1		THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA		
3 4 5 6 7 8 9	CASE NO.: ICTR-98-44 CHAMBER III	-Т	THE PROSECUTOR OF THE TRIBUNAL v. ÉDOUARD KAREMERA MATHIEU NGIRUMPATSE JOSEPH NZIRORERA	
10 11 12 13		MONDAY, 27 NOVEMBER 2 0907H CONTINUED TRIAL	006	
14 15 16 17 18	Before the Judges:	Dennis Byron, Presiding Emile Francis Short Gberdao Gustave Kam		
19 20 21 22	For the Registry:	Ms. Rose-Marie Kouo Mr. Issa Mjui		
23 24 25 26 27 28	For the Prosecution:	Mr. Don Webster Mr. Iain Morley Mr. Saidow N'dow		
29 30 31	For the Accused Édoua	rd Karemera: Mr. Félix Sow		
	For the Accused Mathie	u Ngirumpatse: Ms. Chantal Hounkpatin		
35 36 37	For the Accused Joseph	n Nzirorera: Mr. Peter Robinson Mr. José Patrick Nimy Mayidika Ngimbi		
38 39 40 41 42	Court Reporters:	Ms. Donna M. Lewis Ms. Ann Burum Ms. Sherri Knox		

Exhibit No. ID. NZ56 (marked for identification).......66

Exhibit No. ID. NZ57A and ID. NZ57B (marked for identification).......68

Exhibit No. ID. NZ58 (marked for identification)......69

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KAREMERA ET AL

- 1 A. Yes, indeed.
- 2 Q. Colonel, why did you not then ask Jean-Pierre to, at least, provide you with those lists, i.e., the few lists
- that he referred to, or was it the case that not all of the lists had been compiled at that time?
- 4 A. We did ask Jean-Pierre to have the lists. And he said the lists were in the process of being made up,
- whatever process this might have been, and he didn't provide them to us.
- 6 Q. Were I to put it to you that one of the members of the *Interahamwe* who testified here claimed, since
- June 1992, when a part of the opposition went to Brussels with a view to clenching a deal with the RPF,
- and from that date on it had been decided, according to that person, that lists had been drafted; well,
- 9 what would your comment be to that?
- 10 A. My comment is very short, has this been cross-checked?
- 11 Q. Colonel, this is a piece of information similar to that given to you by Jean-Pierre, and this piece of
- information was provided by a member of the *Interahamwe* who, or so he claimed was very close to
- 13 Jean-Pierre?
- 14 A. If this information, apparently, was available in '92, probably other people were able to cross-check that
- 15 before.
- 16 Q. Before meeting Jean-Pierre, were you aware of the lists, of the existence of those lists?
- 17 A. No.
- 18 Q. Of the 135 firearms that Jean-Pierre referred to when talking to you, only 50, according to what you
- have said, only 50, according to what Captain Deme said, were actually found. Can you confirm that
- 20 fact?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. So, according to what you said, Captain Deme, in the company of Jean-Pierre, saw approximately
- 50 firearms. Now, why did you not immediately seize said firearms, the ones that Deme claims to have
- seen, or at least take a few specimens of said firearms with you?
- 25 A. Your Honour, I'm still rewinding the same tape.
- 26 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 27 We thought the same thing.
- 28 THE WITNESS:
- 29 If that would have been our mission then we would have brought these weapons outside of the MRND
- storage place. That evening we had been, after the meeting with Jean-Pierre in the headquarters of
- the secteur, allowed by Colonel Marchal to go and visit this place and observe with UNAMIR eyes the
- 32 effective presence of weapons. There was no reason to offend whatever party; this was not the
- mission of UNAMIR. The mission was to help Rwanda in its peace process and to convince whatever
- party to cooperate in this process.
- 35 BY MR. SOW:
- 36 Q. Colonel, you declared before this Trial Chamber that that nocturnal visit occurred on the
- 12th of January; is that, indeed, the case?

- 1 A. To my recollection it was on the 12th, yes.
- 2 Q. The meeting with the MRND and General Dallaire was also held on the afternoon of the 12th; was it not?
- 4 A. With hindsight, yes.
- Could you please explain to the Trial Chamber, therefore, how it is that the meeting that was held in the afternoon that was to inform the MRND of the existence of arms cache was held and that you yourself and Captain Deme went that very evening after the meeting to the caches; is that logical?
- 8 A. It might look illogical but I suppose also that it would not be the president of the party, neither his first secretary nor his vice president which would take these weapons and remove them whilst Jean-Pierre is going to another meeting. So the only other possibility that there was is that Jean-Pierre would have cancelled his meeting to remove these weapons at that moment. Otherwise, he had no opportunity to do it, and as he was responsible for it, he was not able to do it immediately after this meeting with the president -- with the party's authorities because he had the meeting with us.
- At an earlier stage, I mentioned a witness who was a member of the *Interahamwe* and who claimed that he was very close to Jean-Pierre. He talked to us of approximately 600 rifles. And he claimed that three quarters, approximately 480 rifles that is, were sold by Jean-Pierre to FRODEBU. Were you aware of that?
- 18 A. I'm not aware about this information. But I have a question; if he was only a driver, it's very strange then.
- Of course, Colonel, we are in a world of strange happenings. Everything that happens here is strange and unbelievable as well. So, Colonel, I shall go on. Now, Colonel, we are going to talk about the demonstration of the 8th of January 1994. You claimed that Turatsinze was worried and he said that if he hadn't been able to control that demonstration, there would have been a certain amount of provocation and that the demonstration would have come to an end. Can you confirm that fact?
- 25 A. This was, indeed, his concern.
- 26 Q. Did you understand that it was, in fact, thanks to Jean-Pierre that the demonstration went well, the
  27 demonstration held on the 8th of January that is?
- 28 A. I wouldn't say only by his behaviour. There were rules of engagement for the UN forces, and apparently, the demonstration didn't provoke whatever party.
- Would you agree with me when I say that the UNAMIR forces taking care of security in the capital were placed under the authority of Luc Marchal?
- 32 A. What the armament UNAMIR forces were concerned, yes?
- 33 O. Were you aware that Colonel Luc Marchal discussed the demonstration with General Dallaire?
- 34 A. At what point in time?
- 35 Q. I presume that was before the demonstration dated the 8th.
- 36 A. Yes, probably because he had to prepare this operation.

- 1 MR. SOW:
- 2 Mr. President, at this juncture I would like for document number 6 to be handed over to the colonel with
- the help of the registry -- I'm sorry, it is document number 5.
- 4 THE WITNESS:
- 5 I have the document in front of me.
- 6 BY MR. SOW:
- 7 Q. Thank you, Colonel. Now, the part that we are interested in would be the paragraph to the right-hand
- side of the page. It is, in fact, an excerpt from the book by Christophe Vincelet entitled, "The Death of
- 9 the Ten Blue Helmets in Kigali"?
- 10 A. I have an extract of the book in French of Luc Marchal.
- 11 MR. SOW:
- 12 Counsel, my assistant just told me that it is, indeed, document number 6. And I apologise for that.
- 13 THE WITNESS:
- 14 I have document 6 in front of me.
- 15 BY MR. SOW:
- 16 Q. So, we are examining the section of the document to the right-hand side of the page. And you have the
- beginning of the sentence where Colonel Marchal, who is being interviewed by Christophe Vincelet
- claims the following: "During a demonstration on the 8th of January 1994, I received an order from
- General Dallaire to interrupt the demonstration. But I thought about the order he gave he somewhat. I
- decided that it was too dangerous. First of all, the gendarmerie was there in order to maintain order.
- 21 What is more, we had neither the equipment nor the technique in order to maintain order, and it would
- 22 have been counterproductive to bring that demonstration to an end. People would have said, well it is
- the Belgians hitting the Rwandans once again." So that is what Luc Marchal declared on the subject of
- 24 that demonstration?

- Were you aware of that declaration made by Colonel Luc Marchal?
- 27 A. At no point in time was I aware about this. And this is the first time I read about it.
- 28 Q. Now, what comment would that bring to mind on your part?
- 29 A. I have different comments. I was not in charge of the operations; this makes me understand why I was
- just to look at weapons and not trying to recover them. And that, anyway, I was not in the complete
- loop of all what was going on in Rwanda.
- 32 Q. Colonel, the Belgians never came into any trouble of any sort until the assassination of
- 33 President Habyarimana, now did they?
- 34 A. Yes, to my knowledge.
- 35 Q. With the murder of the president of the republic, Mr. Habyarimana, can you tell us whether during that
- same period the RPF resumed fighting?
- 37 A. Only by hearsaying (sic). I was not at Kigali during those days.

- Q. Colonel, according to you what were the consequences of the assassination of the president of therepublic, Mr. Habyarimana?
- 3 A. I don't know if I can give any comment on that. The airplane clashed. And what follows are things we are not in control of.
- Colonel, you told us that you, indeed, left Rwanda on leave. And that you, subsequently, came back on the 6th of April. It was my understanding that after your leave you were posted elsewhere. You left
- 7 UNAMIR, and the reasons for that were family reasons; is that correct?
- Firstly, I didn't come back to Kigali as such, I just was in the airplane above Kigali and I didn't land on the 6th of April. The airplane was diverted to Nairobi, and then back to Belgium. And, indeed, somewhere in the administrative system somebody wrote a fax to UNAMIR headquarters making up a family story to explain the reason why I would join the extraction force, and not to join UNAMIR
- 12 headquarters when landing in Kigali.
- 13 Q. Was your opinion sought before you were posted elsewhere?
- Appointed to what? And at no point in time, as I said, neither to UNAMIR, neither to the extraction force, was my opinion or my point of view was asked.
- Colonel, kindly explain to this Court how, really, on the 6th of April when, apparently, the president's plane had to return and it had not yet been brought down, that Belgium decided to evacuate its nationals? Was there, in the background, some expectation regarding the situation which would subsequently unravel?
- 20 A. This is a wrong interpretation of the timing that -- as I had explained before the airplane had already clashed when the Belgium C130 Hercules was not able to land any more in Kigali, the airport was closed and darkened. And so there were no lights for traffic for airplanes. I flew to Nairobi; spent the night in Nairobi. And then flew back to Belgium where, at that point in time, the Belgium government had stated that they would start an evacuation operation. At that point in time I was appointed to a position within the evacuation force. An evacuation missions follows after a governmental decision in Belgium. So, I wasn't appointed on the 6th of April to an evacuation mission or whatsoever.
- Colonel, I'm going to rephrase my question because I think that from the way you answered my question, it was not properly construed so I'm going to rephrase it. What I would like to know is this; at the time when you were on the plane, certainly on the 6th, so you were in the skies. The president's plane was shot down around 8:30 p.m. on the 6th. What was the location of your plane? Were you still in Belgium, the plane had not yet taken off? Or had the plane taken off, and you were already airborne? That is what I want to understand.
- 33 A. That is, indeed, more precise. The airplane was within miles of reaching the airport of Kigali.
- So, if I understand properly, the evacuation mission had already been decided upon before that plane was brought down? If such was not the case, then explain to us what was the mission of those who were on that plane?
- 37 A. I will try to be, again, precise. I went on leave on the 29th of March. The end of my leave was planned

- on the 6th of April. In this airplane were different UNAMIR officers that went on leave together with me.
- 2 This airplane was approaching Kigali to land at the scheduled time which wasn't made possible due to
- the plane crash, which we happened not to know, but because also the airport was closed at that time.
- There was no lighting to make it able to land, and it was no control with the tower. And after half an
- bour circulating above Kigali, we were diverted to Nairobi. So there was no evacuation mission
- ongoing; it was a normal travel flight between Brussels and Kigali. There was no armed personnel on
- board, only people with their luggage coming back to continue their mission. And you can't start an
- 8 evacuation mission with one airplane.
- 9 Q. Colonel, thank you for your answer, which, indeed, is very precise. Now, I would like to find out from
- you, you said in the plane there was no armed personnel. But did that plane have -- or was the plane
- equipped with anti-missile devices?
- 12 A. The Belgium technical airplanes from the time, C130, had been equipped with anti-missile flares at that
- point in time.
- 14 Q. As far as you know, when the Belgium contingent withdrew from Rwanda, were you aware of what
- became of the various positions occupied by the Belgium contingent in Rwanda?
- 16 A. Your Honour, can Mr. Sow be more precise about what type of Belgium contingent, with UNAMIR or in
- the evacuation contingent?
- 18 Q. I am referring to UNAMIR?
- 19 A. I'm not able to respond to that question, I was not there anymore. I left on the 15th or 16th of April, the
- 20 Belgium troops that left Kigali left four or five days later, to my knowledge.
- 21 Q. Thank you, Colonel. I will end with a last question; Colonel, on the 23rd of November 2006, while you
- were being examined before this Court. And you stated, as we have in the draft transcript of Thursday,
- 23 23rd of November 2006, on page 54, point 12, this is what you said:

- 25 "At the time I would say, no, I did not have any intelligence training, nor did my three colleagues for that
- 26 matter. We were experiencing a fairly strange situation. I think that all what we were told at that time is
- 27 what I would refer to as surprising."
- 28 MR. SOW:
- Mr. President, this morning I asked my legal assistant to hand to you a transcript of trial in the
- Bagosora et al matter. And it is transcript for Wednesday 7th of April 2004. I disclosed that transcript in
- English and French versions. I would also like that the document in question be given to the witness. It
- is document number 10.
- 33 THE WITNESS:
- I have the document in front of me.
- 35 BY MR. SOW:
- 36 Q. Thank you, Colonel. There are two documents before you, Colonel, one in English, one in French.
- 37 What is your preference for our purposes?

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1 MR. SOW:

- 2 Mr. President, the sources were known, the source was clearly stated regarding that newspaper.
- Furthermore, I am at pains to understand, given that this document was used during the
- 4 cross-examination. There was no objection to the document being used, so I do not see how the
- document is going to pose any difficulties whatsoever, given that it concerns Jean-Pierre and his very
- 6 reliability.

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So it is up to the Chamber to assess the probative value of the document. That is why I am requesting that the document be tendered as evidence; or if the Prosecutor now wants that the entire document be provided, no problem. In any case, what is at issue here is the reliability of Jean-Pierre Turatsinze as

assessed by that important personality who put him in touch with UNAMIR.

## 12 MR. WEBSTER:

Your Honour, when we discussed this document, I did voice an objection, maybe it wasn't formally couched as an objection, but I interrupted Mr. Sow. My concern at that time was that he was only reading bits and pieces of it, and he didn't give the witness an opportunity to comment on the entire document.

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But behind that objection was a concern of whether even Faustin Twagiramungu's words were accurately recorded in this article. When Mr. Sow had put his questions to the witness, you couldn't tell what Twagiramungu was saying from what the journalist was saying. So, this is one of the issues.

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This is an issue that has come before the Chamber on a number of occasions and I think we need to adopt a consistent approach. But as a matter of record, the Court should recall that I did have some concerns about the way this document was being used when it was being put to the witness.

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Let me turn -- allow my colleague to continue with his observations.

# 27 MR. MORLEY:

Not many observations. My learned friend is perfectly entitled to put under the nose of any witness any document. The issue which arises is whether the witness adopts the content of the document. My understanding is that the content of the document was not adopted. It, therefore, floats about the court as an unadopted piece of material which in its present form the accuracy of which cannot be tested, and it does not appear in the form of a statement which might be thought by the Bench to be in a more reliable form.

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Having said all of that, even a statement -- and Your Honours will recall various arguments which have taken place in this trial about what happens to unadopted statements -- even a statement, if not adopted, cannot be put before the Court as evidence of the truth of its contents. It is my respectful

(Exhibit No. ID. K2 marked for identification) 35

MR. SOW: 36

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Obliged, Mr. President. I would like also to thank my learned friend, Counsel Robinson. 37

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now.

1 Mr. Robinson.

#### MR. ROBINSON: 2

- Yes, thank you, Mr. President. And I wonder if I can enquire as to the status of the duplication of my 3
- exhibits, which I provided at 8 o'clock this morning? If they are ready, we can proceed. 4
- MS. KOUO:
- Yes, Mr. Robinson, I sent the electronic version of all of the exhibits this morning. The hard copies are 6
- coming. 7
- MR. MORLEY:
- Insofar as far as Your Honour's assistant is bringing hard copies to court, we don't have any yet, I think 9
- Your Honours don't have any yet. We are wondering whether if they are coming to court, as there 10
- aren't any to put in front of the witness, it may make sense for us to take the morning break now. It is 11
- 12 15 minutes early, but on the other hand, we will then have the document. Unless my learned friend,
- Mr. Robinson, is not going to be referring to documents for a little bit of time. 13

#### MR. ROBINSON: 14

- Well, Mr. President, I had planned on using the documents right away. There is one other thing we can 15
- do. I can revert -- I was going to do it at the very end of this, but I can do it at the beginning, concerning 16
- the admission of previously identified UNAMIR documents pursuant to your decision. If you want me to 17
- do that now, we can take some time with that now. I have those -- those documents are already in the 18
- courtroom. They have previously been marked for identification. 19

#### MR. PRESIDENT: 20

You can continue, Mr. Robinson. 21

#### MR. ROBINSON: 22

- 23 Thank you, Mr. President. Actually, Mr. President, even before I address the witness, I would like to try
- to activate paragraph 11 of your decision on the admissibility of UNAMIR documents. In that paragraph 24
- you said that the Chamber is also of the view that UNAMIR documents could be admitted without being 25
- tendered during the examination of the witness, provided that, "The moving party shows for each 26
- document its relevancy and probative value. So, I was going to propose as a matter of saving some 27
- time, to go through those documents and indicate the relevance and probative value of them, because I 28
- think there are -- that is already established without the necessity of questioning the witness. But if you 29
- 30 feel you want to do it another --

#### MR. PRESIDENT: 31

- Can you interrupt you? Have you given notice to the Prosecutor of the documents you intended to 32
- introduce in this manner? 33

#### MR. ROBINSON: 34

I haven't given notice as of today, but these are all the ones that were with Witness ALG, that were the 35 36

subject of your decision. And you noted in your decision that they would come up with Mr. Claeys.

