

Trial Hearing
WITNESS: CIV-OTP-P-0048

(Open Session)

ICC-02/11-01/15

1 International Criminal Court
2 Trial Chamber I
3 Situation: Republic of Côte d'Ivoire
4 In the case of The Prosecutor v. Laurent Gbagbo and Charles Blé Goudé
5 ICC-02/11-01/15
6 Presiding Judge Cuno Tarfusser, Judge Olga Herrera Carbuccion and
7 Judge Geoffrey Henderson
8 Trial Hearing - Courtroom 1
9 Wednesday, 29 June 2016
10 (The hearing starts in open session at 9.33 a.m.)
11 THE COURT USHER: [9:33:01] All rise.
12 The International Criminal Court is now in session.
13 Please be seated.
14 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:33:12] Good morning. Good morning
15 to everybody.
16 Good morning also to you, Mr Witness. I was informed that you had -- you
17 didn't feel very well, but now you feel better
18 WITNESS: CIV-OTP-P-0048 (On former oath)
19 (The witness speaks French)
20 THE WITNESS: [9:33:36] (Interpretation) I'm fine.
21 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:33:37] Thank you very much.
22 Now I give immediately the floor to the Defence, Mr Altit, for the Defence to
23 continue the questioning of the witness.
24 Yours the floor.
25 MR ALTIT: [9:33:58] (Interpretation) Thank you, Mr President.

1 QUESTIONED BY MR ALTIT: (Continuing) (Interpretation)

2 Q. [9:34:05] Good morning, Mr N'Guessan.

3 A. [9:34:20] Good morning.

4 Q. [9:34:21] Mr N'Guessan, if you are a little tired, please let us know and
5 the Chamber will likely take the necessary measures.

6 A. [9:34:34] I will inform you.

7 Q. [9:34:36] Thank you. Now, let us come back to the incident of 8 April
8 2011. You explained to us yesterday that you travelled through a large part
9 of Abidjan to go to your appointment; is that correct?

10 A. [9:35:05] Yes.

11 Q. [9:35:06] What was the purpose for that trip?

12 A. [9:35:12] To visit my family and ensure that everybody was doing fine.

13 Q. [9:35:19] Was it wise to go out that day in Abidjan, particularly given
14 that it was a long trip?

15 A. [9:35:34] It was not a question of wisdom. I told you that the day
16 before that President Alassane Ouattara had given instructions to the police
17 and the gendarmerie to ensure protection for the entire population. *And
18 may I have you note that when I was moving about -- until the moment that I
19 came face to face with that squad, *Abidjan town was not risky.

20 Q. [9:36:07] So it is your view that on 8 April 2011 there was no risk in
21 Abidjan?

22 A. [9:36:21] Yes.

23 MR ALTIT: [9:36:22] (Interpretation) For the transcript, the witness said yes.

24 Q. You said you had three people with you: Your driver, bodyguard and
25 a third person?

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1 A. [9:36:36] Four persons, two aide-de-camps and two bodyguards.

2 Q. [9:36:48] Two drivers and two aide-de-camps who were bodyguards?

3 THE INTERPRETER: [9:36:59] Pause, if the speakers could observe the
4 pause, please.

5 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:37:02] Yes. Just observe the pause. I
6 see you are trying to, looking upstairs, but then you get in the rush. Thank
7 you.

8 MR ALTIT: [9:37:14] (Interpretation) Very well, Mr President. I will try to
9 maintain constant dialogue with the interpreters, but sometimes in the heat of
10 the action it's not always possible.

11 Q. [9:37:38] How many vehicles were there in your convoy, one or two?

12 A. [9:37:49] Two vehicles.

13 Q. [9:37:50] Two vehicles. So I imagine three people in one vehicle, two
14 in one?

15 A. [9:37:57] Three persons in the Mercedes and then two in the Hyundai
16 vehicle.

17 Q. [9:38:11] Were these drivers and bodyguards always with you when
18 you went out?

19 A. [9:38:17] They were always with me, ever since we returned from
20 Marcoussis.

21 Q. [9:38:22] So ever since 2003, you always had with you at least two
22 bodyguards and two drivers?

23 A. [9:38:33] Minimum.

24 Q. [9:38:45] Sometimes more?

25 A. [9:38:46] Yes, sometimes more.

1 Q. [9:38:48] Who paid them?

2 A. [9:38:54] I was the one mostly responsible for paying them.

3 Q. [9:38:57] And where did the resources come from?

4 A. [9:39:02] I told you that I have a training *and management firm. I am
5 a political leader, and some of my revenues came from my political party.

6 Q. [9:39:15] Am I to understand that it was your political party that paid
7 the salaries of the drivers and bodyguards?

8 A. [9:39:25] They paid me, and I used part of my money to meet the needs
9 of those who were working with me.

10 Q. [9:39:31] Very well. So you received a salary from your political
11 party?

12 A. [9:39:45] It was not a salary.

13 Q. [9:39:48] What was that?

14 A. [9:39:51] Allowances.

15 Q. [9:39:55] Monthly?

16 A. [9:39:58] It depended.

17 Q. [9:39:59] If I understand you correctly, it was enough to pay five people
18 in addition to yourself?

19 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [9:40:05] The witness said he was not being paid. It's
20 not a salary. It's indemnities, just to be clear.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:40:13] Yes. That's how it came out on
22 the record, right?

23 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [9:40:22] The question is to pay five people and yourself.
24 And again, it's not a question of payment. Let's not mislead the witness.

25 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:40:31] Okay. Just use the wording of

1 the witness, not a payment but an allowances. Please, go ahead.

2 MR ALTIT: [9:40:44] (Interpretation) I will comply with what you see. But
3 in French, to pay is to pay. Whether it is a salary or an indemnity, you are
4 giving someone money. You pay them. So there is no semantic problem
5 here.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:41:08] I don't have any – I don't have
7 any problem either because money is money. But it's okay. Just that we
8 know exactly where --

9 MR ALTIT: [9:41:15] Oui, Oui.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:41:16] Okay, thank you.

11 MR ALTIT: [9:41:20] (Interpretation)

12 Q. [9:41:24] But what we are talking about is very clear. The witness said
13 he received an indemnity or a stipend from his party, amongst other things,
14 he said he paid five people. If I understood you correctly; is that correct?

15 A. [9:41:41] Mr Altit, my income is my income.

16 Q. [9:41:46] What does that mean?

17 A. [9:41:49] It simply means I use it the way I wish with the people
18 around me.

19 Q. [9:41:55] Mr Witness, nobody denies that you know what to do with
20 your money. We are simply talking about the amounts that you receive.

21 A. [9:42:09] I'm not going to tell you the amount.

22 Q. [9:42:12] We simply wanted to know whether it is enough to pay five
23 people or maybe to compensate them, give them a stipend and so on?

24 A. [9:42:27] It was not compensation. These were people who were at
25 my service, just like house servants, housemaids, my gardener. And my

1 income was enough to make it possible for me to give them something to live
2 at ease.

3 Q. [9:42:55] Wait a minute, sir. You answered the questions of the
4 Prosecutor yesterday, and you have to answer the questions that I'm putting
5 to you today. But you simply have to answer questions.

6 A. [9:43:09] I simply wanted to complete my answer. I would like to
7 point out that I am an expert consultant, and I have always been carrying out
8 my consultant activities, and I have revenues from that.

9 Q. [9:43:35] Ever since 2003?

10 A. [9:43:36] Since 1993.

11 Q. [9:43:39] You have told us and it is your position that you received
12 allowances from the various parties you belonged to since 2003; is that
13 correct?

14 A. [9:43:55] I just a political party from the period of Linas-Marcoussis.
15 So please do not take us back to 1993.

16 Q. [9:44:10] And if I understand you correctly, you received allowances
17 from the MFA as well as from the RDR?

18 A. [9:44:20] I never received anything from the MFA.

19 Q. [9:44:23] And the RDR?

20 A. [9:44:26] Yes.

21 Q. [9:44:28] Do you still allow -- receive allowances today?

22 A. [9:44:32] Yes. I'm still receiving allowances from my party because
23 political parties in Côte d'Ivoire are funded, and these funds are used to pay
24 allowances to those who carry out the activities of these political parties on a
25 daily basis.

1 Q. [9:44:51] And when you say "my party," you are referring to the RDR?

2 A. [9:44:57] Yes, of course.

3 Q. [9:44:58] What is your role in the RDR?

4 A. [9:45:02] I am currently the deputy secretary general in charge of
5 communication and a spokesperson.

6 Q. [9:45:10] Of what?

7 A. [9:45:13] Of the party.

8 Q. [9:45:15] And who do you work with on a daily basis?

9 A. [9:45:21] I have an interim secretary general and nine other deputies
10 secretaries general, departmental secretaries and national secretaries.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:45:31] Can you slow down because
12 they are struggling up there. So just slow down, both. Thank you.

13 MR ALTIT: [9:45:45] (Interpretation)

14 Q. [9:46:09] Do you take any part in determining the strategy of the party?

15 A. [9:46:13] Can you kindly repeat your question so that I should fully
16 understand the word "strategy."

17 Q. [9:46:21] Are you one of those members of the RDR who reflect,
18 conceive or determine the main philosophy or guidelines of the party or the
19 strategy of the party? That is the same thing.

20 A. [9:46:45] You should know that in a political party, you have a political
21 bureau and a secretary general. The political bureau defines the main
22 strategies and the secretary general implements the strategies. So I'm one of
23 those who are responsible to implement the strategies adopted by the political
24 bureau.

25 Q. [9:47:11] Since 2011, has a ministerial portfolio been proposed to you?

1 A. [9:47:23] No.

2 Q. [9:47:23] And if one was proposed to you, will you accept?

3 A. [9:47:29] If the republic calls on you, you never say no.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [9:47:32] No, that's hypothetical. Or
5 this is hypothetical, I mean. It's not a fact.

6 MR ALTIT: [9:47:38] (Interpretation)

7 Q. [9:47:39] Coming back to your drivers and aide-de-camp, I believe that
8 these people were professionals?

9 A. [9:47:59] Yes, these were professionals who were trained by the
10 gendarmerie as part was referred to as the protection and security
11 programme. They receive certificates from General Kassaraté, who was the
12 boss of the gendarmerie.

13 Q. [9:48:23] Were they the same people who were with you from 2003 to
14 2011?

15 A. [9:48:29] Some of them left, went back to their original departments or
16 find other jobs. But those who remained with me all the time were quite
17 faithful to me.

18 Q. [9:48:44] On 8 April, when you came face to face with this gendarmerie
19 unit that you talked about, you have told us that you were quite far away
20 from the Plateau . The area that you were in, was it considered as a rebel
21 area?

22 A. [9:49:25] I don't really like that word "rebel" the way you are using it.
23 As from the moment that Alassane Ouattara was sworn in, there were no
24 rebels. He was at the head of the Ivorian army. So the rebels were those
25 who had refused to join the general trend to work for the republic. So I

1 would prefer you continue not to use that word.

2 Q. [9:49:50] Please, just answer my questions. In that area where you
3 were, were there soldiers who were pro-Ouattara?

4 A. [9:50:02] From the time that President Ouattara took over, was sworn
5 in, every soldier was under his command except those who, those units that
6 were *the Praetorian guards associated with the former President.

7 Q. [9:50:21] Can you just answer my question.

8 A. [9:50:24] I believe I did answer it.

9 Q. [9:50:27] On 8 April, you went out on a long trip to see your family.
10 Now, on the days before that, let us say March and in early April, did you
11 ever go out also?

12 A. [9:50:48] We did not go out because Abidjan was a difficult area at that
13 time, the entire town. There was pillaging and roadblocks everywhere. So
14 it was not easy to go out. That is why we barricaded ourselves in our
15 neighbourhood. We even closed off the entry into a neighbourhood with
16 three branches so that no one should come into our neighbourhood.

17 Q. [9:51:22] When you went out on 8 April 2011, did you see any units of
18 the French army?

19 A. [9:51:30] I did not see any French army units.

20 Q. [9:51:38] During the days before that, that is at the end of March, as
21 from the end of March 2011, did you see French helicopters overfly the town?

22 A. [9:51:53] Yes. We saw helicopters overflying the town, but I cannot
23 tell you for certain that these were French helicopters.

24 Q. [9:52:03] Did you observe these helicopters open fire?

25 A. [9:52:09] To my knowledge, no.

1 Q. [9:52:14] Were you aware whether there were any *confrontations
2 between various armed forces during that time in Abidjan?

3 A. [9:52:29] We heard some talk about the Invisible Commando. We do
4 not know who was the leader of that Invisible Commando. What is certain is
5 that there were clashes.

6 Q. [9:52:44] Clashes between who and whom?

7 A. [9:52:47] I told you that we were barricaded at home, so it was not
8 possible for us to know who was fighting against whom.

9 Q. [9:53:05] Yesterday you told us, and I will try to quote you from
10 memory, that France had received -- I'm quoting you from memory. So they
11 had received instruction *to remove President Gbagbo, and I will even quote
12 you, give you the precise quote. You said, and this is page 77 of the French
13 transcript, line 10: "The French, under the UN mandate, had received the
14 mission to remove him," end of quote.

15 And you are referring here to President Gbagbo.

16 Now, according to you, how was this mission accomplished?

17 A. [9:54:15] Thank you for reminding us that France did not intervene
18 unilaterally. It was the UN Security Council that gave France the mandate to
19 reinstitute the constitutional legality in Côte d'Ivoire, given that Mr Gbagbo
20 had not handed over power and that Mr Ouattara had become president ever
21 since 4 December.

22 Q. [9:54:54] Mr N'Guessan, I will rephrase my question.

23 A. [9:54:57] Please.

24 Q. [9:54:59] You have already told us all these things, and it is on the
25 record. It is in the reports, the transcripts. So you can give us more concrete

1 answers. And to that end, I will rephrase my question.

2 How was the mission, that is to remove President Gbagbo from power,
3 concretely or materially implemented by the French authorities, that is as far
4 as you know?

5 A. [9:55:41] This is a mission that was implemented by the French army
6 supported by ONUCI within the framework of military actions and fighting,
7 especially since President Gbagbo was refusing to leave.

8 Q. [9:56:09] As from when did these military actions go into force?

9 A. [9:56:17] I believe it was at the beginning of April. I cannot give you
10 the precise date.

11 Q. [9:56:28] And those military actions, what were they concretely?

12 A. [9:56:46] We realised later was that the military camps had been
13 bombarded or shelled and this was to destroy all the weapons that the
14 Gbagbo forces were using to murder the population. So there was shelling
15 from the air, but since we were at home we did not know what was
16 happening on the ground.

17 Q. [9:57:17] If you can observe the pause, please, because it is difficult for
18 the interpreters. So we will make an effort, both of us. Please proceed.

19 A. [9:57:30] I was saying that in the entire town of Abidjan wherever you
20 were, you heard explosions. And in my neighbourhood, my residence was
21 approximately 2 kilometres from the Akouédo camp as the crow flies. So we
22 heard explosions and *two helicopters overflying this area, and we were told
23 that the objective was to destroy the heavy weaponry used by President
24 Gbagbo to fire on the civilian population.

25 Q. [9:58:19] To understand you correctly, were these French helicopters?

1 A. [9:58:25] I told you I did not know to whom those helicopters were
2 registered, who they belonged to.

3 Q. [9:58:32] I do not understand you very well, Mr N'Guessan. You told
4 me that the French military strategy was to attack the military camps. You
5 said that a short while ago. And now that I'm asking you whether these
6 were French helicopters, you say you have no idea.

7 A. [9:58:54] No. Let me be quite clear and be more specific. The French
8 army acted under the aegis of a UN mandate. And I said a short while ago
9 that the UN, or at least ONUCI, had as its mission to support this action
10 aimed at removing President Gbagbo from power. And now you are telling
11 us to give you the nationalities of the helicopters used as well as their
12 registration numbers. But even if I'm an expert, since I was on the ground, I
13 couldn't tell you that helicopters overflying were French helicopters. I was
14 not trained for that.

15 Q. [9:59:57] Let us understand each other very well. You confirmed
16 having seen helicopters?

17 A. [10:00:03] Yes.

18 Q. [10:00:04] You confirm that these helicopters bombarded Ivorian bases?

19 A. [10:00:14] Yes.

20 Q. [10:00:15] You confirm that they shelled the Akouédo camp?

21 A. [10:00:22] Yes.

22 Q. [10:00:22] But you can't confirm the nationality of these helicopters?

23 A. [10:00:26] Yes, that's right.

24 Q. [10:00:28] Now, if they weren't French helicopters, what country would
25 they have belonged to?

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1 A. [10:00:36] I told you I have not received any training in the
2 identification of helicopters, so I can't answer your question.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [10:00:51] This would have been also an
4 opinion, a speculation. You said if they're not, what could they be, what
5 could they have been? It's speculating. He said he doesn't know. That's it.

6 MR ALTIT: [10:01:01] (Interpretation) Very well, your Honour, yes.

7 Q. [10:01:09] Well, now this camp, camp Akouédo that you mentioned a
8 few moments ago, who was there, why was it shelled?

9 A. [10:01:30] According to the information that we received later, it was
10 shelled in order to destroy the heavy weaponry that was there.

11 Q. [10:01:39] Very well. And your position is, if I've understood you
12 correctly, is that that operation occurred in other military camps in order to
13 destroy the heavy weaponry?

14 A. [10:01:55] *I can only speak with any certainty about camp Akouédo,
15 which was 1 or 2 kilometres from my residence as the crow flies.

16 Q. [10:02:10] Very well. Now, to your knowledge, on 8 April, where was
17 President Gbagbo?

18 A. [10:02:14] I have no idea.

19 Q. [10:02:19] You don't know?

20 A. [10:02:27] Yes.

21 Q. [10:02:29] Yesterday you told us that on 8 April his residence had been
22 blocked off by the gendarmes and by the police *and the FRCI?

23 A. [10:02:44] I never said that. Don't put words in my mouth.

24 Q. [10:02:48] That's why I'm asking you the question so that you can go
25 back to your statement.

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1 A. [10:02:54] I told you yesterday that on 7 April there was a message on
2 the radio, and President Ouattara ordered a blockade or, rather, that the
3 residence of President Gbagbo be blocked off in Cocody. That's all I said.
4 I never mentioned police officers, soldiers or gendarmes. So please do not
5 put words in my mouth.

