- 11:25:52 5 A. He was also killed.
  - 6 Q. Why was he killed?
  - 7 A. Because -- yes, I think he defended. In his case, he
  - 8 defended the rebel.
  - 9 Q. He was killed because he was an AFRC collaborator?
- 11:26:02 10 A. Yes.
  - 11 Q. Thank you. Madam Bangura, I'm going to go back to the
  - 12 issue, a little bit, about your methodology, used in preparing
  - 13 your report. You had said earlier in your testimony that you had
  - 14 staff throughout the 12 districts in Sierra Leone who were
- 11:26:30 15 conducting interviews and compiling information on human rights
  - 16 violations; is that right?
  - 17 A. Yes. I had, during the war, and in cases where they had to
  - 18 evacuate, for example, the Kailahun person came to Kenema and
  - 19 stayed; the Tonkolili person was in '91 -- within those period in
- 11:26:48 20 which they couldn't have access, we had people behind the lines
  - 21 who were bringing the reports to us. So that, on a continuous
  - 22 basis, we knew what was happening. So even in the -- where we
  - 23 didn't have our money. So we had more than 12 people in the true
  - 24 sense of the word.
- 11:26:21 25 [AFRCO40CT05C-SV]
  - 26 Q. But your staff were not deployed in this district during
  - 27 the war time, were they?
  - 28 A. They were not deployed in the capital, but they were
  - 29 deployed in the district. For example, in Tonkolili District, it

- 1 should have been in Magburaka, but he couldn't be in Magburaka.
- 2 He was in 91, which is still Tonkolili District, and we had to
- 3 have somebody who was behind in Magburaka. So we had two people
- 4 in the Tonkolili. In Kenema, he invariably was in Daru because
- 11:27:34 5 he had to be airlifted back and forth. So he had to identify
  - 6 people who were behind in Kailahun Town who could actually have
  - 7 access to come to him. So most of them were still based in there
  - 8 with the exception, for example, the person in Makeni, because
  - 9 Makeni was at one time was entirely encroached by the AFRC and
- 11:27:52 10 later by the RUF. So none of the towns in Makeni was actually
  - 11 accessible to governments. But at any particular time we had
  - somebody in the district.
  - 13 Q. Madam Bangura, would you, in any form or manner, consider
  - 14 yourself an authority on tribal marriages in Sierra Leone?
- 11:28:17 15 A. Well, I am very knowledgeable about it. I cannot be an
  - 16 authority because authority is normally the chiefs and other
  - 17 people. But because of my background, where I come from and my
  - 18 family background and everything, I think I have a lot of
  - 19 knowledge about it and I can safely talk about it in a very
- 11:28:38 20 comfortable way. And because during the course of my work in
  - 21 CGG, we did consultations across the country several times. And
  - 22 in every community I go, as I travel along the country, because
  - of the customs in Sierra Leone, you normally have to go to the
  - 24 chief before you start talking. And because I come from a
- 11:28:58 25 chieftaincy house in the north, so whichever chiefdom I go to the
  - 26 north, I know them, I introduce myself and I know them. So I'm
  - 27 sort of very conversant at the tradition, what are the customs
  - 28 and regulations when it comes to custom because I grew up, my
  - 29 background -- I grew up in a chief's house.

- 1 MR GRAHAM: Your Honours, just one second. I'll consult
- 2 with my learned friends.
- 3 [Defence counsel conferred]
- 4 Q. Madam Bangura, you agree with me that the phrase "forced
- 11:29:55 5 marriage" is a new phenomenon?
  - 6 A. Well, it's been mentioned -- well, not forced marriage,
  - 7 forced wife. It's mentioned in different literature now after
  - 8 the war when people write or during the course of the war. So we
  - 9 didn't have anything because people didn't look at it. Force
- 11:30:21 10 marriage, like one of your colleagues was saying, when a marriage
  - 11 is arranged, you don't think of it as forced marriage. You think
  - of it as a marriage between two families.
  - 13 Q. Madam Bangura, I am fair if I say that your report was
  - 14 prepared purposely -- was prepared purposely for the Office of
- 11:30:45 15 the Prosecution in order to facilitate, you know, or to provide
  - 16 grounding for a very significant count in the indictment which is
  - 17 the issue of forced marriages?
  - 18 A. I had worked with the Court right from the beginning. I
  - 19 had lobbied and whatever it was as well as working with the
- 11:31:16 20 Security Council, and I think because of my knowledge and
  - 21 experience and expertise it's something that we had discussed
  - 22 with several people around, and because they know that I have the
  - 23 experience and knowledge, they wanted me to make them understand.
  - 24 So for me it's basically writing my own experience and knowledge
- 11:31:39 25 to be able to make people involved in the Special Court to
  - 26 understand something which they keep hearing about. It comes up
  - 27 in the Court and so they need to understand what it means, how it
  - 28 works and what has happened during the war. So for me it's not
  - 29 an issue of Prosecution or process; it's an issue of educating