### 1 MR. PRESIDENT:

2 Yes, Mr. Robinson -- Mr. Morley.

# 3 MR. MORLEY:

- 4 Very briefly, Your Honour, it may be that the most practical way of dealing with the documents is to put
- them before the witness and he will, one anticipates, be able to say something about them. I don't
- know. And then that way the documents will, if he is able to comment on them, and explain to
- 7 Your Honour their relevance and so on, they would go into evidence in the usual way.

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- I'm not quite clear what the consequence of simply admitted into evidence the various documents are,
- simply by decree, if the witness himself doesn't look at the documents during the course of the
- cross-examination. My thinking is, as matter of practicality, we have a UNAMIR officer here, let him see
- those documents that my learned friend wishes to attempt to put into evidence. That is my thought.

# 13 MR. PRESIDENT:

- We can do it that way. You see the witness has not been cross-examined on the document. He is just
- establishing a basis for which they could be admitted into testimony. But you can proceed in that way,
- Mr. Robinson. I thought that it may have been that if notice had been given that process might have
- been short-circuited. But in the circumstances, he can proceed through the witness.

# 18 MR. ROBINSON:

19 Yes, I --

### 20 MR. WEBSTER:

- Just one further comment. To me, to my mind it goes beyond just placing the document in front of the
- witness. When they were tendered with the last witness, that witness was directed to a specific
- 23 paragraph in each of the documents, and there was a specific meaning that Mr. Robinson wanted to
- elicit from the witness through the document. So, I would think that the only appropriate way to proceed
- is to go back to that very issue; the issues that were raised with respect to each document, and to lay
- the foundation, through this witness, for that portion of the document that was relevant for the Defence
- 27 case.

# 28 MR. ROBINSON:

- Well, Mr. President, what I would like to do is go -- leave this to the end of my cross-examination. I
- think it is going to take about half a day, or a few hours to do this. So I think I don't want to start it now.

- So I think my exhibits have also arrived, so, perhaps, they could be distributed, and I could just follow
- my normal way of cross-examination. And if the Prosecution, in the meantime, wants to reconsider
- whether they would have any objection to the admission of the previously marked documents for
- 35 identification without the necessity of having this officer lay a foundation, perhaps, they can think about
- it during the lunch recess and I'll -- otherwise, I will be prepared to go through each document with him,
- if that is what the parties would like me to do.

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Yes, indeed.

- 1 Q. And would you agree that he had apparently never been told explicitly that the Tutsis were to be
- 2 eliminated?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. And that he had never been instructed explicitly to train *Interahamwe* to eliminate Tutsis, correct?
- 5 A. Yes, indeed.
- 6 O. And also in paragraph six, he says that they could kill 1,000 Tutsis in 20 minutes, correct?
- 7 A. Yes, as an example.
- 8 Q. And he never told you that the *Interahamwe* had been trained to do that, correct?
- A. Still correct.
- 10 Q. So he never told you, for example, that they had been trained in how to approach houses in the middle
- of the night, how to enter locked premises, how to neutralise head of the household, or anything like
- that, correct?
- 13 A. Indeed.
- 14 Q. And, in fact, in all of your meetings with him, he never told you that the MRND leaders had instructed
- the *Interahamwe* to kill Tutsis, correct?
- 16 A. He never spoke about that in those words, no.
- 17 Q. And so what he was expressing to you was only his suspicion, correct?
- 18 A. Yes, that was his concern. Might -- we might formulate it like a concern.
- 19 Q. And he presented that concern as the motive for why he had come to UNAMIR, correct?
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. And in paragraph seven it's noted that he disagrees with the anti-Tutsi extermination, and that was the
- reason he gave for why he had come forward, correct?
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. And I take it that you never became aware of any other motive that he might have had; is that true?
- 25 A. No, indeed.
- 26 Q. He never asked for money, he only asked for protection; is that correct?
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 Q. And I take it that you were not aware that he had sold a large number of weapons earmarked for the
- 29 Interahamwe to a Burundian organisation known as FRODEBU and had pocketed the money?
- 30 A. No. I learned about this for the first time today.
- 31 Q. Now, I want to ask you some questions about how he came to UNAMIR. He didn't come directly to
- 32 UNAMIR, but he came through the wing of the MDR party led by Faustin Twagiramungu, correct?
- 33 A. That's how I perceived it, yes.
- Q. I'm going to ask that you be shown the document which is number 7 in our list of exhibits that have just
- been distributed. It's an excerpt from a Radio Rwanda broadcast on the 9th of January 1994.

Colonel Claeys, I'm directing your attention to the bottom after it says the orator is Anastase Gasana

- and, in particular, point 1 underneath that. This is in French. And, with the permission of the President,
- I would like to have my assistant, Leopold Nsengiyumva, read the paragraph out loud.
- 3 MR. ROBINSON:
- 4 Is permission granted, Mr. President?
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 Sorry. Permission is granted. I didn't realise I had to formally say "yes."
- 7 MR. NSENGIYUMVA:
- 8 "The following political parties, MDR, PLD, PDC, and PL, note that, despite his swearing-in on the
- 5th of January 1994, the president of the republic and his party, the MRND, are still questioning the
- Arusha Accords; that, by engaging once more in the logic of war, our political parties are also informed
- of the lugubrious plan to physically eliminate the main opponents of the Habyarimana regime, which
- plan is to be implemented by the 1,700 *Interahamwe*, who are the MRND militia and who have been
- trained and armed for that purpose. They have just been unleashed in all the neighbourhoods of Kigali
- 14 city."
- 15 MR. ROBINSON:
- 16 Thank you, Mr. Nsengiyumva.
- 17 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 18 Q. Now, Colonel Claeys, the same information that was broadcast on the 9th of January 1994 by the
- minister of foreign affairs and MDR member, Anastase Gasana, was given to you on the
- 20 10th of January by Turatsinze, correct?
- 21 A. And so far correct; that is just a part of this information.
- 22 Q. But even the number 1700 is the same, and you could even look at -- if you need to refresh your
- memory, you could look at paragraph five of your -- of the cable of the 11th of January, which -- in
- which Turatsinze had indicated to you that there were 1700 *Interahamwe* trained in military camps,
- 25 correct?
- 26 A. That was what I was referring to as being parts of the information.
- 27 Q. Can we conclude from that and the fact that you were put in contact with Turatsinze through
- 28 Prime Minister Twagiramungu of the MR -- of the MDR that Turatsinze had first taken his information
- not to a body charged with enforcement, such as UNAMIR, but to the political opponents of the MRND?
- 30 MR. MORLEY:
- I'm sorry. I'm on my feet. An interesting way of putting the question: "Can we conclude from what we
- see in the radio broadcast that Turatsinze's taken his information from the broadcast?" Surely my
- learned friend's question calls for speculation, to use an American term.
- 34 MR. ROBINSON:
- 35 Actually, I think Mr. Morley made a good point. It looks like maybe people have missed my point
- because my point was not that Turatsinze heard this on the radio and then went and repeated it to
- UNAMIR. My point is that Turatsinze had first given the information to the MDR, who had broadcast it,

and then gone to MDR with his information before he went to UNAMIR. And so maybe I can try to ask

the question a little bit better.

### 3 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 4 Q. From the way the information came to UNAMIR, and for whatever value we can place on this
- 5 broadcast, would it be fair to conclude that Turatsinze had first taken his information not to a -- not to a
- body charged with enforcement, such as UNAMIR, but to the political opponents of the MRND?
- 7 A. I think there is some confusion because Mr. Robinson used "from the MRND," although he was
- 8 referring, I think, to MDR.
- 9 MR. ROBINSON:
- Okay. I'm sorry about that. Let me ask the question because I -- I sometimes mix up these initials.
- 11 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 12 Q. So, given the fact that Turatsinze came to you through MDR president, Twagiramungu, and from the
- fact that on the 9th of January, if you accept this as true, that the MDR foreign minister was referring to
- 1700 trained *Interahamwe*, could we conclude that Turatsinze had first taken his information not to a
- body charged with enforcement, such as UNAMIR, but to the political opponents of the MRND?
- 16 MR. MORLEY:
- 17 I'm sorry to interrupt. The concern I have is with the expression "can we conclude that." I respectfully
- submit any conclusion would be speculation. My learned friend can ask the question in a different way.
- He could say, for example, "Reflecting on the broadcast, might it be that what may have happened is."
- 20 But to invite the witness to offer a conclusion is, I respectfully submit, wrong.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Mr. Morley, that's just playing with words. I mean, the -- the proposed phraseology amounts to the
- same question. It's just a different way of asking it.
- 24 MR. MORLEY:
- 25 Perhaps I'm being oversensitive --
- 26 MR. PRESIDENT:
- In the long run, I mean, we are going to have to make our decision on these issues.
- 28 MR. MORLEY:
- 29 Your Honour, yes. But it might be thought there's a difference between what may have happened and
- what has been concluded has certainly happened. Perhaps I'm being oversensitive. It's the word -- the
- use of the word "conclusion" I'm concerned about.
- 32 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 33 Yes, Mr. Robinson.
- 34 MR. ROBINSON:
- Well, Mr. President, I'm basically putting a proposition to the witness. I could change the language, but
- I think the effect is the same.

### 1 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 2 Q. So, Colonel Claeys, it appears from this broadcast, from the way in which Turatsinze came to UNAMIR,
- that he had not gone directly to a body charged with enforcement but had gone first to the political
- 4 opponents of the MRND. Do you have any comment on that?
- 5 A. This is a possibility, yes.
- 6 MR. ROBINSON:
- 7 Mr. President, at this time I would like to offer the radio broadcast of the 9th of January as
- 8 Exhibit D. NZ204.
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Mr. Robinson, we think this comes under the same principle that we've been making before. In any
- event, right, the materiality of this particular exhibit is unnecessary. I mean, you already have the
- evidence on record, for -- which we are going to have to assess, that it was Twagiramungu who put
- 13 Turatsinze in touch with General Dallaire --
- 14 MR. ROBINSON:
- 15 Yes.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- -- and the inference which you are inviting is really a conclusion for the Chamber to make.
- 18 MR. ROBINSON:
- But there's an additional element because we don't know from any other aspect whether or not
- Turatsinze had revealed to the MDR the content of his allegations. And this proves that he did, that he
- told them about 1700 trained *Interahamwe*.

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- 23 Mr. President, I actually think that we should recess this witness's testimony and have an oral argument
- on the admissibility of exhibits because I think we're going backwards in the trial. You've admitted over
- 50 exhibits of radio broadcasts that witnesses have not heard of or have not adopted during the course
- of this trial, and this is in exactly the same situation. This is not a newspaper article. This is not some
- statement of a witness. This is a radio broadcast transcribed after the tape had been provided by the
- 28 Rwandan government to the OTP. The OTP transcribed these radio broadcasts, and they disclosed
- them to the Defence.

- We've talked about this before. It seems like every time we're trying to admit an exhibit, the
- Trial Chamber is in difficulty in trying to decide what the rules are. And last week Judge -- it was being
- 33 suggested we should admit statements of Turatsinze's wife. Now, today you're telling me --
- 34 MR. PRESIDENT:
- No, no, no. I didn't describe -- you assumed that was the one that I was speaking about.
- 36 MR. ROBINSON:
- Well, it was either that or the Belgian senate testimony of Twagiramungu. But, in any event, this --

we're really at complete confusion and chaos right now with respect to exhibits. And I think that, rather than every -- I'm going to offer 30-some-odd exhibits during the testimony of this witness, and if we are going to deliberate every time I offer an exhibit and come up with some different result, I don't think anybody knows what to expect here.

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The point is that, if you're going to be consistent -- the Prosecution hasn't offered -- has not objected. The provenance of radio broadcasts is well established. The relevance of this particular broadcast, its probative value is established. And there's absolutely no reason not to admit this exhibit under any of your prior decisions or even your decisions about UNAMIR documents, when you said that what has to be established is relevance and probative value. So -- and that -- and that admission of a document is only -- is you only have to show the beginnings of -- of reliability to have a document admitted.

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So I'm completely stymied here by the Trial Chamber's ruling, and I really think that we need to sort this all out because you're changing completely in midstream.

# 15 MS. HOUNKPATIN:

I'm sorry to interrupt, Mr. President, in the discussions, but I believe that Mr. Robinson is speaking very fast indeed, and the transcript does not seem to be keeping up. And that's why I wanted to ask for us to slow down somewhat so that the interpreters and the court reporters can follow realtime.

#### MR. MORLEY: 19

If I might assist, Mr. Robinson made the astute observation the Prosecution were not objecting. In respect of this document, the witness, having offered the testimony that the proposition put forward is a possibility, namely, Turatsinze may have talked to the MDR and given the same figure of 1700 to the MDR leadership, it being a possibility. On the face of it, the document can be said to have been, in a manner of speaking, adopted by the witness, and we would not object to the document going into evidence.

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I don't, respectfully, agree with Mr. Robinson's observations that all is chaos and confusion and that Your Honours are changing in midstream. I respectfully submit that Your Honours' position has been fairly clear of late that documents don't go in evidence unless the witness is able to speak to them. And in this particular case, the colonel has been able to offer the thought this information is consistent with what he heard and it remains a possibility Turatsinze spoke to the MDR. Whether he did or not, as a fact, proven, as it were, is another matter. But in terms of the document, it may assist Your Honours and Mr. Robinson, that document, as an admissible document, is not argued by the Prosecution.

#### MR. PRESIDENT: 34

Thank you, Mr. Morley. 35

#### 36 JUDGE SHORT:

Mr. Robinson -- Mr. Robinson, I also am not happy with your statement that we are in a chaotic 37

- situation. The Chamber has given guidelines for the admission of evidence, and in that decision we
- 2 have indicated that counsel should follow those guidelines. In most cases it's a question of application
- of those guidelines. You know, counsel or the Bench may differ on the application of each principle to
- 4 the facts of a particular case. That doesn't mean we're in a state of chaos. But the rules or the
- 5 guidelines were set out very clearly in the judgement -- or, in the decision that we gave.

## 6 MR. ROBINSON:

- Yes. I -- I believe, pursuant to those guidelines, I could have offered this document without even a
- witness being present once the relevance was establish and its probative value, even without a
- 9 witness, under paragraph 11 of your guidelines. I don't -- that's why I don't feel the guidelines are being
- applied if you refuse the admission of this document. This is a document whose provenance, whose
- relevance, and probative value have been demonstrated, so I don't understand why it should be
- refused under your guidelines. I'm sorry.

# 13 MR. PRESIDENT:

- We have, in fact, reconsidered our position, and we have admitted it. So it is admitted.
- 15 (Exhibit No. D. NZ204 admitted)
- 16 MR. ROBINSON:
- 17 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 18 MR. SOW:
- Mr. President, with your leave, I would like to request that Mr. Édouard Karemera go to see Dr. Epée
- for a few moments, please.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Yes, permission is granted.
- 23 MR. SOW:
- 24 And I thank you.
- 25 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 26 Q. Okay. Colonel Claeys, would you agree that presenting yourself to a political opponent is not the
- 27 normal way in which a citizen or informant who want to prevent a crime go about informing?
- 28 A. If we assume that he might also have approached other parties or official authorities, this might have
- been his next step. We might also assume that this was -- a first party was approaching in a process of
- trying out other parties or official instances. So it appears to me that it is not -- if he's -- not in
- accordance with his convictions, that he was using whatever way possible to disclose information which
- 32 he was aware of.
- 33 MR. WEBSTER:
- You know, Your Honour, I'm uncomfortable with these presumptions in Mr. Robinson's question. First
- of all, Mr. Sow wanted to put in evidence an exhibit where there was a quotation from Twagiramungu
- where he said he had never met Jean-Pierre. The presumption in Mr. Robinson's question --

- 1 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 2 Slow down, please, Mr. Webster.
- 3 MR. WEBSTER:
- 4 I'm sorry?
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 You are speaking too fast.
- 7 MR. WEBSTER:
- 8 I'm sorry.