6 Q. [10:03:25] To your knowledge, was the residence blocked off?

7 A. [10:03:33] I'm not a soldier. I don't know what they did.

8 Q. [10:03:38] Do you know Sidiki Bakaba personally?

9 A. [10:03:47] No, I don't know him. I've met him two or three times at
10 the Maison de la Culture because he was the director general of that
11 institution. And one time I had an opportunity to speak to him was when
12 we were organising a ceremony for the establishment of the National Human
13 Rights Commission, and that ceremony was at the Maison de la Culture in
14 Treichville.

15 Q. [10:04:17] Very well. And what does Sidiki Bakaba do?

16 A. [10:04:32] *He claims to be a film-maker.

17 Q. [10:04:35] And you say --

18 A. [10:04:36] Well, he might have done one or two movies, but he's not
19 truly a film-maker.

20 Q. [10:04:41] When was that? And when did he start to claim that he was
21 a film-maker?

22 A. [10:04:46] When he began doing that trade and, well, you see, he was
23 director general of the Maison de la Culture when I met him.

24 Q. [10:05:10] Now after the incident that you mentioned yesterday, the
25 unit of gendarmes went away heading towards the presidential palace; is that

1 right?

2 A. [10:05:22] Let me correct you. I never said that they were gendarmes.

3 Q. [10:05:25] Sir, if you don't mind, I think I did hear you speak of
4 gendarmes.

5 A. [10:05:33] I never said that the unit in question was made up of
6 gendarmes.

7 Q. [10:05:37] Very well. We will take that statement under consideration.
8 But that is what you said yesterday.

9 So the unit that is quite unknown and went towards the presidential palace,
10 and you were in the vehicle?

11 A. [10:06:00] That is right.

12 Q. [10:06:02] So towards le Plateau?

13 A. [10:06:07] No. That's not the right direction. The presidential
14 residence is in Cocody.

15 Q. [10:06:16] If you don't mind, please, we really need your help. Let me
16 put my question now, but you must help us. So just to make sure everything
17 is clear, clear to everyone, please try, I'm not forcing you to do anything, but
18 please try to distinguish between the presidential palace and the presidential
19 residence. Those are two different things, aren't they?

20 A. [10:06:41] Well, if that allows you to better understand, no problem, I
21 will.

22 Q. [10:06:48] Very well. So the unit in question left and was heading in
23 what direction? Towards the presidential palace or the presidential
24 residence?

25 A. [10:07:01] Towards the presidential residence.

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1 Q. [10:07:06] Very well. And did you see any * FRCI units along the way?

2 A. [10:07:12] No. But I did come across some ONUCI units as we were
3 heading towards the presidential residence.

4 Q. [10:07:29] So if you didn't run across any FRCI units, that meant there
5 was no blockade?

6 A. [10:07:44] Don't try to have me give some answers as if I were a soldier.
7 I'm not a soldier. The head of state asked for a blockade. Now you want
8 me to say that a particular person was here or there. Mr Altit, don't -- please
9 don't try to lead me down the path of commentary.

10 Q. [10:08:04] (No interpretation)

11 A. [10:08:07] Thank you.

12 Q. [10:08:14] Now, the unit -- well, you were heading towards the
13 residence. And how many vehicles were there approximately?

14 A. [10:08:24] There were my two vehicles driven by armed men. There
15 was the vehicle I was in. There was one or two personnel carriers and two or
16 three four-by-fours with some pickup trucks.

17 Q. [10:08:54] How many men approximately?

18 A. [10:08:57] I couldn't tell you. I think I said that there was at least 60
19 people.

20 Q. [10:09:05] Just to be more specific, you left the presidential residence
21 the same day or the next day?

22 A. [10:09:23] The same day, about 9 p.m.

23 Q. [10:09:25] When you were at the presidential residence, were there any
24 attacks against the residence?

25 A. [10:09:29] No.

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- 1 Q. [10:09:29] Did any French helicopters fly over the residence?
- 2 A. [10:09:38] No.
- 3 Q. [10:09:38] Did you see French units in the surrounding areas?
- 4 A. [10:09:42] No.
- 5 Q. [10:09:42] Mr N'Guessan, you told us yesterday that the incident that
- 6 you mentioned led to multiple proceedings in Côte d'Ivoire, yes?
- 7 A. [10:10:12] Yes, that is true.
- 8 Q. [10:10:14] During these various proceedings, were you confronted with
- 9 this information -- correction, were you confronted with Seka Seka?
- 10 *A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Do you remember when?
- 12 A. Just a few months before the trial.
- 13 *Q. [10:10:30] Which trial?
- 14 *A. There was a trial in Côte d'Ivoire against Commander Seka Seka, and he
- 15 received a sentence of 20 years. Just before this trial, *there was a confrontation then.
- 16 Q. [10:10:49] When were these *proceedings?
- 17 A. [10:10:51] I can't exactly remember, but I think -- I don't have my files
- 18 with me so I can't tell you. But it wasn't all that long ago.
- 19 Q. [10:10:59] Does that mean a few weeks ago, months ago? In
- 20 approximate terms.
- 21 A. [10:11:05] Four, five months.
- 22 Q. [10:11:07] Four, five months?
- 23 A. [10:11:09] Approximately.
- 24 Q. [10:11:10] Four or five months?
- 25 A. [10:11:13] I beg your pardon, I'm not specific as I should be, but I don't

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1 remember the exact month.

2 Q. [10:11:22] You gave testimony during that trial?

3 A. [10:11:24] Yes.

4 Q. [10:11:30] Were there many witnesses?

5 A. [10:11:32] Yes.

6 Q. [10:11:35] Were there -- were there exculpatory questions?

7 A. [10:11:47] Reformulate. I'm not a lawyer, could you be more specific?

8 Q. [10:11:54] During that trial, you yourself, do you see yourself as an

9 incriminating witness or an exculpatory witness?

10 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [10:12:08] Excuse me, a witness is a witness. A

11 witness is here to tell the truth. I don't know what you mean by exculpatory or not

12 exculpatory or incriminatory witness. I mean, a witness is a witness.

13 MR ALTIT: [10:12:27] (Interpretation) Yes, your Honour. But I think it is useful

14 to determine exactly what position the witness is taking, whether -- I shall proceed.

15 I take heed of your comment. That was a minor point, yes, indeed, you are correct.

16 Q. [10:13:05] So you were a witness during that trial?

17 A. [10:13:08] Yes.

18 Q. [10:13:08] And it was held a few months ago?

19 A. [10:13:17] Yes.

20 Q. [10:13:17] And you gave the same account as here?

21 A. [10:13:19] When you have experienced such a thing, you cannot give

22 another account. One only tells a court what happened. And before a

23 court, I gave an oath. So I could only say the truth what actually happened.

24 Q. [10:13:37] Now this Commander Seka Seka, stop me if I get it wrong,

25 but you saw him twice. Now, during the trial and during the confrontation?

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1 A. [10:13:54] I can say that I saw him three times, 8 April.

2 THE INTERPRETER: [10:14:01] Overlapping speakers.

3 MR ALTIT: [10:14:04] (Interpretation)

4 Q. [10:14:05] Let us be --

5 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [10:14:07] Excuse me. It was not heard.

6 It was not translated because there were overlapping speakers. So we didn't
7 get the answer by the witness. You said, Mr Witness, you said that you saw
8 him three times, 8 April, and then there was an overlap.

9 THE WITNESS: [10:14:32] (Interpretation) I saw him on 8 April, I saw him
10 during the confrontation, and I saw him during the trial.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [10:14:47] Thank you.

12 MR ALTIT: [10:14:47] (Interpretation) That is what I understood, that is
13 what I understood, yes, indeed.

14 Q. [10:14:55] The last two times, and I beg your pardon, I'd like to ask you
15 another question to obtain clarity. We've understood about the trial. That
16 was a few months ago. But the confrontation, when was that?

17 A. [10:15:11] A few weeks before the trial opened.

18 Q. [10:15:16] Very well. Very well. Now, on these two opportunities,
19 the confrontation and the trial itself, what was the condition of Commander
20 Seka Seka?

21 A. [10:15:29] He was in fine form.

22 Q. [10:15:32] He seemed to be in fine form?

23 A. [10:15:35] He was in fine form. Nothing abnormal or unusual.

24 Q. [10:15:42] Mr N'Guessan, now, regarding your family ties to President
25 Gbagbo, we have understood, and stop me if I've gotten it wrong, but

1 apparently the husband of one of the president's daughters is your nephew,
2 right?

3 A. [10:16:14] Correct.

4 Q. [10:16:16] Well, did you take part in various family gatherings of the
5 Gbagbo family?

6 A. [10:16:24] The first family gathering was the dowry because I was the
7 one, you see, who was leading the family and a member of our family was
8 marrying the daughter.

9 And then the second family gathering was 29 June, I believe, and I believe
10 today is the actual anniversary of the marriage between Stéphane and
11 Marie-Laure Gbagbo. Those were the two family ceremonies that I took
12 part in.

13 There was a third event. After the marriage, we went with
14 President Gbagbo and his entire family to Daloa because my nephew, well,
15 his father, who is Bété, from that place wanted to introduce the new wife to
16 his relatives in that place.

17 Q. [10:17:46] And when was the marriage?

18 A. [10:17:50] I'm drawing a blank but it was 9 June. First of all, I believe
19 it was Marie-Laurence's birthday. Secondly, I believe that it was also the day
20 on which the president's plane, or at least the prime minister's plane had been
21 shelled in Bouaké; Guillaume Soro. Those are the reasons why I remember
22 that date, 29 June, which was also the day on which Marie-Laurence was
23 married.

24 THE INTERPRETER: [10:18:36] Message from the interpreters: The date in
25 question was 29 June.

- 1 MR ALTIT: [10:18:42] (Interpretation)
- 2 Q. [10:18:43] And who was she?
- 3 A. [10:18:45] She is the daughter of Laurent Gbagbo and she married
- 4 Stéphane Kipré.
- 5 Q. [10:18:50] So was that the 9th, 9 June? Which day?
- 6 A. [10:18:58] It might have been 2009 or 2008. Allow please, just give me
- 7 a moment. I'll remember. On my website, I think it says that they've been
- 8 married for nine years. Now, if I subtract 2016 minus 9, it would have been
- 9 2007 or 2008.
- 10 Q. [10:19:27] Very well, very well. Duly noted. Duly noted.
- 11 Now, you were the minister serving -- a minister serving under President
- 12 Gbagbo at that time?
- 13 A. [10:19:35] At the time of the marriage, I was not a minister.
- 14 Q. [10:19:38] You became a minister later?
- 15 A. [10:19:40] I had already been.
- 16 Q. [10:19:42] You were?
- 17 A. [10:19:44] If I recall, it was 2007.
- 18 Q. [10:19:50] A few moments ago you were telling us, sir, that it was the
- 19 day, 9 June, the day on which the attack --
- 20 A. [10:20:09] Correction, 29th.
- 21 Q. [10:20:12] Yes, the 29th for the court record and the transcript. I shall
- 22 reformulate. I beg your pardon. It will be a bit of a long process, but we
- 23 need to give the court reporters and interpreters a bit of time to do their work.
- 24 On 29 June, you say that was the day on which Prime Minister Soro's aircraft
- 25 was shelled?

1 A. [10:20:37] Shelling of the aircraft in Bouaké.

2 Q. [10:20:42] In Bouaké. But, Mr N'Guessan, my question is -- is this:

3 Who fired upon that aircraft?

4 A. [10:20:55] I can't answer because I was not in charge of that
5 investigation. And, once again, allow me to tell you that some things
6 happened in Côte d'Ivoire and there were never any investigations of such
7 events that went anywhere.

8 Q. [10:21:11] Any idea?

9 A. [10:21:12] No.

10 Q. [10:21:13] Was it a major event in Côte d'Ivoire politics?

11 A. [10:21:25] Yes, of course it was.

12 Q. [10:21:29] And you were a major politician yourself within
13 Côte d'Ivoire?

14 A. [10:21:34] I wouldn't put it that way.

15 Q. [10:21:37] But you knew what was going on when the prime minister
16 was attacked?

17 A. [10:21:44] When things like that happen, well, there are people whose
18 job it is to conduct investigations. So don't ask me to conduct an
19 investigation. It was up to President Gbagbo, who was president of the
20 republic, to carry out the investigations. I don't know whether he did so. I
21 don't know what the results of any investigations are. We are all still
22 waiting. It is one item on the long list of things, acts of impunity, and we still
23 await answers.

24 Q. [10:22:20] Do you know whether any people within the Ouattara camp
25 were singled out and possibly were said to be involved in the attack?

1 A. [10:22:31] I have no idea.

2 Q. [10:22:39] Fine. Now, your duties as minister, when did your duties
3 as minister come to an end?

4 A. [10:22:55] They ended when Soro Guillaume was appointed prime
5 minister. If I recall correctly, that was in April 2007.

6 Q. [10:23:13] And why were you not reappointed minister?

7 A. [10:23:18] Well, a prime minister is free to make his own decisions and
8 choices. He does not have to provide justifications. And for your
9 information, ministerial duties are really not the sort of thing that, hmm, how
10 shall I put this, it's not like you're issued a contract.

11 Q. [10:23:46] Aren't you a political ally of Mr Soro?

12 A. [10:23:53] We were all members of the G-7.

13 Q. [10:23:55] Could you remind us which political parties made up the
14 G-7.

15 A. [10:24:00] The MJP, the MPIGO, the MPCCI and the political parties
16 were the MFA, the PDCI, the UDPCI and the RDR. We were within a
17 political alliance and it was called the G-7.

18 Q. [10:24:18] Just so we've understood what you are telling us, now I just
19 put a question to you, weren't you a political ally of Mr Soro? And you can
20 answer and you can say, you can just say yes, that you were an ally, that you
21 were all - *part of the same G7, couldn't you?

22 A. [10:24:38] Why are you trying to feed me an answer?

23 Q. [10:24:42] Very well, very well. Reply as you wish. It's up to you.

24 Now first you mentioned -- I'm just waiting for the transcript to come up on
25 the screen.

1 The MJP. What was the MJP?

2 A. [10:25:09] I may not have the exact acronym, but *the MJP, the MPIGO
3 and MPCCI were various branches within what was originally a series of
4 events that was called the rebellion.

5 Q. [10:25:26] If I've understood correctly, and once again correct me if I
6 am wrong, you are telling me that these three movements -- but my question
7 was about the MJP. MJP. Now, was this a rebel movement present right
8 from the very beginning?

9 A. [10:25:47] They were created when the rebellion began.

10 Q. [10:25:52] Very well. And who led that movement?

11 A. [10:25:55] The MJP, I think it was Mr Déli Gaspard.

12 Q. [10:26:11] And what became of him? What is he doing now?

13 A. [10:26:15] I believe he is a retired military man now.

14 Q. [10:26:18] Was this an armed movement?

15 A. [10:26:28] Of course it was. You don't begin a rebellion
16 empty-handed.

17 Q. [10:26:36] And the MPIGO, the second movement, the MPIGO, who
18 led the --

19 A. [10:26:50] Félix Doh.

20 Q. [10:26:51] Was that an armed movement?

21 A. [10:26:56] Once again, you do not start a rebellion with just your bare
22 hands.

23 Q. [10:27:02] And the third movement? Because the transcript here is
24 slightly hazy, shall we put it. The third movement, what was that?

25 A. [10:27:14] The MPCCI.

1 Q. [10:27:15] The MPCl. Led by whom?

2 A. [10:27:19] Soro --

3 THE INTERPRETER: [10:27:20] Inaudible.

4 THE WITNESS: [10:27:22] (Interpretation) -- Guillaume.

5 MR ALTIT: [10:27:24] (Interpretation)

6 Q. [10:27:24] Was that an armed movement?

7 A. [10:27:29] If you don't mind, I'm not going to repeat myself for the
8 third time.

9 Q. [10:27:37] So we are to understand your answer is yes?

10 A. [10:27:39] As I told you, you do not start a rebellion empty-handed.
11 Unless you show me some rebels that attacked and shot and then --
12 barehanded -- honestly, Mr Altit.

13 Q. [10:27:56] So let me try to understand. You, your movement and other
14 political parties with these three rebel movements, these three armed rebel
15 movements; is that correct?

16 A. [10:28:09] Yes.

17 Q. [10:28:10] Very well, very well. And when was that?

18 A. [10:28:15] The G-7 was established after Marcoussis, and I'd like to
19 point out to you that those three armed movements were asked to attend the
20 Linas-Marcoussis conference. They were sitting at the same table as the FPI,
21 *the PIT, the UDCI and the other parties, the other political parties that were
22 legitimately lawfully constituted.

23 Q. [10:28:45] Invited by whom?

24 A. [10:28:47] By France. Upon the recommendation of President Gbagbo.

25 Q. [10:28:52] That is your position?

1 A. [10:28:56] I stand by my words. He was the one who sent messages to
2 everyone saying that we were invited. There were even preliminary
3 meetings where the president of my party took part at the presidential palace
4 led by President Gbagbo to say -- to provide instructions about the
5 Linas-Marcoussis conference, and that is a historical truth that must be
6 established.

7 Q. [10:29:24] That is your truth.

8 A. [10:29:29] That is my truth. It cannot be anyone else's, especially
9 yours.

10 Q. [10:29:38] My question was regarding the G-7. When was it set up?

11 A. [10:29:44] The day after we went back to Abidjan. I think it was
12 March, April 2003.

13 Q. [10:29:53] Thank you. Okay. Was there a minister of human rights
14 under the Soro government? Or I could put it a different way. Was there a
15 successor to yourself, that is after the first Soro government?

16 A. [10:30:29] No. But there was a minister of justice and public freedoms,
17 public liberties. So those two activities, justice and human rights, were
18 combined in a single ministry. But it wasn't referred to as such. But the
19 directorate of human rights still existed.

20 Q. [10:30:46] And who was that minister?

21 A. [10:30:50] Koné Mamadou.

22 Q. [10:30:53] What is he doing today?

23 A. [10:30:54] He is the president of the constitutional council.

24 Q. [10:31:11] Does he belong to a political party or did he at the time
25 belong to a political party?

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1 A. [10:31:15] I'm not able to answer that.

2 Q. [10:31:17] Is there a minister of human rights in the present
3 government?

4 A. [10:31:25] Yes. It is Madam Badjo who holds that position.

5 Q. [10:31:31] A moment ago you stated that you were also living from
6 money you earn as a consultant; is that correct?

7 A. [10:31:55] Yes, that's correct.

8 Q. [10:31:55] What exactly do you consult in?

9 A. [10:32:04] Management and organisation consultancy.

10 Q. [10:32:08] Who do you work with?

11 A. [10:32:09] Corporations and private persons.

12 Q. [10:32:11] Can you give us any names of your clients?

13 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [10:32:22] Slow. Slow down, please.