- 1 people and getting them to understand this thing is happening.
- 2 So I think it's an extension of what the role I have been
- doing in Sierra Leone in meeting people and talking to them and
- 4 telling them what is happening in Sierra Leone and getting them
- 11:32:13 5 to understand right from the secretary-general of the United
  - 6 Nations to everybody that comes in this country. So it's the
  - 7 thing I have always done. So when somebody asks explain it to
  - 8 you and says, "Well, in this case why don't you put it in writing
  - 9 so it makes us understand." So it's not an issue of Prosecution
- 11:32:29 10 or not. For me it's an issue for educating a group of people who
  - 11 have come to work in Sierra Leone to be able to understand the
  - 12 context in which they're working.
  - 13 Q. Thank you, Madam Bangura. You agree with me that you stand
  - 14 tall so far as the women's rights movement in Sierra Leone is
- 11:32:48 15 concerned?
  - 16 A. It's a matter of opinion. I think I'd rather not accept or
  - 17 deny that.
  - 18 Q. Madam Bangura, you also in your prior testimony indicated
  - 19 that you had received different form of funding from the UN and
- 11:33:02 20 other organisations to promote the cause of women's right in
  - 21 Sierra Leone; is that right?
  - 22 A. I don't think I've received funding from the UN. I've been
  - asked to be a consultant with the UN. I've received funding from
  - 24 different organisation, not through the UN specifically.
- 11:33:17 25 Q. But you have received funding from other international
  - organisations for women's rights in Sierra Leone; is that right.
  - [Overlapping speakers]
  - 28 A. Oh, yes.
  - 29 Q. Madam Bangura, were you paid by the Office of the

- 1 Prosecution for preparing this report?
- 2 A. I am sure everybody who is in this Court is paid. My
- 3 service I'm sorry unfortunately to tell you --
- 4 Q. Will you just answer --
- 11:33:39 5 [Overlapping speakers]
  - 6 A. Yes, everybody here is paid.
  - 7 Q. That is not my question. My question is whether you were
  - 8 paid for the report?
  - 9 A. Of course I was paid. Because I provided a professional
- 11:33:48 10 service. My service is very expensive unfortunately.
  - 11 Q. I realise that.
  - 12 A. Thank you.
  - 13 Q. Can you give us an indication as to how much you were paid?
  - 14 A. No, I think that's too personal for me. I'm sorry.
- 11:34:02 15 MR GRAHAM: Your Honours, I don't think I have any further
  - 16 questions for this witness. Thank you.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Graham.
  - 18 Re-examination, Ms Pack?
  - 19 MS PACK: No re-examination, Your Honour, but simply the
- 11:34:14 20 question of admission of the report. I would seek now to have
  - 21 the report admitted in evidence. As Your Honours will recall,
  - 22 it's been marked for identification. It's been extensively
  - 23 cross-examined on by counsel for the accused and, in my
  - submission, it would be appropriate now to admit it.
- 11:34:31 25 MR KNOOPS: Your Honours, we maintain our objections and in
  - 26 addition to --
  - 27 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Manly-Spain, we are hearing your voice
  - over the submissions. It's not very polite.
  - 29 MR KNOOPS: Your Honours, my Learned colleagues from the

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1 Defence and myself, we maintain our objections as to the 2 tendering of the report. In addition to the four grounds already 3 elaborated on by the Defence during the start of the 4 examination-in-chief, it's fair to say, at least that's the 11:35:20 interpretation from the Defence, that based on the 5 evidence-in-chief and the cross-examination, the overall 6 qualification of the report which is sought to be tendered by the 7 8 Prosecution is, in our humble submission, a more personal opinion 9 and account on how the expert witness perceives or interprets the phenomenon of forced marriage rather than evidence of facts. 11:35:57 10 think what was very enlightening was the last answer of the 11 12 expert witness on the last question of my learned colleague, Mr Graham, in which he said the report was also meant to write 13 down my own experience. It was at least what I quoted from her 14 11:36:21 15 last answer. In this regard, it's therefore, in our submission, 16 17 questionable whether the report as it stands now and is 18 cross-examined by the Defence fulfills the requirements of an 19 expert witness report. We have noted, Your Honours, that the 11:36:41 20 report has no scientific or statistical foundation as to the 21 scope of forced marriage and, secondly, it has no scientific 22 foundation as to the potential effects of the phenomenon of bush 23 wives and this was clearly established during the 24 cross-exami nati on. 11:37:11 25 Thirdly, it doesn't represent an overall survey and it doesn't accumulate data, but rather it's a more selective and 26 restricted research according to which the own submissions of the 27

expert witness she confined herself to 59 personal interviews.