- 10 I'm a bit uncomfortable with the presumptions, both in Mr. Robinson's question and in the witness's
- response. A few minutes ago the Court was invited to admit an exhibit which was a quotation -- a
- journalist's interview with Twagiramungu. In that article Twagiramungu said he had never even met
- Jean-Pierre Turatsinze. There's nothing on the record and nothing coming from the Defence to suggest
- that Turatsinze met Anastase Gasana or Twagiramungu. And now the witness has been invited to
- speculate on what the implications are of Turatsinze approaching the opposition. Well, that's not a fact
- in evidence, and the Court should be aware of that. And Mr. Robinson should be more careful with his
- questions so that the witness himself is not invited to speculate on questions that contain speculative
- 18 assumptions.
- 19 MR. ROBINSON:
- 20 Well, Mr. President, I think I better clear this up, then, for Mr. Webster's benefit.
- 21 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 22 Q. Colonel Claeys, Turatsinze came to UNAMIR through Faustin Twagiramungu, the president of the MDR
- party, correct?
- 24 A. Apparently, yes.
- 25 Q. There's really no doubt about that, is there?
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 Q. So I'm asking you, then, would you give less reliability to a person who had come through political
- opponents than you would to a person who had gone directly to law enforcement?
- 29 A. No.
- 30 Q. Did the fact that -- well, isn't it true that the fact that Turatsinze had come through the MDR raised the
- possibility of a trap?
- 32 A. This was brought to my attention through the analysis of the general, but if I would have met
- Jean-Pierre alone, I would have brought this information on the same way that I -- as I met Jean-Pierre
- in those days. It remained a raw information.
- 35 Q. Yes, I understand that. And that's correct. But in analysing the information, or evaluating the reliability
- of the informant, General Dallaire noted in this fax at paragraph 11 that there was a possibility of a trap
- and that he had certain reservations on the suddenness of the change of heart of the informant,

- 1 correct?
- 2 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 3 Q. And then in the cable that came back from New York dated the 10th of January, which is Exhibit P. 39,
- 4 the UN people at the department of peacekeeping operations noted that there were certain
- 5 inconsistencies in the information, correct?
- 6 A. To my recollection, yes.
- 7 Q. So it's clear that the information from Turatsinze, the raw information, that you were passing on was
- 8 being treated with caution at all levels, correct?
- 9 A. Obvious, yes.
- 10 Q. And I take it also that you later believe from a conversation you had with Colonel Karenzi that
- 11 Turatsinze may have shopped his information to the RPF as well?
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. Now, I want to ask you some questions about how the weapons came to be at the MRND
- headquarters. And we have heard that, in fact -- I think -- maybe I better say that again because I think
- there was a translation problem.
- 16
- We've heard the testimony that Captain Deme saw the weapons at the MRND headquarters on the
- 12th of January. Those headquarters were in Kimihurura, correct?
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. I want to ask you some questions about how those weapons may have come to be there on that date.
- 21 First of all, on the 10th of January, Turatsinze told you that there was a major weapons cache with at
- least a hundred and thirty-five weapons. And that's at paragraph eight of your cable of the
- 23 11th of January; is that correct?
- 24 A. Mm-hmm, yeah.
- 25 Q. And he offered to take you there that night, correct?
- 26 A. He was indeed prepared for that, yeah.
- 27 Q. And he made no mention at that time of those weapons being at the MRND headquarters, correct?
- 28 A. He didn't earmark any position, indeed.
- 29 Q. And, in fact, when he took you and Captain Deme to the MRND headquarters on the 12th of January,
- there were about 50 weapons there, true?
- 31 A. Yes.
- 32 Q. And as far as you know, he had not distributed any weapons between the 10th and the 12th of January,
- 33 correct?
- 34 A. Correct.
- 35 Q. So is it a fair conclusion that the place where the hundred and thirty-five weapons were stored was
- some other place other than the MRND headquarters, perhaps a location near his house which he
- 37 showed you on the 13th of January?

- 1 A. This is possible, yes.
- 2 Q. Now, we know that Turatsinze had the ability to move weapons around Kigali, correct?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. And, in fact, on the 13th of January, as you've reflected in paragraph two of Exhibit P. 44, your report of
- 5 your meeting with Turatsinze, he said that he would move some of the weapons that were at his home
- to the party building to increase the number of weapons there, correct?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. And he had also said that he was able to order the return of weapons that he had already distributed,
- 9 correct?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Now, your meeting with him was on the evening of the 10th of January, and you didn't go look at any
- weapons, right?
- 13 A. Right.
- 14 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 15 Could counsel please be requested to observe a pause between the question and answer for
- interpretation purposes. Thank you.
- 17 MR. ROBINSON:
- 18 Sorry about that. I got that --
- 19 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 20 (Microphones overlapping)...and also to slow down for the court reporter, please.
- 21 MR. ROBINSON:
- 22 Okay.
- 23 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 24 Q. So he -- you had not seen any weapons on the evening of the 10th of January, correct?
- 25 A. Correct.
- 26 Q. Now, were you aware that on the 11th of January Turatsinze had issued a communiqué over RTLM,
- calling for an urgent meeting of the *Interahamwe* secteur leaders to be held at the MRND office in
- 28 Kimihurura?
- 29 A. Not aware of that.
- 30 MR. ROBINSON:
- If you could be shown number 8 in my package of exhibits, please.
- 32
- And, Mr. President, I'm going to once again ask that we call on the services of my legal assistant,
- Leopold Nsengiyumva, to read a paragraph from this broadcast -- the transcript of this broadcast, which
- is in the Kinyarwandan language. So I want to place it in front of the witness, but it won't do him much
- good until he hears Mr. Nsengiyumva read it.

37 But the do

MR. ROBINSON:

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But the document itself, as a broad -- as transcript of a broadcast that was made on the

Yes, but his answers are the evidence.

- 1 11th of January 1994 has its own value to the Trial Chamber. And the question is what is that value.
- 2 It's relevant because it's showing that Turatsinze is secretly --
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 (Microphones overlapping)...I know, but is it a truthful statement?
- 5 MR. ROBINSON:
- 6 Well, that's for you to determine, but it's admissible. Is everything that's admissible truthful on its face?
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Not necessarily, but what -- you have to go through the witness.
- 9 MR. ROBINSON:
- 10 Mr. President, if -- I think we have to stop --
- 11 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- (Microphones overlapping)...Mr. President, the interpreters need us to apply some speed brakes,
- 13 please.
- 14 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, this is no different than 50-some-odd other exhibits you already admitted. This -- all
- right. Let's say this was a United Nations resolution. The witness knew nothing about. Some
- documents are admissible once the relevance and probative value of the document has been shown.
- This is a radio broadcast whose provenance has already been established by the admission of all these
- 19 other exhibits.
- 20
- Now, my alternative is I can call the investigator from the OTP, just as they were going to do. We can
- have him establish where these things came from, how they were kept in the chain of custody, how
- they were transcribed. And if you would like me to do all that, we can do that at a point during our case.
- But I thought that we had already gone beyond that when you admitted all these other exhibits and the
- 25 Prosecution had accepted that material it received from the government of Rwanda, in the form of
- broadcasts, tapes that they had transcribed, were at least prima facie evidence of what they purported
- 27 to be. Whether the contents are true or not is a completely other question; whether the speaker was
- telling the -- the truth, we have no idea. But the fact that it was broadcast is what's important, and there
- 29 seems to be no dispute about that. And so the conditions for --
- 30 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 31 (Microphones overlapping)...Mr. Robinson, all that we have heard up to now is that you have a
- document which you have had one paragraph read onto the record. Is that evidence?
- 33 MR. ROBINSON:
- Not until you admit the document.
- 35 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Well, if I admit a document, is it evidence?

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No. I didn't.

Excuse me.

### 1 MR. ROBINSON:

2 Thank you.

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- I move to admit the document as Exhibit D. NZ205. It's clearly relevant because it shows that
- 5 Turatsinze was gathering the *Interahamwe* at the MRND building between the time -- before he was
- going to show them the weapons. It's clearly probative because it's a Radio Rwanda -- RTLM
- 5 broadcast, which would advance the proposition that I'm trying to make, that Turatsinze was
- 8 manipulating the placement of these weapons. It's authentic because of the way it's been obtained and
- 9 disclosed by the OTP, so I've met all the criteria for admissibility under Rule 89(C).

## 10 MR. WEBSTER:

- What I don't quite understand with Mr. Robinson's approach is that he's suggesting that the broadcast
- does not have to be accepted for its truth and then goes on to say that the -- the broadcast now
- demonstrates that Turatsinze organised the meeting of the *Interahamwe*, which is not -- you cannot
- simply read this one paragraph and jump to that conclusion. So this is the danger of using documents
- in this way. How is the Court or how -- how is the trial supposed to use this particular bit of information
- at -- for me, I'm still at a loss to -- to -- to understand exactly where we're going with this.

# 17 JUDGE SHORT:

- Mr. Robinson, going back to our decision, the witness has not adopted -- adopted the -- the broadcast,
- nor has he been able to speak to the document -- to the broadcast.

## 20 MR. ROBINSON:

- 21 That's -- that's correct, but going back to your decision, in paragraph 11, you said that you were also of
- the view that certain documents, in that case UNAMIR documents, could be admitted without being
- 23 tendered during the examination of a witness, providing the moving party shows for each document its
- relevancy and probative value. And that's what I've just done. I've shown you the relevancy and
- 25 probative value of the radio broadcast, which I suggest is in a similar category to UNAMIR documents
- as having some provenance.

# 27 MR. WEBSTER:

- Your Honour, I'm still uncomfortable because we had a witness on the stand a week ago who was a
- 29 member of the *Interahamwe*, who was familiar with Turatsinze, who gave testimony about attending
- meetings of the sort that are being convened, supposedly, by this communiqué. Why wasn't this exhibit
- shown to that witness, and then this Court would have had an opportunity to assess its probative
- value? Because that witness could have spoke to the content of this -- of this communiqué. Here we
- are with a witness that knows -- I would suggest that Mr. Robinson expected this witness not to know
- anything about the content of this broadcast.

- So aside from the formal questions of how the documents should be moved before the Court, my
- concern is the substantive issue. If we're trying to establish the truth of the events, this, to me, does not

seem an appropriate way to proceed. How is this one communiqué going to provide this Trial Chamber with an opportunity to conclude -- to find facts in relation to -- to this incident? It should have been put before HH.

#### 4 MR. ROBINSON:

Well, Mr. President, HH was not a truthful witness. We already heard how he concocted evidence. I wasn't about to put something to him and try to get a straight answer on this subject.

But this is the most relevant witness for this proposition to be put to because, in fact, it relates to Turatsinze's placement of weapons at the MRND headquarters on the 12th of January. So it's directly relevant to this witness's testimony and to our defence as it relates to the possession of those weapons.

Now, again, it seems to me that the real problem is that you don't seem to be willing to accept that a radio broadcast has enough provenance to be admitted, whether the witness adopts it or not. And I don't think that -- that that's a necessity, just like with UNAMIR documents. If -- the probative value and the relevance is shown. To us, it's a document which shows that, prima facie, a certain information was broadcast on Radio RTLM on a certain date. That's enough for us. It makes it relevant and probative.

Now, the Prosecution can argue that well, maybe this wasn't really broadcast on that date and it was an error of transcription, but I don't see what else they could argue besides that. And I think when you balance those things you ought to admit the document and decide in your final deliberations who has the stronger argument on that point.

# 22 MR. MORLEY:

The problem may be this: It's the use to which Mr. Robinson thinks he can put the document if it goes into evidence. It is agreed that, on the face of the document, it shows that there was a radio broadcast. Where my learned friend is demonstrating to Your Honours Your Honours' wisdom in not allowing the document to go into evidence through this witness is when my learned friend describes what he wants to say the document means. My learned friend has said that the document means that Turatsinze was, to quote him, manipulating the *Interahamwe* with regard to the placement of weapons. That isn't what the document says. It might be a comment that the witness could make, but the witness has not made that comment. The document simply records that there is an announcement that Turatsinze wants to convene a meeting of the *Interahamwe*.

The one thing the document may show is that Turatsinze does seem to have influence over the *Interahamwe*. But for my learned friend to go so far as to say he can put the document into evidence through this witness because it shows manipulation by Turatsinze of weapons placements is, respectfully, wrong, unless the witness says so, and he hasn't. So, yes, it's a broadcast, but, no, the use to which my learned friend intends to put the document is misfounded.

#### 1 MR. ROBINSON:

- 2 And that's the perfect framing of our arguments during closing arguments after you admitted this
- document. We can both argue the inferences to be drawn from what's said in this document, but the
- 4 document needs to be admitted.
- 5 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 6 (*Unintelligible*), Mr. Robinson.
- 7 MR. ROBINSON:
- 8 Very well. May the document be marked as ID. NZ55?
- 9 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 10 It's marked for identification.
- 11 (Exhibit No. ID. NZ55, marked for identification)
- 12 MR. ROBINSON:
- 13 Thank you, Mr. President.
- 14 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 15 Q. So, Colonel Claeys, when you met with Turatsinze on the 12th of January, he didn't tell you that he had
- issued a communiqué or called a meeting of the MRND *Interahamwe secteur* presidents, did he?
- 17 A. No, he didn't.
- 18 Q. Now, on the 10th of January, he had conditioned showing you the arms cache on receiving protection
- for him and his family, as reflected in paragraph eight of your cable; is that correct?
- 20 A. That is correct, yes.
- 21 Q. And as of the 12th of January, you were not able to provide him that protection, correct?
- 22 A. Correct.
- 23 Q. But he nevertheless volunteered to show you the weapons at the MRND headquarters on the 12th,
- 24 correct?
- 25 A. Correct.
- 26 Q. And he wanted to do it that night, correct?
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 Q. And UNAMIR did, in fact, see weapons that night at MRND headquarters, correct?
- 29 A. Can you repeat the question, please.
- 30 Q. Captain Deme did see weapons on the night of the 12th -- excuse me. I'll start all over.
- 31
- Captain Deme did see weapons on the night of the 12th at MRND headquarters, correct?
- 33 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 34 Q. And you don't know when they had been put there, correct?
- 35 A. Jean-Pierre didn't give that information.
- 36 Q. And, for all you know, they could have been put there earlier that evening, correct?
- 37 A. This is a possibility.

- 1 Q. And you don't know how long they remained there, correct?
- 2 A. Correct.
- 3 Q. And you never determined that Mr. Ngirumpatse or Mr. Nzirorera were aware of the presence of
- 4 weapons at MRND headquarters, correct?
- 5 A. Correct.
- 6 Q. Now, I want to ask you some questions about the plan to eliminate the Tutsis. We know that after the
- 6th of April many Tutsis were killed in Rwanda, but apart from Turatsinze, during your stay in Rwanda
- 8 through late March, did you learn of any plan to exterminate Tutsi?
- 9 A. Formulated in those words, no.
- 10 Q. And --
- 11 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 12 Please, Counsel, a pause.
- 13 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 14 Q. And Turatsinze never would show you the lists of Tutsis he claimed he had, even through your
- meetings at -- up until February -- through February, correct?
- 16 A. He never showed them, indeed.
- 17 Q. And you testified in the Ndindiliyimana trial that you asked him for the lists at every meeting and that he
- always answered with the question, "Where is my security?" Is that correct?
- 19 A. From my recollection, yes.
- 20 Q. Now, at this trial we have had testimony from Witness G, one of the officers of the national committee of
- the *Interahamwe*, who testified as a Prosecution witness. And he testified that he had no knowledge of
- any plan to exterminate Tutsis, and that's at page 19 of the transcript of the 18th of October 2005.

And he also testified that he later became aware that Turatsinze had stolen weapons from the MRND

and sold them to FRODEBU, and that's also on the 17th of October at pages 53 and 54.

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- 27 And he testified that Turatsinze was not paid a hundred and fifty thousand Rwandan francs per month
- by the MRND, which he said was more than the salary of a minister or even perhaps the president of
- the republic, and he testified that there were no lists of Tutsis drawn up by the *Interahamwe*, as claimed
- by Turatsinze, and he was not aware of any training of *Interahamwe* to kill up to a thousand Tutsis in
- 20 minutes. And that's at the -- transcript of the 18th of October 2005 at page 5.

- Do you have any comment on that information that has been received by the Trial Chamber?
- 34 A. We could comment in this way, that if he sold the weapons, if -- and he made some money out of it, it
- 35 was also -- could be considered as being part of his motivations to avoid these weapons to be used
- against his conviction and against the Tutsi. The certain point about training of the *Interahamwe*, as I
- stated before, I never said he was the trainer, but he was responsible for training. So also this witness

was making up different things together.

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- That's the only comments I could give on this statement.
- 4 Q. And if it were true that he had sold the weapons destined for the *Interahamwe* to some other party and pocketed the money, it might also explain why he was looking for protection from UNAMIR, correct?
- 6 A. Yes, that is also a possibility.
- 7 Q. And why he didn't need any money from UNAMIR?
- 8 A. This is an assumption, yes.

### 9 MR. MORLEY:

Your Honour, I'm on my feet very briefly. My learned friend has put to the witness, and the witness clearly understands, that the suggestion is that Turatsinze sold all of the weapons. And my learned friend knows that the evidence is not so. The suggestion was, we may remember from some time ago in this case, that he may have sold half the weapons. So the witness at the moment is under the impression he, the witness, is being told that all of the weapons were sold by Turatsinze, and I assume that the witness would, therefore, think that the weapons seen were sold by Turatsinze. And we recall that the evidence was he got into trouble for selling half the contingent.

# 17 MR. ROBINSON:

Actually, Mr. President, that's not my recollection of the evidence. But I don't think it's pertinent to the question, in any event. But if Mr. Morley feels that he wants to quote from other testimony during his redirect examination on that point, I think that would be most appropriate. But I'm not going to try to explore that any further with this witness.

# 22 BY MR. ROBINSON:

Now, Colonel Claeys, we've also had testimony at this trial from another member of the *Interahamwe*national committee, who testified as a Prosecution witness -- he's labeled as Witness T -- and he
testified that he, too, had no knowledge of any plan to exterminate Tutsi and that, in fact, Turatsinze
had come to him and asked for a weapon that Turatsinze had distributed to him to be returned, and he
later learned that Turatsinze had sold the *Interahamwes* weapons, or part of them, to this group of
Burundians.

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And he also testified that he was unaware of any order to register all Tutsis in Kigali or that a thousand Tutsis would be killed in 20 minutes, and he testified that he was unaware of any lists of Tutsis compiled by *Interahamwe*.

3334

- And I wonder if you could comment on the testimony, then, of two officers of the national committee of the *Interahamwe*, which seems to contradict what Turatsinze had told you.
- I would say to these statements that I don't know at what point they learned about the selling of weapons. But this could be of any importance, of course.

- 1 Q. But what about the fact that -- that two officers of the national committee of the *Interahamwe* had no
- 2 knowledge of the plan to exterminate Tutsis, of compiling of lists, or the idea that a thousand Tutsis
- could be killed in 20 minutes by the *Interahamwe?* Doesn't that -- learning that information now,
- doesn't that cause you to have some reservations about the truthfulness of the information you received
- from Turatsinze back in January of '94?
- 6 A. It's difficult to comment on that because there are probably also other statements or other testimonies
- about people which were aware of this.
- 8 Q. Now, there's been testimony by Faustin Twagiramungu in another trial at this Tribunal, and I'm referring
- 9 to the trial of Pastor Ntakirutimana. He testified on the 4th of February 2002. And at page 156, he
- testified that he was not aware of any plan to exterminate Tutsis, and, in fact, he does not believe that
- any such plan existed.