14 We're really rushing. Thank you.

15 THE WITNESS: [10:32:30] (Interpretation) Well, since I set up my company

16 in 1993, companies like *LONACI, the national lottery of Côte d'Ivoire, the

17 wholesale market in Bouaké, all the pharmacists in the centre and north were

18 my clients, a number of lawyers, law firms to help them set up their

19 accounting procedures, for example, the company Abigail, various

20 agro-industrial groups and others. And I've done a lot of training courses.

21 I've carried out research studies for various organisations.

22 MR ALTIT: [10:33:16] (Interpretation)

23 Q. [10:33:17] Thank you. You stated, and I'm going to quote you to be

24 perfectly clear, yesterday you stated on page 35 of the French transcript

25 regarding what you did when you were minister of human rights, and I'm

1 quoting you on line 22: "Another day I got a call from Vavoua. Vavoua is a
2 city in the inner part of the country under the control of the Forces Nouvelles.
3 It was a Lebanese trader who had three truckloads of merchandise taken
4 away by a warlord. I immediately called that warlord and I said," and you
5 quote yourself, "either -- not only must you return" -- just a moment. I'm
6 having trouble with my documents. "But not only must you return the
7 products, but you must also, you must also apologise to this Lebanese trader."
8 My question is do you know this warlord well?

9 A. [10:35:07] No.

10 Q. [10:35:08] Who was it?

11 A. [10:35:11] His name was Koné Zakaria, but I don't know him, but I did
12 know the names of the people in charge of the Forces Nouvelles so that I
13 could intervene and correct any situation where there had been human rights
14 violations.

15 Q. [10:35:27] You'd never seen him?

16 A. [10:35:28] No.

17 Q. [10:35:30] And why did you say "tu" instead of "vous"? Why did you
18 use the familiar form?

19 A. [10:35:38] Well, in our country, the distinction between the formal
20 "vous" and the informal "tu" doesn't always exist.

21 Q. [10:35:49] In other words, you can say "tu," the informal form, to
22 someone you've never met that you don't really know?

23 A. [10:35:54] Yes, of course.

24 Q. [10:36:00] I have a question about that for you. When you were
25 testifying the last few days, that is Monday and Tuesday, you used the

1 expression you've been referring to singling out someone, "mis à l'index" in
2 French. What exactly do you mean by that?

3 A. [10:36:32] Yes, I used that expression because in our country we say in
4 Côte d'Ivoire "he was indexed," in inverted quotes, whereas the French use a
5 different expression to indicate that he's being rejected.

6 Q. [10:36:50] Well, you know, everything hear is being translated, and
7 sometimes expressions used are difficult to translate. Can you explain to us
8 exactly what you mean when you use that expression "mis à l'index," which
9 might be translated as "single out." Can you explain to us what you mean by
10 that?

11 A. [10:37:21] Well, you could use another word, which would be
12 "designated."

13 Q. [10:37:25] Well, thank you. It's important so that everyone
14 understands.

15 What about another warlord, do you know any of them personally?

16 A. [10:37:47] No, no, not at all. I wasn't part of the Forces Nouvelles.
17 We would see each other, but I wasn't part of their setup.

18 Q. [10:37:57] Mr N'Guessan, if I understand correctly, you told us that
19 you, that is your party, was part of an alliance with armed groups that you
20 were not familiar with, that you didn't know?

21 A. [10:38:14] Well, perhaps you can explain exactly what you mean by
22 "knowing." It's not all that clear to me and it's not easy to answer.

23 Q. [10:38:23] Well, I will do that. Have you met with them? Have you
24 spoken with them? Did you have some sort of relationship, whatever the
25 nature, more or less close with any warlords?

1 A. [10:38:39] I think your question is a sort of commentary, and you're
2 insinuating things that I cannot accept. As for the first part, yes, within the
3 G-7 we had meetings with the Forces Nouvelles and sometimes some of their
4 military leaders attended the meetings.

5 Q. [10:38:59] And they weren't warlords?

6 A. [10:39:02] No.

7 Q. [10:39:02] Well, what were the warlords then?

8 A. [10:39:05] Well, what we call the warlords were soldiers who were in
9 control of specific zones because Mr Soro had organised his administration
10 around these military leaders. And those were the ones we called warlords.

11 Q. [10:39:26] To be certain we understand, you're distinguishing between
12 the rebel warlords, I apologise for using the term, but it does mean what it
13 means, doesn't it? So we're talking about warlords who are in charge of a
14 particular zone. I'm going to ask my question and you tell me if you agree, if
15 I've understood correctly or not.

16 So you have these warlords who were in charge of a particular zone in the
17 northern part of Côte d'Ivoire, and you distinguish those warlords from
18 soldiers who could be under their command but who were not in charge of a
19 zone. And it was with those soldiers that you had meetings?

20 A. [10:40:17] Let me, let me explain clearly.

21 Q. [10:40:23] Just a moment. Perhaps -- you didn't take a break.

22 A. [10:40:29] I think I would like to explain something. You use the term
23 "warlords," "chef de guerre" in French. And I think we should withdraw that
24 word too. We're talking about commanders who were under the orders of
25 Mr Soro.

1 Q. [10:40:52] All right. I won't -- well, I can't really say I'll withdraw the
2 expression. I'll try not to use it.

3 Well, why don't you want to hear that expression?

4 A. [10:41:05] Mr Soro was in charge of a zone. Almost half of
5 Côte d'Ivoire was under his responsibility, and there were various zone
6 commanders who administered these various different zones. And the term
7 "warlord" is pejorative; it has a negative connotation.

8 Q. [10:41:35] Well, what do you mean by a negative connotation?

9 A. [10:41:37] The way you're using it.

10 Q. [10:41:41] Yes, but what do you mean?

11 A. [10:41:42] We were not at war. We were going through a period of
12 rebellion.

13 Q. [10:41:58] So you say we shouldn't use that expression?

14 A. [10:42:00] Yes, I would prefer that.

15 Q. [10:42:04] And if someone uses that expression, they're presenting
16 things in an incorrect fashion?

17 A. [10:42:14] They would be deforming reality.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [10:42:15] Can we, can we please agree
19 that we don't make -- we don't polemise between the counsel and the witness,
20 we just put questions and get answers. Thank you.

21 MR ALTIT: [10:42:40] (Interpretation) There is no question of there being
22 disagreements. The witness has explained why he's uncomfortable with that
23 expression and he has told us why. But what I don't understand is why he
24 himself uses the expression.

25 Q. [10:43:00] Yesterday, on page 35 of the French transcript, line 27, and

1 I'm quoting you, sir: "I immediately called that warlord."

2 You said that, didn't you?

3 A. [10:43:16] Yes, I said it, it's true. But today I'm asking you to
4 withdraw it because it's a pejorative term, and I would prefer we use the term
5 "zone commander" instead: Can I make that request?

6 Q. [10:43:34] Mr N'Guessan, yesterday, and it was a bit quick so I'm not
7 sure I understood perfectly well, that's why I'm asking this question.

8 Yesterday you talked about Patrick Gaubert. Do you remember him?

9 A. [10:43:50] He's the president of the LICRA, the International League
10 against Racism and Anti-Semitism. Let me remind you --

11 Q. [10:44:03] I'm sorry for interrupting you. Don't go too fast. Go
12 ahead.

13 A. [10:44:22] Laurent Gbagbo asked me to meet with Patrick Gaubert.

14 Q. [10:44:32] You explained that he was the president of the LICRA,
15 International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism?

16 A. [10:44:40] Yes, it's the International League against Racism and
17 Anti-Semitism.

18 Q. [10:44:47] Who does that international league represent, what
19 countries?

20 A. [10:44:57] Well, how, how can an international league represent a
21 country?

22 Q. [10:45:03] What countries, plural?

23 A. [10:45:06] I'm not able to tell you.

24 Q. [10:45:09] Well, do you have national leagues?

25 A. [10:45:13] Yes, of course.

1 Q. [10:45:14] In Côte d'Ivoire?

2 A. [10:45:18] In Côte d'Ivoire we have the LIDHO, the League for Human
3 Rights.

4 Q. [10:45:27] Is that a member of the league that you're referring to?

5 A. [10:45:30] No.

6 Q. [10:45:32] My question is what are the national organisations or
7 associations in Côte d'Ivoire that are members of the LICRA that you just
8 referred to?

9 A. [10:45:44] I never said that LICRA was an association that has
10 representatives in Côte d'Ivoire. Let me be precise. When I went to France
11 -- or, rather, when I went to Geneva, it was President Gbagbo who told me
12 that, "We have friends in the league, the International League against Racism
13 and Anti-Semitism, and I advise you to meet with them."
14 I had never heard of them before. And, to my knowledge, there was no
15 subdivision, if you will, of this league in Côte d'Ivoire.

16 Q. [10:46:22] Thank you very much. That's very clear.
17 And this Mr Gaubert, where did you meet him?

18 A. [10:46:35] I met him in Paris, in the 16th arrondissement.

19 Q. [10:46:40] What is his nationality?

20 A. [10:46:42] He's French.

21 Q. [10:46:43] Did he play a political role?

22 A. [10:46:51] No.

23 Q. [10:46:52] As regards Mr Gaubert, I believe I understood but the
24 transcript isn't perfectly clear, perhaps you can help me, I thought that there
25 might have been some sort of embezzlement of money?

1 A. [10:47:15] No, no, no. That's completely wrong. That's not at all
2 what I said. You misunderstood. What I said was that President Gbagbo
3 asked me to meet with him to contribute to the freeing of Mr Dauphin, the
4 release of Mr Dauphin and Mr Valentini. He facilitated my contacts with
5 people in the Élysée Palace and in the foreign affairs ministry, the Quai
6 d'Orsay. And then he went to Abidjan to meet with President Gbagbo.
7 Then Mr Dauphin and Mr Valentini were released. And the question that I
8 wondered about was were they released because a payment was made, was
9 there ransom? I didn't understand because, to my knowledge, he hadn't
10 committed any crime. But I did not mention embezzlement at all.

11 Q. [10:48:21] Thank you. You've clarified.

12 A. [10:48:23] Thank you very much. And please don't put words in my
13 mouth, saying that Mr Gaubert might have been involved in any
14 embezzlement or any other illegal dealings. He's a far too honest person to
15 be associated with anything like that.

16 Q. [10:48:38] Thank you. You've clarified what you stated. You've
17 clarified your position. And that's perfect. Thank you.
18 So a few moments later yesterday in your testimony, you seemed to be
19 saying, and again I'd like to clarify, that the establishment of a human rights
20 police force -- again, if I've understood you correctly, and please tell me if
21 I've misunderstood. The establishment of a human rights police force
22 would have made it possible to solve the human rights difficulties in Côte
23 d'Ivoire. Did I understand you correctly?

24 A. [10:49:18] Yes. As minister, my desire was to set up a human rights
25 police force. The mission of that police force would be to identify the various

1 cases of obvious violation of human rights, create the necessary conditions so
2 that there would no longer be such violations and to continually keep watch
3 on the situation so that such abuses not be carried out, in particular on the
4 part of the defence and security forces.

5 Q. [10:49:57] Fine. Thank you. Let me go on to another topic quickly.
6 Yesterday you spoke about the elections, and if I've understood correctly, you
7 stated that the November 2010 campaign went well, both the first and the
8 second rounds. Did I understand you correctly?

9 A. [10:50:28] Yes. I can confirm that the campaign went along quite well,
10 both for the first and the second round of those elections.

11 Q. [10:50:40] Wasn't there any fraud?

12 A. [10:50:52] I didn't see any cases of fraud anywhere. Well, you're
13 talking about fraud during the campaign? I don't really understand. How
14 can there be fraud during a campaign? What do you mean?

15 Q. [10:51:04] Well, the reason I ask the question is because based on what
16 you said, I believe you played a role in those elections for the RDR.

17 A. [10:51:14] Yes, I was the campaign director for the region of Iffou.
18 And when you are campaigning, going around the different villages to try to
19 convince people to vote for your candidate, I don't understand how there can
20 be any fraud.

21 THE INTERPRETER: [10:51:53] Microphone, please.

22 MR ALTIT: [10:51:58] (Interpretation) Sorry, I forgot to turn on my
23 microphone.

24 Q. [10:52:04] Mr N'Guessan, no fraud in the northern part of the country
25 to your knowledge?

1 A. [10:52:10] Well, Mr Altit, please explain to me how there can be fraud
2 during an electoral campaign? Explain what you mean. Everybody is in
3 their own vehicle driving around the countryside trying to convince people to
4 vote, and you're using the term "fraud." Can you explain what you mean
5 exactly? Can you be more precise in your questioning?

6 Q. [10:52:35] Well, the question was clear and your answer was clear.
7 Perhaps it's not necessary to come back to that. Well, but if you're asking
8 me, perhaps I could ask you a subsidiary question to make it a bit clearer.
9 Was there, to your knowledge, any cases of fraud concerning voter
10 registration?

11 A. [10:53:13] Well, don't take me back to what I said yesterday where I
12 complained about the fact that when I referred to the electoral list, our list
13 was a consensual list, it was validated, so no one can say that the electoral
14 lists in the 2010 elections, no one can say that there was any fraud involved.

15 Q. [10:53:43] Well, when you talk about voting lists, voter registration
16 lists, what exactly are you referring to?

17 A. [10:54:02] The list that was used for the presidential elections *in 2010.

18 Q. [10:54:07] *The list in general, or the list of your party?

19 A. [10:54:11] No. There was no -- there was -- you don't draw up a list by
20 political parties.

21 Q. [10:54:22] So I think you've given us a clear and simple answer.

22 Thank you very much for that.

23 Yesterday, yesterday, Mr N'Guessan you stated, and here I'm quoting you
24 from memory, you said that President Alassane Ouattara was at the Golf at
25 the time. And perhaps it's better if I quote you precisely. Things will be

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1 clearer.

2 You were referring to the incident that we mentioned earlier, and this is on
3 *page 88 of the French transcript, and I'm quoting you: "I said," and you
4 repeat what you said, "If as I leave" -- I'm looking to the interpreters to see if
5 they have the transcript.

6 THE INTERPRETER: [10:55:47] Your Honour, the interpreters never have a
7 copy of the previous transcripts.

8 MR ALTIT: [10:55:53] (Interpretation) If I may, I will read slowly. That's
9 the easiest way to proceed.

10 Q. [10:56:00] Mr N'Guessan, I'm quoting the transcript: "I said to him,"
11 quotes, because the witness is repeating what he said: "If, as I leave here, I
12 have an opportunity to meet with President Ouattara" -- and then you
13 stopped and you added an aside and you said: "Because for information,
14 President Ouattara was at the Golf and we were outside."
15 And then you come back to what you were saying before, so I'm continuing
16 the quote: "If I have the opportunity to see him," and you're referring to
17 President Ouattara, "I will relay your message to him," end of quote.
18 So you were saying that Alassane Ouattara was at the Golf?

19 A. [10:57:09] Yes, at that time.

20 Q. [10:57:10] From when to when did he stay at the Golf, at least to your
21 knowledge?

22 A. [10:57:16] The Golf Hotel was the campaign headquarters of President
23 Alassane Ouattara. He only left the hotel at the end of the post-electoral
24 crisis, a few days after 11 April.

25 Q. [10:57:41] And how long had he been there?

1 A. [10:57:43] I said he was there throughout the electoral campaign, both
2 rounds, the first and the second round. And for your information, President
3 Ouattara's residence is maybe 50 to 100 metres from the Golf Hotel. And the
4 Golf Hotel was where his campaign team was set up.

5 Q. [10:58:13] I'm trying to understand. You're saying he was there before
6 the first round? Do you mean September, October 2010?

7 A. [10:58:25] When the campaign was launched.

8 Q. [10:58:29] When?

9 A. [10:58:30] Two weeks before the campaign started.

10 Q. [10:58:36] And you've just stated that his private residence was very
11 close to the hotel. Did I understand correctly?

12 A. [10:58:50] Yes, and it still is.

13 Q. [10:58:54] What do you mean? Does that mean that in fact he was at
14 his home throughout the period and he would go to the hotel for the official
15 meetings, or did it mean that he actually lived in the Golf Hotel?

16 A. [10:59:09] I can't tell you because I'm not familiar with his programme.
17 I don't know what he was doing in the evening or when there were breaks
18 after the political meetings. I don't know.

19 Q. [10:59:21] Mr N'Guessan, throughout that period, did you yourself go
20 to the Golf Hotel?

21 A. [10:59:30] I went once, the day when Mr Damana Pickass tore up the
22 sheet with the proclamation of results. I went there to meet with the party
23 members to discuss the strategy that we were to follow. I went once and
24 once only and then I went home to my own residence. Because shortly
25 thereafter the pro-Gbagbo people set up a roadblock and we couldn't have

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1 access to the hotel. Colonel Dosso, who unfortunately made the mistake of
2 going there, when he was coming back, he was captured by the pro-Gbagbo
3 people and he was assassinated. It wasn't easy to go there to the Golf Hotel.
4 ONUCI had set up blockades around the hotel, and those who had
5 authorisation had to go through the ONUCI checkpoint, if you will. You
6 couldn't -- those who tried to go through ended up dead.

7 MR ALTIT: [11:01:00] (Interpretation) Your Honour, it's up to you now.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [11:01:04] I was going to stop you in any
9 case at this point in time. We have the break, half an hour.

10 Mr Witness, you can have a rest. We all have a rest and see you at 11.30.

11 The hearing is adjourned.

12 THE COURT USHER: [11:01:16] All rise.

13 THE INTERPRETER: [11:01:42] Correction on line 7, the witness said that he
14 was at the Golf Hotel as of two weeks before the first round of the elections.

15 (Recess taken at 11.02 a.m.)

16 (Upon resuming in open session at 11.33 a.m.)

17 THE COURT USHER: [11:33:33] All rise.

18 Please be seated.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [11:33:59] Good morning again.

20 Good morning, Mr Witness.

21 The floor is to Maître Altit.

22 MR ALTIT: [11:34:06] (Interpretation) Thank you, Mr President.

23 Q. [11:34:23] Mr N'Guessan, good morning once again.

24 A. [11:34:28] Good morning.

25 Q. [11:34:32] When we took the break, you were telling us that you went

1 to the Golf Hotel. Can you tell us who you saw there? Who was there to
2 your knowledge, that is at the time you went there?

3 A. [11:34:59] The entire campaign team of President Alassane Ouattara
4 was there.

5 Q. [11:35:05] Were there many people?

6 A. [11:35:08] Yes.

7 Q. [11:35:10] Approximately how many, just so we can have an idea?

8 A. [11:35:15] The entire campaign team was about 100 people and the
9 newspaper people, so I would say *150 to 200 people at least.

