Outreach/Press Officer Solomon Moriba (right) discussed the Special Court on Sierra Leone Radio, Amsterdam on 4 February 2012.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Enclosed are clippings of local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Outreach and Public Affairs Office as at:
Friday, 10 February 2012

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As the Charles Taylors betray Africa to Uncle Sam…

From: Dr. Michael J.K. Bokor

The Woyome judgement debt payment scandal seems to have taken a better part of our attention for us not to consider as worth our bother other important events that have occurred within the period.

One had to do with Liberia’s former warlord and President, Charles Taylor. The United States authorities disclosed that form Taylor worked for its intelligence agencies, including the CIA, the Boston Globe reports (according to BBC News).

The revelation came in response to a Freedom of Information request by the newspaper. A Boston Globe reporter told the BBC this was the first official confirmation of long-held reports of a relationship between US intelligence and Taylor.

As would be expected, the CIA at the time denied such claims as “completely absurd”; but now, it has owned up. The Defence Intelligence Agency (the Pentagon’s spy arm) has disclosed that its agents and those of the CIA did later use Taylor as an informant, the Globe reported.

That was all the CIA was willing to disclose. Pentagon officials refused to give details on exactly what role Taylor played, citing national security. But they did confirm that Taylor first started working with US intelligence in the 1980s, the period when he rose to become one of the world’s most notorious warlords.

Shocking as this revelation might be, I don’t consider it as unusual. We already know of similar collaboration between African government officials and foreign intelligence organizations. Ghana had its share of the sell-out in 1986 under Rawlings’ PNDC (the Michael Soussoudis saga and those three officials of the Special Branch at the time comes to mind).

But this particular one involving Taylor is the first public disclosure of an African leader’s espionage activities against his own country (and who knows which others in Africa?) while serving as the President of the very country whose interests he vowed to secure against foreign penetration and damage.

Several unexplained events preceding Taylor’s rebellion and assumption of power left trails to suggest that a really strong power was behind his manoeuvres. And that some impish Lady Luck might be lurking around, smiling on him. Now, we know who that Lady Luck was and where she hid to favour Charles Taylor all along until he exhausted that magnanimity.
Again, the bizarre circumstances under which he left his country to settle in Nigeria only to be outmanoeuvred and arrested for prosecution in The Hague strongly suggest that he had exhausted his favour with that strong power on which he had depended to clinch power and to fall from grace to grass. Out of the blues, we now know what that strong power is. Now that we know, all doubts are gone, to be replaced by apprehensions. We can confidently say that once again, the US has shown us what its interests, not friends, are. Charles Taylor couldn’t have outwitted the US intelligence and security system for nothing, and having allowed himself to be used as a pawn in the CIA’s game, he might have realized rather too late how unthinking he had been for allowing himself to be so used. He played with fire.

Of course, Taylor couldn’t have agreed to engage in this bizarre drama of self-immolation disguised as partnership with the US without being deceived by the short-term personal benefits that lured him into the maze. There must have been a quid-pro-quo arrangement to catalyze his rise from obscurity and danger to stardom in the highest office of the land. And in the painful twisting of his fate, tumbling from that pinnacle to the very nadir of hope that he has now been reduced to as a war criminal.

He is being tried for arming and controlling the RUF rebels in neighbouring Sierra Leone during a 10-year campaign of terror conducted largely against civilians. He denied those charges but will soon know his fate when his trial ends. If convicted, Taylor would serve a prison sentence in the UK.

The murky circumstances under which Taylor escaped from jail in the US in 1989 are still inexplicable. As the BBC reported, rumours of CIA ties were fuelled in July 2009 when Taylor himself told his trial, at the UN-backed Special Court for Sierra Leone in the Hague, that US agents had helped him escape from a maximum security prison in Boston in 1985. If there was no use for Taylor, why would he be so fairly treated? The US knew how to bend him to suit its purposes and did so.

When he found his way into Ghana, the Rawlings government arrested him for questioning but didn’t find anything incriminating to take legal action against him.

He slipped through into the Ivory Coast, where he carved a territory for himself in that country’s Western corridor, the border adjoining Liberia, where he established his operational base and from where he launched his rebellion against the Samuel Doe government in 1989. Preceding his rebellion, Brigadier Quiwonkpa had launched his own rebellion only to be snuffed out. Initial successes chalked by the Taylor rebels pushed them further into Libierian territory, where they secured the Gbarnga area and consolidated into their stronghold. Providing a safe haven for Taylor and his rebels, Gbarnga would eventually become the launching pad to facilitate Taylor’s brutal rebellion.