- Do you have any comment on that?
- 14 A. I don't know what was told to him by Mr. Booh-Booh and the force commander in this meeting of the
- 11th or 12th, where he was apparently confronted with the information of Jean-Pierre. So if he now
- states that he is not aware of it, I think it's apparently very awkward.
- 17 Q. Now, when you -- while it's true that you believed Turatsinze at the time when he was giving you this
- information, can you allow as how someone now, in 2006, having more information than you did, could
- come to a different conclusion as to Turatsinze's credibility?
- 20 A. Can you state that again, please.
- 21 Q. Yes.
- 22 MR. MORLEY:
- Your Honour, I'm on my feet. This is a fascinating line of cross-examination. The witness is being
- asked to comment on the state of mind of people he doesn't know and whose testimony he hasn't been
- 25 privy to or had an opportunity to study, and he's essentially being asked for an opinion in a vacuum
- about how there might be a conflict between what Turatsinze has told him and what Mr. Robinson is
- 27 telling him.

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- He, this witness, is merely a mouthpiece for what it was he learned from Turatsinze, and it's my
- respectful submission to ask for the witness's opinion on the evidence which may have been heard in
- other trials or before Your Honours, given that he, this witness, does not have personal knowledge in
- 32 his mind of what Turatsinze was up to, is evidently vacuous.

33

- I hope I don't overstate it. It would be a perfectly proper line of cross-examination if the witness was, in
- fact, Turatsinze, but not where it's a witness reporting what he was told by Turatsinze. I hope the point
- is well made.

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### 1 MR. ROBINSON:

- Well, Mr. President, I'm now cross-examining on testimony that Colonel Claeys gave that he believed
- 3 Turatsinze at the time, and I'm simply asking him whether he could allow as to how someone now,
- 4 having more information than he had, could come to a different conclusion as to Turatsinze's credibility.

# 5 MR. MORLEY:

- What does that mean? How does the witness assess the small amount of information he's been
- 7 handed by Mr. Robinson, which Your Honours will note he has learnt for the first time? As
- Your Honours will be aware, we don't go around telling witnesses what other witnesses have said. And
- 9 this witness -- when I say "we," I mean the OTP -- and this witness, given his standing and his absence
- of knowledge of the personalities involved, simply cannot comment.

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- And for him to volunteer an opinion -- and I stress the word "opinion" because it cannot be a fact that he
- is offering -- is evidentially improper. And I invite Your Honours to say that this line of
- cross-examination would make sense if the witness was Turatsinze, but it does not make sense, given
- that it is a person speaking of what Turatsinze told him.

### 16 MR. PRESIDENT:

- You see, Mr. Robinson's correct, that you asked the witness whether he believed Turatsinze. So
- cross-examination on whether he believed Turatsinze is permissible.

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- The problem with this question is that he's asking him about people whom he doesn't know. So I don't
- see how the witness could be able to give a proper answer to the particular question that has been put.
- And I would have assumed that the witness would have said that simply, if we hadn't had this legal
- 23 argument.

### 24 MR. ROBINSON:

Yes. Well, maybe I could ask it in a more general way.

# 26 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 27 Q. Colonel Claeys, would you agree that, although you may believe someone when you're first speaking
- with them, facts can come to light later that could cause you to change that belief?
- 29 A. I don't understand the question, sorry.
- 30 Q. Well, let me give you an example. It's something that I think pertains to you. You know, at the two
- trials that you've come to testify to before this one, you were asked a lot of questions in which the
- genuineness of the fax that had been sent on the 11th of January was called into question. Do you
- 33 recall that?
- 34 A. Yes.
- 35 Q. And because the fax had shown up at DPKO late, like in November of 1995, caused people to suspect
- that maybe that wasn't the fax that was sent. Do you remember being asked about that?
- 37 A. Yes.

- 1 Q. But since then people have traced how that fax got to the UN, and, at least from this Defence team,
- 2 have concluded, that based on further information, that the fax that we had been presented with is, in
- fact, the fax that was sent. And so you haven't been asked any questions about that in this trial
- 4 because, since the original information was obtained that the fax was lost at DPKO, more information
- was gathered that caused people to change their evaluation of that situation. Do you understand?
- 6 A. Mm-hmm --
- 7 Q. And --
- 8 A. -- yes.
- 9 Q. -- can it not also be true, that in the case of Turatsinze, that the information you received on the
   10th of January, when looked at in light of further information that was obtained since then, might cause
- someone to conclude differently than you as to whether Turatsinze had, in fact, told you the truth?
- 12 A. That's on the evaluation of this person. I still believe that this information was correct, up to now.
- 13 Q. But it's -- it's possible for somebody to receive more information than you had at the time, and maybe
- that would cause even you or someone else to change their mind, correct? It depends on -- I mean,
- you don't make an assessment of something and then say that's -- that's a closed question. You're
- always open to receiving more information and re-evaluating your assessment, correct?
- 17 A. From this point of view, yes.
- 18 Q. Okay. Now, I want to ask you some questions about the plan to kill Belgian soldiers. Now, you've told
- us that on the 10th of January Turatsinze spoke about how Belgian soldiers might be killed, correct?
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. And there was no plan to kill Belgian soldiers, according to Turatsinze, but he was, rather, speculating
- 22 that, if this happened and then this happened and then this happened, it might occur, correct?
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. And you took no extra precautions to protect Belgian soldiers as a result of this information you
- received on the 10th of January from Turatsinze, correct?
- 26 A. UNAMIR didn't take special precautions, no.
- 27 Q. And Turatsinze later told you that the MRND leaders had changed their attitudes towards the Belgian
- 28 UNAMIR contingent, correct?
- 29 A. Yes.
- 30 Q. And that they now thought that the Belgians were not bad intended, correct?
- 31 A. Yes, it's what we were told.
- 32 MR. ROBINSON:
- Now, if the witness can be shown another document from my list of exhibits, and this is number 12, a
- cable from Mr. Booh-Booh to Kofi Annan dated the 2nd of February 1994.
- 35 MR. PRESIDENT:
- And what initially is the date of the document *(unintelligible)*?

#### 1 MR. ROBINSON:

- 2 It's actually dated the 2nd of February 1993, but I believe that that's an error since it's from
- 3 Mr. Booh-Booh, who didn't arrive until late 1993.
- 4 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 5 Q. Now, Colonel Claeys, directing your attention to this document, I want to first ask you about the type of
- document it is. Have you seen outgoing code cables before from UNAMIR to the UN in New York?
- 7 A. Yes, during my testimony.
- 8 Q. And were you aware that the UNAMIR in Kigali was communicating with the UNAMIR in New York via
- 9 code cable?
- 10 A. Only for important matters, to my assessment. And I knew it for the first time when we sent the fax on
- the 10th or 11th, depending on the time zone where we are working. Before I didn't know, and I
- assumed only important or security matters were sent by code cable and the rest by normal cables.
- 13 Q. Okay. But, in any event, was communication between Kigali and the UN in New York done by some
- form of cable?
- 15 A. And telephone.
- 16 Q. And this particular one is addressed to Annan and Jonah at the United Nations. And do you know what
- positions those people held?
- 18 A. To my knowledge, Kofi Annan was head of DPKO, and Jonah, I don't know.
- 19 Q. And we know that Mr. Booh-Booh was the special representative of the secretary-general in Kigali,
- 20 correct?
- 21 A. That's correct.
- 22 Q. Now, in looking at this memo, in particular paragraph three, you see that Mr. Booh-Booh is reporting
- that he had met with the president of the republic and had informed him of the illegal distribution of
- arms and that he had denied knowledge of any illegal arms being distributed and stockpiling and
- promised to investigate the matter. And, as of this date, he has not reported to us his findings, nor any
- action he may have taken on this regard.

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- And then he also indicates that they had met with the leaders of the political parties, who denied the
- 29 possession or distribution of any illegal arms to their supporters. And he goes on to say that these
- party leaders urge UNAMIR to proceed with the recovery of illegal arms throughout the country so as to
- ensure a peaceful and secure environment.

- Do you see that that is contained in this cable?
- 34 A. Yes, I've read it.
- 35 Q. And based on what you now know about the meetings that were held by Mr. Booh-Booh and Dallaire, is
- this consistent with the information that you have come to learn concerning the discussion of illegal
- arms that was held after the information was received from Jean-Pierre?

- 1 A. The information we got from Jean-Pierre was concerning arms in Kigali and the Kigali weapons secure
- area. As I read this paragraph, it goes over illegal weapons all over the country.
- 3 Q. But were you aware that Booh-Booh -- or, are you aware that, in fact, the meetings that were described
- in this paragraph took place, that Booh-Booh met with the president and then he met with MRND
- 5 leaders after receiving the information from Jean-Pierre?
- 6 A. I knew this already through other faxes or reports from Booh-Booh and the force commander that has
- 5 been brought to my attention during my testimony, but not before.
- 8 Q. Okay. I understand that. And is this as it appears to you -- this cable, as you're looking at it, does it
- appear to you to be in the format -- or, in -- of a subject that gives you confidence that this is, in fact, a
- 10 UNAMIR cable and not some kind of a forgery?
- 11 A. With everything I can find on this fax, I consider this as a -- an official code cable, yes.
- 12 Q. Thank you.
- 13 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, at this time I would offer this code cable as Exhibit D. NZ205.
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Admitted.
- 17 (Exhibit No. D. NZ205 admitted)
- 18 MR. ROBINSON:
- And if the witness could now be shown number 13.
- 20 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 21 Q. Colonel Claeys, what has been placed before is you also entitled an outgoing code cable from Dallaire
- in Kigali to Baril in New York. I think you've already told us that you were aware that
- 23 General Maurice Baril was in the military section of the department of peacekeeping operations at the
- 24 United Nations, correct?
- 25 A. That's correct.
- 26 Q. And we also see this is in a format very similar to the code cable that was sent by General Dallaire
- concerning the information from Turatsinze. So does the document appear to be genuine to you?
- 28 A. Yes.
- 29 Q. Now, directing your attention to paragraph -- well, let's start with number one. It talks about a --
- attached document produced as an assessment of the situation according to the overall environment in
- Rwanda, but with emphasis on Kigali, parentheses KWSA, as of 31 January 1994. And it goes on to
- 32 say that since then a significant change of attitude has been noticed on the part of the minister of
- defence, the army chief of staff, and the minister of interior.

35 And then in paragraph three, General Dallaire talks about a lengthy meeting he had with the minister of

defence in which the gentleman had expressed urgency in getting a handle on the rapidly deteriorating

security situation in Kigali and that the grenade attacks, the banditry, and the illegal but small

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- ministers after the meeting that had taken place on the -- the meetings that had taken place in
- 2 mid-January.
- 3 A. I can only -- I can only say that this change of attitude was not perceivable from one day to another,
- and if it was depending on meetings on half of January or at the end of January. But I, as I stated
- 5 before, have never felt threatened when I was in Kigali.
- 6 Q. And did you --
- 7 A. Although this insecurity prevailed during the night.
- 8 Q. But did General Dallaire ever express to you the optimism that he was expressing to
- 9 Major General Baril at the beginning of February of 2004 (sic)?
- 10 A. To be honest, no. He expressed always his concern, and he said that he wouldn't believe until this
- broad-based transition government would start again. And, to put it in his words, he would only start
- playing golf again in Kigali once this government was put in place. So he might have sent some
- positive signals to New York, but on the ground he was still not confident.
- 14 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, I would ask that this code cable be admitted as Exhibit D. NZ206.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 Admitted.
- 18 (Exhibit No. D. NZ206 admitted)
- 19 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 20 Q. Now, Colonel Claeys, it's true that -- is it not, that you never learned of any plans to kill Belgian soldiers
- 21 during your entire stay in Rwanda?
- 22 A. For using the words "plans," indeed, I have never been aware of plans.
- 23 Q. And are you aware that the report of the enquiry into the death of the Belgian soldiers, done by the
- Belgians -- the government, concluded that there was no information that the peacekeepers had faced
- 25 any direct threat?
- 26 A. I haven't read these conclusions, to my knowledge. And, if it is the case, then it's not very precise
- because, to my recollection, at least at one point, the Belgian UNAMIR escort was confronted with an
- ambush coming back from Mulindi in which one United Nations mission observer was wounded and
- one RPF -- I'm not sure about the soldier, but at least an RPF member was killed. This was on the road
- coming back from Mulindi towards the well-known Kadaffi crossroads.
- 31 Q. And --
- 32 A. So they have been exposed to some actions, or threatenings.
- 33 Q. And in the case that you've just referred to, was that by the RPF?
- A. No, not by the RPF. We never knew who organised the ambush, but it was within the *préfecture* of
- 35 Kigali, and they were escorting RPF convoys.
- 36 Q. Now, the Belgian soldiers who were killed on the 7th of April, they were not killed by the *Interahamwe*,
- 37 were they?

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time I've questioned an English speaker, so I'm obviously not doing a very good job.

37

Okay. Well, we can ask the witness to be shown exhibit number 1 in my bundle.

## 2 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 3 Q. And in the meantime, Colonel Claeys, good afternoon.
- 4 A. Good afternoon, Counsel Robinson.
- 5 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 6 In Flemish, Netherlands.
- 7 MR. ROBINSON:
- 8 You're very versatile, George.
- 9 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 10 No comment.
- 11 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 12 Q. Colonel Claeys, we're going to step away from Turatsinze for a few minutes and talk about UNAMIR.
- And I've had a document placed before you, and do you recognise this as the Security Council
- resolution which established UNAMIR and acted on the 5th of October 1993?
- 15 A. I have it in front of me, yes.
- 16 Q. And were you familiar, in the course of your duties, with the resolution which established UNAMIR?
- 17 A. It was often referred to, yes.
- 18 Q. And was this -- does this document appear to be the document that was referred to? In looking through
- it, does this appear to be what was referred to as the Security Council resolution which established
- 20 UNAMIR?
- 21 A. I can't comply to the countenance. It was not brought to our attention, this form.
- 22 Q. Now, just going through the resolution, maybe the quickest thing would be for you to read it to
- 23 yourself -- take a minute or two to read it yourself and tell me whether the contents of the document
- 24 that's been placed before you appears to be consistent with your understanding of the resolution as it
- 25 was adopted.
- 26 MR. ROBINSON:
- 27 Alternatively, Mr. President, I would offer this as a self-authenticating document as Exhibit D. NZ207.
- 28 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 29 Yes, admitted.
- 30 (Exhibit No. D. NZ207 admitted)
- 31 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 32 Q. Okay, Colonel Claeys, Judge Byron just saved you some reading. So the document has been
- admitted, and I want to ask you maybe some questions you could answer without specific reference to
- the document. And the first question is whether it was your understanding that the UNAMIR mission
- was a chapter VI mission as opposed to a mission under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.
- To my understanding, it was a mission of assistance, which is, to my understanding, part of chapter VI operations of the UN, yes.

- 1 Q. And how does that distinguish from other UN operations that might be under chapter VII?
- 2 A. To my understanding, there are peace-enforcing missions where the UN is mandated with its forces to
- impose the peace agreement or peace between the parties. Peace monitoring is just observing, and
- 4 it's mostly not armed -- or not with armed troops. And then an assistance mission is more enhancing
- the agreements that exist already but where a deployed armed force is still necessary to avoid any
- armed conflicts between the parties. I think this is a summary of the kind of operations that can be
- conducted by UN. For an observer mission, of course, these observations can be done both by military
- 8 and civilians.

- 9 Q. And was it your understanding that this resolution converted a -- what had previously been an observer
- mission into a peacekeeping mission?
- 11 A. To my knowledge, the observation mission that was ongoing between Uganda and Rwanda was still
- ongoing; it wasn't ended. And a new mission was ordered after a UN resolution, and this was the
- assistance mission in Rwanda. It happened to be that General Dallaire was involved in both of them,
- but he changed from the observation mission between Rwanda and Uganda to the -- to be the force
- commander of the new mission in Rwanda.
- 16 Q. And you testified at the Ndindiliyimana trial that chapter VI mission of the United Nations Charter
- prescribes intelligence; is that correct?
- 18 A. That is correct.
- 19 Q. So it was your understanding, then, that it was not within the purview of the United Nations -- the
- 20 UNAMIR mission to have intelligence analysts -- or intelligence analysis within the mission; is that
- 21 correct?
- 22 A. Yes, it is correct.
- 23 Q. And, in fact, the information from Jean-Pierre was never subjected to that kind of rigorous intelligence
- 24 analysis, correct?
- 25 A. Not within the mission, yes.
- 26 MR. ROBINSON:
- 27 If the witness could now be shown number 2 in my series of documents.
- 28 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 29 Q. Colonel Claeys, were you familiar with the fact that UNAMIR was making what's called sitreps from
- 30 Kigali to New York on a regular basis during this mission?
- 31 A. Yes, I was.
- 32 Q. And do you know who was actually preparing these sitreps?
- 33 A. The sitreps were produced by the operations branch within the HQ UNAMIR.
- 34 Q. And was that headed by a Belgian officer named Maggen?
- 35 A. No, not really. Major Maggen was one of the duty officers of the operations branch because, to my
- recollection, Bengalese Lieutenant Colonel Nasrule *(phonetic)* was the head of the operations branch.
- 37 So Major Maggen was just working in a duty shift system.