Fourthly, we were also able to establish, I think, Your

2 implemented in the report on pages 14, 15 and 18 and 19, these 3 interviews were not conducted, all of them, by Mrs Bangura 4 herself. We have therefore no way to verify the authenticity of 11:38:08 the summarisations implemented in the report. As to the lack of 5 scientific data or statistical foundation, I think it is also 6 very important to observe that the report itself, for instance on 7 8 page 6, mentions that there are thousands of bush wives who have not been reintegrated and it was established during the cross-examination that indeed for this qualification or this 11:38:40 10 11 estimation no foundation can be administered. 12 Therefore, we believe that the report should not be 13 admitted as an expert witness report, rather it is a personal account and opinion of a witness and Your Honours should 14 therefore, in our humble submission, evaluate the evidence given 11:39:08 15 by the expert witness based on what has been said during the 16 17 examination-in-chief and the cross-examination. 18 admissibility and the tendering of this document would 19 furthermore be prejudicial to the accused, because with tendering 11:39:34 20 of the document as a piece of evidence indirectly additional 21 evidence against the accused could be deduced based upon 22 fragments which were not subjected to cross-examination. In this 23 regard, I refer again to the interviews which are implemented in 24 the report on the pages 14, 15 and 18 and 19, according to which, 11:40:06 25 based upon the submissions of the expert witness herself, no form of verification was able to be administered during the 26 27 cross-examination simply because the expert witness didn't 28 conduct all these interviews herself. Therefore, we maintain our 29 objections as previously elaborated on during the

Honours, that when it concerns the summaries of the interviews

1 examination-in-chief. Thank you.

	2	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Knoops. Ms Pack, you've
	3	heard the
	4	THE WITNESS: Excuse me, can I use the bathroom.
11:40:46	5	PRESIDING JUDGE: Certainly, Mrs Bangura. Would someone
	6	from witness support please assist the witness. Yes, Ms Pack?
	7	[The witness stood down]
	8	MS PACK: Your Honour, the objections raised by my learned
	9	friend, there are two of them.
11:41:09	10	Firstly, there appears to be a challenge now again to the
	11	expertise of this witness. The submission made is that the
	12	evidence given by the witness was as to her personal accounts and
	13	opinions and for some reason that this, therefore, isn't
	14	admissible evidence and that then crosses over to the contents of
11:41:27	15	the report. Now, Your Honours have made a decision on the
	16	expertise of this witness and Your Honours have decided that this
	17	witness had sufficient expertise to opine on the issues of forced
	18	marriage, which she did in her expert report and has done in oral
	19	testimony. So the question of expertise is not a matter for Your
11:41:45	20	Honours to decide again or for my learned friends to make
	21	submissions on at this stage, it having been decided.
	22	The second collection of submissions made by my learned
	23	friend were as to the quality of the evidence of this witness in
	24	chief and the evidence contained in the report. These are all
11:42:03	25	submissions, in my submission, that may or may not go to weight,
	26	and they're all matters that Your Honours may consider having
	27	heard the cross-examination by counsel for the Defence, having
	28	heard, if it is going to be the case, an expert witness called by
	29	the Defence on the issue. At the end of the case it's a matter

1 for Your Honours to be decide.

But the issues raised, just dealing with them in turn, in

3 my submission there is no force to any of those submissions on

4 the issue of weight or indeed admissibility. Statistical

foundation of scope and effects of forced marriage, there has

6 been evidence dealt with by this witness as to the lack of public

7 statistical information and, therefore, why this witness was

8 called or gave evidence on the issue of forced marriage because

there is a lack of publically available statistical evidence on

11:43:02 10 this issue.

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There were submissions made on the selective and restrictive research by this witness. Well, she has given clear evidence as to the quality and nature of her research. It's a matter for Your Honours to decide whether Your Honours consider that you're assisted by her research. It wasn't just limited to 59 personal interviews. Your Honours have heard there were other interviews of other individuals above and beyond the bush wives.