We note that the Liberian crisis had many players, one of whom was Prince Yormie Johnson (now a Man-of-God and a Liberian Senator), the man behind the forces that physically breached the security cordon and captured Samuel Doe to be tortured to death while the West African Peacekeeping Force (ECOMOG) looked on.

Indeed, by that action, Johnson had indicated that he was operating with a stronger force than Taylor’s group could. After all, he had scoffed Taylor for “dancing around the target (Monrovia)” for two years without any indication that he could capture it.

Taylor’s eventual overthrow of the Samuel Doe government was occasioned by horrendous atrocities, which explains why he is today before the ICC in The Hague to answer for such a pogrom. Of course, he is also accused of supporting and funding the equally horrendous atrocities in neighbouring Sierra Leone by forces under the command and control of the late Foday Sankoh.

Any image coming from Liberia and Sierra Leone horrifies. It demonstrates clearly the high degree of wickedness that guided the actions of the rebels. The perpetrators must not escape justice, then.
So, now that we are being told that upon all that he did in search for power—and in the senseless exercise of that power, creating conditions for more destruction—Liberia’s Taylor worked for the CIA in Liberia, what do we make of him and the United States?

Indeed, before the fall of the Tubman dynasty, Liberia had been considered as the US’ geopolitical center in Africa. The April 12, 1980 overthrow of that dynasty by Samuel Doe destroyed that geopolitical base. The US still relied on the Liberian status quo to pursue its interests but stood by when the rebellion was launched against the Doe administration.

Apparently shirking its responsibility for a territory that was said to have been founded in 1824 by a group of freed slaves and in pursuit of the ideals of the American Colonization Society, the US stood aloof. On the quiet—and in the light of the current revelation that Taylor worked for its CIA—though, one might suspect that the US was covertly facilitating the rebellion so as to regain its foothold in Liberia through Taylor.

As we in Africa bemoan our sorry fate and cry for redemption, our leaders have found subtle ways to betray our cause. It is annoying that after the betrayal on the quiet, these same leaders come out to condemn the foreign powers in the open. These are the double-faced gods that we have endorsed to sell us out.

You see, for as long as our leaders join foreign forces to undermine our integrity, there is little we can do to reverse the sorry plight facing us. We may cry all we can, organize demonstrations to denounce those foreign powers, threaten not to sell our primary commodities to them, or even timidly engage in diplomatic spat with them. But the hard fact is that it will all end up in smoke because we lack substance to initiate and sustain any prolonged battle with those forces. They already know everything about us and have our fate in their hands.

Our governments will spend our scarce national revenue supporting the security system all to no avail for as long as the very people who are presiding over our national security system turn round to betray our cause. Charles Taylor’s sordid example must scare every one of us and make us always suspicious of our leaders.

In Ghana, the recent revelations by Wikileaks have given us an insight into how our public officials willingly blow their mouths to betray us. For a mere pottage, they will sing like mad canaries to let out the very secrets that they have vowed to protect against foreign espionage. They are killing us softly and making it difficult for us to stand against the forces that continue to keep us down.

We must not look far to determine why we can’t ever outmanoeuvre those foreign forces. They know everything about our economies, politics, and anything that we may have on the drawing board to place us where we want to be, not the station that they have created for us to be.

Our plight is permanent, I daresay, until something drastic happens to re-order our systems. Will anything of the sort ever happen, though? Charles Taylor has really revealed the darkest side of the African leader. And we will be condemned to a life of misery, constantly looking over our shoulders and tripping all over the place in a vain attempt to survive. We can’t do otherwise as our leaders sell us to Uncle Sam. But we must not accept that condition, and must fight to ensure that our leaders stop betraying our interests.

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Guatemala Genocide Ruling a Triumph for Survivors

On Thursday a Guatemalan court ruled the country's former president, General Efraín Ríos Montt, will stand trial for genocide and crimes against humanity committed thirty years ago. After decades spent hiding behind parliamentary immunity he will finally be held accountable for ordering massacres, disappearances, and the systematic destruction of hundreds of communities.

The last few decades have seen a revolution in the global struggle against impunity, but even for those of us who follow the pursuit of justice in Guatemala closely, Thursday's decision ranks among the most astonishing developments. Belatedly, but valiantly, a new breed of prosecutors, led by Attorney General Claudia Paz, have finally allowed his victims' pleas for justice to be heard.

In 2004 the Guatemalan government admitted before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights that Ríos Montt's regime had pursued a strategy of genocide. The case before the court back then was the Plan de Sánchez massacre in July 1982, where more than 260 people were murdered. The army arrived at dawn, rounding up the villagers, cutting off all escape routes, dividing the women into two groups; one for raping before their deaths and the other just for killing. To save bullets women were crowded into a small house that was set on fire with grenades. The Plan De Sánchez massacre was one of well over 300 massacres during the worst phase of the civil war and was by no means the largest.