10 Q. [11:35:35] Are you telling us that those people were based at the Golf
11 during the entire crisis?

12 A. [11:35:43] No. That's not what I said. I said that the Golf Hotel was
13 the headquarters, the campaign headquarters during the campaign. We had
14 our meeting there -- meetings there. So you had the campaign management
15 itself which was permanently based at the Golf, and they reflected on the
16 issues and decided on the way forward with regard to our militants. And
17 then you had those who were in the field, like some of us. We were not
18 staying at the Golf Hotel. It was after the crisis broke out that we found
19 ourselves in a meeting at the Golf Hotel with the people who were lodging
20 there.

21 Q. [11:36:35] Very well. Am I to understand that before the second
22 round you went regularly to the Golf to discuss issues?

23 A. [11:36:50] We went to the Golf to discuss our campaign strategies, but I
24 would like to point out that the Golf Hotel was chosen to be able to centralise
25 the results, especially for the second round. But for the first round, I think all

1 of us were in the field.

2 Q. [11:37:09] Apart from this campaign team that you have just talked
3 about, who else was at the Golf?

4 A. [11:37:23] The usual customers of the Golf Hotel.

5 Q. [11:37:26] Tourists?

6 A. [11:37:27] Certainly.

7 Q. [11:37:31] Did they have uniforms?

8 A. [11:37:33] No.

9 Q. [11:37:34] Did you see any soldiers?

10 A. [11:37:37] No.

11 Q. [11:37:39] Military commanders?

12 A. [11:37:43] No.

13 Q. [11:37:45] ONUCI representatives?

14 A. [11:37:47] No.

15 Q. [11:37:49] French officers?

16 A. [11:37:51] No.

17 Q. [11:37:54] French bodyguards?

18 A. [11:37:55] No.

19 Q. [11:37:57] French advisors?

20 A. [11:37:59] What do you mean by "French advisors"?

21 Q. [11:38:05] That is a good question. It is a good thing you asked me.

22 This is a person who is sent on mission to represent French authorities, and
23 his mandate is to provide advice on several aspects, maybe military, political,
24 media advice.

25 [11:38:34] So did you see any such person around Alassane Ouattara?

1 A. [11:38:39] Let me ask for clarification. Now, if you see someone who
2 stops by or who is stopped, is it possible for you to identify his or her
3 profession?

4 Q. [11:38:57] Mr N'Guessan, let me rephrase my question so that we
5 should understand each other correctly. You said that you took part in
6 several meetings before the second round; is that correct?

7 A. [11:39:07] Yes.

8 Q. [11:39:10] And those several meetings were to discuss strategies, the
9 organisation and the implementation of the parties' strategies; correct?

10 A. [11:39:26] For the campaign?

11 Q. [11:39:29] Yes, for the campaign. That is what you said; is that
12 correct?

13 A. [11:39:32] Yes.

14 Q. [11:39:35] Now, let us go one step at a time. Now, did Alassane
15 Ouattara take part in those meetings or at least some of them?

16 A. [11:39:47] Generally speaking, with President Alassane Ouattara, we
17 would sit and draw up or put down our ideas, and then he would come and
18 we will make decisions. But he did not attend those meetings all the time.

19 Q. [11:40:11] So he came to take part in the meetings, sometimes at the
20 end of the meetings; is that correct?

21 A. [11:40:17] Yes, of course. He was the candidate. So he was
22 monitoring the situation.

23 Q. [11:40:23] On those occasions, did you see any French nationals around
24 him?

25 A. [11:40:29] No.

1 Q. [11:40:34] On those occasions and others when you saw him, was he
2 with French bodyguards?

3 A. [11:40:44] I never saw him with French bodyguards. He was always
4 with Ivorian bodyguards. And that is normal. He was a former prime
5 minister and provided -- security had to be provided for him. And after
6 Marcoussis, the political leaders who had taken part in the negotiations were
7 entitled to bodyguards, and these were mainly Ivorian.

8 Q. [11:41:16] Very well. Your answer was quite clear. We will move on
9 to something else.

10 The march of 2004, you talked about that yesterday at length. Now, my first
11 question to you, where were you on the days before the march?

12 A. [11:41:44] I was at home.

13 Q. [11:41:49] In Abidjan; is that correct?

14 A. [11:41:54] Yes.

15 Q. [11:41:55] Which neighbourhood?

16 A. [11:41:59] Riviera III.

17 Q. [11:42:02] And those of us who do not know, which commune is that
18 in?

19 A. [11:42:08] Maybe we should have a map here so as to show you,
20 because there are at a minimum 10 neighbourhoods in Abidjan and several
21 sub-neighbourhoods, because we will never end if we continue this way.
22 Because Ivorians know what is Riviera III, Riviera I, II, III and Riviera les
23 Rosiers. All of this is in Cocody. And then you have Plateau. Cocody is
24 made up of several neighbourhoods. So each time we have to mention
25 something, we have to tell you it was here, or here. Maybe you should have

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1 done some research on the geography of Abidjan. You would have spared
2 us quite a good number of questions.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [11:43:02] This is something which came
4 up to my mind this morning when we were talking about the residence and
5 the palais, to have here a map, I think there is an agreement on a map, so that
6 we can really orient ourselves, also for the purpose of the Chamber. And I
7 was going after today's session to ask the -- Felipe to try to find a way how to
8 put a map, a screen and the map on the screen so that we can speak on the
9 basis of a map, we'd be grateful. But I take now this occasion to ask the
10 Registry to try to provide something for us to help us to understand better.
11 Okay. Thank you.

12 So please continue.

13 MR ALTIT: [11:44:02] (Interpretation) Thank you, Mr President. A map
14 would obviously be of use to us.

15 Q. [11:44:07] Now, regarding my question here, I just wanted to have an
16 idea, and you said Cocody?

17 A. [11:44:15] Riviera Cocody.

18 Q. [11:44:18] So things are clearer for us, please, we apologise, once again,
19 we do not live in Abidjan.

20 At the beginning of his questioning, the Prosecutor told you that sometimes
21 you would be asked questions that seem obvious to you, but that is not the
22 same with us.

23 A. [11:44:41] I have understood.

24 Q. [11:44:43] In any case, thank you for your patience and your
25 willingness.

1 Now, the days before that march, can we call it a demonstration? *Did the
2 parties... the G7 you mentioned earlier, were they calling people to demonstrate?

3 A. [11:45:06] We had decided to organise a march to demand the
4 implementation of all the provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis accords.

5 Q. [11:45:21] So you probably met on several occasions, that is the leaders
6 of the various parties of the G-7 and the three armed movements that you
7 talked about a short while ago, to prepare the march, as you prefer to refer to
8 it; is that correct?

9 A. [11:45:45] We met to prepare that march with the Forces Nouvelles and
10 the four legally constituted political parties.

11 Q. [11:46:02] Mr N'Guessan, I crave your indulgence. Please assist us. You
12 told us a short while ago that the G-7 was made up of four political parties
13 and three rebel movements.

14 A. [11:46:15] And they were re-baptised Forces Nouvelles during the
15 Linas-Marcoussis negotiations. And those of us, once we came back from
16 Linas-Marcoussis, we were not authorised to refer to them other than by that
17 name. So all the documents signed by Soro Guillaume, Laurent Gbagbo,
18 Henri Konan Bédié, Ouattara, all those documents referred to them as the
19 Forces Nouvelles.

20 Q. [11:46:52] Very well. If I understand you correctly, you are telling us
21 that these three former rebel movements, which were armed, actually merged
22 and made up the Forces Nouvelles?

23 A. [11:47:14] They did not make up the Forces Nouvelles. The name
24 Forces Nouvelles was suggested by President Henri Konan Bédié, president
25 of the PDCI. During the Linas-Marcoussis negotiations and while we were

1 in the room, in order to avoid the pejorative connotation in the word "rebel,"
2 since these were political movements, those two -- those three henceforth
3 should be referred to as Forces Nouvelles. So and that is what we abided by.
4 All the agreements that were signed thereafter, *Accra II, Accra III, Pretoria,
5 Ouaga I, II, it was the Forces Nouvelles, President Laurent Gbagbo, Soro
6 Guillaume, who was in charge of the Forces Nouvelles, the RDR, that was
7 represented by Mr Alassane Ouattara, everybody referred to them as
8 Forces Nouvelles. So in our desire to find a solution to the crisis, some of the
9 pejorative expressions were prohibited because we had agreed on something
10 so it was not a good thing to go to a meeting and then talk about rebels,
11 rebels, rebels. That was not good for social integration. So these were
12 Ivorians who had joined political movements, so they were known as Forces
13 Nouvelles. *You will therefore understand why I do not like you to use the
14 expression 'rebels' too often.

15 Q. [11:49:04] Once again, Mr N'Guessan, your political commitment is
16 quite respectable, and we are not intending to call that into question here.
17 But my question was simpler. So you can say the Forces Nouvelles were the
18 three armed movements that you yourself said were at the origin of the
19 rebellion at the beginning; is that correct?

20 A. [11:49:34] Yes, that is correct.

21 Q. [11:49:35] Very well. Now, regarding this march, I can't remember
22 your precise answer, but you said there were -- there was a meeting with all
23 the movements of the G-7, including the Forces Nouvelles; is that correct?

24 A. [11:50:02] Yes.

25 Q. [11:50:04] The Forces Nouvelles and then the four political parties,

1 including yours; so there was a preparatory meeting?

2 A. [11:50:15] Obviously, you organise a march by beginning with a
3 concept. How do you come up with an itinerary? So you need to meet.
4 Where will the militants gather? How do you ensure that there is no
5 infiltration? All those issues have to be discussed, and that is what we did.

6 Q. [11:50:40] As part of the preparation, I suppose that you discussed an
7 application for the authorisation to march. In Côte d'Ivoire, when a trade
8 union or a party has to do such thing, they have to submit an application at
9 the préfecture; is that correct?

10 A. [11:51:03] Yes, that is correct. That is what happens in Côte d'Ivoire.
11 Let me point out that we submitted that request, but President Laurent
12 Gbagbo had already requisitioned the army to prevent any such activities.
13 The Plateau area had immediately been declared a red zone.

14 Q. [11:51:34] Let us proceed one step at a time. There was an application
15 and an answer from the préfecture?

16 A. [11:51:39] No, no answer from the préfecture, but there was a
17 requisition of the army at the behest of President Gbagbo.

18 Q. [11:51:50] Please simply answer my questions and we will try to
19 understand each other. There was no answer from the préfecture, but there
20 was a reaction from the competent authorities, the préfecture and the
21 Ministry of the Interior. Who was the minister of the interior at that time?

22 A. [11:52:14] Let me be clear. When the president of the republic,
23 commander-in-chief of the armed forces requisitions the army to intervene in
24 an area, it is no longer important who is the prefect or the minister. There is
25 a high-level decision already to prohibit that march.

1 Q. [11:52:41] Mr N'Guessan, I'm asking a simple question. You are
2 giving us your opinion, which is respectable, but my question was not that.
3 What was the minister -- or who was the minister of interior at the time?

4 A. [11:52:56] I do not remember his name.

5 Q. [11:52:59] Who was the prime minister?

6 A. [11:53:03] Seydou Elimane Diarra.

7 Q. [11:53:11] On the day of the march, you say the march was prohibited
8 and I fully understood that. And it is for the transcript, for the record, so
9 please, if necessary, say yes or no, because when you just nod it is not on the
10 record.

11 A. [11:53:37] I thought you were continuing with your question. I am
12 listening.

13 Q. [11:53:43] Let me put that question again. On the day of the march,
14 you told us it was prohibited; is that correct?

15 A. [11:53:52] We were prohibited from gaining access to the Plateau, so
16 our intention was to march from different neighbourhoods and converge at
17 the centre. So there was a red zone declared so as to prevent us from going
18 to the Plateau. I did not say that the march was prohibited.

19 Q. [11:54:17] Was it authorised?

20 A. [11:54:18] I did not tell you either that it was authorised.

21 Q. [11:54:23] So let us proceed this way and you will tell us whether you
22 agree. Despite the failure to authorise the march, despite the fact that this
23 march was organised not only by the legal political parties but also by armed
24 movements, and so this could possibly lead to some concerns, you in the G-7
25 nevertheless decided to maintain the march. So who decided to maintain the

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1 march?

2 A. [11:55:08] It was the directorate of the G-7.

3 Q. [11:55:11] And who is the directorate of the G-7?

4 A. [11:55:16] The directorate of the G-7 includes mainly the main leaders
5 of the G-7 or their representatives during the various meetings that we held.
6 Personally I represented the MFA in the G-7 and so we were the ones who
7 decided that the march should go ahead.

8 Q. [11:55:47] Very well. And amongst those who took the decision, or
9 their representatives, there were the three armed movements who had
10 merged or not merged and become the Forces Nouvelles; is that correct?

11 A. [11:56:01] Yes. The Forces Nouvelles took part in the decision-making
12 for the organisation of that march.

13 Q. [11:56:10] So if I understand you correctly, armed movements
14 overlooked or did not comply with the failure to have an authorisation, and
15 then you -- and you feel that this is normal?

16 A. [11:56:35] I do not understand when you are telling me that it is
17 normal.

18 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [11:56:44] Your Honours, I hesitate --

19 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [11:56:46] Yes, yes, yes.

20 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [11:56:47] I hesitated to raise, but at this point I think
21 we're getting into an argument with the witness and asking him for his
22 opinion as to whether it was normal. I think we should stick to facts as
23 you've told us before.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [11:56:58] Yes. If you wouldn't have
25 risen, I would have said something because what he thinks and feels, the

1 matter of what he knows. Thank you.

2 MR ALTIT: [11:57:23] (Interpretation)

3 Q. [11:57:32] And so let us come back to what we were talking about.

4 Did the march actually begin at all? Yesterday you said it did not take place.

5 But did it at least begin?

6 A. [11:57:45] Before answering your question, I would like to add that the

7 Forces Nouvelles in Abidjan were not armed. They were barracked in the

8 area under their control. Their weapons were there because I thought you

9 were making certain insinuations.

10 But when Soro Guillaume came to Abidjan for cabinet meetings with

11 President Gbagbo, he did not come with weapons. They had about seven

12 ministers in the unitary government, and those seven ministers did not come

13 to the palace with their weapons. And yet amongst them, there were

14 commanders. So they attended as normal individuals. So do not tell me

15 that there might have been a meeting with armed people to organise a

16 march. That was a clarification.

17 Now, coming back to your question, yes, the march was supposed to leave

18 from certain assembly points and then the marchers would try to converge at

19 the Plateau. But these people did not even complete or gather sufficiently.

20 When the combat helicopters started shelling them, at 6 and 7 o'clock, the

21 shelling had already begun. So I believe the various reports that you must

22 have in your possession confirm that.

23 Q. [11:59:32] Where were you supposed to converge? Please wait

24 because I did not complete my question. I understand that you said the

25 Plateau. Where specifically at the Plateau?

1 Let us observe the pause. I think you can answer.

2 A. [11:59:53] The place de la République is one of the best known places in
3 the Plateau in Abidjan. So all political movements or parties, when they
4 want to show that they can organise something significant, they go to the
5 place de la République. This is where we wanted to go. But I remind you
6 once again that there was a requisition of the forces in order to prevent access
7 to the Plateau. So that objection cannot be attained.

8 Q. [12:00:37] I'll just pause for a moment.

9 And on that day, you yourself, where were you?

10 A. [12:00:48] I was not at home.

11 Q. [12:00:57] That's where you weren't. Where were you?

12 A. [12:00:59] I was in Abidjan.

13 Q. [12:01:00] I'm very glad to hear that. But where in Abidjan?

14 A. [12:01:06] I repeat, I was in Abidjan. Are we going to go back to, once
15 again, a discussion of the various neighbourhoods? I think I've been quite
16 specific.

17 Q. [12:01:22] Well, you should not put words into the mouths of the
18 Judges or counsel. And my question is simple: Where were you? And I
19 remind you, you swore an oath to tell the truth. So allow me to rephrase my
20 question. Where were you in Abidjan that day?

21 A. [12:01:43] I was in la Riviera.

22 Q. [12:01:51] With other people from the G-7?

23 A. [12:01:57] No.

24 Q. [12:02:00] You told us that some helicopters had fired upon
25 demonstrators.

1 A. [12:02:07] Yes.

2 Q. [12:02:07] Did you see that?

3 A. [12:02:08] We didn't see that, but we knew about it because we had
4 organised ourselves collectively, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, and we
5 had reports coming to us over the telephone. It was our best way of
6 speaking to one another, and you cannot cast that into question because I
7 believe other reports have confirmed that.

8 Q. [12:02:34] So you didn't see them?

9 A. [12:02:37] I'm telling you I was in Abidjan and I received calls. We all
10 received calls to the effect that the helicopters had fired upon people in
11 *Anyama and Abobo, and the reports say the same thing. The UN reports
12 tell the same story about what happened that day. And there were
13 something more than 120 deaths. And we close -- who were closer to the
14 actual situation, we counted about 350 deaths in areas well known within
15 Abidjan.

16 Q. [12:03:18] I'll move on to something else now.

17 Yesterday you mentioned a massacre *in Djuékoué; do you remember that?

18 A. [12:03:33] I had said that I had received information subsequent to
19 some reports. All the massacres that I can speak to with certainty, well,
20 basically the Daloa massacre that was under the control of Mr Gbagbo and
21 the one that occurred in Bouaké, the gendarmes, because I had the extensive
22 list of people who had been murdered. I had that list right under my very
23 own eyes.

24 As for the rest, I have knowledge of them via reports. But don't ask me,
25 particularly since the reports did not give details regarding the people who

1 had been murdered.

2 Q. [12:04:20] Well, my question was going to be this: Was that the first
3 massacre in Duékoué.

4 A. [12:04:31] You must realise that Duékoué is a sensitive area. It is a
5 place of long-standing culture and agriculture, and thus there have been
6 many conflicts over the years. Perhaps 10 people, 20 people, 30 people
7 would be killed. But all of that accelerated after the events of 2002. So I
8 don't think we can talk about the first time because in the past, even before
9 the arrival of President Gbagbo, there already were conflicts in that area that
10 sometimes claimed dozens of lives.

11 Q. [12:05:26] And were there massacres there after the one you just
12 mentioned?

13 A. [12:05:29] I have no recollection.

14 Q. [12:05:36] I'm somewhat doubtful, and there have been many reports
15 about the massacres in Duékoué particularly the ones in *2010-2011, and yet
16 you say that you have no recollection. Now, could I ask you this: Now,
17 after your time as minister, did you lose interest in human rights?