- 1 Q. Okay. And do you know how these sitreps were prepared? How -- can you tell us where the
- 2 information came from that was put into these sitreps?
- 3 A. To my recollection, the sitreps were based on what was provided by the different contingents deployed
- 4 within the UNAMIR mission, so not only from the secteur Kigali, as such, but also by the UN military
- observers headquarters in Kigali and later in time, during the mission, by the headquarters Byumba,
- Ruhengeri, where the different detachments or contingents were deployed.
- 7 Q. So is it fair to say that the office that was responsible for compiling these sitreps collected information
- on a regular basis, whether it be daily or weekly, from the various components of UNAMIR and
- 9 transmitted that information to New York?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. And they seem -- they to regularly go under the signature of General Dallaire, so as far as you know,
- was he the one approving and sending these sitreps on a regular basis?
- 13 A. To my knowledge, they could only leave the headquarters UNAMIR with his approval.
- 14 Q. And would you believe that it was regular practice of the persons preparing the sitreps to make sure
- that the information that they were transmitting to New York was as accurate as possible?
- 16 A. Yes. And if he was not signing them, he would appoint somebody else to sign it, because he took
- some leave also at a certain period of time, so then somebody else was entitled to do it.
- 18 Q. Okay. Now, directing your attention to this particular document that's been placed before you, this is a
- weekly sitrep dated the 9th of November 1993, and I want to call your attention in particular to
- 20 paragraph 3, A3. And that paragraph reads that "The MRND party held a rally yesterday, but all the
- 21 rhetoric was aimed at supporting the implementation of the peace process." And then it goes to say,
- "We have, however, seen more of the youth paramilitary elements of some of the parties driving around
- the capital in their particular uniforms making noise. No weapons have been seen."

- Now, did you yourself attend that MRND party rally in early November 1993?
- 26 A. I have never attended any political rally of whatever party.
- 27 Q. And do you know where UNAMIR would have gotten that information about the rhetoric that was used
- at the MRND party rally?
- 29 A. I suppose through the public information office.
- 30 Q. Public information office of what -- of what entity?
- 31 A. Of the HQ UNAMIR.
- 32 Q. And where would they have gotten that information?
- 33 A. Through the local press. As I said before, there was -- were some Rwandese employed at the second
- floor of the HQ which were in charge of public information and which would have contacts with
- international and with local press, receiving and giving accreditation to the press coming into the
- mission for interviews or other opportunities. So if there was something going on on a political rally, this
- would appear in the local press and also be related through this office to the attention of the mission

- 1 ongoing.
- 2 Q. And do you know whether UNAMIR itself ever sent people to monitor the rallies of political parties?
- 3 A. Not to my knowledge. The only thing that was done by UNAMIR was assuming some security and
- 4 monitoring outside the place where this rally would be held.
- 5 Q. Okay. Now, turning your attention to paragraph 6 of this document, on the -- page 3 of 6, it talks about
- a meeting between the FC, the COS, and the ADC with President Habyarimana. So we know who the
- 7 FC is, but can you tell us who is the COS and the ADC?
- 8 A. COS stands for chief of staff, *chef d'etat major*, and ADC stands for *aide de camp*, which is the aide to
- 9 the force commander, which I mentioned before was a Dutch captain.
- 10 Q. And who was the chief of staff at that time in November of 1993, if you remember?
- 11 A. To my recollection, the chief of staff was also a Bengalese full colonel.
- 12 Q. Okay, thank you. Now, in the text of this paragraph it indicates that "The force commander had
- indicated to different ministers over the weekend that after two weeks on the ground it was high time
- that he be received at the presidential offices and that last night he had received the invitation for this
- morning and that in the presence of his personal staff and minister of defence, the president expressed
- his total support," total being underlined, "availability at any time to the force commander and optimism
- for the future." And they then discussed the arrival of the RPF battalion.

- Now, do you have any reason to believe that this was not an accurate report of the meeting between
- 20 President Habyarimana and the force commander?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 O. You do have such a reason to believe?
- 23 A. Yeah.
- 24 Q. And why is that?
- 25 A. Well, to my opinion, at that point in time, there was still probably this intention of total support, and it
- was important for the force commander to meet the head of state to feel that there was the support from
- 27 the top of the country.
- 28 Q. And when General Dallaire transmitted the statement of total support to New York, was he being
- accurate in his assessment of that meeting, as far as you would know?
- 30 A. I don't know. I was not aware about this meeting at that point in time, so I suppose if he was
- expressing that like that, he must have been confident.
- 32 Q. Was it your experience with General Dallaire that he accurately conveyed his assessment of the
- 33 situation on the ground to the superiors in New York?
- 34 A. Yes, that was my feeling.
- 35 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, at this time, I would ask that the outgoing code cable, the weekly sitrep, which is
- number 2 in my packet, be admitted as Exhibit D. NZ208.

## 1 MR. PRESIDENT:

- 2 Admitted.
- 3 (Exhibit No. D. NZ208 admitted)

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- 4 MR. ROBINSON:
- 5 Thank you, Mr. President.

6

- And if the witness can now be shown document number 3 -- sorry, excuse me, document number 4.
- 8 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 9 Q. Colonel Claeys, I have placed in front of you a document which is entitled "Operational Director
- Number 2, Rules of Engagement, Interim." Have you ever seen that before?
- 11 A. I suppose, yes.
- 12 Q. And does it appear to be the rules of engagement for UNAMIR issued by the force commander on the
- 13 19th of November 1993?
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, I'd ask that these be admitted as Exhibit D. NZ209.
- 17 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 18 Admitted.
- 19 (Exhibit No. D. NZ209 admitted)
- 20 MR. ROBINSON:
- 21 Thank you.
- 22 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 23 Q. And if you could just turn to page 7, second heading is entitled "Crimes Against Humanity," and it reads
- that "There may also be ethnically or politically motivated criminal acts committed during this mandate
- which will morally and legally require UNAMIR to use all available means to halt them. Examples are
- executions, attacks of displaced persons or refugees, ethnic rights, attacks on demobilised soldiers,
- et cetera. During such occasions, UNAMIR military personnel will follow the ROD outlined in this
- 28 directive in support of UN CIVPOL and local authorities, or in their absence, UNAMIR will take the
- 29 necessary actions to prevent any crime against humanity."

- Now, to your knowledge, were these rules of engagement in force as of the time you left Rwanda in
- 32 March of 1994?
- 33 A. To my knowledge, the rules of engagement have been changing at different points in time during the
- 34 mission.
- 35 Q. And was the duty to act to prevent crimes against humanity ever deleted from the rules of engagement,
- 36 to your knowledge?
- 37 A. Not to my knowledge.

- 1 Q. And as far as you're concerned, why didn't the UNAMIR take the necessary action to prevent crimes
- against humanity after the 6th of April 1994?
- 3 A. That's difficult to say. I was not on the ground to -- to decide on that. There was a decision to withdraw
- 4 Belgian troops, both evacuation and UN troops. I think before the end of the month, even the
- 5 personnel from Bangladesh left the mission, and the complete mission was reduced to less than a
- 6 thousand men, to my recollection.
- 7 Q. But we've heard evidence that crimes against humanity began on the morning of the 7th of April and
- continued during the time that the Belgian troops were there, or even the UNAMIR troops were there.
- 9 So can you tell us why no action was taken to prevent crimes against humanity that had occurred
- before the evacuation?

# 11 MR. MORLEY:

- Your Honour, I'm on my feet. My learned friend is repeating the same question but in a different guise,
- putting it in a different time frame. My enquiry is to what issue does an enquiry into whether the rules of
- engagement, as articulated in the document, could have been or should have been implemented on the
- 6th of April or thereafter by UNAMIR, to what issue does that go? To what extent is that something
- 16 which is relevant?

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- I don't doubt it is very interesting, but is it relevant to the enquiry before the Tribunal? Does it answer
- the allegations which, in some ways, lie at the feet of the Accused? What I'm anxious to avoid is
- turning this testimony into an enquiry into UNAMIR rather than a defence of the three defendants.

## 21 MR. ROBINSON:

- Mr. President, I think I could answer that by simply stating something that the Prosecutor frequently
- states when similar objections are made by the Defence, that it's part of the context of what happened
- in Rwanda. And I think that it's certainly as interesting and relevant to that context as killings in 1991,
- cooperation between military, civilians, other general evidence that you've allowed in under the
- umbrella of context. I think I'm entitled to have that question answered.

### 27 MR. MORLEY:

- May I make a -- a short contribution? The observation by Mr. Robinson about 1991 killings or
- relationships between the army and others, as a matter of historical context, they are relevant to show
- the background within the way that politics developed within Rwanda and arguably the marginalisation
- of the Tutsi ethnic group. An enquiry into why --

#### 32 MR. PRESIDENT:

- 33 Mr. Morley, we're not discussing that now.
- 34 MR. MORLEY:
- 35 Very well.
- 36 MR. PRESIDENT:
- We think the witness can answer the question.

#### 1 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 2 Q. Colonel Claeys, do you remember the question or would you like me to restate it?
- 3 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 4 Restate or repeat?
- 5 MR. ROBINSON:
- 6 Repeat, if I -- if I can, or if he remembers it, it's not necessary.
- 7 THE WITNESS:
- If you would refer to this rules of engagements, of course, something could have been done, but due to
- 9 the situation, as stated starting on the 7th of April, I recall, by readings, that UNAMIR tried to go on with
- the peace -- or assisting in the peace process and avoiding any chaos that might be starting to appear
- and calling upon all the parties to contribute to that.

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- I would also stress that some of the contingents within UNAMIR, rules of engagement or not, were only
- concerned by their own security, closing themselves into compounds and even not assisting the UN
- members, both military and civilian. Some of the contingents were ready to act in a movie, Bruce Willis
- way, but they obeyed the military orders. I can't give more comment to that.
- 17 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 18 Q. Do you think that given the eruption of violence in Rwanda on the 7th of April, that an assessment
- might have been made that it would not be possible or feasible to intervene to prevent crimes against
- 20 humanity at that time?
- 21 A. On the date of the 7th, probably not. Maybe some days later, but again, it was a political decision to
- 22 remove some troops. If one recalls the situation some days later, there were -- except from the UN
- forces on the ground -- more than 2,000 foreign troops on the ground. If there had been a political will,
- both from UN and the international community, to my assessment, something could have been done.
- 25 Q. Thank you, Colonel Claeys. If you could now be shown the document number 5, please.
- 26 A. I have it in front of me.
- 27 Q. Colonel Claeys, this is a report of the Secretary General on Rwanda, dated the 16th of December 1993,
- and I want to call your attention to the very last page, which is number 25. And this contains the
- observations which reports on meetings with the political parties by the Special Representative. And in
- the beginning -- or in the middle of the paragraph number 1, it's written that "We should, however, note
- the political goodwill shown by the parties, signatories to the Arusha peace agreement, since the arrival
- of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Indeed, in their statements, as well as in their
- dealings with UNAMIR, these parties demonstrated their commitment to go forward in the
- implementation of the peace plan."

- And then at the very bottom, the Secretary General is reporting that "Thus, after Namibia and
- Cambodia, Rwanda is on the way of becoming another success story of the United Nations

peacekeeping operations." And can you tell us if this was the view of people in UNAMIR on the ground

- as of the 16th of December 1993?
- 3 A. Yes, I think we can consider this as an observation, yes, that generally people were thinking it was
- 4 going the right way. I think at that stage the RPF had been brought into Kigali, so -- or was going to be
- 5 brought into Kigali, so we were going -- or following the timetable as having been depicted in the
- 6 beginning of the mission.

### 7 MR. ROBINSON:

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- 8 Mr. President, may the United Nations report of the Secretary General be admitted as
- 9 Exhibit D. NZ210?

#### 10 MR. PRESIDENT:

- 11 Admitted.
- 12 (Exhibit No. D. NZ210 admitted)

### 13 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 14 Q. Now, Colonel Claeys, I actually think perhaps I -- you can correct me if I'm wrong, but you've testified
- earlier, and I think it's true, that the RPF battalion actually arrived in Kigali at the very end of December,
- the last few days; is that correct?
- 17 A. Yes, that's the reason why I corrected. It was in the way on coming into Kigali, and the provision was
- made for.
- 19 Q. And so this rosy assessment was actually before the RPF battalion arrived in Kigali, correct?
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. Now, I'd like you to be shown document number 6 in my group of exhibits, please.
- 22
- This document is a letter from Joseph Nzirorera to General Dallaire, dated the 27th of December 1993,
- in which he is requesting assistance in being protected, given that his residence was in close proximity
- to the CND where the RPF battalion was going to be housed. And my first question to you is whether
- or not you've ever seen this letter before.
- 27 A. No, at no point in time.
- 28 Q. And looking at the bottom, there's a stamp. It says, "Received, office of FC, 28/12/1993." Have you
- 29 seen that stamp before?
- 30 A. No.
- 31 Q. Okay. Looking at the handwriting at the top of the page, particularly the handwriting on the left-hand
- side, do you recognise that handwriting?
- 33 A. Yes, it is the signature of the force commander of General Dallaire.
- 34 Q. And he's directing some comments to the chief of staff; is that correct?
- 35 A. Mm-hmm, yeah.
- 36 Q. And then do you recognise the signature -- or handwriting on the right-hand side?
- 37 A. Yes.

- 1 Q. Whose -- whose handwriting is that?
- 2 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 3 Please kindly pause between questions and answers. Thank you.
- 4 MR. ROBINSON:
- 5 Sorry.
- 6 THE WITNESS:
- 7 No idea.
- 8 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 9 Q. And do you see the letters MIO next to the signature?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. And does that stand for military information office, of which you were a member?
- 12 A. This was indeed the abbreviation of my -- or of our office.
- 13 Q. And given the markings and the handwriting on the document, do you have any reason to believe that
- it's not a genuine record kept by UNAMIR?
- 15 A. It should have been filed within UNAMIR, but I don't remember having seen this document, at what
- point in time.
- 17 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, I would offer this as Exhibit D. NZ211.
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 Admitted.
- 21 (Exhibit No. D. NZ211 admitted)
- 22 MR. ROBINSON:
- Thank you.
- 24 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 25 Q. Now, I want to ask you some questions about the RPF's violation of the rules that were governing the
- situation in Rwanda, and I'd ask if you could be shown exhibit number 3.
- Colonel Claeys, what's been placed before you is a code cable from Annan at UN New York to General
- Dallaire, and in this code cable he is basically indicating that "We do not believe that a search for
- 30 possible RPF weapons caches in Uganda falls within UNOMUR's mandate, and that such activities
- could create unnecessary political difficulties with RPF in or Uganda." And I think perhaps there was a
- translation error, so the mandate I was referring to was of UNOMUR, U-N-O-M-U-R.
- Now, were you aware that General Dallaire had requested that possible weapons caches in Uganda be
- searched by the United Nations?
- 36 A. Not to my recollection, no.
- 37 Q. And looking at this code cable, does the format of it and the signature indicate to you that it is likely to

be a regularly kept record of the United Nations and a genuine copy of a communication from New York

- 2 to Kigali?
- 3 A. I don't recognise the signature, but apparently this is an official document from UNAMIR -- or that
- 4 reached UNAMIR, yes.
- 5 MR. ROBINSON:
- 6 Mr. President, I would ask that this be admitted as D. NZ212.
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Admitted.
- 9 (Exhibit No. D. NZ212 admitted)
- 10 MR. ROBINSON:
- 11 Thank you.

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- And if the witness could now be shown numbers 9 and 10.
- 14 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 15 Q. And while that's being distributed, maybe I could ask you if you were familiar with a lieutenant of the
- Belgian brigade known as Mark Nees.
- 17 A. Yes, I know who he is.
- 18 Q. And what was his function, as you understand it?
- 19 A. He was the Belgian battalion S2.
- 20 Q. And what is S2 again?
- 21 A. Branch 2 is the branch of security and intelligence within the technical units.
- 22 Q. Now, directing your attention first to a document that has a --
- 23 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 24 Counsel, please.
- 25 THE WITNESS:
- I have it in front of me.
- 27 MR. ROBINSON:
- 28 Sorry about that.
- 29 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 30 Q. Now, the first paragraph indicates that allegedly the FPR are advancing their troops present in the CND
- building. Their method is to admit persons in civilian dress into the building after checking, but not all
- civilians then leave the CND building and are allegedly equipped. And my first question to you is
- whether or not you heard that kind of information when you were in Rwanda.
- 34 A. Yes, and I think it's also written in some of my reports.
- 35 Q. And this document that's in front of you, does it appear to be a report to the KITBAT commander from
- 36 Lieutenant Nees concerning intelligence in Rwanda?
- 37 A. I don't think it's a document that Lieutenant Nees made or has written. If it was written by

- 1 Lieutenant Nees, it should have been written in Dutch.
- 2 Q. Yes, you're correct about that. I believe what I've shown you is a translation. Are you looking at the
- 3 English?
- 4 A. Well, I have an English version and I have a French version, but I have no Dutch version.
- 5 MR. ROBINSON:
- We also don't have the Dutch version, and I'm wondering if we could ask the Prosecutor at some point
- 7 if he could check his files to see if there is a Dutch version for this document.
- 8 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 9 Q. But looking through the content of the document, do you have any reason to believe that this is not, in
- fact, the translation of a report from Lieutenant Nees to the commander?
- 11 A. When I read the second page, apparently it has been signed by him, so at that point it's probably
- translation for -- from an original somewhere in Dutch.
- 13 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, at this time, I would offer this as Exhibit D. NZ213, A for the French and B for the
- 15 English.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 Admitted.
- 18 (Exhibit No. D. NZ213A and D. NZ213B admitted)
- 19 MR. ROBINSON:
- 20 Thank you.
- 21 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 22 Q. Now, turning to the next document that's already before you, which has a number 10 on it, we actually
- do have the Dutch of that document, and I want to direct your attention --
- 24 A. I have it in front of me, yes.
- 25 Q. -- to paragraph number 3. In the English it's indicated that "Rumours are growing in Kigali that the FPR
- have already arrived in Kigali with 3,000 personnel, including 600 officially in CND. In the north there
- are also 15,000 FPR military awaiting a sign to carry out a coup from Kigali. This explains their
- patience and their passive attitude toward the institution of the government."
- 29
- And it goes on to say that "If they came to power through a coup, they will explain to the outside world
- that the country was in a state of chaos and that the country would otherwise have risked a return to
- 32 civil war."