The charges he is now facing rely in some part on investigations I oversaw as the Legal Director of the Center for Legal Action on Human Rights (CALDH) in Guatemala from 1997 to 2001, and that is a matter of some satisfaction. We were one of many groups committed to justice on behalf of victims, building on the work of the Commission on Historical Clarification and the Catholic Church Project to Recover the Historical Memory. No one thought justice would be quick in coming, and many assumed it was not a battle worth fighting at all. But his trial is a cause to celebrate, and to marvel at the heroic dignity of the genocide survivors who throughout decades of vilification, attacks and even killing, have stood fast. They want the world to know the truth, how their loved ones were massacred in systematic, precision-planned operations at the hands of the General.

In the years after I worked in Guatemala, the image I carried of the plight of the genocide victims was that of the haunting face in Edvard Munch's famous painting The Scream. The pain is obvious to the observer, but there is no sound. The victims of Ríos Montt were largely uneducated peasants: even screaming at the top of their lungs, their voices were never heard.

Guatemala's civil war took the lives of 200,000 people from 1960 to 1996. The origins of the civil war can be traced to a U.S. backed coup in 1954 that deposed President Árbenz, a moderate, centrist leader, applying policies of land reform that threatened the holdings of large U.S. property owners. General Ríos Montt seized power in a coup d'état from a decrepit and corrupt military regime that was in danger of losing the civil war in March 1982. He continued a genocidal campaign against the indigenous Mayan population, implementing a scorched earth policy that was endorsed by Ronald Reagan—who famously said that Ríos Montt was "getting a bum rap on human rights." President Clinton apologized for the coup in 1998, although not for Reagan's support.

The war ended officially in 1996 amidst calls for stability and investment from the international community. Predictably, a free trade agreement with the U.S. followed and the frenzy of privatization that followed led to ever greater inequalities in what was already one of the continent's most disparate. Guatemala has since slid into failed state territory becoming a narcotics transit zone between Colombia...
and Mexico, with homicide rates that are higher now than they were during the civil war. It is an
impossible to compare the tragedies inflicted on the populations of Latin America in the name of so-called
national security doctrines, but Guatemala's war took more civilian lives than any other in Latin America,
almost all at the hands of the army and their proxies.

It is hard to overstate the damage U.S. policy has wrought on the ordinary people of Guatemala, but the
primary responsibility lies with the Guatemalans who planned and carried out these horrors. Ríos Montt is
but one of many. But this is not the time to focus on him. It is a time to admire the courage of
impoverished peasants who screamed for justice until their voices were finally heard.

*Paul Seils is vice president of ICTJ.

This article was originally published in The Huffington Post.
The Khmer Rouge's Perfect Villain

Op-Ed Contributor

By THIERRY CRUVELLIER

CloseDiggRedditTumblrPermalink International criminal courts usually begin their work with a mid-ranking defendant and impose a heavy sentence after their first conviction. The war crimes tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia were the first to do so.

Related in News
Survivors Seek Answers at Khmer Rouge Trial (November 21, 2011)
Times Topics: Kaing Guek Eav | Cambodia | Khmer Rouge
On Friday, the appeals chamber of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia — a mixed tribunal based in Phnom Penh and tasked with trying the worst offenders of the Pol Pot regime — followed in their footsteps: it imposed a life sentence on Kaing Guek Eav, also known as Duch, the 69-year-old former commander of the Khmer Rouge’s infamous S-21 prison in Phnom Penh, where between 1975 and 1979 more than 12,000 people were detained, tortured and sent for execution. This decision brought the appeals process to a close after Duch’s 2010 conviction for war crimes and crimes against humanity and sentencing to 30 years in prison.

What was unusual about Duch’s trial were his confessions and reflections about how he once embraced an ideology that led to the deaths of 1.7 million Cambodians.

Over a period of about six months during 2009, alone or facing his former subordinates, his victims and their families, Duch detailed before the tribunal the indoctrination process of the Khmer Rouge, their irreversible slide into criminality in the name of fighting the “enemy,” the “confessions” he extorted from prisoners, the torture, the systematic executions and the necessity to “smash” his own people in a system of absolute terror, secrecy and obedience.

He told the court: “I sincerely regret to giving in to others’ ideas and concepts and to accepting the criminal tasks I was asked to do. When I think about it, I am first angry at the steering committee of the party, who used all sorts of tricks to lead the country to a total and absolute tragedy. I am also angry at myself for agreeing on others’ conceptions and for blindly respecting their criminal orders.”