18 A. [12:06:25] I continue to take interest in human rights issues because this
19 is something that is very important to me, myself personally. I have always
20 defended human rights. So no, I did not lose interest, but I may not have
21 received certain reports.

22 Q. [12:06:49] Well, how should I put it? You never had any knowledge of
23 massacres in the plural and one massacre in particular in Duékoué during the
24 post-electoral crisis that was dealt with in a large number of international
25 reports?

1 A. [12:07:13] I heard mention made of such reports, but I did not receive
2 them myself. I did not actually lay eyes on any such reports.

3 Q. [12:07:30] And in the newspapers, no mention of these things?

4 A. [12:07:32] I said in our part of the world -- well, it's not that I doubt
5 what the newspapers say, but honestly, a politician who bases himself on
6 newspapers, well, that is -- that's just not possible.

7 Q. [12:07:45] Very well. We'll move on to something else. We'll move
8 on to Marcoussis, if you don't mind, because you have provided us with some
9 information, useful information yesterday, and I'd like to ask you some
10 questions just to clear a few things up.

11 You went to the Marcoussis meetings, and you say that you took part in the
12 conference, and you told us this was as part of your political involvement,
13 but exactly what role were you playing when you went there?

14 A. [12:08:25] I was there as a friend of Anaky Kobéna and I will be specific
15 about the context. When you see there was the choice to be made about who
16 was to go with the various criteria for selection, Anaky, who is my friend, and
17 he's been my friend for a very long time, said to me, "Joël, could you come to
18 France with me? I'm going off to the Linas-Marcoussis conference." And I
19 thought that would be an excellent opportunity for me to see my family in
20 Paris. So my idea was that I would be there in Paris mainly in the Colombes
21 neighbourhood and to provide some information to him by fax because he
22 would be in the actual meeting room.

23 So I got there the day after the conference began in Paris. I went to the
24 home of my younger sister, and I called him and said, "I'm in Paris." And
25 he said, "Oh, this is excellent because the choice of delegates has changed

1 and I really need someone."

2 So immediately off I went to help him, and all of a sudden I found myself
3 there in the very conference room at Linas-Marcoussis.

4 THE INTERPRETER: [12:09:55] Message from the interpreter: The person
5 mentioned was Anaky Kobéna Innocent, Anaky Kobéna Innocent.

6 MR ALTIT: [12:10:07] (Interpretation)

7 Q. Did you attend all the meetings?

8 A. [12:10:09] Yes, all the plenaries.

9 Q. [12:10:11] Very well. Now, you mentioned the plenaries yesterday,
10 but could you be more specific? Exactly who was there? Which parties,
11 which representatives?

12 A. [12:10:23] Well, of course, it was a round table. And opposite, we had
13 Pierre Mazeaud along with his main allies, as well there were observers,
14 Mr Seydou Elimane Diarra. And around the table, we had two
15 representatives per political party or per movement. And behind the two
16 representatives, the FPI, in addition to their two people, they were entitled to
17 five other people. The RDR, in addition to their two people, were entitled to
18 five others. The same held true for the PDCI and the UDPCI. The MFA, the
19 UDC, the PIT; they were smaller political parties. They were entitled just to
20 their two delegates around the table.

21 The movements which sparked the rebellion also had two representatives at
22 the table. And behind they had five other representatives.

23 So that is the configuration of the conference at Linas-Marcoussis. That's
24 how the room was -- or that's how it was laid out, so to speak.

25 Q. [12:12:09] Exactly. That was what I wanted to know, who was taking

1 part in the meeting.

2 Now, just to make sure we've understood one another, so at the same table
3 we had people from the parties and from the movements. And you yourself
4 said the movements that began the rebellion?

5 A. [12:12:29] Yes.

6 Q. [12:12:30] Fine. Who invited all these people?

7 A. [12:12:35] I said earlier that, first of all, it was at the invitation of
8 France. And the report that came out of the meeting says so in the title.
9 Secondly, the criteria were set by Mr Laurent Gbagbo, the various criteria for
10 participation. First of all, political parties having at least one person at the
11 national assembly. During that period of time the RDR did not have anyone
12 at the national assembly, so it was decided -- or it was said, rather, a political
13 party having one commune was a criteria.

14 So once that criteria was met, there was a process for deciding how many
15 and so on and so forth. But I was not privy to those decisions.

16 Q. [12:13:26] Very well. Who paid for the travel of all the people from
17 these movements and parties?

18 A. [12:13:39] I couldn't tell you because what I know is that, well, we were
19 just asked to go and get our tickets. And myself, my name was not on the
20 list of people who got tickets. I paid the ticket out of my own pocket. Later,
21 coming back, I made a claim in Abidjan so that my ticket would be covered.
22 But since I made the claim at the French embassy, I can imagine thus that it
23 must have been France who paid for all the airline tickets.

24 Q. [12:14:15] And ultimately the French embassy covered your airline
25 ticket?

1 A. [12:14:27] Yes, indeed.

2 Q. [12:14:28] Very well. You mentioned Mr Diarra who was there.

3 What was his role?

4 A. [12:14:39] Well, that's a tough one, but I can tell you Mr Seydou Diarra
5 had just been leading the forum for national reconciliation.

6 Q. [12:14:52] Very well.

7 A. [12:14:55] And he had full mastery and understanding of all the causes
8 of the crisis. The proof was that when we were in the meeting room at
9 Linas-Marcoussis, there was a report that was distributed, a number of
10 resolutions that had been adopted at the forum, and that was to help
11 delegates understand. But his specific role, only the French who invited us
12 could tell you who -- or, rather, what role his was.

13 Mr Kéba Mbaye was also there, Mbaye; he was a Senegalese lawyer.

14 Mr Cheikh Tidiane Gadio, who was minister of foreign affairs of Senegal and
15 representatives of other countries.

16 One thing that's for sure is that it's only the people who invited us all who
17 would be able to say what our roles or positions were.

18 Q. [12:15:57] Very well. So he was not representing a political party?

19 A. [12:16:15] No.

20 Q. [12:16:15] Very well. Very well. Fine. Now, could you tell us, I
21 think you touched upon this yesterday, but if you could perhaps summarise a
22 bit, what came out of the Marcoussis conference? What were the major
23 decisions taken? I think there were two or three major decisions. Could
24 you tell us basically what was decided there?

25 A. [12:16:41] The first major decision was that a government of national

1 unity needed to be formed subsequent to the conference.

2 Secondly, the necessary conditions had to be created that would allow for
3 free, transparent and -- elections.

4 Third, the issue of nationality had to be issued.

5 Fifthly, land title issues needed to be dealt with, which were at the
6 foundation of the various inter-ethnic problems.

7 The next decision was that the press needed to be free and needed to make a
8 contribution to democracy.

9 Thus, a whole package of measures were agreed upon and are to be found in
10 the annex to the final report of Linas-Marcoussis appended to the very
11 agreement.

12 Q. [12:17:46] Very well. Very well. We're clear on that. That is quite
13 clear.

14 So I will repeat what you've just said. First of all, a government of national
15 unity. In practical terms, what did that mean? Did you agree to a
16 particular prime minister, a name?

17 A. [12:18:10] We did not discuss those issues in Marcoussis.

18 Q. [12:18:13] Very well. Secondly, the collection -- correction, the
19 conditions allowing for free elections, what were they?

20 A. [12:18:27] One, first of all, all those of voting age should be allowed to
21 vote; secondly, all those who were eligible not be excluded; and, thirdly, that
22 a proper structure be set up to organise the election.

23 Yesterday I said those were the three prerequisites when you want to have
24 transparent and fair elections thus supporting disarmament -- correction,
25 supporting democracy.

1 Q. [12:19:05] What about disarmament?

2 A. [12:19:07] In the report coming out of the Marcoussis conference?

3 Actually, it was said that, yes, there should be disarmament and a republican
4 army should be established, and that was later confirmed at the Ouaga I and
5 Ouaga II meetings in those two agreements.

6 Q. [12:19:28] You said the third condition was the nationality issue being
7 cleared up. What does that mean exactly?

8 A. [12:19:35] I told you that, first of all, there was a problem having to do
9 with the names. On the first day, I said there had been quite a debate.
10 Someone called Diarra from Côte d'Ivoire was apparently, such a person
11 would be --

12 Q. [12:20:05] I'm sorry, I'll have to interrupt you. You explained that very
13 clearly. And, once again, your testimony has been transcribed. It's all fine.
14 You've told us all about the issue of Ivoirité. I'm asking you about
15 Marcoussis and what came out of that.

16 Now, you said that the issue of nationality had to be cleared out. What
17 came out of the conference?

18 A. [12:20:33] Well, it was decided that all people from Côte d'Ivoire
19 needed to have their proper birth certificates.

20 Q. [12:20:51] Okay. So at Marcoussis, there was a major and
21 comprehensive discussion over several days of the issues; is that right?

22 A. [12:20:58] Yes.

23 Q. [12:20:58] And a number of recommendations came out?

24 A. [12:21:02] Yes.

25 Q. [12:21:03] And then everyone went to Kléber where the heads of state

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1 had arrived; is that right?

2 A. [12:21:12] Yes.

3 Q. [12:21:15] Did you attend the Kléber meetings?

4 A. [12:21:18] No.

5 Q. [12:21:20] No? So you don't know what happened there? You did
6 not see what happened?

7 A. [12:21:26] Not only did I not see, but also what came out as a document
8 from that meeting, I never received that document.

9 Q. [12:21:43] Very well. And the role of Dominique de Villepin, what
10 was his role during these discussions?

11 A. [12:21:55] Dominique de Villepin was in Kléber, but he was not at
12 Marcoussis.

13 Q. [12:22:00] Very well. Duly noted. Let me rephrase. Do you know
14 what role he played during the discussions? And I'll be more general in my
15 question. Between the people of Côte d'Ivoire during that event.

16 A. [12:22:20] I've told you that Dominique de Villepin was not in the room
17 during Marcoussis, if I remember correctly. The Linas-Marcoussis
18 conference began in Kléber and Dominique de Villepin was present. Then
19 after that when the work ended in Kléber, he was there. But since I was not
20 there at Kléber, it is difficult for me to tell you what role he may have played.

21 Q. [12:22:48] Very well. I'll move on to something else now.

22 You said on the first day of your testimony, and correct me if I am wrong,
23 I'm not going to quote you directly, but I will say what you said. You said
24 that when the rebellion began, French nationals moved towards the south.

25 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:23:28] (Interpretation) Page reference?

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1 MR ALTIT: [12:23:30] (Interpretation) I will give you that right away.

2 Page 43.

3 Q. [12:23:45] Correct me if I am wrong, I am speaking from memory.

4 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:23:50] (Interpretation) Yesterday's transcript?

5 MR ALTIT: [12:23:53] (Interpretation) No. The transcript is from Monday.

6 And I will wait, your Honour, until my learned friend opposite has found the
7 specific page so that we're all on the same wavelength. Do you have the
8 page?

9 Q. [12:24:14] You said two days ago that the rebellion had begun and
10 French nationals emigrated towards the south. Do you remember saying
11 that?

12 A. [12:24:22] Yes.

13 Q. [12:24:23] Can you tell us why they moved south?

14 A. [12:24:29] I really couldn't tell you, but I do know that the French
15 military base in Côte d'Ivoire is in Abidjan. And, you see, the security
16 apparatus or the security provisions of France stipulate that in the case of an
17 emergency, everyone should go to a safe place like that one. *But it wasn't
18 only the French who went down to Abidjan. Many people from the centre
19 fled the area that was under the control of the various movements who had
20 begun the rebellion.

21 Q. [12:25:14] Very well. We'll move on to something else if you don't
22 mind.

23 [12:25:26] Yesterday you told us about the creation of the RHDP; do you
24 remember?

25 A. [12:25:33] Yes.

1 Q. [12:25:33] And you explained to us that representatives of various
2 parties and movements had met in Paris to bring about the creation of this
3 new entity RHDP, and that was in 2005?

4 A. [12:25:46] Yes.

5 Q. [12:25:47] Do you remember when it was in 2005?

6 A. [12:25:52] Certainly 25 March 2005.

7 Q. [12:26:04] Very well. Very well. Could you tell us very quickly, as
8 you did when you were talking about the representatives of the various
9 parties at Marcoussis, could you tell us who was present during the
10 discussions?

11 A. [12:26:23] First of all, the creation of the RHDP, well, it was created in
12 two stages. First of all, a drafting committee was struck, and I was a member
13 of that committee to draft the initial provisions. Once that drafting
14 committee had finished, we submitted our work to the president, President
15 Bédié, for his assessment, as well as President Anaky, President Mabri.
16 And once the provisions had been approved, we went to Paris to sign the
17 agreement with the main staff or main people of each party.

18 Q. [12:27:22] How many people were there? How many people?

19 A. [12:27:26] One of the rules of the RHDP is that each political party was
20 supposed to come with a delegation of five people. But during the signing,
21 there were many people because all our supporters and activists in France
22 and other places in Europe went to Paris.

23 Q. [12:27:49] My question was more specific. How many people
24 travelled, in general terms? You said it was five per party within the
25 movement, what would the total have been?

- 1 A. [12:28:09] Well, if --
- 2 Q. [12:28:10] No, no, just the people who travelled.
- 3 A. [12:28:13] Those who travelled to Paris, I said five per political party
- 4 and four, four times five, I think you can figure that out for yourself.
- 5 Q. [12:28:24] So about 20?
- 6 A. [12:28:26] Yes.
- 7 Q. [12:28:26] Very well. And who sent out the invitations?
- 8 A. [12:28:33] The leadership of the RHDP sent out the invitations, we did.
- 9 Q. [12:28:38] Very well. And who paid the travel costs?
- 10 A. [12:28:41] We ourselves paid for our travel.
- 11 Q. [12:28:46] And who took care of logistics?
- 12 A. [12:28:51] I beg your pardon?
- 13 Q. [12:28:52] Who took care of logistics?
- 14 A. [12:28:54] In Paris, we had the representatives of the various parties
- 15 who reserved the room and handled logistics.
- 16 Q. [12:29:01] Very well. And where was the meeting room?
- 17 A. [12:29:04] In Kléber, Avenue Kléber to be specific -- no.
- 18 Q. [12:29:18] What do you mean, "no"?
- 19 A. [12:29:20] No, no, no, not the meme Kléber that was used for the
- 20 meeting of the Marcoussis. Let me be -- it was Avenue Kléber in Paris.
- 21 Q. [12:29:33] Duly noted. But that's quite a long avenue. Where?
- 22 A. [12:29:38] Well, I'm not familiar with Paris so I really couldn't tell you.
- 23 Q. [12:29:44] Fine. Thus, just so that we can understand, you were
- 24 representing a lawfully constituted party, and other representatives of legal
- 25 parties were there?

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- 1 A. [12:30:06] Yes.
- 2 Q. [12:30:08] But there were also people representing armed --
- 3 A. [12:30:12] No.
- 4 Q. [12:30:12] I'm not going to call them rebels.
- 5 A. [12:30:14] No. Are you talking about the RHDP or another --
- 6 THE INTERPRETER: [12:30:22] Overlapping speakers. One at a time, please.
- 7 THE WITNESS: [12:30:28] (Interpretation) The movement that might have
- 8 later been referred to as the Forces Nouvelles did not take part in the creation
- 9 of the RHDP.
- 10 MR ALTIT: [12:30:37] (Interpretation)
- 11 Q. [12:30:37] Very well. So there was only --
- 12 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:30:40] Can you speak -- I must say
- 13 slow you down, please. Okay? Thank you.
- 14 MR ALTIT: [12:30:46] (Interpretation) Yes, your Honour.
- 15 Q. [12:30:51] So if I understand correctly, there were only representatives
- 16 of legally constituted parties?
- 17 A. [12:30:59] Yes, that's correct.
- 18 Q. [12:31:00] And what about the Forces Nouvelles, who -- or, rather, how
- 19 did they take the setting up of the RHDP?
- 20 A. [12:31:15] I'm afraid I can't answer that question because I didn't
- 21 consult them. I don't know what their thoughts or feelings were.
- 22 Q. [12:31:22] You see, this is where I have trouble understanding. Maybe
- 23 I should rephrase my question. You are a political leader. You talk to
- 24 people. You discuss with a number of different people and different political
- 25 parties in various social movements. You explained earlier that the Forces

1 Nouvelles had set up a fairly strong movement in particular after the
2 Marcoussis negotiations, if I've understood correctly?

3 A. [12:31:59] Yes.

4 Q. [12:32:00] You are part of a movement that brings together several
5 parties, and you say you have no idea how the setting up of this movement
6 was taken by the other bodies in the political structure.

7 A. [12:32:20] Well, when you ask me questions about facts, that's one
8 thing. It's completely different thing to talk about emotions. You refer to
9 the setting up of the RHDP, and I emphasise that the RHDP was set up
10 without the Forces Nouvelles.

11 And you asked me what was their feeling. Well, their feelings were their
12 feelings. How do you expect me to talk about something that isn't even a
13 fact? What, what are the facts here?

14 Q. [12:32:55] Well, Mr N'Guessan, perhaps I should rephrase my question.
15 Perhaps there has been a misunderstanding. I'm not asking you what their
16 feelings were, but did they have a reaction?

17 A. [12:33:07] I have no idea.

18 Q. [12:33:09] Fine. Okay. Let's go on to something different. So -- and
19 don't forget, if you are feeling tired, please feel free to let us know.

20 A. [12:33:56] I'm fine. Thank you.

21 Q. [12:33:57] Okay. Yesterday you told us on page 55 of the transcript,
22 line 6, and I'm quoting: "However, in the camp of the presidential majority
23 at the time, there was a slogan," and you quote and it's in quotes, "we win or
24 we win," end of quote. And then you continue saying what that meant:

25 "Well, it meant what it meant. So regardless of what was to occur, we were

1 going to win," end of quote.

2 My question, Mr N'Guessan, is as follows, in fact, I have two or three
3 questions. Do you know what this expression -- whether or not this
4 expression was used in other contexts, that is "we win or we win," that is
5 other than during the 2010 electoral campaign?

6 A. [12:35:23] I don't remember having heard that expression in other
7 circumstances.

8 Q. [12:35:27] What about at a sporting event?

9 A. [12:35:34] No.

10 Q. [12:35:37] You're saying, if I've understood correctly, that that was the
11 official slogan of the Gbagbo campaign?

12 A. [12:35:48] No, I never said it was the official slogan. It was something
13 we heard. It was a slogan we heard from the Gbagbo side. There were even
14 songs that were produced where they were talking about, where they were
15 talking about corn.