- And my first question to you is whether or not you became aware of this information during your stay in
- 35 Rwanda.
- 36 A. No.
- 37 Q. And from looking at the report, including the Dutch, does it appear to you to be a report that, in fact,

- 1
- 2 A. Yes, that is correct.
- MR. ROBINSON: 3

Mr. President, at this time, I would like to offer this report as Exhibit D. NZ214, A for the Dutch, B for the 4

Lieutenant Nees made to the commander of the Belgian battalion in January of 1994?

French, and C for the English. 5

evidence on the coup proposition.

- MR. MORLEY:
- In relation to this particular document, the witness has not been able to speak to its contents. He can 7 say to Your Honours what Your Honours can see on the face of the document; namely, it appears to be 8 from Nees to his KIBAT commander. But insofar as my learned friend is offering to put the document in 9 as being evidence of the truth of its contents, namely, Nees seems to be alerting KIBAT command to a 10 coup position on the part of the RPF, it's my respectful submission that as this witness has not adopted 11 the contents of the document, in the sense he has said he has no idea about its contents, it's not 12 admissible as an exhibit. It can be marked for identification. My learned friend will no doubt call 13
- MR. ROBINSON: 15
- Mr. President, I know of no rule that requires a regularly kept record shown to have otherwise been --16 have the provenance of a regularly kept record be adopted by a witness before it can be admitted. And 17 I think this is -- I've laid adequate foundation to show that this is a document generated in the regular 18 course of UNAMIR's duties and that the document bears the signature of Lieutenant Nees and all the 19 trappings of authenticity.

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- With respect to the relevance and probative value, I think the relevance is clear. The probative value that you give to this document is simply that -- at least in our position, that these reports were made by Lieutenant Nees to General Dallaire. Whether they're true or not is another matter that other evidence may convince you of, or perhaps not, but at least for the threshold of admissibility, given the provenance of this document and its relevance to the case, I think we've met that threshold. Thank you.
- MR. PRESIDENT: 28
- Mr. Morley, we have decided to admit it as a UNAMIR document. It's not admitted for the truth of its 29 contents, but it's admitted as a UNAMIR document. 30
- MR. MORLEY: 31
- Very well. Thank you. 32
- (Exhibit No. D. NZ214A, D. NZ214B and D. NZ214C admitted) 33
- MR. ROBINSON: 34
- Thank you, Mr. President. 35

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Now, if the witness could be shown number 11 in the packet of exhibits, please. 37

#### 1 BY MR. ROBINSON:

2 Q. Colonel Claeys, I've had placed before what is titled an interoffice memorandum of UNAMIR to the
3 SRSG from the FC with information to the DFC, dated the 31st of January 1994, with the subject of the
4 security situation as of 31 January 1994. And directing your attention now to paragraph number 6 on
5 the second page, it's being reported here that "In addition to the deterioration of the present security
6 and media situation, there has also been a noticeable deterioration of the psychological attitude of the
7 RPF security forces in Kigali. This is no doubt due to the claustrophobic condition of being confined to
8 an island fortress. And they are clearly displaying a siege or in-prison mentality. It's noted that they

have, on several recent occasions, especially on the 26th and 27th of January 1994 -- "

- 10 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 11 Slowly, slowly. Sorry.
- 12 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- "-- overreacted to situations, i.e., firing an unjustified warning shot from the CND; breaking out or forcing 13 Q. their way out of the complex unescorted through the main gate; firing their weapons in the air while 14 forcing their way through a roadblock, et cetera; have displayed considerable but uncalled for 15 frustration; threatening UNMOs due to a delayed escort, et cetera; have openly and knowingly violated 16 the rules of the KWSA, i.e., entering Kigali sector headquarters with weapons during a joint meeting on 17 27 January 1994; and by their comments to the use of arms, i.e., General Kagame to General Dallaire 18 on 21 January 1994, that if the present political impasse is not settled soon, 'they will have to sort things 19 out once and for all." 20

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And in paragraph 7 it's noted that "The above actions and reactions clearly demonstrate that the RPF is demonstrating a claustrophobic frustration with the present situation and more and more with UNAMIR, i.e., overreaction to Colonel Marchal's radio interview of 27 Jan 1994, and meeting with FC on 29 Jan '94 in CND, on several matters as described in notes published on 30 Jan '94, and may return to armed conflict as the means of achieving their political objectives."

26 27

- And my first question to you, Colonel Claeys, is whether or not you were aware of these incidents concerning the RPF at the end of January 1994.
- 30 A. (Microphone not activated)
- 31 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- Witness's microphone, please.
- 33 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 34 Witness, your microphone.
- 35 THE WITNESS:
- I was indeed aware of certain of these incidents concerning the RPF reactions or attitudes at the end of January '94.

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#### 1 MR. ROBINSON:

2 Mr. President, I would offer this memorandum as exhibit --

#### 3 THE WITNESS:

- But I was also aware and informed through the *(unintelligible)* about reinforcing of RGF troops. There
- was also this incident with this transport of supplies for the RGF forces coming in through charter
- 6 flights, which is also spoke about in the same document.

### 7 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 8 Q. Yes, that's very correct.
- 9 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, I would like to offer this memorandum as Exhibit D. NZ215.
- 11 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 12 Admitted.
- 13 (Exhibit No. D. NZ215 admitted)
- 14 MR. ROBINSON:
- Now if the witness could be shown number 14 in my packet of material.
- 16 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 17 Q. Colonel Claeys, what has been placed before you is another outgoing code cable, this one dated the
- 1st of March, from Mr. Booh-Booh to Annan, concerning his report with the RPF -- or his meeting with
- the RPF in Mulindi on the 1st of March. And I want to direct your attention to paragraph number 4, in
- which it is stated that "Major General Kagame, head of the military wing of the RPF, said that the
- country was now in a state of war, since the president had violated the ceasefire agreement by
- terrorising and killing innocent civilians who are thought to be RPF supporters. He cited instances of
- the violence perpetrated by the president's supporters, including the ambushing of UNAMIR patrols and
- the killing of RPF soldiers, as well as the assassination of a prominent political leader. He said that
- 25 UNAMIR cannot remain silent or passive in such a climate and had to use force against the
- perpetrators of violence." And then he went on in paragraph 7 --
- 27 JUDGE SHORT:
- Mr. Robinson, the translators cannot keep up with your pace.
- 29 MR. ROBINSON:
- Thank you, Your Honour. I'm sorry about that.
- 31 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 32 Q. In paragraph 6, Mr. Booh-Booh indicates, "I left the meeting very pessimistic about the present state of
- mind of the RPF leadership. They appeared to be seriously considering the war option, which I very
- strongly tried to dissuade them from pursuing." He goes on to say that "I am, however, still hopeful that
- reason will prevail and the party leadership will seriously reconsider their position and continue finding a
- 36 peaceful solution to the impasse."

- And my first question to you, Colonel Claeys, is whether or not you became aware, around the
- beginning of March 1994, of a concern in UNAMIR that the RPF was preparing for a war.
- 3 A. To my recollection, we were aware about an uncomfortable feeling of the RPF, and I think at a certain
- 4 point, the RPF political leadership left Kigali because they didn't feel at ease in the CND compound, but
- I didn't notice that as being, and having still their battalion in Kigali, a road to war.
- 6 Q. Were you aware around this time that the RPF was smuggling weapons into the CND?
- 7 A. There was indeed hearsaying that they would be smuggling weapons into Kigali CND compound. We
- were never able to confirm that.
- 9 Q. And in paragraph 4, General Kagame had referred to the assassination of a prominent political leader.
- And do you recall that indeed in late February 1994 a man named Gatabazi was assassinated in
- 11 Rwanda?
- 12 A. Yes, I think this happened somewhere in January.
- 13 Q. Well, in any event, do you recall who was blamed for that assassination?
- 14 A. To my knowledge, nobody has been accused for this murder as investigations by UN CIVPOL are still
- ongoing. I have never seen any conclusions in this enquiry.
- 16 Q. And at the time, shortly after this occurred, was the MRND and its supporters being blamed for this
- 17 assassination?
- 18 A. I recall that certain voices were raising, telling that some people within *Interahamwe* would have been
- 19 involved.
- 20 Q. And are you aware of statements made by a man named Abdul Ruzibiza, a former RPF soldier, in
- which he has alleged that it was, in fact, the RPF who assassinated Mr. Gatabazi?
- 22 MR. WEBSTER:
- 23 I'm sorry, are we now away from the document? Because there's nothing in this document that
- indicates that Gatabazi was the prominent political leader that was assassinated. I think we're all aware
- 25 there were at least three or four significant political figures that were assassinated in early 1994:
- Martin Bucyana, Emmanuel Gapyisi, Félicien Gatabazi. There are others, but, you know, I'm a bit
- concerned about the way the questioning is going, because it presumes a number of facts that aren't in
- the document, and I'm using this as simply one example.

- So, you know, I'd ask Mr. Robinson to clarify if he's talking -- if he's asking a general question of the
- witness or if he's referring him to the document and making presumptions about what the document
- contains, because I don't see any reference to Gatabazi in this document.
- 33 MR. ROBINSON:
- Well, Mr. President, for Mr. Webster's information, Mr. Gapyisi was killed in 1992. And it's true that on
- successive in February -- late February 1994 actually, it was 1993 that Gapyisi was killed, but in 1994
- on two successive days there was killing of a minister, Gatabazi, who was believed to be a moderate,
- and then the next day the killing of the president of the CDR party, Bucyana. And I don't think that -- I

think perhaps there was a mistranslation. The party was the CDR of Mr. Bucyana. I don't think it could

- be fairly thought that Kagame was accusing the MRND or the president's supporters of killing the
- president of the CDR. Therefore, I think it's a fair inference from this document that the assassination
- 4 being referred to was that of Gatabazi. And it's true that the witness hasn't confirmed that or doesn't
- 5 have knowledge of that, but I think my question concerning who was blamed for the assassination of
- Gatabazi is a fair one, given the context of this letter and the time.

### 7 MR. PRESIDENT:

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The witness can answer the question.

#### 9 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- 10 Q. Colonel Claeys, I was asking you whether or not you were aware that a gentleman named
- Abdul Ruzibiza, who had been a former RPF soldier, had alleged that it was, in fact, the RPF who had
- killed this minister, Gatabazi, in February of 1994.
- 13 A. I'm not aware about this person, but it is true that both versions or possibilities, tracks, were followed
- that it could have been something put up, made up by RPF, but also that members of the *Interahamwe*
- and/or, at the same time, *Garde présidentielle* were involved. And as I said, the enquiry was ongoing,
- and I have never read any conclusions or reports about that. It was in the hands of UN CIVPOL.
- 17 Q. Thank you very much, Colonel Claeys.

#### 18 MR. ROBINSON:

Mr. President, I would like to offer this code cable as Exhibit D. NZ216.

### 20 MR. MORLEY:

- And, Your Honour, I offer the thought, as I offered earlier in relation to another document, it's not
- 22 entirely adopted -- for example, the language of war footing hasn't been adopted by the witness. If
- 23 Your Honours are minded to say it's admissible as a UNAMIR document but not as evidence of the
- 24 truth of its contents, I'll sit down.

### 25 MR. PRESIDENT:

- Mr. Morley, I think we've made it clear that all the UNAMIR documents are going in on that -- on that
- basis. Once we have got evidence of the provenance of the document, the information in the document
- 28 only becomes evidence if a witness adopts it. So the document is not evidence of its truth unless
- somebody can say that the contents are true.

## 30 MR. MORLEY:

- That's helpful, Your Honour. I'm not sure that's going to be helpful to Mr. Robinson as well, because it
- may be that the position now is a little clearer than it was earlier on today with regard to the UNAMIR
- 33 documents.

### 34 MR. WEBSTER:

- I'm still a bit confused, excuse me, because if the document is only coming in as an indication of where
- it came from and the contents are not accepted as evidence, what -- how far do we get ahead by
- marking it in evidence as opposed to marking it for identification? It seems to me we end up in the

- same place either way, because I would take it, from what the Court is now suggesting, that
- 2 Mr. Robinson would have to call another witness, who would have to agree with how he has
- characterised the assassination of Gatabazi, or this political figure, before the Court would accept that
- as -- as a reliable fact or something that it could use in its fact-finding efforts.

## 5 MR. PRESIDENT:

- No evidence has been adduced that the document referred to Gatabazi. No evidence has been
- adduced of the truthfulness of any statement in the document. This document is a contemporaneous
- report made by UNAMIR. Its relevance and value to us would be, if other evidence was adduced, if the
- other evidence is supported by a contemporaneous UNAMIR document.

## 10 MR. WEBSTER:

- In other words, for this point, if we could just use this point for purposes of illustration, I would then
- understand that Mr. Robinson would have to call another witness, who would assert that Gatabazi was
- assassinated by the RPF in order for the Court to --
- 14 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Mr. Webster, what a lawyer says from the bar table is not evidence.
- 16 MR. WEBSTER:
- 17 That, I understand, Your Honour. What I'm trying to understand --
- 18 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 19 (Microphones overlapping)...but there's no evidence about this as yet on the record.
- 20 MR. WEBSTER:
- 21 So, in other words, the document itself is not evidence, but --
- 22 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 23 It's not evidence of that -- of the truth of that fact. The document doesn't even refer to the killing of
- 24 Gatabazi directly.
- 25 MR. WEBSTER:
- 26 My question then is simply: Why do we mark it in evidence if nothing in content --
- 27 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 28 Because the ruling was these documents are being used in various (unintelligible) testimony, but they
- were going to admitted in evidence only when there was somebody who could speak to the fact that
- they were, in fact, a UNAMIR document. Mr. Claeys, who doesn't know the content or cannot state to
- the content of the truth of the document, verifies that this is, in fact, a UNAMIR document. And that's
- the basis on which it has been admitted through his testimony.
- 33 MR. WEBSTER:
- There was never any questioning of whether the documents were, in fact, UNAMIR documents or not.
- We obtained them from -- from the United Nations, so the source of it has to be --
- 36 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 37 Mr. Webster, you have objected to documents being entered because they were not -- the witness

Τ	KAREMERA ET AL MONDAY, 27 NOVEMBER 2006
1	through whom they were used could not speak to the document. We marked several documents when
2	they were used in this way with witnesses who had no connection with the UNAMIR and could not state
3	what these documents were, and they were marked for identification. So the witness who could verify
4	what these documents were and could speak to them, if possible, would put them in through this
5	witness's testimony.
6	MR. WEBSTER:
7	The objection
8	MR. PRESIDENT:
9	Colonel Claeys is such a witness. He cannot speak to the content of this document. He has spoken to
10	the content of some documents, and his evidence will be utilised when we are evaluating when we
11	are evaluating the case as a whole.
12	MR. WEBSTER:
13	My concern is the only value of the document is the content that is disclosed in the document, so if
14	Mr. Claeys cannot comment on the contents, I'm wondering why we admit it in evidence to begin with.
15	But I simply wanted to raise that issue for the Court so that we do things so that we proceed in a way
16	that's really beneficial to the fact-finding process. But I've voiced my concerns, and the Court has
17	answered, so I think we I'll conclude with that, Your Honour.
18	MR. ROBINSON:
19	Mr. President, I'm going to have some contributions to this discussion. I think I should put them in
20	writing at the end of the session during our break, because it's an issue that I don't entirely agree with
21	the way this Court has characterised the extent to which these documents could be used. But I'm
22	thankful that they're being admitted, and I'm not going to upset the apple cart at this point, but I would
23	like to make some written submissions concerning the use to which the Trial Chamber might put these
24	documents during its deliberations.
25	
26	But, in any event, it's past our time for a break, so would you like to adjourn for a little while?
27	
28	And may this document be admitted as Exhibit D. NZ216?
29	MR. PRESIDENT:
30	Are we still on schedule?
31	MR. ROBINSON:
32	It's close, but it depends on how the the group of documents that were shown to Witness ALG are
33	treated. If it's necessary to go through one by one, I don't think I'll finish today, but if some way we
34	moved in a group, which I'm going to try to do
35	MR. PRESIDENT:
36	But has notice been given to the Prosecutor?
37	

- 1 (Court resumed at 1600H)
- 2 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 3 Yes, Mr. Robinson.
- 4 MR. ROBINSON:
- 5 Thank you, Mr. President. I think when we left off I had asked the question --
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Yes, you want to hear the magic word, "admitted."
- 8 (Exhibit No. D. NZ216 admitted)
- 9 MR. ROBINSON:
- Yes, thank you. It is not so much for me, but for the registry, so we don't have any question later
- whether something was admitted or not, but I am grateful.
- 12 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 13 Q. Okay, Colonel Claeys, I now would ask that you be shown documents 15 and 16 of my packet of
- exhibits. Colonel Claeys, what has been placed before you are two faxes between UNOMUR,
- U-N-O-M-U-R, and UNAMIR. And I placed on the top -- the first one is actually the one that appears to
- be addressed to you concerning information about the NRA; do you see that?
- 17 A. Yes, I have it in front of me.
- 18 Q. And do you see your signature on the bottom of that?
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. Now, looking at the next document, number 16, this is the fax dated the 1st of March, which is referred
- 21 to in the fax that you signed. And in paragraph -- this appears to be a fax from UNOMUR to
- 22 General Dallaire, and it indicates that they have some sensitive information; that the NRA is effectively
- 23 supporting the RPF with a large amount of ammunition and weaponry. And can you tell us who the
- 24 NRA is?
- 25 A. I don't recall what the letters are standing for, but it must be the Uganda forces.
- 26 Q. Okay. That is correct, in my belief. And now it goes on to say that "The inventory of weapons and
- ammunitions include," and then it describes some ammunition weapons. "And it seems that the next
- consignment is packed and ready to be delivered, but we not sure of the exact date, and we are trying
- to track and confirm that information as much as possible." And then on the next page is the actual
- inventory of weapons or -- for the national resistance army; do you see that?
- 31 A. Yes, I have it in front of me.
- 32 Q. And do you recall seeing that as part of the fax that was sent to you on the 2nd of March 1990 -- sorry,
- 33 1994?
- 34 A. Yes, I think so.
- 35 Q. And among the weapons that are available for the Ugandan army, do you see a -- one called
- 36 SAM, SA7; do you see that?
- 37 A. Yes, I have it.