He also spoke of his days in the 1960s as a hard-working and beloved professor of mathematics in a town north of Phnom Penh who dreamed of social change. And he spoke of how, after eight years as a chief executioner in Pol Pot’s police, in the late 1980s he quietly returned to teaching in northwestern Cambodia and a few years later swapped his faith in communism for Christianity.

How does a Duch come to be? And how does he live with his crimes? These were just two of many stark questions spectators asked themselves as they followed the proceedings of the tribunal.

The hearings were a unique window onto the distressing and tragic work of a mass murderer. Never before had an international tribunal heard such a disturbing voice reveal such detail about the workings of mass murder. Never before had Duch’s victims been allowed to voice their suffering in court and confront their tormentor directly.
Duch expressed remorse throughout the trial, but the prosecutors deemed this to be half-hearted. He also asked for forgiveness, which the victims’ families firmly rejected. He said he would accept any punishment, including “stoning.”

Then, toward the end of the trial, Duch changed his mind and asked to be released, on the grounds that he did not fall within the jurisdiction of the court after all because he was neither a “senior leader” nor among “those most responsible” for the regime’s crimes. His Cambodian lawyer even asked that he be acquitted.

Victims were outraged, and the prosecutors denounced the lack of “genuineness” in the accused’s expressions of contrition — as if one could ever expect the confession of a mass murderer to be complete and truthful.

In the end, in July 2010, the trial chamber sentenced Duch to 30 years in prison (specifically, 35 years for the crimes he committed minus five years as compensation for having previously been illegally detained by the military authorities). Those judges were trying to strike a balance between the cooperation of the accused and the gravity of his crimes. But on Friday, the appeals judges abruptly made justice more acceptable to the families of Duch’s victims by sentencing him to life in prison.

When at the end of his trial, in late 2009, he was faced with the prospect of spending the rest of his days in prison, Duch proved to be a common and weak man. He had already spent 10 years in detention. He was the only senior member of the Khmer Rouge to admit responsibility for crimes committed under the regime and the only mid-level officer to be brought to justice. As the door was closing on him, he thought, Why me?

Duch may now regret his bold, last-minute appeal for freedom and ask himself whether he should have trusted his Cambodian lawyer and sought an acquittal. Ultimately, however, it was the four Cambodian judges and one international judge in the appeals chamber who tipped the balance against him (two international judges dissented).

For years, the Cambodian government has bluntly shown that it wants the judicial system to operate under its tight control. The regime has protected at least two suspects who were ranked higher than Duch in the Khmer Rouge hierarchy. But in Duch, the perfect soldier of the revolution, the government and the judiciary found the perfect villain to make into a symbol of justice.

Yet while the difference between a sentence of 30 years and one of life in prison also carries much symbolism, there is no sentence commensurate with the crimes.

Now the window onto the troubling historical and personal truths he revealed during the trial will probably close forever: Unlike Duch, the only three other former Khmer Rouge leaders being tried — all members of the top command of the Pol Pot regime — do not intend to provide Cambodians with the slightest expression of guilt or a moment of truth. They may now look at Duch, their subordinate, as a fool.

Thierry Cruvellier is the author of “Le maître des aveux” (“The Master of Confessions”), an account of the Duch trial. He also covered the war crimes tribunals for Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Bosnia.
Hariri tribunal proceeds without suspects

The U.N. tribunal investigating the 2005 assassination of Lebanon’s former prime minister announced it would try four men accused of the attack in absentia. The Special Tribunal for Lebanon is investigating the 2005 assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. The tribunal in July released the names of the four suspects — Salim Jamil Ayyash, Mustafa Amine Badreddine, Hussein Hassan Ainessi and Assad Hassan Sabra — tied to Hezbollah and wanted for the assassination. Beirut was tasked with apprehending the alleged suspects. Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah, who described the tribunal as part of an Israeli plot, said they’d never be detained.

“The trial chamber concluded that all reasonable steps have been taken to secure the appearance of the accused and to notify them of the charges against them,” the tribunal said in a statement. The tribunal announced that it assigned permanent counsel to the four men accused of the bombing attack that killed Hariri and 21 other people. The head of the tribunal’s defense office said he was confident the assigned counsel was “experienced and competent.”

The prosecution in the case is required to disclose supporting material to the assigned counsel within 30 working days. The tribunal acknowledged the difficulty in defending the accused in their absence, noting the defense office “shall provide counsel with legal advice and practical support.” – Copyright 2012 United Press International, Inc. (UPI). Any reproduction, republication, redistribution and/or modification of any UPI content is expressly prohibited without UPI’s prior written consent.

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