16 Q. It was a slogan or it wasn't a slogan?

17 A. [12:36:20] Yes.

18 Q. [12:36:21] In other words, it was used in official ceremonies?

19 A. [12:36:26] Well, I'm not a member of the FPI. They had their slogans.
20 We heard them. It's not up to me to tell you when they were invented.

21 Q. [12:36:36] Okay. I'd like to show you a video. And perhaps I can
22 take control of the computer. And we're talking here about document
23 CIV-D15-0004-1499. But there is no time code.

24 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:37:20] What number is it on your list, please.

25 MR ALTIT: [12:37:22] (Interpretation) It's number 210.

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1 (Viewing of the video excerpt)

2 MR ALTIT: [12:39:52] (Interpretation)

3 Q. [12:40:03] Are you familiar with that song?

4 A. [12:40:07] I've heard it.

5 Q. [12:40:09] Do you know the singer?

6 A. [12:40:12] Antoinette Allany. And she's not part of the RDR. She's a
7 singer.

8 Q. [12:40:18] So you're familiar with the song. You've heard it often.

9 You know the singer. What is she saying?

10 A. [12:40:33] At one point she says, "we win, we win." But this was a
11 cultural programme. It was called Tempo. It wasn't a political programme.

12 Q. [12:40:50] And where was this broadcast?

13 A. [12:40:51] It was broadcast on the Côte d'Ivoire television network.

14 Q. [12:40:55] What do you mean by that?

15 A. [12:41:03] It was a TV programme on the TV and everyone watched it;
16 in other words, anyone who watched TV would see it. But in this context it
17 was simply a cultural programme. It wasn't political as such.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:41:18] Mr Prosecutor.

19 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:41:23] Your Honours, I think that considering the
20 questions that led to showing this video, it would be useful to ascertain from
21 the witness when this video was aired, because we have a date on the list
22 which precedes the election, so I'm not sure where the connection is. If the
23 witness remembers when he had seen it and how is it connected at all?

24 Because right now we're in an air of confusion.

25 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:41:49] Yes, but I think the Defence is

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1 going towards there.

2 Please go ahead.

3 MR ALTIT: [12:41:58] (Interpretation) Thank you, your Honour. Yes,
4 slowly but surely I'm going in that direction.

5 Q. [12:42:05] Mr N'Guessan, you did answer earlier, unless I'm mistaken,
6 that the slogan that we've just referred to had never been used in any other
7 context other than in politics by the partisans of -- by the supporters of
8 President Gbagbo?

9 A. [12:42:34] That's correct. Because I don't consider when an artist says
10 something that it's a political statement. And here, I'm not here to talk about
11 artists or to talk about culture. We're talking here about a serious situation
12 that my country went through with political slogans that created problems.
13 I don't know whether there is a relationship between the two. I have no
14 idea when this song was written. I didn't participate in it. I'm familiar
15 with the artist and we heard it.

16 Q. [12:43:11] Fine. I'd like to show you another video, and the number is
17 as follows, CIV-D15-0004-1199, and the time code is 8.42 to 14.13. And it is
18 number 183 on our list.

19 (Viewing of the video excerpt)

20 MR ALTIT: [12:47:27] (Interpretation)

21 Q. [12:47:29] Mr N'Guessan.

22 A. [12:47:31] Yes, sir.

23 Q. [12:47:32] Did you recognize the song?

24 A. [12:47:34] Yes, I recognized it.

25 Q. [12:47:36] Is it the same song?

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1 A. [12:47:39] Yes, it's the same song.

2 Q. [12:47:41] Did you recognize the singer?

3 A. [12:47:43] Yes, I recognize her. Antoinette Allany.

4 Q. [12:47:45] In the picture that you see in front of you, who is the singer
5 dancing with, that is who is Antoinette Allany singing with, do you recognize
6 the women?

7 A. [12:48:06] Yes, I recognize all of them because I was there during that
8 ceremony. Yes, it's Madam Dominique Ouattara, the first lady of Côte
9 d'Ivoire.

10 Q. [12:48:19] Okay. And you were there?

11 A. [12:48:27] Yes, I was there. But what you don't realise perhaps, you
12 haven't shown, that at the very beginning it said "State visit of President
13 Alassane Ouattara." It didn't say electoral campaign.

14 Q. [12:48:45] Mr N'Guessan, please just answer my questions. I'm asking
15 very simple and clear questions. It's very easy to answer. Don't, let's not go
16 astray.

17 A. [12:48:59] Yes.

18 Q. [12:49:00] Just don't tell me what you regret. Just answer my question.

19 A. [12:49:07] (Overlapping speakers)

20 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:49:11] Excuse me, excuse me. Don't
21 overlap. So this is first, and then we pause, then we give the floor to the
22 Prosecutor, and then we continue. Please.

23 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:49:20] Your Honours, parties should not be allowed
24 to comment on the quality of the answers, and particularly not telling a
25 witness that he regrets his answers. That is inappropriate.

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1 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:49:30] Well, I agree that the answer is
2 the answer, then we will comment when it's time to comment, but this is not
3 the right time to do so. Thank you.

4 MR ALTIT: [12:49:48] (Interpretation) Your Honour, you're perfectly right.
5 The answers are the answers.

6 Q. [12:49:58] Your answers are your answers.

7 A. [12:50:01] Yes, indeed.

8 Q. [12:50:04] We agree then. Let's go on to something else. I'd like to
9 have a moment.

10 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:50:13] No, no, but the witness was interrupted, your
11 Honours. He wanted to complete his answer about the context of this video.
12 I don't see why we shouldn't hear it now.

13 MR ALTIT: [12:50:22] (Interpretation) Your Honour, if I may, I beg your
14 pardon. I'm asking the questions. The questions are the questions and the
15 witness is here to answer the questions.

16 He's not asked to answer other things than my questions simply because the
17 Prosecution would like him to do so.

18 It is possible, and given our procedure as you've defined it, your Honours,
19 enables the Prosecution to ask supplementary questions, and therefore the
20 Prosecutor will be free to do so. That's perfectly normal.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:51:03] Yes, you are perfectly right.
22 But that doesn't impede the witness to say what he wants to say, answering a
23 question. So this is -- we are not discussing now. Please go ahead with the
24 questioning.

25 MR ALTIT: [12:51:21] (Interpretation) Thank you, your Honour.

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- 1 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:51:25] Okay.
- 2 MR ALTIT: [12:51:26] (Interpretation) Your Honour, I'm going to give the
3 floor now to my colleague Mr O'Shea, who has a number of other questions to
4 put to the witness, but I am looking at the clock, and I see that it's close to
5 lunchtime, a few minutes before 1. It's up to you to decide, we could start
6 right away, but we could also break now and resume after lunch.
- 7 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:52:03] We could also break now and
8 go after lunch, of course.
- 9 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:52:10] Your Honours, just before we break.
- 10 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:52:12] Yes, please.
- 11 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:52:13] Could we just have the date of the last video
12 please, from the record.
- 13 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:52:18] The date when it was --
- 14 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:52:19] Yes.
- 15 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:52:20] I think we have it already
16 because we have seen it the second time, I think.
- 17 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [12:52:23] In the second video, we haven't received a
18 date for it.
- 19 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [12:52:26] Yes, but we have already, it's
20 already submitted to the Chamber because we have seen it already once, the
21 same video, right, so it's not the first time we hear the song. It's the fourth or
22 fifth time that we hear the song. Maybe sometimes we will sing it.
- 23 Thank you very much. And now we break and we see you at 2.30. Thank
24 you.
- 25 THE COURT USHER: [12:52:56] All rise.

- 1 (Recess taken at 12.53 p.m.)
- 2 (Upon resuming in open session at 2.33 p.m.)
- 3 THE COURT USHER: [14:33:10] All rise.
- 4 Please be seated.
- 5 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:33:25] So good afternoon. I think it's
- 6 Mr O'Shea to take the floor and I give it to him immediately.
- 7 MR O'SHEA: [14:33:46] Mr President, your Honours, thank you very much.
- 8 Interpreters, I shall go into French for one second.
- 9 QUESTIONED BY MR O'SHEA:
- 10 Q. [14:33:55] (Interpretation) Good afternoon. Sir, my name is
- 11 Andreas O'Shea, and I will also be putting questions to you on behalf of
- 12 Laurent Gbagbo. I will now go back to English.
- 13 (Speaks English) Now, before Linas-Marcoussis, there was a meeting at
- 14 Lomé, correct?
- 15 A. [14:34:44] That is correct.
- 16 Q. [14:34:46] And is it right that the president had, the president as in
- 17 Laurent Gbagbo had proposed a referendum on the constitution at Lomé?
- 18 A. [14:35:08] Given that I did not attend a Lomé meeting, I cannot give
- 19 you an answer.
- 20 Q. [14:35:23] You wrote a book which was referred to by my learned
- 21 friend for the Prosecutor, and I'm referring to CIV-OTP-0083-0332, page 35,
- 22 CIV-OTP-0083-0366. And on page 35 of your book, you say, you record the
- 23 date of 19 November 2002, and you say President Laurent Gbagbo proposed
- 24 (Interpretation) "... to organise a referendum on the constitution, one of the
- 25 demands of the rebels."

1 A. [14:36:51] I cannot tell you or give you any accurate information on
2 that issue. What I can validly talk about are the events that I attended.
3 When I wrote the book, obviously I had documents that I relied on. But I
4 was not present in Lomé because, on the one hand, you had Mr Laurent
5 Gbagbo who had dispatched Mr Dona Fologo to speak with the movements
6 who had launched the rebellion; and on the other hand, you had the rebels.
7 But the political parties were not invited.

8 MR O'SHEA: [14:37:42] Sorry, just give me one moment, please,
9 Mr President.

10 (Counsel confer)

11 MR O'SHEA: [14:38:32] Thank you.

12 Q. [14:38:36] And on the basis of what you learned at the time, is it right
13 that the government had accepted the principle of amnesties?

14 A. [14:38:58] Yes. I started by explaining to you that when the conflict
15 broke out, there were several amnesties proposed and endorsed by President
16 Gbagbo. But I would like to point out that ever since the beginning of the
17 conflict, ever since the rebellion broke out, I regularly said that amnesty laws
18 relating to sensitive issues, such as war crimes or blood crimes, such laws
19 have no value.

20 I do not remember the date on which I said that or wrote about that. Every
21 time there were amnesty laws, I protested vigorously and said that such laws
22 did not have any validity.

23 Q. [14:39:52] Is it right that at Lomé the reintegration of the rebels into the
24 army was accepted in principle by the government?

25 A. [14:40:05] I cannot tell you much about that because I was not present.

1 All the questions that were put to me relating to Marcoussis, Accra II and
2 Accra III, I gave precise answers, but given that I did not attend that specific
3 meeting, I know nothing about the spirit or the letter of it.

4 Q. [14:40:41] So if a statement is found in your book, you don't necessarily
5 know the contents of that statement; is that right?

6 A. [14:40:50] Let me explain the mechanism that I used to write those
7 books. One, I present the facts on the basis of documents and my personal
8 experiences, and then I make comments. And I can write down the facts and
9 say that I was not there, this is what happened, this is what was said, and
10 then I make comments.

11 Q. [14:41:35] When Maître Altit was putting questions to you, you
12 suggested that it was the recommendation of President Gbagbo which led to
13 the French initiative of Linas-Marcoussis. And you seem to be quite firm on
14 that.

15 A. [14:42:36] I am and I will explain to you why. Lomé failed. People
16 spent more than one month discussing, but they did not even agree on the
17 procedures to be followed. And when Lomé failed, France suggested that
18 there should be a meeting in Marcoussis. And President Gbagbo gave his
19 authorisation. He worked on the distribution criteria and even everything
20 else. It was not France who decided on the agenda or other things. It was
21 accepted by Laurent Gbagbo and his party, and they were represented in that
22 conference in Marcoussis.

23 Q. [14:43:26] Well, you see, again, in your ouvrage, you say quite clearly
24 that it was the minister of foreign affairs, Villepin, who opened to Gbagbo the
25 project of organising a round table. Nowhere do you say that it was on the

1 recommendation of Gbagbo.

2 A. [14:44:04] Let us be clear, the initiative for the Marcoussis conference
3 came from France. They are the ones who sent out the invitations. If I
4 remember correctly, President de Villepin came to Abidjan. He discussed
5 with President Gbagbo. President Gbagbo gave his agreement and it was
6 following that that we were invited.

7 Q. [14:44:29] In fact, it's only after the French government comes up with
8 this idea and puts it to Gbagbo. It's only subsequently that there is an
9 invitation by President Gbagbo for the political parties to come to the
10 presidential palace, right?

11 A. [14:45:00] That is correct. It was after the visit of Prime Minister de
12 Villepin that this meeting was convened. You are aware that the FPI would
13 never have attended such a meeting if President Gbagbo had objected.

14 Q. [14:45:31] The idea of a national government of reconciliation was not
15 new in Linas-Marcoussis, was it? This was something which was already in
16 the peace plan of President Gbagbo before?

17 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [14:46:09] I'm sorry, your Honours, which -- it's a bit
18 vague. Which peace plan of President Gbagbo before Linas-Marcoussis are
19 you referring to? Could we have a reference, please?

20 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:46:21] I think that's the question, if
21 there was a peace plan before there. Plan, meaning idea, I've interpreted it
22 like this.

23 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [14:46:30] If that's the question, then fine.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:46:32] If that's the question. Is this
25 the question, Mr O'Shea?

1 MR O'SHEA: [14:46:37] Yes.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:46:38] Okay.

3 MR O'SHEA: [14:46:39]

4 Q. [14:46:39] Yes, sir.

5 A. [14:46:45] Mr Gbagbo was the president of the Republic of Côte

6 d'Ivoire. There was an attempt to overthrow him. Initially he throughout

7 that there could be an agreement reached in Lomé. That agreement was not

8 reached. But before going to Linas-Marcoussis, he did not divulge his peace

9 plan to the people of Côte d'Ivoire.

10 Q. [14:47:42] So are you saying, are you saying that a government of

11 national reconciliation was a new concept at Linas-Marcoussis? Is that what

12 you're saying?

13 A. [14:47:54] That is not what I'm saying. I'm merely saying that we were

14 not aware of any peace plan. We knew that there was a unitary government

15 existing, including RDR ministers, but we did not have a peace plan that had

16 been submitted by him as a personal political figure.

17 Q. [14:48:30] Were you aware that President Gbagbo had accepted the

18 principle of a government of national reconciliation before Linas-Marcoussis?

19 Even if you weren't aware of a specific plan, were you aware that he had

20 accepted that as a principle?

21 A. [14:48:54] I had no idea since he did not make it public.

22 Q. [14:49:04] You see, again, this is something which you yourself have

23 said before. At page 54 of your book, you say: (Interpretation) "It

24 admitted the principle of a national reconciliation government that Gbagbo

25 himself had proposed as a part of his plan for the restoration of peace."

1 A. [14:49:51] It is possible that it is written, but I'm telling you that at the
2 national level of political leaders, we did not receive such a plan.

3 Q. [14:50:04] (Speaks English) Well, I was asking you about your
4 knowledge, sir. So do you still maintain that you yourself knew nothing
5 about that, even though it's written in your book?

6 A. [14:50:19] This book was written in 2007 based on a compilation of
7 documents, documents relating to events of which I was not a witness. Once
8 again I repeat, I can talk about events that I personally took part in.

9 Q. [14:50:54] Now, President Gbagbo did not participate in the round
10 table of Linas-Marcoussis. Why was that?

11 A. [14:51:05] That is correct. In my opinion, he allowed the political
12 parties and the movements that launched the rebellion to go and discuss, one,
13 because he was no longer the president of a political party. The president of
14 his party was Mr Affi N'Guessan. So he left the presidents of the parties and
15 movements to attend. He did not take part, but he endorsed the results.

16 Q. [14:51:53] There is a conflict between the government and rebels,
17 wasn't there?

18 A. [14:52:10] That is obvious. Otherwise there wouldn't have been a
19 rebellion.

20 Q. [14:52:14] Do you accept that political parties, any political party is not
21 the government?

22 A. [14:52:18] Can you kindly repeat, because I don't see any question in
23 that.

24 Q. [14:52:32] Do you accept that a political party and a government are
25 two different concepts, two different bodies?

1 A. [14:52:44] Please be much clearer. There are political parties who
2 aspire to govern. And when they acquire power, they govern through a
3 government and a president, but the political party remains the instrument
4 that made it possible for the president that allowed the president to come to
5 power, and it continues its activities.

6 But the RDR, for example, allowed President Ouattara to become president,
7 but they have nothing to do (Overlapping speakers).

8 Q. [14:53:25] Is it correct that the government is not a signature to the
9 round table of Linas-Marcoussis?

10 A. [14:53:35] That is correct. The Ivorian government was not a signatory
11 to the Linas-Marcoussis accord, but the president of the republic endorsed it.
12 And we remember this famous phrase, we did not win the war, it was a very
13 painful experience, and that is why I gave my approval for the agreement to
14 be implemented.

15 Q. [14:54:18] The document that comes out of the round table at
16 Linas-Marcoussis also does not have obviously the president's signature
17 either since he was not a participant, right?

18 A. [14:54:43] Yes, indeed. You will not see a President Laurent Gbagbo's
19 name amongst the signatories.

20 Q. [14:54:51] So what you have, in fact, if you can confirm this, is you have
21 the signatures of the rebel movements which were discussed this morning,
22 the MJP, the MPC I and MPIGO. You then have other political parties'
23 signatures, including the RDR, PIT, *UDCI, MPC I of Guillaume Soro.
24 And then you have the one signature of FPI, which is?

25 A. [14:55:50] The Ivorian popular front, the RPF led by

1 Mr Affi N'Guessan.

2 Q. [14:56:00] Not conduits par President Gbagbo; correct?

3 A. [14:56:09] I can't hear you.

4 Q. [14:56:13] At the time of this round table, the FPI is not led by President
5 Gbagbo?

6 A. [14:56:21] That is correct.

7 Q. [14:56:25] So President Gbagbo's first entry into this debate is at Kléber
8 in the following days; is that the position?

9 A. [14:56:54] In fact, that was the first time that he appeared during those
10 debates. But then I have to point out, were those discussions or negotiations
11 had, like those that had taken place in Linas-Marcoussis? I think it lasted
12 only two days and concluded with the prime minister, Seydou Elimane
13 Diarra, who was appointed at the Ivorian embassy in Paris. I did not attend
14 the meeting, so I cannot tell you what happened. So the political leaders
15 reached an agreement, the president endorsed it, and then he appointed a
16 prime minister.