- 1 Q. And does that stand for "surface-to-air missile"?
- 2 A. Yes, that is right.
- 3 Q. And is that what was used to shoot down the plane of Habyarimana on the 6th of April 1994, a
- 4 surface-to-air missile?
- 5 A. It is assumed that something like that would be used, yes.
- 6 Q. And do these faxes, these two documents, number 15 and 16, do they reflect information that was
- being received by UNAMIR in March of 1994, from UNOMUR, the observation mission?
- 8 A. Yes, but the second page is the general inventory of the NRA. It is not this specific shipment which it's
- 9 concerning.
- 10 Q. That is correct, but it at least appears from the documents in the way we received them that this was
- the second page of two to the fax of the 1st of March 1994 where they referred to the inventory of
- 12 weapons.
- 13 MR. ROBINSON:
- I think maybe there was a translation error; I said the -- I hope I said the 1st of March 1994.
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Yes.
- 17 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, at this time I would ask that the first document, number 15, the outgoing fax of the
- 2nd of March to Captain Claeys, be admitted as D. NZ217 and the second document, the outgoing fax
- to General Dallaire of the 1st of March, be admitted as D. NZ218.
- 21 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 22 Admitted.
- 23 (Exhibit No. D. NZ217 admitted)
- 24 (Exhibit No. D. NZ218 admitted)
- 25 MR. ROBINSON:
- 26 Thank you, Mr. President.

- And if the witness can now be shown document number 17 in our packet of exhibits?
- 29 THE WITNESS:
- 30 I have it in front of me.
- 31 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 32 Q. And is this a report that was sent by General Dallaire to the UN observation mission concerning
- information that UNAMIR had received regarding RPF weapons?
- 34 A. Yes.

- 35 Q. And just to look at paragraph 2, does it indicate that the "unconfirmed and very sketchy information is
- being forwarded to alert you that UNOMUR can expect the possibility of a major increase in the
- movement of munitions from Uganda to the RPF in the near term?

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. And were you yourself informed of the suspicion that the RPF was arming itself in Rwanda from
- 3 Uganda in March of 1994?
- 4 A. Yes, I saw this code cable because I signed it on the top.
- 5 Q. I actually don't see your signature. Where are you referring to?
- 6 A. MIO, there is a --
- 7 MR. ROBINSON:
- 8 Okay.
- 9 THE WITNESS:
- 10 9th of March.
- 11 MR. ROBINSON:
- Okay, I see it now. Thank you.

- And, Mr. President, may this be admitted as Exhibit D. NZ219?
- 15 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 16 Admitted.
- 17 (Exhibit No. D. NZ219 admitted)
- 18 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 19 Q. So, Colonel Claeys, can we assume that, based upon the information that UNAMIR was receiving
- about the RPF, as well as about the MRND and the RGF, that it is fair to conclude that both sides were
- violating the KWSA?
- 22 A. No, I wouldn't put it that way, because K stands for Kigali. And there is no information about the Kigali
- 23 weapon secure area being violated by these activities by the RPF.
- 24 Q. What about the information that they were smuggling people and arms into the CND? That would be a
- violation, would it not?
- 26 A. The smuggling of persons, not; the smuggling of arms, yes, if it was proven. It hadn't been proven until
- 27 further notice.
- 28 Q. Well, maybe I can put my question more broadly. Did it appear to you that the parties in Rwanda were
- 29 not respecting their obligations with respect to UNAMIR during 1994, all sides?
- 30 A. That is clear.
- 31 Q. Okay, thank you. And now I want to turn to another topic, which is the demonstration of the
- 32 8th of January 1994; and first, if you could be shown document number 18.

33

- Directing your attention to document 18, it appears to be a code cable from Booh-Booh to Annan in
- which he sets forth his efforts, both on the 6th and the 7th of January 1993, to ensure the installation of
- the transitional institutions in Rwanda. And I want to first call your attention to the very top of the first
- page. And I would ask you if it appears to indicate that this fax was sent on the 7th of January 1994 at

- 1 1955H.
- 2 A. 7th of January, 1945 Zulu.
- 3 Q. 7th of January of -- I was actually saying, 7th of January 1994 at 1955H; is that correct?
- 4 A. To my understanding by the (*unintelligible*) writing, it is 1945 Zulu when it was sent out. And it was the reply from the fax, electronically, to send -- or to confirm that it arrived in New York at 1955 Zulu.
- I see. Okay, thank you very much, I think you are right about that. In any event, it was sent in the
  evening of the 7th of January. And turning your attention to the last page -- or actually the second to
  last page, concerning the meetings that Mr. Booh-Booh had on the 7th of January, he indicates, first he
  had had a meeting with the RPF leadership at 10:30 in the morning. At 3:30 he had met with the judge
  of the transitional court. And then at 4:30 he had met with the prime minister designate at UNAMIR
  headquarters, who had just come from a meeting with the president of the republic. And that, in

addition, and now I'm reading from paragraph 3 on the last page -- or the second to last page, I'm sorry:

"That in addition to the above face-to-face meetings with several personalities, I have made several calls and received several from interested parties on ways to resolve the impasse, and that tomorrow 9:30, I'm scheduled to meet with the prime minister." And then he reproduces a statement he had issued.

18

13

- And I would ask you whether or not it is -- the fact that this document written on the 7th of January and sent in the evening to New York makes no mention of any swearing-in ceremonies that had been scheduled for the 8th of January.
- 22 A. No, I don't see any mention of it.
- 23 Q. And is -- this code cable appears to be a legitimate code cable sent by Booh-Booh to Annan?
- 24 A. Except the change of fonts, I don't see any problem with the fax.
- 25 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, I would ask that this be admitted as D. NZ220.
- 27 MR. MORLEY:
- There is there no objection, but if it is to be suggested that the absence of a reference to an 8th of
- 29 January demonstration in that document means either there wasn't such a demonstration --
- 30 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Not demonstration, he said the swearing in.
- 32 MR. MORLEY:
- 33 I meant --
- 34 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 35 But I've noticed the subject heading of the document. I was going to ask about that.
- 36 MR. MORLEY:

2

Your Honour, yes. Just to conclude, I think Your Honour has my point, if it is to be suggested that the

- demonstration on the 8th of January could have had nothing to do with arguments over the swearing-in
- 2 procedures for the other deputies, simply because there is no reference to it in this outgoing cable, this
- witness cannot speak to that. And the consequence is that, on the face of the document, be it evidence
- 4 to contradict what it is that he, the witness, was told by Turatsinze.
- 5 MR. ROBINSON:
- 6 Mr. President, I don't think that is my point; but in any event, may the document be admitted?
- 7 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 8 Admitted.
- 9 (Exhibit No. D. NZ220 admitted)
- 10 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- If the timing is at all important, you might want to repeat that because it was a bit fast, and I'm not sure
- the court reporters got it all down, but maybe it is unimportant, sorry.
- 13 MR. ROBINSON:
- Well, Mr. President, for the record, you have admitted exhibit -- the document as Exhibit D. NZ220.
- That is my main thing I want to make sure.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 Yes, I think that was the main point.
- 18 MR. ROBINSON:
- 19 Thank you.

- 21 If the witness can now be shown number 20 -- excuse me, yes, number 20, which is two pages.
- 22 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 23 Q. Colonel Claeys, this is an excerpt or a page from a book that was written by Mr. Booh-Booh, entitled,
- La patron de Dallaire parle, published in 2005. So, first of all, let me ask you if you have read that
- 25 book.
- 26 A. No, I haven't read the book.
- 27 Q. On page 84, in the first full paragraph, General -- excuse me, Mr. Booh-Booh talks of a meeting that he
- 28 had with Kavaruganda, president of the constitutional court, on the 7th of January 1994. And on the
- right-hand side on page 85, he indicates that -- and this is in the middle paragraph: "That the president
- of the constitutional court was raising the possibility of swearing in the deputies and ministers of the list
- sent by the prime minister while President Habyarimana was in the Ivory Coast in February of 1994 to
- attend the funeral of the president there." And then Booh-Booh goes on to say that he said that
- 33 UNAMIR couldn't do that in the course of its mandate.

- And I was at -- and my question to you was whether or not during the time you were in Rwanda, you
- ever heard or learned that the president of the constitutional court was proposing to swear in the
- 37 deputies in February without President Habyarimana.

- 1 A. No, I was not aware about that during my stay in Rwanda. But this same passage was brought to my
- 2 attention in a past testimony.
- 3 Q. And if it is true that they were discussing on the 7th of January the possibility of a swearing-in ceremony
- in February, would that indicate to you that it was unlikely that such a ceremony had, in fact, been
- scheduled for the 8th of January, at least, as of the 7th?
- 6 A. No. But what strikes also my mind is that he would already know on the 7th of January that he would
- 7 go to funerals in February.
- 8 Q. Yeah, that also struck my mind. And I'm not sure what the customs are in Ivory Coast or when they
- had ceremonies. But in any event, it seemed to me that if you were discussing on the 7th of January
- trying to conduct a swearing in in February, that, perhaps, there was no ceremony scheduled for the
- next day. Do you have any comment on that?
- 12 A. No, I leave that open.
- 13 Q. Okay, thank you.
- 14 A. I have another comment on the text of the book, because if Kavaruganda was apparently coming to find
- Mr. Booh-Booh, I'm astonished that he didn't write it correctly in his book how the name was spelt.
- 16 Q. Okay, perhaps we will bring that to his attention when he comes here.
- 17 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, at this time I would like to ask that this be admitted as ID. NZ56.
- 19 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 20 That is marked for identification.
- 21 MR. ROBINSON:
- 22 Marked --
- 23 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 24 Marked for identification.
- 25 (Exhibit No. ID. NZ56 marked for identification)
- 26 MR. ROBINSON:
- 27 Yes, I'm sorry.

- And if the witness can now be shown document number 21, which is in both English and French; it is a
- 30 rather large document.
- 31 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 32 Q. Colonel Claeys, directing your attention either to the English, which is item 3.3, and the pages aren't
- numbered, or to the French, which you can find on page 12, or pages 11 and 12, first of all, I want to
- advise you that what is before you is a tract written by General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, the chief of the
- gendarmerie in the 13th of October 1999, in which he is responding to some events depicted in the
- book of Alison Des Forges. And, in particular, he discussed the demonstration of the
- 37 8th of January 1994.

And, in fact, he goes on to say that the truth of the demonstration -- the truth of the -- regarding the demonstration, was that it took place on the 8th of January 1994, around the roundabout of the Meridien Hotel and the CND building; and that the demonstrators said they opposed the swearing in of the transitional institutions without the head of state; and that a rumour was that the head of state was not present; and that General Ndindiliyimana phoned the commander of a security company and instructed him to intervene; that he called Colonel Marchal to inform him, and to seek authorisation to use the anti-riot unit; and that that authorisation was granted; and that, having ordered the anti-riot unit to intervene, he went himself to this place where the demonstration was being held and he asked people what was the reason for the demonstration; and when he was informed, he explained to them that it was mere rumours spread by irresponsible people; and, as they could see for themselves, there was no ceremony that day, that the diplomats and authorities did not turn up; and that he asked people to go home; that the head of state, in fact, passed through that road, followed by Mr. Booh-Booh; that an anti-riot unit arrived, but it was not necessary that they be used because the demonstrators had already gone. Can you tell us whether or not this account of the demonstration of the 8th of January is in accord with your own understanding of what was going on on that date? I would have to read everything, but there was a demonstration. There are -- there was an intention to 19 A. swear in deputies. Here, it is only stated that not -- they were still not deputies or diplomats at 10 o'clock. It was not the views that this ceremony would start at 10 o'clock in the morning, but the demonstrators were in place to avoid it. (Pages 61 to 67 by Donna M. Lewis) 

1 1630H

### 2 BY MR. ROBINSON:

- Q. And General Ndindiliyimana indicates that it was rumours that the swearing-in would take place on the
   8th of January, but it was not, in fact, scheduled to take place.
- 5 A. Again, if you read the book of Colonel Marchal or General Dallaire, it's obvious that there were
- demonstrations and that there was a swearing-in ceremony planned, which had to be organised and
- 7 where the UNAMIR forces were involved to monitor.
- 8 Q. Well, I don't dispute the fact that there was a demonstration that was held. I think that our -- our
- 9 position is that some people thought that there was going to be a swearing-in ceremony, and so they
- organised a demonstration. But, in fact, there had been no swearing-in ceremony scheduled for the
- 8th of January 1994, at least as of the evening of the 7th. Do you have any comment on that?
- 12 A. No.
- 13 MR. ROBINSON:
- Mr. President, if this document from General Ndindiliyimana can be marked as ID. NZ57A for the
- French, and 57B for the English.
- 16 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 17 Marked for identification.
- 18 (Exhibit No. ID. NZ57A and ID. NZ57B marked for identification)
- 19 MR. ROBINSON:
- 20 Thank you.

21

- Now, if the witness can be shown document number 19.
- 23 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 24 Q. Colonel Claeys, this is a document available both in French and English, and it's a press release signed
- by the director of the cabinet of the president and also the member of the political bureau of the
- 26 Rwandan Patriotic Front, Seth Sendashonga, and that's spelled S-E-N-D-A-S-H-O-N-G-A.

27

- And it indicates that on Saturday, the 8th of January 1994, there had been a meeting in the presence of
- the representative of the facilitator of the Arusha negotiations, the secretary-general of the
- 30 United Nations, the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity in the presence of the
- prime minister, president of the republic, and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. And the purpose of this
- meeting was to consider ways and means of trying to pursue and complete the establishment of the
- 33 transitional institutions.

34

- 35 So my -- my question to you is whether or not you were aware that, in fact, what occurred on the
- 8th of January 1994 was a meeting amongst the parties, including Mr. Booh-Booh, to try to establish
- these institutions at some day in the future.

- 1 A. I can't deny that there might have been another meeting, as stated here in the press release, but there
- is nowhere indicated where this meeting took place and at what point in time.
- 3 MR. ROBINSON:
- 4 Mr. President, at this time I would ask that the press release be marked as Exhibit ID. NZ58 and -- and
- 5 just marked for identification at this time.
- 6 MR. PRESIDENT:
- 7 Marked for identification.
- 8 (Exhibit No. ID. NZ58 marked for identification)
- 9 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 10 Q. Now, turning to the demonstration itself, did you see any *Interahamwe*?
- 11 A. No, I said before.
- 12 Q. And the fact is that people weren't wearing uniforms at this demonstration, so you couldn't tell who it
- was who was demonstrating, correct?
- 14 A. That is correct.
- 15 Q. Did you see any VIPs or members of parliament attempting to approach this demonstration?
- 16 A. No, as I didn't monitor the demonstration myself.
- 17 Q. Well, was it reported to you that any VIPs or members of parliament had attempted to come to the area
- where the demonstrators were?
- 19 A. Not to my recollection.
- 20 Q. Did you see any weapons that day?
- 21 A. Not amongst the demonstrators.
- 22 Q. Now, you've told us that on the 10th of January Turatsinze told you that weapons had been hidden in
- 23 drains at the roundabout, correct?
- 24 A. Yes, that is true.
- 25 Q. Have you ever seen the drains in that area?
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 Q. And they're open and not covered; isn't that correct?
- 28 A. Yes, and the grass is growing.
- 29 Q. And he told you that on your -- at your second meeting that the weapons had been hidden in the
- 30 vegetation, correct?
- 31 A. Yes.
- 32 Q. And did you have some understanding that by "vegetation" he meant the grass growing in the drains?
- 33 A. To my recollection, there was grass or herbs growing in the drains, next to the drains. And if that was
- not cut down, it was high enough to hide whatever equipment.
- 35 Q. And did you see any Presidential Guard members in the demonstration that day?
- 36 A. No, there were no distinctive clothing to mark whatever personnel.
- 37 Q. And Turatsinze had told you that Presidential Guard members were on covert standby in case there

- was a confrontation with UNAMIR, and you noted that that was not confirmed by UNAMIR military observers stationed at the Presidential Guard camp, correct?
- 3 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 4 Q. So after receiving the information from Turatsinze that Presidential Guard members were on covert standby in case of confrontation with UNAMIR, did you enquire as to whether or not that could be confirmed or corroborated?
- 7 A. To the Court's understanding, it was not specially necessary to corroborate this information, as the camp of the Presidential Guard, in reference to the roundabout of the Meridien, was a few hundred metres away.

- Having people inside barracks is also a kind of standby. They didn't need to be informed detachments with weapons in their hands to be on standby. As there were, as he explained, some communications available, just using communications would be enough to bring them out of their buildings, barracks, out of the compound and run towards the Meridien traffic circle.
- Well, in Exhibit P. 42, one of your reports, you specifically noted when he had -- Turatsinze -- you reported that Turatsinze had said that Presidential Guard members were on a covert standby in case there was a confrontation with UNAMIR, and then you wrote that this was not confirmed by UNAMIR military observers stationed at the Presidential Guard camp. So what was the basis for you to write that?
- 20 A. Because we asked reports from the military observers in the camp, but it was after the fax, after this 21 information came to us. So I don't know how these UN military observers observed this or not, if it 22 wasn't brought to their attention until days later.
- 23 Q. But you, yourself, thought this was important enough to note that information given to you by Turatsinze was not confirmed, correct?
- 25 A. Yes, within power channels.