The further submission made by my learned friend was as to the summaries that Your Honours have seen on various pages of the report. Now, the report was marked for identification and my learned friends for the Defence have cross-examined extensively on its contents and on methodology. They were given the opportunity, if they wanted to, to cross-examine on the authenticity of those summaries contained in the report, but they didn't. They had the opportunity to do so. Mrs Bangura gave evidence that she had all the ledgers with her, of her notes made of the interviews that she carried out with the bush wives, and, indeed, had notes of the interviews carried out by the CGG human

rights officers. There was available to counsel for the Defence

11:44:28

11:45:38

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- 1 the opportunity to cross-examine on summaries contained in her 2 report. If they chose not to take that course and cross-examine 3 in further detail, so be it. But there's no submission that my 4 learned friend could make at this stage that an opportunity wasn't given to verify, because that was what cross-examination 5 was for. And there's no reason now for Your Honours to not admit 6 the report for that additional basis put forward by my learned 7 fri end. 8 So those are my submissions, Your Honour. PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Pack. Mr Knoops on points 11:44:45 10 of law. 11 12 MR KNOOPS: Thank you, Your Honour. I will be very brief. 13 Your Honours, in our humble submissions the ruling of your Honourable Trial Chamber given on this issue on 5th August 2005 14 11:45:06 15 in paragraph 31 was specifically given based upon the expectation and perhaps the assumption that Mrs Bangura's report was based 16 17 not only on her experience as a campaigner for women's and civil 18 rights in Sierra Leone, upon personal experience in dealing with 19 women victims of forced marriage, but also as a cumulative 20 condition and also upon extensive secondary and primary data. 21 Now in our humble submission, there is no foundation left after 22 the cross-examination to assume that there are extensive
- 11:46:04 25 And also she relied for part of her report on the existing
  - reports of, for instance, Human Rights Watch. So that means that 26

secondary and primary data simply because the expert witness

acknowledges during the cross-examination that there are no data.

- the second pillar of Your Honours' decision of 5th August of this 27
- 28 year, as enshrined in paragraph 31, now lacks any factual
- 29 foundation, and therefore what is left is actually a report based

- 1 on the personal experience of this expert witness with women
- 2 victims of forced marriage. In our humble submission that is
- 3 simply not enough to admit a report under the qualification and
- 4 the title expert witness report.
- 11:46:56 5 So I would think the Prosecutor is entitled to say -- well,
  - 6 they are entitled to say, but it's not a valid argument to say
  - 7 that Your Honours have already dealt with this issue.
  - 8 Your Honours simply ruled on 5th August that some of the
  - 9 objections were premature. Secondly, as to the admissibility of
- 11:47:16 10 her report as an expert witness report, the objections --
  - 11 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, let counsel go back. The
  - 12 counsel -- please, counsel.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Interpreter, we couldn't hear what you
  - 14 sai d.
- 11:47:38 15 THE INTERPRETER: We want counsel to take back the last bit
  - 16 of his motion.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Knoops, did you hear?
  - 18 THE INTERPRETER: We want you to take the last bit of your
  - 19 submissions, counsel.
- 11:47:53 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Did you hear, Mr Knoops?
  - 21 MR KNOOPS: Thank you. I'm sorry for the misunderstanding.
  - I was saying that in our humble submission the argument of
  - 23 the Prosecution that Your Honours already dealt with this
  - 24 argument is in our submission not valid. Because, first of all,
- 11:48:14 25 Your Honours ruled with respect to several objections that they
  - 26 were premature. But, secondly, as to the admissibility of the
  - 27 report as such, Your Honours in that regard ruled that the
  - 28 testimony of Mrs Bangura was to be based on her experience as a
  - 29 campaigner for women's and civil rights, personal experience and