17 And when the fighting stopped in Côte d'Ivoire, we returned to Abidjan and
18 we started working. The government was formed with a lot of difficulty
19 after the Ouaga agreement. Then the leader of the Forces Nouvelles was
20 appointed prime minister, which means that he endorsed the
21 Linas-Marcoussis agreement once he arrived Kléber.

22 Q. [14:58:22] At the end of the round-table discussions, a document had
23 been finalized, but President Gbagbo, he doesn't have any say in that
24 document until Kléber in the following days, does he?

25 A. [14:58:38] Yes, that is correct. He was not in the room and he was not

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- 1 a signatory.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:58:49] Excuse me, just for the record,
- 3 but -- because it was cut off at the beginning of your question, where it starts
- 4 in the English transcript "a document has been filed," has been filed, but you
- 5 said something before. Where, at Linas-Marcoussis?
- 6 MR O'SHEA: [14:59:08] I don't believe I used the word "filed."
- 7 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:59:10] Finalized, no, finalized, sorry.
- 8 MR O'SHEA: [14:59:13] Finalized at Linas-Marcoussis, yes.
- 9 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:59:17] Yes, this is missing.
- 10 MR O'SHEA: [14:59:19] Yes.
- 11 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:59:19] At Linas-Marcoussis, a
- 12 document has been finalized.
- 13 MR O'SHEA: [14:59:24] Yes.
- 14 THE INTERPRETER: [14:59:25] From the interpreters: This is because
- 15 Mr O'Shea doesn't wait for the completion of the interpretation.
- 16 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:59:31] This is the fault of Mr O'Shea.
- 17 Yes, he doesn't wait for the completion of the translation. So you started the
- 18 questioning and the first words were not translated.
- 19 MR O'SHEA: [14:59:41] Thank you, Mr President. I fall on my sword and I
- 20 shall be more vigilant about that.
- 21 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [14:59:47] Yes. Thank you.
- 22 MR O'SHEA: [15:00:07]
- 23 Q. [15:00:08] Who is Alain Toussaint?
- 24 A. [15:00:15] Can you kindly repeat?
- 25 Q. [15:00:28] I'll put another question to you, Mr Witness.

1 At Kléber, at Kléber, President Gbagbo was brought into a room with
2 Jacques Chirac present and the French minister of foreign affairs, Villepin,
3 present in that room; is that right?

4 A. [15:01:41] How many times do I have to tell you that I can't tell you
5 anything about something that happened in a room that I wasn't in?

6 Q. [15:01:49] Well, sir, you're taking that position, but of course you have
7 written about all this and said things that --

8 A. [15:02:05] (Overlapping speakers)

9 Q. [15:02:07] -- about things when you were not in the room. So are you
10 saying you can't say them here but you can say them in a book?

11 A. [15:02:13] Counsel, I am telling you if you look at my book, you will
12 see on the one side there are facts and on the other side my comments. The
13 facts and events that you speak of were not written by me. They are based
14 on documentary -- are we clear on that?

15 Q. [15:02:44] If you had information in your head from documents when
16 you were writing your book, why are you afraid to give information today
17 based upon information you've got from documents?

18 A. [15:02:59] I tell you I am here before you to tell you what I experienced,
19 what I sensed, what I felt. I cannot say anything about how Mr Gbagbo was
20 received when he went into that meeting room in Kléber. And I can only say
21 what things said on the historical record. Am I being clear? Is that clear?

22 Q. [15:03:35] Yes, Mr Witness. You can only witness things that you
23 know.

24 Are you saying, are you telling this Chamber that you do not know from
25 whatever source, but you do not know or have no information as to who was

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1 in the room with President Gbagbo at Kléber? Can I be clear about this, is
2 that what you are saying?

3 A. [15:04:12] Well, I shall be very clear. A book of 450 pages duly
4 documented today on 29 June 2016, you are saying to me: Repeat this
5 sentence, this word, give us this name, this place, these circumstances. I am
6 not as powerful as that. I am not as intelligent as that.

7 Q. [15:04:43] Did you hear that Linas-Marcoussis was presented to
8 President Gbagbo as a fait accompli by Jacques Chirac and Villepin? Did
9 you hear that?

10 A. [15:05:10] I was not there when that happened, so allow me not to
11 respond. The president of --

12 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:05:23] Excuse me, sorry. Come on.
13 Continue, please.

14 THE INTERPRETER: [15:05:29] Message from the interpreter: I believe the
15 witness ended his sentence by saying, "Allow me not to say anything about
16 that."

17 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:05:44] Here it's not a matter what you
18 want to say or want not to say. Here it's a matter of you responding to
19 questions. The question was not in the sense if you were there, but if you
20 had known from other sources if what the counsel just suggested to you had
21 happened, if you know about it. It's not if you were there. We know that
22 you were not there. But I think you can't say, "I do not respond because I
23 wasn't there." You have to respond. If you know or if you don't know,
24 whatever you will respond is okay, but you have to respond.

25 THE WITNESS: [15:06:18] (Interpretation) Thank you, your Honour,

1 indeed.

2 After Linas-Marcoussis, we heard, it was said to us that Mr Gbagbo was sent
3 into a room and he was forced to accept everything. I wrote that. But you
4 must realise one thing, a person at my level, it is difficult to understand how
5 the president of a country who was democratically elected by his people
6 would say that he was forced to do something.

7 So that is why I do not want to delve into the details of what was said and
8 what occurred at Kléber.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:07:04] Yes. But again, it's not up to
10 you to judge if something has to be said or not or you don't want to dwell in
11 or whatever it is. You have just to respond to the questions. If then the
12 question is a question which should not be put to you because it elicits, it
13 wants to elicit things which are not allowed for you to say, then somebody of
14 the parties will intervene or I will intervene to avoid it. Otherwise you just
15 have to respond to the questions, okay? Thank you.

16 MR O'SHEA: [15:07:46] Mr President, thank you.

17 Q. [15:07:49] Did you hear that the minister of foreign affairs of France,
18 Dominique Villepin, had made threats towards President Gbagbo on that
19 occasion?

20 A. [15:08:04] I did hear such a thing, but I can't attest to it.

21 Q. [15:08:18] Now, we know that, from your previous answers that
22 Mr Diarra was nominated as prime minister. To your knowledge --

23 A. [15:08:37] That is correct.

24 Q. [15:08:42] -- was he the first proposal or were there other proposals at
25 Kléber?

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1 A. [15:08:49] People mentioned several names, several names had been
2 suggested by the major parties. For example, by the RDR, the PDCL, mention
3 was made of Tiémoko Yadé. They mentioned other kinds of high-level
4 political people, other names were out there suggested. But, once again, I
5 really can't say much more than that because I didn't see anything or hear
6 anything. So I really don't know exactly how it came to be that Mr Diarra
7 (Overlapping speakers) --

8 Q. [15:09:35] Well, let us just step back a moment, Mr Witness. You've
9 told this Court --

10 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:09:43] "Let us step back," does that
11 mean -- no. It's because again you started too early so it is not on the record.
12 Let's make a step back, you said.

13 MR O'SHEA: [15:09:55]

14 Q. [15:09:56] Let us make a step back, Mr Witness. You've told this Court
15 that you were at Linas-Marcoussis in Paris and that you attended all the
16 plenary sessions; is that right?

17 A. [15:10:17] Yes, the plenary, that started on the afternoon of the opening
18 day, when the work began.

19 Q. [15:10:36] So were you following these events with great interest when
20 you were there or not?

21 A. [15:10:39] Of course I was.

22 Q. [15:10:49] Well, having that in mind, you know a bit more about who
23 was proposed as prime minister, don't you?

24 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [15:11:03] Your Honours.

25 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:11:07] I know where you want to go,

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1 but he has already responded and -- no? Okay. Please.

2 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [15:11:13] I think there is a confusion here and we are
3 entering into questions that confuse the witness. The witness explained
4 what was decided during Linas-Marcoussis, and he explained that the prime
5 minister's designation didn't take place during that session. So trying to
6 elicit from the witness that he was not paying attention when the matter was
7 not even discussed at Linas-Marcoussis is confusing the witness. He was not
8 there when the prime minister was designated. That happened at Kléber
9 and he's already told us.

10 MR O'SHEA: [15:11:45] Well, with respect, my learned friend is helping the
11 witness with that explanation.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:11:48] And I would also say one other
13 thing, that it is difficult to put this witness in confusion. I don't think that he
14 is confused. He is responding quite appropriately. So please go ahead.

15 MR O'SHEA: [15:12:03] I'm not, I'm not --

16 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:12:05] Appropriately in the sense --

17 MR O'SHEA: [15:12:06] Yes.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:12:07] -- that he's responding.

19 MR O'SHEA: [15:12:09] Your Honours, I'm certainly not trying to mislead
20 the witness into thinking that Kléber and Linas-Marcoussis are the same
21 thing. He knows very well that they're too distinct events which follow one
22 upon the other. And my learned friend is well aware of that. So I'm not
23 misleading anybody.

24 Q. [15:12:30] All I'm saying, sir, is that given your role at
25 Linas-Marcoussis, given the fact that you were in Paris, given the fact that

1 you were following these events with great interest, you could be a little bit
2 more forthcoming with the Chamber about the position with regard to the
3 prime minister at Kléber the following days. There must have been a lot of
4 discussion about this, wasn't there, at the time?

5 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:12:59] But that could be the question.
6 Was the discussion at Linas-Marcoussis about the prime minister, yes or no?

7 THE WITNESS: [15:13:10] (Interpretation) At Linas-Marcoussis we did not
8 speak about a prime minister, not for a single minute. And I would point
9 out that one does not appoint a prime minister during a plenary session
10 during a conference. A prime minister is usually designated subsequent to
11 consultations between a president and the major parties.

12 So at that meeting we did not talk about the appointment of a prime
13 minister.

14 MR O'SHEA:

15 Q. [15:13:44] That's well understood, Witness.

16 Please remind the Chamber of the dates of the round table of
17 Linas-Marcoussis.

18 A. [15:13:55] That was in February, but I can't give you more information
19 than that.

20 Q. [15:14:15] Yes. I think we're talking about the 23rd and the 24th, aren't
21 we, for Linas-Marcoussis, and then 25th and 26th for Kléber? Have I got that
22 right?

23 A. [15:14:52] If you say so, that is correct.

24 Q. [15:15:02] Sorry, yes, it's the 23rd and the 24th -- sorry, the 25th and the
25 26th, I correct myself.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:15:06] (Microphone not activated)

2 MR O'SHEA: [15:15:11] Yes, I correct myself.

3 Q. [15:15:16] It's 25 and 26 January 2003 for Linas-Marcoussis and then
4 27 and 28 January for Kléber. So we've got a period of four days?

5 A. [15:15:34] No, no.

6 Q. [15:15:35] Is that wrong?

7 A. [15:15:37] No, you've got it wrong.

8 Q. [15:15:38] Correct me.

9 A. [15:15:42] The Linas-Marcoussis conference began with a meeting in
10 Kléber. The opening was in Kléber. The conference itself lasted nearly
11 eight days. And after the conference, there were two days during which
12 people conducted all the negotiations before the prime minister was
13 appointed. So it was not four days.

14 Q. [15:16:12] Did you stay in Paris during that entire period?

15 A. [15:16:19] Yes. I stayed in Paris after the conference because it was not
16 a good idea to immediately go back to Abidjan.

17 Q. [15:16:33] And who did you go with to Linas-Marcoussis? You've
18 already told us, but who did you go with?

19 A. [15:16:41] The president of the MFA who invited me to Paris, not for
20 Linas-Marcoussis, but once I was there, he told me that his party had
21 obtained a particular spot and I could join him.

22 Q. [15:17:03] So while Kléber was going on, did you have discussions with
23 him about what was happening at Kléber?

24 A. [15:17:10] Since I wasn't in the room, how could I speak to him when
25 that was going on?

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1 Q. [15:17:21] Well, it goes on -- sorry.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:17:26] Just ...

3 THE INTERPRETER: [15:17:32] Message from the interpreters: The name
4 mentioned in the previous reply was Anaky Kobéna, president of the MFA.

5 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:17:44] I would just ask you to wait
6 until the microphone, you have the microphone in the ear, the microphone is
7 open, otherwise we always miss the first words of yours on the transcript.

8 MR O'SHEA: [15:18:00] Yes, I'm listening in French, your Honour, that's
9 why I'm creating this problem for myself. I just have to be more disciplined.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:18:07] Yes.

11 MR O'SHEA: [15:18:13]

12 Q. [15:18:13] Kléber is going on for two days?

13 A. [15:18:22] After the Linas-Marcoussis conference, yes.

14 Q. [15:18:29] So during those two days, is it your position that no
15 information was coming from people you knew out of that forum to your
16 ears?

17 A. [15:18:48] Nothing was heard. I got in touch with Mr Diarra, the
18 prime minister, when it was a matter of determining which portfolio should
19 be given *to the Mouvement des Forces d'Avenir of President Anaky Kobéna
20 Innocent.

21 THE INTERPRETER: [15:19:06] Inaudible.

22 THE WITNESS: [15:19:07] (Interpretation) -- and that was one week later.

23 MR O'SHEA: [15:19:09]

24 Q. [15:19:10] And in the days and weeks that followed Linas-Marcoussis
25 and Kléber, did you not have discussions with people working closely with

1 you about what had happened at Kléber?

2 A. [15:19:34] We did not speak. But, however, we did have a meeting
3 with a group of signatories. I stress a group in a Parisian hotel. And in
4 light of the increasing violence in Côte d'Ivoire, subsequent to the signing of
5 the Linas-Marcoussis agreement and the decision of the President Gbagbo to
6 appoint -- to give defence and security portfolios to the Forces Nouvelles, we
7 held a meeting, and at that meeting, the suggestion was that we send out a
8 message calling for peace in Côte d'Ivoire. I was there. The other person
9 was not there. He had gone to Bordeaux. When I saw the draft of the
10 document that they wanted me to sign on behalf of the movement, I said we
11 cannot have spent a week talking about the way out of the crisis and then
12 secretly meet in some hotel and sign a different document. I was opposed to
13 the signature of that document and I left. And the only contact I had with
14 the other members of -- who took part in Linas-Marcoussis.

15 Q. [15:21:16] Who was proposed from the side of the rebel movement as
16 prime minister at Kléber, based on your knowledge?

17 A. [15:21:34] I don't remember what name was put out on their side.

18 Q. [15:21:41] Hmm. Who is Henriette Diabaté?

19 A. [15:21:52] That person is the great chancellor of Côte d'Ivoire at the
20 present time.

21 Q. [15:22:07] And you don't know that her name was proposed?

22 A. [15:22:20] I don't know. I learned about that later. But I don't know.

23 Q. [15:22:26] So when I say "you don't know," I'm talking about now. I'm
24 talking in the present tense. I trust it was translated in the present tense.

25 A. [15:22:56] Well, I knew and I know. That's two different things. You

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1 said did you know that she had been suggested. That's what I understood.

2 I think there is some semantics going on here.

3 Q. [15:23:11] So let me put the question to you again so that we're very
4 clear about this. Today, in front of this Court, do you know who was
5 proposed by the rebels to be prime minister at Kléber?

6 A. [15:23:35] I've already said I don't know. However, according to
7 people speaking to hearsay rumours and the like, apparently her name was
8 suggested by the New Forces. So you see, I'm being very careful in the way
9 I'm wording this because it's all apparently. And since the source of that
10 information is not present, it is not easy for me to confirm what was said or
11 invalidate what was said.

12 Q. [15:24:14] Well, you can trust the Judges to work out what's reliable
13 hearsay and what's not. You don't need to worry yourself too much about
14 that.

15 Why --

16 MR O'SHEA: [15:24:31] Sorry?

17 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:24:35] I will record this what you
18 said, okay, for the future.

19 MR O'SHEA: [15:24:40] I have a blocking device, your Honour.

20 THE WITNESS: [15:24:49] (Interpretation) I never doubted for a single
21 moment the ability of the Judges to come to a fair assessment.

22 MR O'SHEA: [15:25:00]

23 Q. [15:25:00] I'm saying this, Mr Witness, to encourage you to just speak
24 openly about what you know and then I can ask you the sources of your
25 information. You don't have to go into legal discussions about hearsay.

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1 That's all I'm suggesting.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:25:13] And, Mr Witness, you can also

3 say "I didn't know at that time, but then I learned later" or "today I know."

4 You can make also diverse specifications on how you came to know things.

5 So please just –

6 Mr O'Shea.

7 THE WITNESS: [15:25:33] (Interpretation) Your Honour, I've already

8 answered the question by saying that it was later that I heard hearsay. It was

9 in discussion with various people and also in the writings of certain

10 journalists. So there was some hearsay, but I am here to tell the truth, not to

11 pass on some hearsay. That is my main concern.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:26:01] Absolutely.

13 Please, Mr O'Shea.

14 MR O'SHEA: [15:26:04] Thank you, your Honours.

15 Q. [15:26:06] So if I'm to understand you correctly, you're saying to this

16 Court that you only knew the Henriette Diabaté had been proposed as prime

17 minister from the rebel side, you only knew that through the media? Is that

18 what you're saying?

19 A. [15:26:32] It was in various writings, in conversations apparently. It's

20 difficult to answer questions on the basis of information that has not been

21 confirmed. Let me tell you, I was not there. I was not part of the Forces

22 Nouvelles, so I can't tell you for a single moment whether that person's name

23 was suggested or not. Ask someone from the Forces Nouvelles. They will

24 tell you whether her name was put forward. Ask President Gbagbo who is

25 in this very courtroom, who had the list of people whose names were put

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1 forward. I was not in the room. I was not -- and now you're asking me to
2 confirm yes or no a particular person's name. I am not all seeing, all
3 knowing.

4 Q. [15:27:27] So you never sat down and had discussions with other
5 politicians where this subject came up?

6 A. [15:27:33] No, never.

7 Q. [15:27:46] To your knowledge, while you were in Paris at that time, did
8 you hear that President Gbagbo had called for calm in Abidjan from Paris?

9 A. [15:28:36] Yes. I do know he made a call for calm once he was back,
10 not from Paris, but once he was back, once he was at the airport. He asked
11 for calm to return to the entire country. But he did not launch such an
12 appeal from outside the country, from Paris, no.

13 Q. [15:29:01] You see, Mr Witness, that's not terribly consistent with
14 something else that you said at another time.

15 A. [15:30:04] Tell me --

16 Q. On page 86 of your book --

17 THE INTERPRETER: [15:30:07] Overlapping speakers.

18 MR O'SHEA:

19 Q. [15:30:10] -- you refer to the date of 26 January 2003.

20 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:30:14] Hold it. We didn't get the
21 beginning, once again.