26

27 Sorry. I'm going too fast.

28

- 29 Because we tried to cross-check this information within the UNAMIR channels.
- 30 Q. And at least at to this particular allegation, your cross-checking resulted in the fact that you were unable to confirm Turatsinze's allegation, correct?
- 32 A. At that point we couldn't confirm it, yes.
- 33 Q. And, in any event, the demonstration was peaceful and under control, correct?
- 34 A. To my recollection, yes.
- I want to turn to the meetings with Ngirumpatse and Nzirorera held by UNAMIR personnel. We've seen, as a Prosecution exhibit, the cable from Booh-Booh to Annan dated the 13th of January in which he describes a meeting with MRND officials at 4 o'clock p.m. with himself; his assistant, Kabaya; and

- General Dallaire. Now, were you aware in 1994 that this meeting had taken place?
- 2 A. No.
- And you've testified that, for you, the meeting that you've described on the 13th of January, which you say you tape-recorded, was the first meeting between the MRND officials and UNAMIR, correct?
- 5 A. According to my knowledge, yes.
- Now, if you could look at the report of 12 January of your meeting with Turatsinze, which is in the packet that Mr. Morley prepared.

I'm going to direct your attention to page 17, paragraph number nine. And this is on the 12th of January, so that would be the day before the meeting that you say that you attended and tape-recorded. And in paragraph nine you -- it's noted that the informant said that he had been late because he just received a briefing from the MRND party president and that the president had evidently gone to directly brief him after the meeting between the SRSG and the FC had ended and that the party president was -- seemed very scared by the words of the FC at the earlier meeting with him and that the SRSG and the FC had left them with the impression that they were in possession of some proof of MRND having weapons in their possession and that the FC had indicated they should show their goodwill and that the informant demonstrated no adverse reaction to UNAMIR already seemingly using

- So do you still maintain that you did not know of the meeting between the UNAMIR officials on the 12th and the party officials of the MRND?
- 22 A. Yes, I still maintain that I was not aware about this meeting.

some of his information in his discussions with the relevant persons.

#### 23 MR. MORLEY:

Your Honour, I'm on my feet. I waited for the answer, but my learned friend put an assumption into the question that he put to the witness, namely, that the witness had prepared the document. He's never said that. As Your Honours see, this is a draft outgoing cable from Dallaire, and it has material within it which Dallaire has received from this witness. But it would be wrong to say that it's a matter of record that the witness has ever said that he, the witness, has prepared this cable.

### 29 MR. ROBINSON:

Yes, Mr. President. I think that's the kind of objection that really coaches the witness, and I don't think it's very fair. It should be done in re-examination. This is a -- something the Prosecution consistently does by making these speaking objections in which they're prompting the witness to adopt their theory of the -- of the matter. But I'll address it with the witness, in any event. But I hope it doesn't occur again.

And I'm going to ask you to make an order that the Prosecution make its objections more circumspect or make those kind of statements outside of the witness's presence. And I'd like you to deliberate on

that motion at some point before we have more of these interruptions.

### 2 MR. MORLEY:

- The problem arises because of the way the question was put. It was put to the witness it was his
- 4 document. That is not the evidence.

### 5 MR. ROBINSON:

- 6 Mr. President, I don't believe ever putting to the witness that he wrote this document. But, in any event,
- 7 I'm asking that you, at some point before we go further tomorrow, make an order that if the Prosecution
- has a statement to make which can reasonably be assumed could prompt the witness to give a certain
- answer that that objection be made outside the presence of the witness. I think we need such a rule in
- this case now because it's just going on repeatedly.

#### 11 BY MR. ROBINSON:

12 Q. But, Colonel Claeys, I'll just direct his attention to -- question to you so that we can clear up this issue.

13

- Of course you didn't write this. We all know that. But the last sentence indicates that the informant
- demonstrated no adverse reaction to UNAMIR already seemingly using some of this information in its
- discussions with the relevant persons.

- And would you agree that there was some discussion with the informant on the 12th of January
- concerning the fact that his information had been used in discussions by UNAMIR with other parties?
- 20 A. No, not to my knowledge. As I said, I reported from my meetings with Jean-Pierre, but I was not able to
- 21 give him any information about an ongoing meeting or a meeting that took place with other personnel.
- 22 What I said to Jean-Pierre is, "We have informed certain instances, certain authorities in order to get
- 23 some protection for you."
- 24 Q. Now, General Dallaire didn't see this informant on the 12th of January, did he?
- 25 A. No, he never saw the informant.
- 26 Q. So what would be the basis, then, for him stating that the informant demonstrated no adverse reaction
- to UNAMIR already seemingly using some of this information in its discussions with the relevant
- persons? Surely he would have had to have had information from either you or Captain Deme
- concerning the reaction of the informant about those matters in order to write this, don't you think?
- 30 A. It's an assumption that "relevant persons" is concerning MRND members or even the president of the
- republic. To my knowledge, this sentence written by General Dallaire concerned, to my understanding,
- the embassy authorities that have been met and that have been informed about what he had disclosed.
- 33 Q. Well, that would be something that the informant expected UNAMIR to do, wouldn't it, since he had
- asked for that kind of protection? So why would there be any suggestion that he might demonstrate
- 35 some adverse reaction for UNAMIR going and doing exactly what he asked them to do?
- 36 A. He was just asking for protection. I have never stated that he was asking us to contact whatever
- embassy. Even within UNAMIR we had assets to moving out the country with military equipment, or

- give him even some UN protection within the UN headquarters. So I don't understand why he should
- 2 understand by this information that we had to contact whatever embassy.
- 3 Q. Well, when -- looking at the beginning of this paragraph nine, when Turatsinze arrived late, did he give
- 4 you some kind of explanation that he had met with the MRND party president?
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. And then did he tell you, and I'm looking now to the middle of the paragraph, that the president seemed very scared by the words of the FC at the earlier meeting with him?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Okay. So doesn't that imply that there had been a meeting between the president of the MRND and the -- and General Dallaire earlier?
- 11 A. Yes, but I haven't written that down. I was not supposed to know this. I was not present when this fax was drafted.
- No, but what is being in this fax is Dallaire saying that the president seemed very scared by the words of the FC at the earlier meeting with him. Now, did General Dallaire make that up or did he base that on information he received from you?
- 16 A. That was General Dallaire's impression. It was not made up by me. I was not aware of this meeting, 17 as I said before.
- Well, did Turatsinze tell you that the president seemed very scared by the words of the force commander?
- 20 A. No. He just said he was late by a meeting with his authorities.
- 21 Q. Okay. You now know that Dallaire and Booh-Booh had warned the MRND about weapons distribution
- on the 12th of January at 4:30 in the afternoon, and it was sometime after that that you saw the
- 23 weapons at the MRND -- or, Captain Deme saw the weapons at the MRND that night, correct?
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. And I take it that UNAMIR didn't want the MRND to know that they had an informant and that they had seen weapons, correct?
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 Q. So what was the purpose of repeating the message the same -- the next day at the meeting that you claim to have attended on the 13th?
- To my understanding, this was the first meeting, and then we said that we had some concrete
  evidence. And I assumed that in the first meeting there was just this unconfirmed information that was
  brought forward.
- Well, I -- I'll represent to you, Colonel Claeys, that there is no mention of this meeting on the
   13th of January in any UNAMIR documents. There's no mention in General Dallaire's book. You have
- no notes. We don't have the tape, and our clients actually just recall one meeting. So I don't know that
- 36 it's necessarily so important, but I -- since it's going to be the subject of their own testimony during the
- case, I want to ask you if you'd like to comment on that.

- 1 A. The only comment is have they ever seen me in the office with the general. And, if it's not the case,
- then it's their word against my word.
- 3 Q. Well, they don't remember seeing you in particular, but they do agree that they were in the office with
- the general. But they believe it was on the 12th with Booh-Booh and Kabila -- and Kabaya. And
- 5 perhaps you were there; perhaps you weren't. But they -- their position is that there was just one
- 6 meeting.

- 8 So any comment on that?
- 9 A. I continue to state that there was a meeting and that there was one meeting with them and the forcecommander and myself.
- 11 Q. And Booh-Booh was not there?
- 12 A. Booh-Booh was not there, and Kabaya was not there.
- 13 Q. Okay. Okay. Now, I want to ask you about some other things that you were told by
- Jean-Pierre Turatsinze. And it's indicated in Exhibit P. 45 that UNAMIR -- Turatsinze was telling you
- that UNAMIR had prepared three microbuses to evacuate its Tutsi employees as soon as any raid
- against the Tutsis would start. Do you remember him providing you with that information?
- 17 A. If it is in one of my reports, yes.
- 18 Q. Okay. Well, maybe you could have a look at the report of the 20th -- your meeting with Turatsinze on
- the 20th of January, and this is -- would be at page 23. And I'm reading now from the third paragraph
- down from the top: "He spoke about UNAMIR having prepared three microbuses to displace his Tutsi
- civilian employees as soon as any raid against the Tutsi would start, for example, the 20 January '94.
- 22 This information should have been given by the headquarter infiltrant. He gave some information on
- that matter, but it was not sure enough."

- Do you see that where you have written that in your report of your meeting on the 20th of January?
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 Q. And had UNAMIR prepared three microbuses to evacuate its Tutsi employees?
- 28 A. I was -- or, I have never been aware of that kind of measures being prepared.
- 29 Q. Now, further down in this report, you indicate that Turatsinze warned that the contractor of the works at
- the CND, a man named Severa, would be killed soon. Do you see that, the fifth paragraph?
- 31 A. Yes, I see it.
- 32 Q. Did you ever take any -- did UNAMIR ever take any steps to protect or warn this individual?
- 33 A. Not to my knowledge.
- 34 Q. And, to your knowledge, was he killed while you were in Rwanda?
- 35 A. I have no idea.
- 36 Q. And Turatsinze also said during this meeting, and now I'm looking on the second page, that he had
- been told that a UNAMIR colonel had driven a bus of PL members to the CND on the 5th of January.

- Now, to your knowledge, was anyone in UNAMIR involved in driving a bus with PL members to the
- 2 CND on the 5th of January?
- 3 A. No, I wouldn't know who would done -- would have done this.
- 4 Q. And on the 5th of January, you, yourself, were at the CND checking vehicles, correct?
- 5 A. Yes, indeed.
- 6 Q. And so you didn't see any bus with PL members driven by UNAMIR employees show up, did you?
- 7 A. Well, I am not sure that he was speaking about the UNAMIR colonel. He just is speaking about a
- 8 colonel.
- 9 Q. Well, the next sentence, though, says that they consider that as involvement in the internal affairs of the country by protecting opposition members. Don't you think that that is referring to UNAMIR?
- 11 A. That's, for me, just an assumption.
- 12 Q. Would there be anything wrong with a colonel in the army protecting opposition members?
- 13 A. Maybe for the MRND, but, again, it's just an assumption.
- 14 Q. Now, turning to page 25 in your report of the meeting on the 10th of February 1994, Turatsinze has --
- you report that he told you how the chief of staff and himself, the chief of staff of the gendarmerie, had
- seized -- had secured the return of a weapon seized from *Interahamwe* in Gitikinyoni. Did UNAMIR
- ever check with the chief of staff of the gendarmerie to determine whether or not he even knew
- Turatsinze or whether this incident had, in fact, occurred?
- 19 A. Not to my knowledge.
- 20 Q. And is it fair to say that the chief of staff of the gendarmerie was someone who UNAMIR interacted with
- on a very regular basis?
- 22 A. With the HQ of the secteur, indeed, but not with the HQ of the force, to my knowledge.
- 23 Q. So Colonel Marchal had a lot of contact with General Ndindiliyimana, correct?
- 24 A. This is correct, yes.
- 25 Q. And then Turatsinze talked about an impending raid on the *communal* office of Butamwa to recover a
- weapon seized from an *Interahamwe*. To your knowledge, did any such raid ever take place?
- 27 A. It was never confirmed that this took place, no.
- 28 Q. And did anyone from UNAMIR warn the bourgmestre of Butamwa of such an impending raid?
- 29 A. No.
- 30 Q. Now, it also goes on to say in number -- paragraph two that the *Interahamwe*, according to Turatsinze,
- were trained by Israelis in two forests. Now, Israel is a member of the United Nations, is it not?
- 32 A. Yes, indeed.
- 33 Q. And, to your knowledge, have any Israelis ever trained forces of the Rwandan government or any
- other? Have they ever even been in Rwanda to train anybody, to your knowledge?
- 35 A. Not that it has been confirmed, no.
- 36 Q. And did you ever check with the Israelis to determine whether they had ever been in Rwanda for that
- 37 purpose, military purpose?

- 1 A. No.
- 2 Q. Now, turning to your report of the 17th of February, which is on page 27, in paragraph 8 it's indicated
- that Turatsinze told you that French militaries are suspected to train young Zairian natives in the forest
- of the Gishwati. Now, did you ever verify that France was training Zairians in Rwanda?
- 5 A. No.
- 6 Q. Now, the next document, starting on page 28, is a report from another informant that was received in
- 7 late February, that the *Interahamwe* had been instructed to no longer wear their uniform. Do you recall
- 8 that?
- 9 A. Yes, I recall that.
- 10 Q. And in your testimony you made the connection to the fact that Turatsinze had said that the
- 11 Interahamwe had not worn their uniform during the demonstration of 8 January, correct?
- 12 A. Yes, correct.
- 13 Q. I'm going to ask that you be shown Exhibit D. NZ17, which is a communiqué of the MRND on the
- 14 1st of February 1994.
- 15 THE ENGLISH INTERPRETER:
- 16 Counsel, special request from the French booth: A short pause before the following question,
- especially for the court reporters.
- 18 BY MR. ROBINSON:
- 19 Q. Colonel Claeys, what's been placed before you is a communiqué of the national committee of the
- 20 Interahamwe issued on the 1st of February 1994, and I'm going to direct your attention to
- 21 paragraph five in which it's indicated that the MRND *Interahamwe* national committee informs every
- 22 Interahamwe that, as from now, especially owing to the insecurity, no one should wear the
- 23 Interahamwe uniform until the situation becomes clearer.
- 24
- 25 Do you see that?
- 26 A. Yes, I see it.
- 27 Q. So do we agree, then, that there had been an intervening event between the events in January
- described by Turatsinze in which he said that the MRND were not wearing their uniform -- the
- 29 Interahamwe were not wearing their uniform, and the report that you received from your informant in
- late February, that intervening event being a public announcement on the radio in Rwanda that the
- 31 *Interahamwe* were no longer to wear their uniforms?
- 32 A. If you put it that -- that way, yes.
- 33 Q. And looking at paragraph four, the *Interahamwe* committee is complaining that people have been
- making uniforms and other insignia of the MRND *Interahamwe* to tarnish the reputation of the MRND
- and the youth of the party and they're offering a reward if people can show the criminals who have been
- doing these things with their uniform.

- So would you agree that, at least as to the publicly expressed reasons for not -- the *Interahamwe* not
- wearing the uniform, it was based upon the claim that people were impersonating *Interahamwe* and
- committing criminal acts rather than an instruction that it would be difficult to trace perpetrators if the
- 4 *Interahamwe* were not wearing their uniforms?
- 5 A. Yes, this is -- it is put in these words in this text, yeah.
- 6 Q. Okay. Thank you very much.

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## 7 MR. ROBINSON:

- Now, Mr. President, we're going to embark on a make-or-break procedure which will determine whether
- or not we will -- this witness will be back tomorrow. And I'm going to try to do it the simple way, and if
- that doesn't work, I'll do it the slow way.

11

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- As you know, and you've noted in your order concerning UNAMIR documents, there were a number of
- documents that were marked for identification with Witness ALG during his testimony, documents from
- UNAMIR. And I now am going to attempt, pursuant to paragraph 11 of your order, to offer those
- documents into evidence and, in particular, the document that was marked ID. NZ32, which is an
- outgoing code cable from Booh-Booh to Annan dated on the 5th of April 1994, the relevance of which is
- that a report of the arrest of an intruder at Mr. Ngirumpatse's home was noted and the provenance of
- which is identical to other outgoing code cables which this witness has identified as regularly kept
- records and regularly created records of UNAMIR. And so at this time I offer Exhibit ID. NZ32 to be
- admitted as D. NZ221.

#### 21 MR. MORLEY:

- Your Honour, we are 15 minutes off the end of the day. It's my respectful suggestion that Mr. Robinson
- and I sit down together now, let Your Honours rise early, and we'll see what we can do.
- 24 MR. PRESIDENT:
- Mr. -- Mr. Morley, I'm really disappointed. I think that will have -- that meeting would have taken place
- already.
- 27 MR. MORLEY:
- When? We've been ongoing throughout the day, and the alert that Mr. Robinson was hoping to put
- these documents in came to our attention just before noon today. Now, he's got quite a few documents
- to look at, and I can probably get through them fairly quickly with him. But there hasn't been an
- opportunity to sit down, Mr. Robinson, and I'm inviting that we have it now.

### 32 MR. ROBINSON:

- Mr. President, I would point out that, since your decision was issued on the UNAMIR documents, you
- specifically made reference to these very documents that I was going to be able to offer -- attempt to
- offer through this witness, Claeys. So I think that the Prosecution has had over a week, at least, to
- determine whether or not during Mr. Claeys's -- Colonel Claeys's testimony it would be objecting to
- 37 these documents.

MONDAY, 27 NOVEMBER 2006

KAREMERA ET AL

	KAREMERA ET AL	MONDAY, 27 NOVEMBER 2006	
		CERTIFICATE	
	We, Donna M. Lewis, Ann Burum, and Sherri Knox, Official Court Reporters for the International		
(	Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, do hereby certify that the foregoing proceedings in the above-entitled		
	cause were taken at the time and place as stated; that it was taken in shorthand (stenotype) and		
	thereafter transcribed by computer; that the foregoing pages contain a true and correct transcription of		
said proceedings to the best of our ability and understanding.			
	We further certify that we are not of	counsel nor related to any of the parties to this cause and that we	
	are in nowise interested in the resul		
		Donna M. Lewis	
		Ann Burum	
-		Sherri Knox	

ICTR - TRIAL CHAMBER III