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also upon the extensive secondary and primary data.
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                    Now this assumption lacks --
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                    JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Knoops, where are you reading from?
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              What paragraph are you quoting from from our decision?
                    MR KNOOPS: This is paragraph 31, Your Honours. It's, I
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              think, the 10th sentence from below, from the paragraph starting
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              with, "We also note the acknowledgment in paragraph 1.1 of
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              Mrs Bangura's report that", and you see the quotation.
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              my argument is that Your Honours in this regard relied in the
              acknowledgment in paragraph 1.1 of that report. It's our
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              submission that this acknowledgment lacks factual foundation to
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              longer rely on, and it leaves only the personal experience of the
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              expert witness. And in the absence of any extensive secondary or
              primary data, which were announced in that report which didn't
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              emerge during the cross-examination, to the contrast it was
              confirmed that there are no extensive secondary or primary data
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              as to the scope of forced marriage, let alone the effect of the
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              phenomenon of bush wives. Because the expert witness clearly
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              testified, rightly so, she's not a medical expert. Yet her
11:50:42 20
              report, at least on three occasions, refers to psychological
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              trauma, her report refers to thousands of bush wives without any
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              merit.
                    So all in all we believe that in this regard the second
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              pillar of Your Honours' assumption, referring to the
11:51:07 25
              acknowledgment in paragraph 1.1 of Mrs Bangura's report, no
              longer exists. And it means that the acceptance of a report
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              which is merely based on personal experience is simply not enough
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              to be tendered as a piece of evidence before an internation
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              criminal tribunal.
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                    These are my additional submissions, Your Honour.
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                    PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Please have a seat,
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              Mr Knoops.
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                                [Trial Chamber conferred]
11:53:37
                    PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll adjourn briefly to consider the
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              submissions and give a ruling on this matter. Madam Court
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              Attendant, please adjourn the Court temporarily.
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                    MS TAYLOR: Your Honours, I beg your pardon. I just note
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              that you're rising. I wonder whether it's necessary for the
              witness to remain while this issue is --
11:54:07 10
                    PRESIDING JUDGE: I have in mind that -- we have no
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              questions of the witness and she's at liberty to leave the Court.
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                    MS TAYLOR: Much obliged, Your Honour.
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                                [Break taken at 11.58 a.m.]
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                                [Upon resuming at 12.15 p.m.]
                    PRESIDING JUDGE: This is the ruling on an objection by
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              Defence counsel to the admission of a report. The issue of the
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              expertise of the witness has already been ruled upon and we find
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              no reason to revisit that decision. The report is clearly
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              relevant and admissible under Rule 89(C). Issues raised by
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              Defence counsel go to weight, which will be considered at the
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              appropriate time. That is our ruling. We have an indication
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              that a witness must be heard this afternoon. That is the correct
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              situation still, Ms Taylor?
12:12:39 25
                    MS TAYLOR: It is so, Your Honour. Just before we move to
              that matter, might the report be given an exhibit number.
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                    PRESIDING JUDGE: I think it's P32. Allow me to confirm
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              that, please.
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                    MS EDMONDS: Yes, 32.
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PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. The report will be P32.
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                    MS TAYLOR: Thank you, Your Honour. The witness this
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              afternoon is witness number TF1-296. We have organised for her
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              to be available at 2.15. I note we only have 30 minutes before
              our normal time for lunch. The Prosecution did have another
12:13:10
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              witness who could have started, but it seems --
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                    PRESIDING JUDGE: It would seem little to be gained by
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              starting and interposing someone else and in the circumstances I
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              think it might be more appropriate to start that witness afresh
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              at 2.15. Could you indicate to us the language so we can inform
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              the interpreters?
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                    MS TAYLOR: Yes, the witness will give evidence in English.
              The witness also has some protective measures applying to her
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              that were ordered on 21st June 2005 by Trial Chamber I in a
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              decision called "Decision on Prosecution Request For Leave to
              Call Additional Witnesses and For Orders For Protective
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              Measures". That is a decision in proceedings known as the CDF
              trial. There was a closed session ordered for this witness
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              pursuant to Rule 75(A), and pursuant to Rule 75(F) that order
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              applies in this Chamber as well. My learned friends are aware of
              that matter and, as I understand it, they have no issue with that
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              matter, but I thought it worth raising with Your Honours now.
                    PRESIDING JUDGE: We will note that, Ms Taylor. And that
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              would sound like an extra reason because a screen will have to
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              come back in, won't it?
                    MS TAYLOR: Yes, it will.
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                    PRESIDING JUDGE: If there's no other matters, counsel, we
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              will adjourn to 2.15.
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                                [Luncheon recess taken at 12.12 p.m.]
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	1	[AFRC040C105D - SV]
	2	[Upon resuming at 2.25 p.m.]
	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: Before the next witness is called, we
	4	note the ruling of our learned colleagues in Trial Chamber I of
L4:22:26	5	21st June 2005, and the ruling that the next witness, were she
	6	to if the testimony were exposed to the public would give rise
	7	to a significant threat to personal safety, and I here quote from
	8	the decision, stipulate and a stipulation by a previous employer
	9	and a ruling that "the testimony", I quote, "would be held in
L4:22:59	10	closed session for this witness." That order being binding upon
	11	this Court, I now rule that this witness be heard in closed
	12	session for her personal safety. Madam Court Attendant, please
	13	institute the closed session.
	14	[At this point in the proceedings, a portion of the
L4:23:15	15	transcript, pages 75 to 118, was extracted and sealed under
	16	separate cover, as the session was heard in camera.]
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WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION:	
WI TNESS: ZAI NAB BANGURA	2
CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR FOFANAH	2
CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR GRAHAM	40
WI TNESS: TF1-296	75
EXAMINED BY MR HODES	75
CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR KNOOPS	75