22 MR O'SHEA: [15:30:18] Sorry, your Honour.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:30:21] We have the date of the 26th
24 and that's it.

25 THE INTERPRETER: [15:30:24] Message from the interpreters: The witness

1 quickly responded --

2 MR O'SHEA: [15:30:26] On page 86 --

3 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:30:29] Wait just a minute.

4 Message, yes.

5 THE INTERPRETER: [15:30:33] The witness said very quickly: "Show me
6 the inconsistency." That was the last thing the witness said.

7 MR O'SHEA: [15:30:42]

8 Q. [15:30:43] You say: (Interpretation) "The Ivorian president once
9 again called upon his supporters to remain calm. 'I see that there are various
10 movements in Côte d'Ivoire. I sent out an appeal for calm,' and that is what
11 he said. It was confirmed that he would leave by the end of the conference
12 and he would return to Côte d'Ivoire to handle the situation."

13 (Speaking English) There it's being suggested that he's in Paris, isn't it?

14 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [15:31:27] Just a second, please. Your Honours, the
15 original question to the witness was what he said, and my learned friend is
16 now reading from the book saying, "Mr Witness, you said this."

17 Page 86 of the book incorporates an article from Agence Presse.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:31:54] Yes.

19 MR DEMIRDJIAN: [15:31:54] So it's not the words of the witness. Perhaps
20 the fairest way of dealing with it is to display that page so that the witness
21 knows what is the source instead of suggesting that he said that.

22 MR O'SHEA: [15:32:06] My learned friend is quite right to correct me on that
23 point. It's not necessary to put up the page. I'll use my own methodology,
24 if that's all right with him. But I do accept what he's saying.

25 Q. [15:32:31] But you, your position today, Mr Witness, is it that you are

1 not aware of calls for calm from Paris by President Gbagbo; is that your
2 position, or you are aware that that occurred?

3 A. [15:32:58] I said I don't remember. I didn't say that didn't occur. I
4 said I don't remember. Today, sitting here today, I don't remember. Did it
5 occur or -- well, if you're not sure, you say you don't remember, especially
6 when you are talking about a book that's several hundred pages long. You
7 cannot remember every single detail of every single fact and every single line.
8 And that is why I think that the only reference can be the book itself.

9 Q. [15:33:40] Have you published your book?

10 A. [15:33:49] It was never published. At the very beginning of my
11 testimony I stated that. I had it edited. I corrected it and I kept it. I never
12 published it.

13 MR O'SHEA: [15:34:07] I've learned the trick now.

14 Q. [15:34:13] Why?

15 A. [15:34:17] I stated this at the very beginning. Anything that's involved
16 with history, it requires some time to mature in order for it to take on its
17 importance. You don't write something called the duty of memory in just a
18 few days. You don't write such a memorial text for the short term. It's
19 written to enlighten the future generations.

20 You describe the facts, and once you've done that, you draft a commentary.

21 And later on, when you realise that the people may not recall exactly what
22 happened, you will be able to say this is what was written in a particular
23 newspaper, this was what was stated by a politician on a particular date.

24 And then it will take on value. That's why I didn't have it published.

25 Q. [15:35:15] You're still a member of the RDR today, aren't you?

1 A. [15:35:22] Yes, of course.

2 Q. [15:35:24] What are your activities as -- in the RDR?

3 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:35:27] Yes, but we know all this.

4 This was, that he's in the RDR. I could tell you what he is in the RDR. I
5 think, you know, we go back to -- I just, it's a repetition. That's what I want
6 to say. It's not that it's not legitimate, but we have everything on the record.

7 MR O'SHEA: [15:35:48] All right, your Honour.

8 Q. [15:35:55] Are there things which are written in your book which
9 inconvenience you in your political position?

10 A. [15:36:14] I finished writing the book at the end of 2007. And I had
11 already finished the editing and I had sent someone to Tunisia to begin
12 preparing the printing. And I became a member of the RDR in October of
13 2008. So I take full responsibility for what I wrote. There is nothing in there
14 that would be a problem for the party that I belong to today, if that's what
15 you are trying to find out.

16 Q. [15:36:59] Are you aware of calls for calm, or are you aware that there
17 were calls for calm from the army of Ivory Coast at the time?

18 A. [15:37:30] I will repeat, I don't remember. There may have been a call.
19 There may not have been a call. But when you ask me that question today, I
20 cannot tell you exactly what kind of call there may have been.

21 Q. [15:37:58] So is it your position before the Chamber that you have no
22 personal knowledge of such calls for calm from the army today as we speak?

23 A. [15:38:17] What army are you talking about?

24 Q. [15:38:30] L'armée ivoirienne.

25 A. [15:38:35] L'armée ivoirienne, well, let me tell you that the military

1 themselves signed a ceasefire even before the politicians. They were -- after,
2 after Marcoussis, they launched an appeal. And let me remind you that we
3 finished Marcoussis. It wasn't very easy to live in Abidjan. The streets were
4 overtaken. There were people against what had happened both in
5 Marcoussis and in Kléber. So I wouldn't be surprised that the army made an
6 appeal for calm, especially that the supreme commander was Mr Laurent
7 Gbagbo.

8 Q. [15:39:23] It's stated as much on page 82 of your book, which says:
9 (Interpretation) "The Ivorian army said that some of the portions of the
10 peace agreement were humiliating, but nonetheless made appeals for peace."
11 Does that refresh your memory?

12 A. [15:39:49] Yes, yes, I agree with that. That's correct.

13 Q. [15:39:57] The man who became prime minister after Linas-Marcoussis,
14 Seydou Diarra, was the proposal of President Gbagbo himself, wasn't it?

15 A. [15:40:32] I don't know. I was not there. I did not attend the
16 discussions when the choice of prime minister was made. The only thing I
17 can tell you is that we learned what was decided, but that doesn't mean it's
18 the truth.

19 Q. [15:40:55] Did you learn that Seydou Diarra was the proposition of
20 President Gbagbo at Kléber?

21 A. [15:41:06] I must have learned that.

22 Q. [15:41:16] I'm not sure what that means. Does that mean that you
23 think you must have learnt it or did you learn it?

24 A. [15:41:38] I learned it, but I'm not all that certain.

25 Q. [15:41:42] Where did Seydou Diarra come from?

1 A. [15:42:04] As far as I know, he was from the private sector. He was in
2 the cocoa business and then later on, when there was the coup d'état in 1999,
3 the military junta proposed him as prime minister. It wasn't called prime
4 minister at the time, but basically he was the prime minister of Côte d'Ivoire.
5 And President Gbagbo entrusted him with setting up the forum for national
6 reconciliation. So I wasn't surprised that his name was suggested to become
7 prime minister. But I do not know precisely who suggested his name. I
8 only know what I heard.

9 Q. [15:43:04] And which part of the country was this cocoa being planted
10 that he was dealing with?

11 A. [15:43:11] He wasn't a trader. He was at the head of a foreign
12 company that purchased and transformed the cocoa. He wasn't a trader as
13 such. And for your information, cocoa is grown in the forest region of Côte
14 d'Ivoire.

15 Q. [15:43:42] Which part of the country did he hail from?

16 A. [15:43:50] Seydou Diarra logically would be from the Worodougou.
17 *It's Odienné. I think that it's Odienné, rather.

18 THE INTERPRETER: [15:44:07] If the interpreter heard correctly.

19 THE WITNESS: [15:44:10] (Interpretation) You see, in Côte d'Ivoire, we
20 don't take much interest in the origin of individuals. When I was studying,
21 for example, I had some friends, and it was only much later on that I found
22 out that they were from Bassam or they were from Bonoua or Korhogo,
23 because we weren't interested in that. And for many, many years Côte
24 d'Ivoire took in a lot of individuals, skilled individuals, without taking
25 account of their regional origin.

1 Q. [15:44:48] What religion was he?

2 A. [15:44:53] Mr Diarra is a Muslim. He's a Muslim like President
3 Ouattara and he has a Christian wife.

4 Q. [15:45:12] Did you hear that following Kléber, Guillaume Soro
5 announced that his movement had managed to secure the Ministry of
6 Defence and the Ministry of the Interior?

7 A. [15:46:03] I beg your pardon. Could you repeat your question? I'm
8 not sure it was translated correctly.

9 Q. [15:46:10] Following Kléber, Guillaume Soro announced that he had
10 managed to secure the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior?

11 A. [15:46:34] Yes, I heard that. It was on RFI, the French international
12 radio channel, and I heard that over the radio.

13 Q. [15:46:46] And was that immediately after Kléber?

14 A. [15:46:48] After Kléber, in response to a question put to him by a
15 journalist, that was his answer.

16 Q. [15:47:02] And is that what caused the reaction in Abidjan?

17 A. [15:47:05] It could be considered as one of the elements, but we need to
18 remember that the reaction in Abidjan was, first of all, we had signed the
19 Marcoussis agreement, and let me remind you that number two, that is the
20 FPI, left the room after the third or fourth day to go back to Abidjan for
21 reasons we were to learn later on, to organise the resistance.

22 So it wasn't just Guillaume Soro's statement that set fire to Abidjan. It was
23 because the spirit that was reigning in the minds of the pro-Gbagbo militants
24 was not favourable to what was taking place in Marcoussis.

25 Q. [15:48:07] And is it right that each of the parties signatory to

1 Linas-Marcoussis managed to get two ministries? Would that be right?

2 A. [15:48:35] That's not correct.

3 Q. [15:48:41] So how did it go then?

4 A. [15:48:44] I was not in attendance when the various ministerial

5 portfolios were handed out. What I do know is that after numerous

6 discussions, in particular at Accra II, we were told that the MFI,

7 Mr N'Guessan, was to hold the Ministry of Transport. But I wasn't there for

8 the negotiations to find out why, which party got five portfolios or seven or

9 two or three. Frankly, I have no idea what criteria applied to the distribution

10 of the ministerial portfolios.

11 Q. [15:49:27] Is it right that President Gbagbo had expressed himself as

12 being happy that the principle, the following principle, that the democratic

13 view is the only voice to come to power, is it right that he was happy that that

14 principle was incorporated in Linas-Marcoussis?

15 A. [15:49:56] You're asking me to tell you what kind of emotions President

16 Gbagbo felt? That's very difficult. I may have written or read certain of his

17 statements, but I can't tell you whether he was happy or not.

18 Q. [15:50:21] Well, the point is did he say it?

19 A. [15:50:23] I cannot answer in the affirmative, but certainly he must

20 have said it.

21 Q. [15:50:48] It's stated on page 86 of your book that Laurent Gbagbo:

22 (Interpretation) "He considered that the Marcoussis agreement included the

23 entire territory of Côte d'Ivoire and made it possible to restore peace and

24 prosperity and recognizes the democratic way as being the only way to

25 accede to power."

1 (Speaks English) Does that refresh your memory?

2 A. [15:51:32] What I like in what you are saying is that aside from this
3 book, in fact, I'm surprised because I told you the book was not even
4 published. I'm surprised at the limits of your investigative capacities other
5 than reading this book.

6 Q. [15:52:04] What makes your book important, sir, is not its quality but
7 the fact that it's your words. That's why I refer to your book. It's your
8 words or words that you have incorporated into your book. Just to make
9 that clear.

10 A. [15:52:28] Thank you. Thank you for saying that the book is
11 important. But I explained the background of the book, that is the facts on
12 the one hand and commentary on the other, and I can say that you never take
13 account of my comments. You only mention the facts that are based on
14 documentary elements, which seems to be the basis for your questioning.

15 Q. [15:53:00] Now, Accra III was in July 2004, right?

16 A. [15:53:06] Yes, after the events that had taken place in March of 2004.

17 Q. [15:53:19] And Accra III, unlike Linas-Marcoussis, involved the
18 president -- involved the presence of heads of state, including President
19 Gbagbo; is that right?

20 A. [15:53:36] No.

21 Q. [15:53:41] No?

22 A. [15:53:44] No.

23 Q. [15:53:47] Who was present at Accra III?

24 A. [15:53:48] It was --

25 THE INTERPRETER: [15:53:50] Inaudible.

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1 THE WITNESS: [15:53:52] (Interpretation) -- for the FPI.

2 THE INTERPRETER: [15:53:53] Please ask the witness to repeat the name.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:53:56] Mr Witness, can you please
4 repeat the name because it was not heard by the interpreters.

5 THE WITNESS: [15:54:04] (Interpretation) It was Mr Affi N'Guessan who
6 was there, and he signed on behalf of the FPI at Accra III.

7 MR O'SHEA: [15:54:30]

8 Q. [15:54:31] At Accra III, the principle which had been contained in
9 Marcoussis of the importance of human rights was reaffirmed, wasn't it?

10 A. [15:54:47] From Marcoussis to Accra II, Accra III, the principle of
11 human rights was always reaffirmed in every agreement.

12 Q. [15:55:06] As well as the principle of disarmament?

13 A. [15:55:12] From Marcoussis to Accra III and Ouaga II, Pretoria, every
14 single agreement mentioned the principle of disarmament and the setting up
15 of a republican army.

16 Q. [15:55:30] As well as the delegation of powers to the prime minister?

17 A. [15:55:40] Yes.

18 Q. [15:55:43] What was the relationship between the government of
19 Burkina Faso and the rebels?

20 A. [15:56:14] I'm not able to answer that question because I was not a
21 leader of the Forces Nouvelles, and I was not a leader of Burkina Faso either.

22 Q. [15:56:31] Before I close today, sir, I just note that I didn't notice one
23 time when the Prosecution was asking you questions where you made such a
24 comment.

25 A. [15:56:51] Well, depending on the type of question, it calls for a

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1 different type of answer.

2 MR O'SHEA: [15:56:54] Your Honours, if that's a convenient moment --

3 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:56:56] I think I wouldn't even say so,
4 because maybe less often, but something like this he said also to the
5 questioning of the Prosecutor sometimes, so I don't think we should comment
6 now, but go into questions and answers. Thank you.

7 MR O'SHEA: [15:57:25] If that's a convenient moment, your Honours.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:57:30] I didn't even see that, yes. It is
9 a convenient moment. So I think we go to tomorrow at 9.30.

10 As today, Mr Witness, thank you.

11 THE WITNESS: [15:57:43] (Interpretation) Thank you.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE TARFUSSER: [15:57:45] And the hearing is adjourned
13 until tomorrow morning.

14 THE COURT USHER: [15:57:49] All rise.

15 (The hearing ends in open session at 3.58 p.m.)

16 CORRECTIONS REPORT

17 The Language Services Section has made the following corrections in the
18 transcript:

19 *Page 2, lines 17-18:

20 "and there was no reason Abidjan, even when I went up" is corrected to

21 "And may I have you note that when I was moving about"

22 *Page 2, line 19: "Abidjan town was not risky." is translated and added

23 *Page 4, line 4: "and management" is translated and added

24 *Page 9, line 6:

25 "the Praetorian guards of the others" is corrected to "the Praetorian guards

- 1 associated with the former President"
- 2 *Page 10, line 1: "skirmishes" is corrected to "confrontations"
- 3 *Page 10, line 11: "to leave from" is corrected to "to remove"
- 4 *Page 11, line 22: "aircraft" is corrected to "two helicopters"
- 5 *Page 13, lines 14:
- 6 "I can't speak with certainly" is corrected to "I can only speak with any
- 7 certainty"
- 8 *Page 13, line 22: "and the FRCI" is translated and added
- 9 *Page 14, line 16: "He is" is corrected to "He claims to be"
- 10 *Page 16, line 1: "other units" is corrected to "FRCI units"
- 11 *Page 17, lines 10-12:
- 12 "A. Yes. Q. Do you remember when? A. Just a few months before the trial." is
- 13 translated and added
- 14 *Page 17, line 13: "A" is corrected to "Q"
- 15 *Page 17, line 14: "A" is added
- 16 *Page 17, line 15:
- 17 "there were proceedings" is corrected to "there was a confrontation"
- 18 *Page 17, line 16: "other proceedings" is corrected to "proceedings"
- 19 *Page 23, line 21: "part of the same G7, couldn't you?" is translated and added
- 20 *Page 24, line 2: "the MJP," is translated and added
- 21 *Page 25, line 21: "the PIT," is translated and added
- 22 *Page 27, lines 16-17:
- 23 "ONUCI, an organisation in Côte d'Ivoire, an organisation in Bouaké, the
- 24 pharmacists" is corrected to "LONACI, the national lottery of Côte d'Ivoire,
- 25 the wholesale market in Bouaké, all the pharmacists"

- 1 *Page 36, line 17: "in 2010" is translated and added
- 2 *Page 36, line 18:
- 3 "The general list?" is corrected to "The list in general, or the list of your
- 4 party?"
- 5 *Page 37, line 3: "page 98" is corrected to "page 88"
- 6 *Page 40, line 9: "about 150 people" is corrected to "150 to 200 people"
- 7 *Page 45, lines 1-2:
- 8 "Did the parties... the G7 you mentioned earlier, were they calling people to
- 9 demonstrate?" is translated and added
- 10 *Page 46, lines 4-7:
- 11 "Accra I, Accra II, Ouaga, South Africa and so on, so you had
- 12 Mr Laurent Gbagbo, Soro Guillaume, Mr Alassane Ouattara" is corrected to
- 13 "Accra II, Accra III, Pretoria, Ouaga I, II, it was the Forces Nouvelles,
- 14 President Laurent Gbagbo, Soro Guillaume, who was in charge of the Forces
- 15 Nouvelles, the RDR, that was represented by Mr Alassane Ouattara"
- 16 *Page 46, lines 13-14:
- 17 "You will therefore understand why I do not like you to use the expression
- 18 'rebels' too often." is translated and added.
- 19 *Page 52, line 11:
- 20 "Abobo and elsewhere" is corrected to "Anyama and Abobo"
- 21 *Page 52, line 17: "in Djuékoué" is translated and added
- 22 *Page 53, line 15: "2011-2012" is corrected to "2010-2011"
- 23 *Page 61, lines 17-18:
- 24 "But, you see," is corrected to "But it wasn't only the French who went down
- 25 to Abidjan."

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- 1 *Page 78, line 23: "UDCY" is corrected to "UDCI"
- 2 *Page 88, lines 19-20:
- 3 "to the forces --" is corrected to "to the Mouvement des Forces d'Avenir of
- 4 President Anaky Kobéna Innocent."
- 5 *Page 97, line 17:
- 6 "or Guinea --" is corrected to "It's Odienné. I think that it's Odienné, rather."